

CHRISTIAN CAPTIVES ON THE SHORES OF THE SEA OF ALBORAN (15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES)

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ABSTRACT

Until the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, along the two shores of the sea of Alboran, the enemies par excellence of the kingdom of Castile were the Muslims. They remained so, among other reasons, for their continued excursions along the coast seeking Christian captives. The loss of liberty assumed the breakdown of families and traditions along with deprivations and humiliations of all types, all of which find expression in different written testimonies. I will use two sources to recreate the daily life in captivity: the "Miracles of Guadalupe" (*Los Milagros de Guadalupe*) and the "Treatise on the Ransoming of Captives" (*Tratado de la rendicion de cautivos*) by Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios.

KEYWORDS

Captivity, Daily Life, Frontier, Redemption, Miracles.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Captiuitas, Quotidiana uita, Fines, Redemptio, Miracula.

During the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries,¹ the enemies par excellence of the kingdom of Castile were the Muslims. Their proximity slowed the process of repopulation in the recently incorporated kingdom of Granada in spite of the Crown's efforts invested in the defense of their coastlines.² The Moors "from beyond" (*de allende*) were considered political enemies of Castile, among other reasons, because of their continued excursions along the coast seeking Christian captives, and the clandestine transport of the *Mudejars* of Granada, and later *moriscos*, to the opposite coast of the Mediterranean. However, they were also ideological enemies of Christianity and infidels, "enemies of our holy Catholic faith".³ In consequence, it was legitimate "to go to the land beyond and enter the lands of the Moors,"⁴ in order to obtain good captives that would prove beneficial.

The loss of liberty assumed the breakdown of families and traditions along with deprivations and humiliations of all types, all of which find expression in different written testimonies —notarial acts, miracle stories, treatises on diverse topics, reports from monks working for the rescue of captives, contracts of purchase and sale, autobiographical accounts, and literary writings. Thus, this suggests a virtual "literature of the captive," which tended to interpret the mental and physical sufferings as a divine test.

I will use two different sources which describe the daily life of the Christian captives in the hands of Muslims: the "Miracles of Guadalupe" (*Los Milagros de Guadalupe*) and the "Treatise on the Ransoming of Captives" (*Tratado de la rendición de cautivos*) by Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios. These sources will allow us to learn more about this relatively unknown topic.⁵

1. Abbreviations: AG. Archivo del Real Monasterio de Guadalupe.

2. See: Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *La defensa de Granada a raíz de su conquista (1492-1501)*. La Laguna: Universidad de la Laguna, 1973; López de Coca Castañer, José E. "Financiación mudéjar del sistema de vigilancia costera en el reino de Granada (1492-1501)". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 3 (1976): 397-415; Ruiz Povedano, José María. "El dispositivo militar de la ciudad de Málaga en la época de los Reyes Católicos". *Jábega*, 23 (1978): 24-37; Ruiz Povedano, José María. "Problemas en torno a la reestructuración del aparato militar defensivo en el occidente granadino a fines del siglo XV". *Baética: estudios de arte, geografía e historia*, 2/1 (1979): 225-249; Vera Delgado, Ana. *La última frontera costera en el obispado de Málaga en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos*. Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga Servicio de Publicaciones, 1986.

3. *enemigos de nuestra sancta fe católica*.

4. *ir a las partes de allende y entrar en tierras de moros*.

5. González Arévalo, Raúl. *El cautiverio en Málaga a fines de la Edad Media*. Málaga: Diputación Provincial de Málaga Servicio de Publicaciones, 2006: 207-208 states that *son muy escasas las referencias que tenemos sobre la vida en cautiverio, aunque todo apunta a que era penosa en general debido, entre otras circunstancias, a los trabajos desempeñados. Hay indicios que dejan entrever un trato áspero y riguroso; las condiciones de salubridad de las mazmorras no serían las mejores, como tampoco la alimentación. Sin embargo, no tenemos noticias sobre galeotes, los cautivos que llevaban la vida más dura, debido a que no eran "de rescate". En todo caso, sólo podemos lamentar la ausencia de más datos que permitan profundizar en el medio en el que se desarrollaba el cautiverio* (we have very few references concerning the life in captivity, even though everyone notes that it was generally extremely arduous due the labors performed, among other circumstances. There are indications that reveal rigorous and harsh treatment; neither the sanitary conditions or the food of the dungeons would have been very good. However, we do not have any evidence about galley slaves —the captive that led the most difficult lives— owing to the fact that they were not "rescuable." In any case, we can only lament the absence of more data that would permit us a deeper understanding concerning the



The first of the sources, preserved in the *Archivo del Real Monasterio de Guadalupe*,⁶ offers us details and commentaries about life in captivity. Taken from the reports of people on pilgrimage to the monastery, the Hieronymite monks transformed and elaborated the statements into a tale. Thanks to them, it is possible to understand the hardships and ordeals of those men who, having been deprived of their liberty after an incursion of the Moors, entrusted themselves with devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in order that she might bring about the end of the “bad life” (*mala vida*) that they had spent in captivity.⁷

The treatise on the redemption of captives, written by Jeronimo Gracián Dantisco de la Madre de Dios, tells of the author’s own experience as a prisoner in the baths of Tunisia. He was held there for eighteen months from 1593 to 1595 as a “rescue-captive” (*cautivo de rescate*).⁸ He transformed this experience into “a manual of customs, a sort of treatise of survival and adaptation to the circumstances as much for Muslims as for Christians, which serves us perfectly when trying to decipher the ideas and attitudes of the men who inhabited the Mediterranean in those years.”⁹

Both sources can be analyzed keeping in mind the historiographical changes surrounding social history and the growing interest in the material and everyday practices that men and women of differing origins, locations, and social, economic, legal or cultural backgrounds used to live, coexist and survive. New approaches and perspectives are applied to the study of topics and artifacts from the history of daily life, understood as an expression of social or “total” history.¹⁰

In other words, the history of daily life is a form of “total” history because it includes all people and all of their actions in the course of their normal life, be they

development of captivity). Martínez Torres, José. *Prisionero de los infieles. Vida y rescate de los cautivos cristianos en la Mediterráneo musulmán (siglos XVI-XVII)*. Barcelona: edicions Bellaterra, 2004, believes that, in spite of recent studies, we still lack a cultural history of captivity in all its aspects.

6. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*.

7. For Friedman, Ellen. *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983: 75, the treatment received by these captives could not have been very different from that received by Moors in the power of Christians. On the other hand, Gosse, Philip. *Los corsarios berberiscos. Los piratas del norte. Historia de la piratería*. Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe, 1947, maintains that the Muslims treated their Christian captives better than the Christians treated the Muslims.

8. The importance of the *Tratado de la redención de cautivos en que se cuentan las grandes miserias que padecen los cristianos que están en poder de infieles, y cuán santa obra sea la de su rescate* (1603) comes from the fact that it is a story of Christian captivity in Tunisia, while the great majority of texts refer to the kingdom of Morocco or the city of Algiers.

9. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención de cautivos*, Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, Beatriz Alonso Acero, eds. Madrid: Espuela de Plata, 2006.

10. This sense is expressed by Asenjo González, María. “El ritmo de la comunidad: vivir en la ciudad, las artes y los oficios en la corona de Castilla”, *La vida cotidiana en la Edad Media (VIII Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, del 4 al 8 de agosto de 1997)*, José de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1998: 172; Valdeón Baroque, Julio. “El ritmo del individuo: en las puertas de la pobreza, de la enfermedad, de la vejez, de la muerte”, *La vida cotidiana en la Edad Media (VIII Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, del 4 al 8 de agosto de 1997)*, José de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1998: 275. See: Burke, Peter. “La nueva historia socio-cultural”. *Historia Social*, 17 (1993): 106; Burke, Peter. “Obertura: la nueva historia, su pasado y su futuro”, *Formas de hacer Historia*, Peter Burke, ed. Madrid: Alianza, 1993: 24-25.



material, spiritual or cultural. As Nelda Guglielmi affirmed, “(the study of) daily life does not only imply looking at small domestic experiences, it also means understanding how people participated in public life and how they received the political, technological, intellectual or spiritual changes, as well as how those changes came to pass”.¹¹

The daily life of men and women inhabiting the border zones was conditioned by the ever-present danger of incursions by their neighboring enemies. In those attacks of piracy that occurred between Christians, the perpetrators were interested in seizing, above all, the ships and the merchandise that they transported. When it came to arming a ship bound for the Barbary coast, the preferred loot was people who, after the expedition returned to their original port, were sold as slaves of just war. In many cases, these people were purchased by individuals in order to exchange them for captured family members.¹²

For any action at sea, it was necessary to acquire suitable boats in order to venture into enemy territory. Even though the ships of the epoch discussed here were destined for all types of maritime activity, the *foist* or *galliot* were particularly suitable for entering enemy territory, privateering, and piracy.¹³ Money was also necessary to adequately equip the boat and it was common for two or more individuals to be involved with the master in the preparations —not only because the master alone might not have the financial resources necessary, but also in order to share the risk. These contracts, sealed before a notary, stipulated the obligations and rights of the involved parties. However, on occasion unfulfilled agreements produced conflict.

In this way, a new social actor arose —the captive— and with it, captivity. That is to say, a more similar “other” is taken prisoner in a cross-border raid.¹⁴ Andrés Díaz Borrás considered it both possible and necessary to differentiate between slavery and

11. Guglielmi, Nilda. *Aproximación a la vida cotidiana en la Edad Media*. Buenos Aires: Pontificia Universidad Católica, 2000: 11.

12. See: López de Coca Castañer, José. “Esclavos, alfaqueques y mercaderes en la frontera del Mar de Alborán (1490-1516)”. *Hispania*, 139 (1978): 275-300. The texts from Guadalupe inform us about the prolonged captivity of Christians, “those who passed beyond” (*pasados a allende*). Gonzalo de Castilblanco (Portugal) was a captive for eleven years in Fez, according to his telling in 1494, AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 120v. (repeated in codex 3, f. 72v.); Cristóbal Martí was a captive for twelve years in Tremecén AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 5, f. 66r (repeated in AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 6, f. 62v.); Ambrosio de Roma was a captive on land for eight years and a month and then passed another six years and two months in a galley, AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 36r. (repeated in AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 4, f. 72r.). Others were captive between two and four years; Jerónimo Gracián spent eighteen months in Tunisia.

13. The foist was a long, light vessel with two or three oars per bench and with one or two masts, whose capacity was measured in benches. Their yield justified the investment in ships by individuals from all social classes. See López Bertrán, María Teresa. “Financiación de los viajes y cobertura de los riesgos en el tráfico mercantil malagueño en época de los Reyes Católicos. II: seguros marítimos”. *Baética: estudios de arte, geografía e historia*, 21 (1999): 281-300.

14. The definition of “Captive” and “Captivity” in the classical sense. This can generally be followed in: Martínez Carrillo, María. “Rescate de cautivos - Comercio de esclavos (Murcia, siglos XIV-XV)”. *Estudios de Historia de España*, 2 (1989): 35-44. A different version can be found in: Meillassoux, Claude. *Antropología de la Esclavitud. El vientre de hierro y dinero*. Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1990: 114. Concerning this theme in general, see the indispensable work by Friedman, Ellen. *Spanish Captives in North Africa...: 25-27;*



captivity: the first concept refers to an ideological or religious confrontation, while the second has social and economic connotations.¹⁵ Hence, he also differentiates between redemption of the captive and the liberation of the slave.¹⁶ Redemption implies a certain sociality, given that captivity was understood in a sacred sense by medieval Christendom.

Alfonso X defines with exactitude the captive in the second *Partida*, chapter XXIX, law one: “What does ‘captive’ mean and what difference is there between a prisoner and a captive?”, which states: “One calls captives, by law, those who fall into prison under men of another faith. It is these that they kill after they take them prisoner, for the contempt they have for the law. Or they torment them with cruel punishments or they have them serve them as slaves, giving them such tasks that they would rather die than live”.¹⁷

However, on both sides of the frontier, the differences for men and women who were deprived of liberty was non-existent, because the border also led to the development of slavery. Granada, Valladolid, Seville, Murcia, Almería, and Málaga all offer favorable conditions for the study of modern slavery, particularly in the region of Andalusia, given the coexistence of Muslim and Christian cultures.

The *convivencia* of the different religious cultures was often strained in these areas of tension and contact. The cultures engaged in fruitful dialogue but also provided a context for the rejection of the “other”.¹⁸ Exclusion, marginalization and coexistence led to endemic clashes and outright wars, fleeting truces and fragile peace, all of which altered the daily lives of men and women near the borders. Spain encouraged slavery in North Africa, particularly black slavery. Favored by its military presence, over the course of the sixteenth century Spain used the ports of Argel, Tunis and Tripoli to trade “Berber slaves” as well as “Muslim captives”. Most of these men ended their days in the prison galleys.

Mendes Drumond Braga, Isabel. *Entre a Cristandade e o Islão (séculos XV-XVII). Cativos e Renegados nas Franjas de duas Sociedades em Confronto*. Ceuta: Instituto de Estudios Ceutíes, 1998: 19-49.

15. Díaz Borrás, Andrés. *El miedo al Mediterráneo. La caridad popular valenciana y la redención de cautivos bajo el poder musulmán, 1323-1539*. Barcelona: Institució Milà i Fontanals, 2001: 19. See: Bartosek, Milan. “Captivus”. *Bulletino dell’Istituto di diritto romano “Vittorio Scialoja”*, 57-58 (1953): 98-212; González Castro, Ernesto. “Schiavitù e ‘captivitas’”. *Dizionario degli Istituti di Prefezione*, Giancarlo Rocca, ed. Rome: Edizione Paoline, 1988: 1039-1058.

16. Díaz Borrás, Andrés. *El miedo al Mediterráneo...: 57*.

17. *Que quiere dezir captiuo, e que departimiento ay, entre preso, e captiuo ... mas captiuos son llamados, por derecho, aquellos que caen en prision de omes de otra creencia. Ca estos los matan despues que los tienen presos, por desprecio que non han la su ley, o los tormentan de cruels penas, o se sirven dellos como de siervos, metiendolos a tales servicios, que querrian antes la muerte que la vida*, Alfonso X. *Las Siete Partidas*. Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis, 1555 (facsimil: Madrid: Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1985). Section XXIX is titled: “Concerning the captives and their things, and concerning the places where they fall captive” (*De los captiuos e de las sus cosas, e de los lugares que caen captiuos, en poder de los enemigos*.)

18. The bibliography on the frontiers of the medieval world is abundant. For a few works of synthesis—including works with a chronological, geographical or theoretical synthesis—see: Merisalo, Outi; Pahta Päivi, ed. *Frontiers in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies (Jyväskylä, 10-14 June 2003)*. Turnhout-Leuven: Brepols- Fédération internationale des instituts d’Études Médiévales, 2006.



Muslims also took slaves and captives, particularly through privateering¹⁹ and piracy.²⁰ This has been demonstrated by Jacques Heers:²¹ the Berbers were pirates, based in North Africa, particularly in the Western half, who swept through the Mediterranean during much of the sixteenth century. Among them, the brothers Barbarossa²² stood out for their skill and ferocity. Their names remain a part of the Spanish imagination.

In many cases, the line between slavery and bondage blurred. The inhabitants of the coastal villages of Andalusia and the Canary Islands organized numerous raids on such towns as Málaga, Almería, Murcia, Cartagena, Puerto de Santa María, Motril and Cabo de Gata. Piracy at sea as well as the shore raids were the normal sources of Berber enslavement. Surrounding this confrontation arose the idea of the “just war,” that legitimated and legalized the enslavement of the Barbary coast. The same was true for the Muslims and the Turks.

It is in these areas where the difference between slave and captive was imposed. Concerning the above mentioned A. Díaz Borrás, Salvatore Bono adds the important distinction between “slave,” whose value lies in their use, and “captive,” a tem-

19. (corso) —*La costumbre de hacer corso contra los cristianos se estableció en Bujía hace unos treinta años. Se practica de la manera siguiente: una sociedad más o menos numerosa de corsarios se organiza, construye un navío y eligen para fletarlos hombres de bravura experimentada. Estos guerreros se lanzan a recorrer las cosas y las islas habitadas por cristianos, llegan de improviso y arrebatan todo lo que cae en sus manos; atacan también a los navíos de los infieles, se apoderan de ellos con frecuencia y vuelven con los barcos apresados cargados de botín y de prisioneros. De esta manera, Bujía y los demás puertos occidentales del reino hafsi están llenos de cautivos; las calles de estas ciudades retiemblan con el ruido de los hierros, sobre todo cuando estos desgraciados, cargados de cadenas y grilletes, se dirigen a sus tareas ordinarias. El precio de su rescate es tan elevado que les es imposible entregarlo* (The practice of privateering against the Christians was established thirty years ago in *Bougie*. It is practiced as follows: a more or less numerous group of privateers is organized, a ship is built and they elect to charter brave and experienced men. These warriors are launched to patrol the areas and islands inhabited by Christians. They arrive suddenly and snatch everything that falls into their hands; they also attack the ships of the infidels, frequently take them over and then they return with the seized ships full of booty and prisoners. Thus, Bougie and other western ports of the Hafsid kingdom are full of captives; the streets of these cities shake with the sound of irons, especially when these wretches are sent loaded with chains and shackles to their regular duties. The ransom price is so high that it is impossible to redeem them), Ibn Jaldún, in *Historia de los beréberes* (también llamada *Historia Universal*), cited by García Figueras, Tomás. *Presencia de España en Berbería Central y Oriental: Tremecén-Argel-Túnez-Trípoli*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1943: 86-87.

20. Davis, Robert C. “Counting European Slaves on the Barbary Coast”. *Past and Present* 172/1 (2001): 84-124; Cresti, Federico. “Gli schiavi cristiani ad Algeri in età ottomana: considerazioni sulle fonti e questioni storiografiche”. *Quaderni Storici*, 36/107 (2001): 415-435; Fontenay, Michel. “Le Maghreb barbaresque et l’esclavage méditerranéen aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles”. *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, 45/157-158 (1991): 7-44.

21. Heers, Jacques. *Historia de los berberiscos*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2004.

22. Sola, Emilio; Parreño, José María. *La vida, y historia de Hayradin Barbarroja*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1997: 25-32. A prologue and annotated edition of two complementary texts: *Gazawât-i Hayreddîn Pasha* (*Crónica del Guerrero de la Fe Hayreddîn Barbarroja*) (25-32) and *La vida, y historia de Hayradin, llamado Barbarroja, traducida de lengua turquesca en español-castellano* (33-146).



porary slave whose value lies in their exchange.²³ These captives became subject to miserable conditions and were destined to be traded or exchanged.²⁴

For these reasons, researchers like Michel Fontenay insist that modern slavery has, at its core, a religious justification²⁵ and that this form of slavery developed in the Mediterranean zone. These captives, according to Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, constituted pieces in a larger game with diplomatic and economic overtones. José María Ramos Loscertales claimed that “the owners of captives saw that it proved more beneficial to resell the captives to their home country than to sell them at the regular market price”.²⁶

In order to get an idea of the quantities demanded in exchange for freedom, miracle stories, notarial records and treatises provide several testimonies. For the freedom of Juan de Terual, his captors demanded two hundred doubloons and a “*burriel*” cloth.²⁷ For Gonzalo de Córdoba, his master stipulated a ransom of eight-hundred sheep.²⁸ The requirements for Bartolomé Escobar were steeper still: become a Moor or be redeemed for three-hundred and fifty sheep, plus rights, with which the total rose to five-hundred sheep. When the deadline had passed and he did not receive such a heavy ransom, the master asked for one-thousand sheep or to convert to Islam. This captive had been purchased for only one-hundred and ten doubloons; the final gain was substantial.²⁹ The amounts required by masters of captives had to be met by the family of the captive, who, in most cases, did not have such large resources. Hence, situations arose like that of Antón Olallo, who was captured while robbing (“*salteaba*”) Moorish lands in order to steal enough to get his brother out of captivity.³⁰

23. For the Maghreb, see: Merouche, Lemnour. *Recherches sur l'Algérie ottomane I. Monnaies, prix et revenus 1520-1830*. Paris: Bouchène, 2002. He notes how in classical Arabic, the differences in vocabulary are important in this respect, given that they use distinct terms for men or women, black slaves, Christian slaves, prisoners, and captives, clearly differentiating for each one of them their value of use and their value for exchange.

24. Bono, Salvatore. *Schiavi, musulmani nell'Italia moderna. Galeotti, vu' cumprà, domestici*. Perugia: Università degli Studi di Perugia, 1999: 35; Bono, Salvatore. “La Schiavitù nella storia della Mediterraneo”. *Nuove Effemeridi. Rassegna trimestrale di cultura*, 14/2 (2001): 4-19; Mansour, Abd el Hadi ben. *Alger XVIe- XVIIe siècle. Journal de Jean Baptiste Gramaye “évêque d’Afrique”*. Paris: Editions Du Cerf, 1998; Turbet-Delof, Guy. *L’Afrique barbaresque dans la littérature française aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. Geneva: Droz, 1973.

25. See: Fontenay, Michel. “Il mercato maltese degli schiavi al tempo dei Cavalieri di San Giovanni (1530-1798)”. *Quaderni Storici*, 36/107 (2001): 391-413; Braudel, Fernand. *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II*. Madrid: Fondo de Cultura económica, 1976: 2, 137-139.

26. Ferrer Mallol, María Teresa. “Els redemptors de captius: mostolafs, eixecs o alfaquecs (segles XII-XIII)”. *Medievalia*, 9 (1990): 85. In note 1, she cites: Ramos Loscertales, José María. *El cautiverio en la Corona de Aragón durante los siglos XIII, XIV y XV*. Saragossa: Publicaciones del Estudio de Filología de Aragón, 1915: 135-136.

27. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 115r. The “*burriel*” cloth, (*pañó de burriel* or *pañó burriel*) is a type of reddish cloth according to the Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2001: I (a/g), 367, col. 2.

28. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 133r.

29. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 136v.

30. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 42v.



The scope of captivity and its diplomatic implications are underlined by the role played by the complex web of external relations. The importance of these relations is attested to in the development of professions like the *mostafalía*, *exequequería* or *alfaquequería*, which were first placed under the monopoly of the counts of Barcelona and later by the kings of the Crown of Catalonia and Aragon.³¹

Frequent transports gave rise to institutions designed to give answers through peaceful means. Such avenues included judges for lawsuits, mayors between Christians and Moors, and proofs of existence (*fieles de rastro*).³²

The Andalusian world created a society perfectly accustomed to the uses and implications of the “frontier” (*frontera*): inhabitants of the frontiers were turncoats, renegades or converts; the hostages, the captives, the “sons of rumination” (*hijos de la rumía*) or Christians in the world of Granada,³³ were the fruit, undoubtedly, of numerous mixed marriages.

Everyday vocabulary was forged during this time, such as the word “savings” (*horror*), coming from “horrors” (*horro*), with a very concrete meaning: a captive who achieved freedom, but who had saved “*ahorrado*” in order to buy liberty from his master.³⁴ In notarial records of the time, permits appear frequently that allowed captives to beg in specific districts to raise enough money to make themselves free, to buy their freedom, to save (*ahorrar*).

In the prisons, bath houses³⁵ and galleys, captives were subject to inhumane and cruel treatments that led many to prefer death or even to abandon the Christian faith, converting to Islam. Hence, redemption became a necessity and a requirement: not only did they have to avoid the miseries and doctrinal deviations caused

31. Ferrer Mallol, María Teresa. “Els redemptors de captius...”: 86.

32. Seco Lucena, Luis. “El juez de frontera y los fieles del rastro”. *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 7 (1958): 137-140; Seco Lucena, Luis. “Sobre el juez de frontera”. *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 12 (1962): 107-109; Torres Fontes, Juan. “El alcalde entre moros y cristianos en el reino de Murcia”. *Hispania*, 20 (1960): 55-80.

33. Rumí, *entre los moros, Cristiano (que profesa la fe de Cristo)*, Real Academia Española. “Rumí”. *Diccionario...: 2* (h/z), 1997, col. 2.

34. The word *Horror/rra* comes from classical Arabic and its Spanish variant, *hurr*, which means “free.” The first entry in the dictionary establishes that it is an adjective, “Said of a person: who, having been a slave, achieves freedom,” *Dicho de una persona: Que, habiendo sido esclavo, alcanza la libertad*, Real Academia Española. *Diccionario...: 2* (h/z) 1231, col. 1-2.

35. Real Academia Española. *Diccionario...: 1* (a/g) 284, col. 2; The tenth meaning for the word “bath” (or “bath house” —*baño*) says: (*Por alusión a una antigua casa de baños de Constantinopla, que los turcos empleaban como prisión de los cristianos cautivos. Especie de corral grande o patio con aposentos o chozas alrededor, en el cual los moros tenían encerrados a los cautivos, (by alusion to an ancient bath house in Constantinople, which the Turks used as a prison for Christian captives.) A type of large corral or patio encircled by rooms or shacks in which the Moors kept their captives locked up.*) See: Audisio, Gabriel. “Recherches sur l’origine et la signification du mot ‘bagne’”. *Revue Africaine*, 101 (1957): 363-380. Martínez Torres, José Antonio. “Europa y el rescate de cautivos en el Mediterráneo durante la temprana Edad Moderna”. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie IV. Historia Moderna*, 18-19 (2005-2006): 77, describes these bath houses as underground structures with one, two or three floors, with rooms to hold more than 20 people and small hospitals, chapels and taverns where the captives could purchase food and drink.



by the lack of counsel, but it was also necessary to recover the renegades —hence the need for missionary activity in the Mediterranean.³⁶

The work of redemption and conversion of the infidels could lead to death and martyrdom, since the missionary had to spread the faith amongst captives. In this manner, they maintained individual identities while also achieving group cohesion.

Jerónimo, despite being a captive for rescue and finding himself perennially confined to the hollows of the bath house and with his feet shod in heavy irons which restricted his movement, still completed, along with said labors, the celebration of mass and other Christian holidays, the performance of theatrical works, and the maintenance of small altars.

In using autobiographical texts, or those works offering direct experiences, we must always keep in mind the relations between individual memory, the practices of writing and the historical truth.³⁷ This testimonial literature has ceased to be a mere individual account raised to the status of a testimony of social value. As argued by Enrique Fernández, the “creation of a coherent testimonial discourse becomes possible through the authority conferred by having been an eye witness; at the same time, it becomes necessary that their testimony be authentic”.³⁸ In this way, the writings are converted into literary artifacts which transform a personal trauma into a valid testimony of the whole community.³⁹

The prisoner stands as a collective hero, ceasing to be a historical person by becoming a literary character.⁴⁰ This happened, for example, to the Valencia priest Fray Miguel de Aranda. His torture and death at the stake in North Africa forms a

36. By this time, Muslim pressure presented a minor threat. The greater dangers were the renegades, who, with their own attitude, exemplified the breakdown of the universe of beliefs and the political betrayal of the Christian world. This dispute within the Christian world can be seen in: Valera, Cipriano de. *Tratado para confirmar los pobres cautivos de Berbería en la católica y antigua fe y religión cristiana, y para los consolar, con la palabra de Dios, en las aflicciones que padecen por el Evangelio de Jesucristo*, Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, Beatriz Alonso Acero, eds. Sevilla: Espuela de Plata, 2004. The work, published in 1594, represents a synthesis of the ideas of the European reformers, who were in constant struggle against the deviations of Roman Christianity, first, and then with Islam.

37. See the interesting reflections of Billson, Marcus. “The memoir: New perspectives on a forgotten genre”. *Genre*, 10 (1977): 259-282; Durán López, Fernando. “La autobiografía como fuente histórica”. *Memoria y Civilización*, 5 (2002): 153-187.

38. Fernández, Enrique. “*Los Tratos de Argel*: obra testimonial, denuncia política y literatura terapéutica”. *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 20/1 (2000): 20. He bases his position on the analysis of Young, James E. *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequence of Interpretation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988. See: Garcés, María Antonia. *Cervantes en Argel. Historia de un cautivo*. Madrid: Gredos, 2005.

39. Juan Ballestero de Caraval found himself a captive in Granada and lived anguished and crying from the fear that he felt at being taken beyond. He thus implored the Virgin of Guadalupe who came to his relief, AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 26v. (dated 1438).

40. Sola, Emilio. “El compromiso en la historiografía clásica sobre el Magreb”. *Revue des langues*, 5 (1985): 125-135.



part of the work of Diego de Haedo.⁴¹ It is narrated by Miguel de Cervantes⁴² in the tradition of martyrs, a tradition associated with the biblical narratives of captivity in Egypt and Babylon.⁴³ In this model, we find the typical elements of martyrdom: the cruelty of torture, the public indifference to the pain of the tortured and the affirmation of the martyr's faith. These mechanisms produce a "literary captivity".⁴⁴

Another example of this literary captivity appears in the small work of Antonio de Sosa, *Dialogue of the Martyrs of Algiers*,⁴⁵ included with the story of Haedo;⁴⁶ we can also include the autobiographical accounts of Diego Galán, captive for a decade in Algiers and Constantinople.⁴⁷

The martyrdom by fire is found in the account of Geronimo Gracián: "In this life, I spent until Christmas of the year of 93, whose new eve brought me, a Christian captive, to gather with the Janissaries in his office where they asked the pasha that

41. Haedo, Diego de. *Topographia e historia general de Argel*. Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1927-1929: III, 140. Even though the work was published in 1612, its contents basically refer to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some claim that it is the work of a captive monk in Algiers, written between 1579 and 1582; others, in contrast, maintain that Diego de Haedo was never in Africa, which agrees with information from other witnesses; others even claim that there never even existed a Diego de Haedo.

42. Cervantes, Miguel de. "Los Tratos de Argel", *Teatro Completo*, Florencia Sevilla Arroyo; Antonio Rey Hazas, eds. Barcelona: Planeta, 1987 (Cited by page and line number of this edition). This work is from 1580. It is a later expansion of the same: *Los baños de Argel* and the "Historia del cautivo" included in *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Cervantes, Miguel de. *Los baños de Argel*, Jean Canavaggio, ed. Madrid: Taurus, 1984; Cervantes, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Madrid: Imprenta de Dionisio de los Ríos, 1893: 376-396).

43. Curtius, Ernest. *Literatura europea y Edad Media latina*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1973: 1, 423-489.

44. Fernández, Enrique. *Los Tratos de Argel...*: 18; Camamis, George. *Estudios sobre el cautiverio en el Siglo de Oro*. Madrid: Gredos, 1977: 50; Teijeiro Fuentes, Miguel Ángel. *Moros y turcos en la narrativa áurea*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 1987.

45. Sosa, Antonio de. *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel*, Emilio Sola; José María Parreño, eds. Madrid: Hiperión, 1990.

46. Concerning the relation between Sosa and Haedo, see: Sola, Emilio. "Miguel de Cervantes, Antonio de Sosa y África", *Actas del I Encuentro de Historiadores del Valle del Henares, Guadalajara, Noviembre 1988*. Alcalá de Henares: Institución de Estudios Complutenses-Fundación Marqués de Santillana, 1988: 617-623; Sola, Emilio. "Antonio de Sosa: un clásico inédito amigo de Cervantes (historia y literatura)", *Actas del Primer Coloquio Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas, Alcalá de Henares, 29/30 nov. - 1/2 dic. 1988*. Barcelona: Anthropos, 1990: 409-412. Also, the studies are published in the edition of the *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel*: Parreño, José María. "Experiencia y literatura en la obra de Antonio de Sosa", *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel...*: 7-23; Sola, Emilio. "Renacimiento, contrarreforma y problema morisco en la obra de Antonio de Sosa", *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel...*: 25-52.

47. Diego Galán Escobar, native of Consuegra, left in 1589 —being 14 years old— to travel the world and was taken prisoner by the Turks. Saved by his faith, the travels became, in a certain manner, his voyage of initiation; he decided to leave testimony of his experiences. In 1620, he published a first version, *Relación del cautiverio y libertad de Diego Galán*, in which he narrates his experience without literary or doctrinal pretense. However, in the second edition of 1640, *Cautiverio y trabajos de Diego Galán*, the story is transformed into a literary text following the baroque forms of the literature of captives. Galán Escobar, Diego. *Relación del cautiverio y libertad de Diego Galán*, Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra, Matías Barchino Pérez, eds. Toledo: Diputación Provincial, 2001; Galán Escobar, Diego. *Edición crítica de Cautiverio y trabajos de Diego Galán. Manuscrito R (MS) 267 de la Biblioteca Pública de Toledo*, ed. Matías Barchino Pérez. Cuenca: Universidad Castilla-La Mancha, 2001.



they might have me burned alive, because they knew that I was an inquisitor and that I had burned renegades in the land of the Catholics".⁴⁸

The escapes are always through wastelands: hot deserts, wind and sand that make it difficult to walk or to see, bushes that prick and lacerate the body, lack of water. Upon arriving in the Christian enclaves (Oran, La Goulette) they are warmly welcomed. For example, the Cervantes tale of the escape of two captives towards the city of Oran⁴⁹ presents the narrative as a pilgrimage to the promised land; hence the flight through the desert lands that surround Algiers becomes the crossing of the deserts by the people of Israel and acquires the mystical overtones of the pilgrimage of the soul towards salvation.⁵⁰

This narrative of pilgrimage especially applies to those who have chosen the path of God, as in the case of the Discalced Carmelite, whose story takes on a uniquely universal character by being the testimony of a public and well-known figure.⁵¹

The salvation of the captives, in both body and soul,⁵² was a pastoral duty. Fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios states: "I made very careful inquiries in Tripoli, Sousse, Tunisia, Bizerte, Bône, and Algiers where there might be today more than twenty-thousand Christian captives, not including those in Constantinople, Turkey and all the kingdoms of Fez, Morocco and Tetuan".⁵³

Judging by the data which the sources provide us, the life of the Christian captives was extremely hard, given that they endured torture and humiliation of various kinds, including:

48. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 71.

49. Cervantes, Miguel de. "Los Tratos de Argel...": 1, 888, says: *Orán, la deseada tierra*.

50. Cervantes, Miguel de. "Los Tratos de Argel...": 2, 889, 1588-1593.

51. Manera Sorolla, María del Pilar. "La peregrinación autobiográfica de Anastasio – Jerónimo (Gracián de la Madre de Dios)". *Revista de Literatura*, 125 (2001): 21-38; Andrés Robres, Fernando. "Interesados creadores de opinión: trazas y piezas de *memorialismo justificativo* en la temprana producción autobiográfica española (siglos XVI y XVII). Notas para su estudio". *Manuscrits*, 23 (2005): 72, maintains that the *Peregrinación de Anastasio* is *autojustificatoria sin recato, pura apología del único ser cuerdo y capaz en un mundo de desvariados e inútiles*, "Shameless self-justification, a pure apology of a unique being, sane and capable, in a world of lawless and useless men".

52. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 36, refers to the redemption of slaves as follows: *¿Cuál premio, pues, alcanzará tal obra que no sólo favorece el cuerpo sino el alma, no libra de una sola miseria sino de todas y no ejercita una sola piedad sino todas ellas juntas?* "What prize, then, will accomplish such work that benefits not only the body but also the soul? No single pound of misery, but all miseries, and no single exercise of piety, but all of them together?"

53. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 38. See: García Arenal, Mercedes; Bunes Ibarrara, Miguel Ángel de. *Los españoles y el norte de África, siglos XV-XVIII*. Madrid: Mapfre, 1992: 212, state that Algiers came to have 25,000 captives by the middle of the sixteenth century. Martínez Torres, José. *Prisionero de los infieles...*: 23, believes that a fifth of the inhabitants of Algiers at the beginning of the seventeenth century was made up of Spanish captives, which gives some indication of the human and social dimensions of captivity. Other authors estimate that the number was much lower, not as important, and directly related to the theme of the renegades and the work of the inquisition. This thesis is defended by Rodríguez, Jarbel. *Captives and Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*: Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2007.



- Imprisonment in dark dungeons,⁵⁴ underground prisons and bath-houses
- Limited daily rations based on bread and barley
- Irons and chains on hands and feet
- Physical punishments —mostly beatings and whippings
- Moral punishments —mostly related to mockery motivated by questions of faith

The series of misfortunes began with the loss of freedom⁵⁵ —invariably a sort of uprooting. It is the captives themselves who describe their lives using differing adjectives, but with identical meaning: “rough,” “bad,” “painful,” “sad,” among others.⁵⁶ Jerónimo Gracián affirms that, “the hunger, thirst, nakedness, imprisonment, exile, disease and lack of proper burial that the Christians suffer in the lands of the infidel has no comparison with the suffering of the poorest people in the land of the Catholics”.⁵⁷

One of the greatest torments of captivity was hunger. In spite of the recognition by Muslim jurists that the slave owner owed the slave an “*añafaga*,” an upkeep which included clothing, food and lodging according to their ability,⁵⁸ virtually all accounts realized that the Christians went hungry. However, there are exceptions,

54. “dark dungeons” (*mazmorras*): Originating from the Arabic word *matmura*, “a *mazmorra* was a silo used as a dungeon”, see: Gozalbes Cravioto, Enrique. “La liberación de los últimos cautivos cristianos de Granada (1482-1492)”, *La liberazione dei “cattivi” tra Cristianità e Islam. Oltre la Crociata e il Jihad: tolleranza e servizio umanitario (Atti del Congresso interdisciplinare di studi storici, Roma, 16-19 settembre 1998)*, Giulio Cippolono, dir. Vatican: Archivo segreto Vaticano, 2000: 751.

55. García Arenal, Mercedes; Bunes Ibarra, Miguel Ángel de. *Los españoles y el Norte de África...*: 218, states that: *El cautivo es el resultado de una guerra latente nunca declarada abiertamente, que no pretende conquistar las tierras del enemigo, sino hacerle el mayor daño posible. Al mismo tiempo, es el producto de una época, presidida por unos sistemas técnicos y militares muy específicos, el engranaje de un sistema económico y el resultado de un enfrentamiento entre dos religiones monoteístas. Pero para el cautivo todas estas disquisiciones se reducen a sufrir en sus carnes las penalidades de la privación de la libertad*, “the captive was the result of a latent war, never openly declared, which did not pretend to conquer the lands of the enemy, but rather to cause the most harm possible. At the same time, it was the product of an era, ruled by very specific technical and military systems, the machinery of an economic system and the result of a clash between two monotheistic religions. However, for the captive, all these glosses were reduced to the bodily suffering of the pains of lost freedom.” This situation gave the captive a certain marginality, a characteristic feature of the captive according to Díaz Borrás, Andrés. *El miedo al Mediterráneo...*: 27-34.

56. Cossío, José de. “Cautivos de moros en el siglo XIII”. *Al-Andalus*, 7 (1942): 77, argues that considerations of the stories of captives, regarding how many punishments they suffered, are intended to pressure those who would redeem them. Martínez Torres, José Antonio. “Europa y el rescate...”: 84, believes that, in general, there is a tendency to exaggerate the sufferings experience by the captives in North African bath houses. For him, the reason for these exaggerations is that scholars have tended to analyze only the sources left by the religious charged with the task of redemption and some ex-captives who magnified the suffering of the prisoners with the intention of securing greater support for their cause.

57. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 30.

58. See: Antuña, Melchor. “Ordenanza de un cadí granadino para los habitantes del Valle de Lecrín”. *Anuario de Historia del derecho español*, 10 (1933): 128. See: Benremdane, Ahmed. “Al Yihad y la cautividad en los dictámenes jurídicos o fatwas de los alfaquíes musulmanes y de Al Wansarisi, en particular: el caso de los musulmanes y de los cristianos de Al Andalus”, *La liberazione dei “cattivi”...*: 447-455; Hasnaoui, Milouda. “La ley islámica y el rescate de los cautivos según las fatwas de al-Wansarisi e Ibn Tarkat”, *La liberazione dei “cattivi”...*: 549-558; Merchegui, Ahmed. “Les préceptes des captifs en Islam”, *La liberazione dei “cattivi”...*: 655-660.



such as Gonzalo de Madrigal, a captive in Ronda, who received from his master every day after work “sufficient amounts of the necessary things that I required.”⁵⁹

The concrete mentions of both food and the elements they used to eat are scarce. The diet was poor and inadequate and sometimes the water, also, was insufficient. By way of example, this is expressed by Diego de Sotomayor,⁶⁰ Álvaro de Olid⁶¹ as well as García da Roa.⁶² On the other hand, a Moor from Tangier gave his thirteen or fourteen Christian captives meat,⁶³ which was not common.⁶⁴

This reduced and monotonous diet⁶⁵ doubtless weakened the bodies of the captives, a situation exacerbated by hard work,⁶⁶ lack of hygiene, and excessive heat or cold. This brought disease⁶⁷ to some captives and even near or certain death, lacking the greatly desired escape, rescue or redemption. Álvaro de Olid, referring to his time in the cattle yard, expressed it thus, “every one of those days, I saw four

59. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 13r. (repeated in en AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 2v.).

60. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 61r.; who expresses the following: “And the maintainance that he gave us was very meagre, namely: brown bread and water only.” (*e el mantenimiento que nos dava era muy estrecho, conviene saber: salvados e agua sola*).

61. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 47r.

62. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 62v. See: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 47r: *E, de otra parte, tanta era la fanbre que padescían, que estauan todos desmayados e syn fuerças, ca la ración para todo el día a cada vno dellos dauan, era vno o dos paneçillos de panizo negros commo carbón, cada uno de los quales era tamanno commo la meytad de la mano*, “And, on the other hand, so great was the hunger that they suffered, they were all faint and without strength. The ration for an entire day that they received was one or two small loaves of bread, black as charcoal, each one was only the size of half of a hand.”

63. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 97r.

64. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 44 suggests that when a Turk is generous, he is looking for sexual pleasure: *¿De qué sirve que tú resistas a lo que el sotacómitre nos pidió el otro día? Ello ha de ser por fuerza y aquí nos dan a comer quanto queremos; ¿quieres que nos lleven a la mezanía con esos otros desventurados que los tienen en carnes con esposas a las manos y no les dan bizcocho ni agua? Oye como están gimiendo*, “What good does it do to resist that which the slave driver asked of us the other day? It must be done by force, and here they give us as much as we want to eat; do you want them to take us to the mezanía with those other hapless victims who they have shackled by the hands and do not even give them biscuits and water? Hear how they moan.”

65. Generic references to the shortage and lack of variety in the food are abundant. For some examples, see: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 61r.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 50v.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 52v.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 113r.

66. Álvaro de Olid, remembers his stay in the corral of Granada: *Estauan en el dicho corral fasta trezientos e çinquenta captiuos, que juro por Dios que alguno dellos non tenía figura de onbre, ca non tenían syn non el cuero e el hueso, bien assí como reyes que están mirrados. E sy los mirasen desde la vnna del pie fasta los cabellos, les podría contar quantos huesos en el cuerpo tenían porque tanto era el trabajo que tenían continuamente, asy en las pascuas delos moros e otras fiestas suyas en las quales non les dexauan folgar*, “They were up to thirty-five captives in that corral; I swear to God that few of them did not look famished. They were nothing but skin and bone, even so, they are looked at like kings. And if they looked at one from the feet to the hair, they would be able to count the bones in his body, because there was so much work that they had continuously, even during the feasts of the Moor and other of their holidays, they did not allow them to stop”. See: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 47r. This text seems to have been edited, since on the actual line, it says: *tenían*, while between the lines it says: *pasauan*.

67. Like the tumors (or *bubas*) that attacked Juan Saldaña, related in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 242v.



or five of the said captives buried; those who died of hunger."⁶⁸ Jerónimo Gracián maintained that conditions were even more burdensome for those rowing the galleys and ships.⁶⁹

The data referring to how and with what implements they ate is practically non-existent. In one story, it is said that Pedro, being a captive in Turkey, used the remnants of broken glass from a cup to cut his bonds,⁷⁰ but nothing more.

Another element that made the captive life painful were the houses where the captives spent their days and, especially, their nights: gloomy dungeons, usually underground, characterized by lack of light or ventilation, damp, smelly, and dirty, where overcrowding was the norm.⁷¹ Rescued captives, however, remained locked in bath-houses, which were always crowded and unclean. The texts give testimony of these captives, who could be redeemed or traded for cash. Many of the stories provide accounts of the practice of barter. Thus Juan de Huete was sold to Mohamed Albany, whose son was a prisoner in Ubeda, held by Alfonso Sanchez de Cazorla.⁷² This necessity reached the point where slaves were sold at the same price on both sides of the border: this is the case with Bartolomé Rodríguez, who was bought by Yuçaf Ejanin for seven pieces of cloth and one-hundred doubloons, exactly the same price paid for his son, a captive of the Christians of Alcalá.⁷³

Jerónimo Gracián recounts his own sufferings:

In the year 1593, on the tenth of October, returning from Sicily to preach and embarking on a frigate from Gaeta to Rome, just at Monte Cerzel, only two leagues from where we started, at ten in the morning we encountered a galley of Turks who took me captive. All at once I found myself naked, imprisoned and stripped

68. *cada día de aquellos vi enterrar quatro o çinco de los dichos captiuos, los quales morían de fanbre*, AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 47r.

69. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 30, *El ordinario sustento que les dan cuando están en tierra son solos dos panes pequeños de cebada trigo muy negro, y en el mar, cuando bogan el remo, bizcocho negro, hediondo y muy escaso. Y como de ordinario las galeotas de corsarios andan huyendo y robando en las costas de católicos, no tienen aquella comodidad para hacer el agua que tienen las galeras de cristianos, y así acaee muchas veces desfallecer en el remo por el hambre y sed*, "The ordinary sustenance given to them when they are on land is only two small loaves of bread made from barley and very black wheat; at sea, when they work the oars, they receive black biscuits, both very slight and foul smelling. And as usual, the pirate galleys, always fleeing and stealing along the Catholic coasts, do not have that comfort of preparing (fresh) water like the Christian galleys, and thus it happens frequently that they die at the oars of hunger and thirst."

70. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 32v.

71. In the dungeon of the Corral of slaves in Granada, there were three hundred and fifty slaves imprisoned, as described in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 47r. Rodrigo Alonso, captured in Almuñécar, was brought to Fez and housed in a dungeon along with four-hundred other captives, as described in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 5r. In Tunisia, the number of Christian captives was high; ships constantly arrived at their shores laden with men women and children deprived of their liberty. Jerónimo Gracián, during his first few months of captivity, provides a story of the details of these wretched figures; he concludes abruptly: *y hacíame tanta lástima ver venir cada día tanto que dejé de hacer esta curiosidad*, "and it pained me so much to see them come every day; so many that I ceased to have this curiosity. See: Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 56.

72. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 113r.

73. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 122v.



of my most prized possession, namely several papers on the doctrine of the spirit which had been written with great care and brought to print in Rome; it pained me, as was right, to see the Turks cleaning their rifles with them (...) We arrived in Bicerta, the port of the Barbary coast, where they made me claim I was an archbishop on my way to Rome to become a Cardinal. As this voice continued, they sent me to the Pasha of Tunisia. (...) arriving in Tunisia, they threw me some common *traviesas*, which would be like two pairs of shackles in Christian lands, and they stuck me in the bath-house or the dungeon, which is the prison of the captives.⁷⁴

Dungeons, bath houses, cellars and prisons were, for the captives, representations of hell, as described by various characters like Jerónimo Münzer.⁷⁵

At times, private homes also served to house prisoners. In these cases, the conditions could improve, though not much, according to several witnesses. Juan Pérez de Urriate and Juan Sánchez de Tarifa, both prisoners in Tangiers, suffered great "afflictions" (aflicción) from the hard work that they had to perform in the gardens outside the house of the rich mufti, owner of several Christians, all of whom he made sleep in dungeons or in a separate house, all with "stocks and shackles."⁷⁶ Juan Fernandes describes the house in which he slept in the following manner:

the house where I stayed and slept in that stock was so small that it was barely six paces in length and three in width. In it, there lived and slept his master and four sons, together with three oxen, one mare and a colt, and the stocks where I was and the arms of a windmill kept in such a manner that there was no room for it to turn.⁷⁷

74. El año de 1593, a 10 de octubre, volviendo de predicar de Sicilia y embarcándome en una fragata en Gaeta para Roma, junto a Monte Cerzel, como dos leguas de donde salimos, a las diez de la mañana nos encontró una galeota de turcos que me cautivaron. Y en un punto me ví desnudo, aprisionado y despojado de lo que más pudiera tener codicia, que eran unos papeles de doctrina de espíritu que había escrito con mucho trabajo y llevaba para imprimir en Roma, sintiendo, como era razón, ver que los turcos limpiaban con ellos sus escopetas (...) Llegamos a Bicerta, puerto de Berbería, donde me levantaron que era arzobispo que iba a Roma a ser cardenal. Y como corrió esta vos, envié por mí el Bajá de Túnez (...) Llegados a Túnez echáronme unas traviesas comunes, que serán como dos pares de grillos de tierras de cristianos, y metieronme en el baño o mazmorra, que es la cárcel de los cautivos (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 68-70). In this bath house, he calculates the number of overcrowded Christian captives to be six hundred. His stay in the house was prolonged, since his ransom was set at 30,000 ducats of gold, because he was considered a *papaz*, that is to say, a person of high ecclesiastical rank like a great archbishop of an inquisitor. (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 72) Finally, his ransom was paid by a Jew who delivered the sum of 1,300 ducats of gold. (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 76).

75. Münzer, Jerónimo. *Viaje por España y Portugal (1494-1495)*, Ramón Alba, ed. Madrid: Polifemo, 1991: 93.

76. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 97r.

77. *la casa donde el estava e dormía en aquel cepo era tan pequeña que apenas se avía e nella de longura seys pasadas e en anchura tres e en ella moravan e durmían juntamente su amo e quatro hijos e tres bueyes e una yugua e un potro e el cepo donde el estava e un molinillo de braço en tal manera que no avía donde se pudiesen revolver* (AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 4, f. 128v).



Such descriptions give us an image of cramped living, common in the lives of captives.

In these “homes,” the bed clothes were nonexistent the majority of the time. When there was bedding, it was limited to a mat of hay, covered with animal skins—generally sheep or ram. This was the experience of many captives who told of having only a blanket, *un alquicer*.⁷⁸ Or, as told of Fernando de Torres, Antón de Sevilla, García, Juan de Valencia and Juan de Ribadeo, “they slept on broom-straw and skins”.⁷⁹ In the bath houses of Tunisia there were “beds of reeds” (*camas de zarzos*).⁸⁰ The captives went to bed naked, covered by their own clothes thrown over the ground, bound by hands and feet and with a rope around their necks, barely covered by a robe (*un albormoz*).⁸¹ Even the captives in Granada waiting to be purchased went without clothing, according to the sources: “and they had their flesh outside, and none in the dungeons where they slept had any clothing in which to lie down, except on the ground”.⁸²

As for clothing, they usually went about in rags: they wore long shirts repeatedly patched⁸³ regardless of the weather, the work performed or their age or sex. Their feet were barely covered with hemp sandals.⁸⁴ Alejo Rogrigues tells that his master “first went removing all of my clothes, including my shoes, and then clothed me in a poor broken and abused garment;” he made him work with his horse.⁸⁵

In agreement with these descriptions, Gracián tells how: “every now and then they gave them a vest and a cloak of coarse cloth or rough fiber that served for all their clothing and for sleeping at night”.⁸⁶

In addition to the deprivation of food, hygiene, clothing and space for privacy—whether for rest or for leisure—the captives were forced to endure another type of captivity: the irons and chains that bound them to prevent them from fleeing. Miracle stories explicitly describe particular types of bonds: stocks, logs or racks over the neck, hands cuffed, chained or tied to sticks, feet secured with bricks or irons of various weights. Generally, several of these restraints accompanied the captives during work days, which took place—most of the time—in fields or gardens outside the cities.

78. The *alquicer* is an item of Moorish clothing like a cape, usually white and made of wool, but could also be a piece of rough cloth used to cover benches, tables or beds as occurs in this story from Guadalupe.

79. *dormían sobre escobas y pellejos*, AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 76r.

80. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 70, he gives them the name *cribete*.

81. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 65r. This is what happens to Juan de la Serna after being recently captured in Alibarrax (Benamaurel).

82. *e tenían las carnes de fuera, e nin en las mazmorras donde dormían tenían alguna ropa en que se acostase, saluo en el suelo* (AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 47r).

83. Ferreira, Ana. *Problemas marítimos entre Portugal e a França na primeira metade do século XVI*. Cascais: Patrimonia, 1995: 356-357.

84. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 47r.

85. *aviendome primero quitado todos mis vestidos hasta los çapatos, e vistiendome con una pobre vestidura rrota e maltrata* (AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 5, f. 114v).

86. *Muy de tarde en tarde les dan por vestidura un chaleco y un capote de sayal o herbaje muy áspero que les sirve de todo vestido y para dormir de noche* (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 30).



Similar situations are found in the Treatise:

the jails in the lands of the Christians are sufferable and the restraints, tolerable. But the bath houses, ships, dungeons and prisons in which the Turks guard their captives, and the great weight of the irons that they throw on them with which they must work, the stench, darkness, narrowness and filth of them and the imprisonment on the galley is insufferable, because one rows with chains on the feet and hands cuffed.⁸⁷

But the hardest part of captivity was undoubtedly the physical punishments⁸⁸ that they suffered: floggings, a wide range of beatings, insults and injuries of different caliber —sticks and more refined tortures.⁸⁹ These torments were pursued for various ends, among which was highlighted the attempt to break the resistance of the captive and intents to convert them to Islam.⁹⁰ In the latter case, there were also other means used, such as the promise of riches —horses, women, silver, precious stones, and freedom.⁹¹

87. *Las cárceles de tierra de cristianos son sufribles y las prisiones, tolerables, mas los baños, sagenas, mazmorras y calabozos en que los turcos guardan sus cautivos, y el gran peso de hierro que les echan con que les hacen trabajar, la hediondez, oscuridad, estrechura e inmundicia de ellas y la prisión de la galera no son sufrideras, porque de ordinario bogan con cadenas a los pies y esposas a las manos* (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 31).

88. The number of texts that tell of these torments is innumerable; it even appears included in true martyrdoms, such as the case of Diego Becerra, as described in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 104v. (repetido en AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 34v.) or Diego de Sotomayor, as described in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 61r.

89. These included placing burning fat on their back or also a pot of water with a little hole that dripped directly over the eyes of the captives. See: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 76r.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 4r.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 5r. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 53, described it in these words: *Y comúnmente hablando, por ocasiones de poco momento les suelen dar tanto palo o bastonadas en la barriga, espinazo y plantas de los pies con un palo muy duro o nervio seco de buey, que muchos mueren debajo del bastón, o quedan estropeados*, “and, generally speaking, with little provocation, they tended to give such strikes or beatings to the stomach, spine, and on the bottoms of the feet with a hard stick or dry cow’s rib, that many died under the cane or remained badly hurt.”

90. Salicrú i Lluch, Roser. “En busca de una liberación alternativa: fugas y apostasía en la Corona de Aragón bajomedieval”, *La liberazione dei “captivi”...*: 703-709 refers to these attempts as “inducements for conversion”, *inducción para la conversión*.

91. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 52v.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 162r.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 32v.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 95v. This type of offer turned the captive into a renegade and, according to the testimony of Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios, was fairly effective, given that the change in their way of life was immediate. By way of example, see the following paragraph: *De los muchachos y mozos desbarbados por maravilla se escapa alguno; porque, aunque sea un grumete o el más bajo y pobre, le compran los turcos con excesivo precio para sus maldades, y de tan mal principio fácil es la herejía. Luego encomprándole, le visten ricamente y le regalan con comidas y halagos, persuadiéndole se vuelva turco. Y con la turbación del cautiverio y el temor de lo que ve padecer a otros cristianos, fácilmente se convence* “Of the boys and young men, some miraculously escaped; even though they were boys or the lowest of poor, the Turks bought them at an excessive price for their baseness; heresy is easy with such bad principles. Then, having bought them, they dress them richly and give them food and flattery, persuading them to become Turkish. And with the disturbance of captivity and the fear of that which



The fear of death, the brutal punishments and the introduction of informants or “talkers” (who received the promise of freedom in the third year of service) contributed to the subjugation of the prisoners.⁹²

Physical abuse was accompanied by taunts and insults. Among the latter, “dog” and “Jew” stand out, but there are also other terms like “starved”, “voracious”, and “impure”.⁹³ Here again we can observe the use of language as an active force —as a means to control the faithful by, “shaping opinion”.⁹⁴

Marta Madero stresses that the word “dog” or “*can*,” the same word as wolf, applied equally to Jews and Moors; the choice was mutual, given that the Jews used the word to refer to idolaters and the Muslims to refer to the Christians.⁹⁵

These negative connotations for the derogatory word “dog”,⁹⁶ do not correspond to the descriptions of Greco-Latin authors or with the tradition of medieval bestiaries. Rather it is found in the Bible, which presents the wolf as a voracious or ravenous animal, both despicable and impure.⁹⁷

Usually, other humiliations accompanied these insults; among others, there appear the stripping of beards, as happened to several nobleman taken captive in Tangiers,⁹⁸ Álvaro Pérez, a resident of Malaga, and also to Pedro de Coria⁹⁹ as Diego de Angulo relates: “strikes, slapping and tearing of the beard”.¹⁰⁰

they see other Christians suffer, they are easily convinced.” See: Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 43-44.

92. Gómez de Losada, Gabriel. *Escuela de trabajos y cautiverio en Argel*. Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1670: f. 52 and following. This Mercedarian monk traveled to Algiers as a redeemer on two occasions.

93. In this respect, see: Madero, Marta. *Manos violentas, palabras vedadas. La injuria en Castilla y León (Siglos XII-XV)*. Madrid: Taurus, 1992: 150-155 and Cipollone, Giulio. *Cristianità-Islam. Cattività e Liberazione in Nome di Dio. Il Tempo di Innocenzo III dopo 'il 1187'*. Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1992: 134. She presents a comparative chart of the insults exchanged between Christians and Muslims.

94. Arranz Guzmán, Ana. “El clero”, *Orígenes de la Monarquía Hispánica. Propaganda y legitimación (ca. 1400-1520)*, José Manuel Nieto Soria, dir. Madrid: 1999: 164. For the theme of the “evil fables” (*fablas malas*) see the thought provoking book of: Casagrande, Carla; Vecchio, Silvia. *I Peccati della lingua: disciplina e etica della parola nella cultura medievale*. Rome: Instituto Della Enciclopedia italiana, 1987.

95. Madero, Marta. *Manos violentas...*: 151-152. The claims of this author can be confirmed in the texts. Such as, for example, in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 39r. The Moor Hamete, mayor of Taraga, refers to his captive, Alonso Cantero, in the following manner: *yo te enbiaré, don perro, a do mueras en prisiones, e veremos si te saca tu Sancta María*, “I will send you, sir dog, to die in prison, and we will see if your Saint Mary will get you out”.

96. Rodríguez, Gerardo. “Esos perros moros. Ecos de la polémica cristiano-islámica en Los Milagros de Guadalupe (España, Siglo XV)”, *Actas de las X Jornadas de Historia de Europa “Saber, Pensar, Hacer. Del saber intelectual la hacer cotidiano a través de la Historia”*, María Guillermina Antonuchi, Jorge Estrella, Gerardo Rodríguez, eds. Mar de Plata: Asociación Argentina de Profesores Universitarios de Historia de Europa (APUHE)-el Departamento de Historia de la Facultad de Humanidades-Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, 2001.

97. Rodríguez, Gerardo. “Esos perros moros...”: 152. See: Rodríguez, Gerardo. “Denominar y denostar. La injuria en *Los Milagros de Guadalupe* (España, siglo XV)”, *Actas de las Terceras Jornadas Internacionales de Historia de España*. Buenos Aires: Fundación para la Historia de España, 2004-2005: 115-126.

98. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 76r.

99. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 5, f. 10r. (Repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 6, f. 15v.).

100. “*açotes, bofetadas, repelones de barba*,” AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 5, f. 52r. (Repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 6, f. 42v.).



Humiliation and punishment brought the captives to the verge of apostasy, turning them into renegades.¹⁰¹ Thus it was necessary to maintain them in their faith; this was one of the labors, perhaps the principal labor, of the missionaries in North Africa.¹⁰² The presence of clerics amongst the captives avoided doctrinal deviation, boosted confidence in future release and strengthened the religious bonds in this society forcibly transplanted to the heart of North Africa. Healing bodies and comforting souls was their mission,

It pains us, Father, to see you in this state, that, if it is not death, there could be no more disastrous occurrence. But who knows whether God has brought you for the good of our souls, and so be careful with them! Find our salvation and be not concerned with the treatment of your person! We will not allow harm to come to you.¹⁰³

The captives were subjected to all kinds of labors, both domestic crafts and rural work.¹⁰⁴ In general, they had to cut and carry firewood, sawing wood, threshing, reaping, harvesting and grinding grain, plowing, carding, loading horses, shearing sheep, etc. All of these tasks involved “great tribulations,” as described by Alfonso, a captive in Ronda who was obligated to work in, “a wasteland” (*un barvecho*).¹⁰⁵ And

101. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 27 maintains, in his dedication to Pope Clement VIII, that if the captives are forgotten, *ponen algunos de ellos por ocasión de renegar y apostatar de la fe que profesaron, y después de haber renegado son los que más daño hacen en la cristiandad*, “they will force some of them to become renegades or apostates of the faith that they profess; and after having become a renegade, they are those who cause the greatest harm to Christianity.” A similar image of the renegade can be found in: Rodríguez, Gerardo. “El cautiverio como reflejo de la Pasión y del martirio. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*. Transcripción y análisis del Milagro N°129 (Codex 1, f. 104v.)”, *Hombres, ideas y realizaciones. II Encuentro de Estudios Medievales*, Hugo Basualdo Miranda, Graciela Gómez, comps. San Juan: Universidad de San Juan, 2004: 483-498.

102. Trinitarians, Mercedarians, Franciscans, and Carmelites moved forward these “missionary actions to avoid doctrinal deviation.” “acción misional para evitar desviaciones doctrinales”. Even Jerónimo Gracián went on a mission in Morroca in 1601. See: Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 13, note 3. The fifth chapter of the *Tratado* (p. 59-67) is dedicated to the saints that gave everything to rescue captives. (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 59-67).

103. Pésanos, Padre, *de verle en este estado, que si no es la muerte no hay otro más desastrado suceso. Mas quién sabe si Dios no le ha traído para el bien de nuestras almas, y según esto tenga cuidado con ellas, procure nuestra salvación, y del trato de su persona no tenga pena, que no le dejaremos mal pasar*, (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 70).

104. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 53: *El trabajo ordinario que tienen en mar y tierra es insufrible. Nuca se compadecen de ellos los patrones, aunque los vean reventar. Mándanles hacer cosas incompatibles, sin mirar más comodidad en lo que mandan que seguir su propio apetito. El mejor nombre que de su boca se oyen es chupeque, que quiere decir perro de los más viles, y finalmente parece ser imposible conservarse la naturaleza con lo que allí se padece*, “The ordinary labor that they perform on land and at sea is insufferable. Their masters never take pity on them, even when they seem ready to die of exhaustion. They force them to do unsuitable things without looking for greater convenience in that which they demand than to pursue their own appetites. The best name that can be heard from their mouth is *chupeque*, which means most vile dog; and finally, it seems impossible to preserve their character with what is suffered there.”

105. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 43v. (repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 150r.).



also by Juan de la Serna, who had to “collect *atocha*, which is needle grass when it is green, for the horses of his master,” while in Vélez de la Gomera.¹⁰⁶

The work was a daily activity for the captives, since their owners took advantage of their strength and their capacity as “slaves” while waiting to reap the profits of the rescue.¹⁰⁷

For example, Álvaro Fernández stated that the captives lived a difficult life because of the work and the irons, “they suffered great torments and labors, not only for the things that they were forced to do every day, but even more for the great shackles that they carried”.¹⁰⁸

These heavy chains accompanied the captives daily and, in and of themselves, represented the life in captivity to such an extent that those who managed to flee usually brought the “irons” to sanctuaries where they functioned as votive offerings. Such is the case with Gonzalo de Madrigal, captive in Ronda, who brought “very strong shackles” (*muy fuertes prisyonnes*)¹⁰⁹ to the monastery of Guadalupe. Gabriel Tetzl, contemplating the huge quantity of bonds and chains that the rescued captives brought to the monastery, wrote, “I estimate that the irons brought here by the captives could not be transported even by two hundred carts”.¹¹⁰

Another of the travails of the captives was to row in the galleys,¹¹¹ a difficult practice not only because of the characteristic ailments of those who habitually travel the high seas—scurvy, fever, plague and respiratory illnesses— but also because of the dangers associated with sea battles, shipwrecks and maltreatment: “my owner, Pasha Mamí, put a mace of iron in the head of one poor captive because he grew too tired to rowing”.¹¹²

Equally distressing was working in the mines, building walls or other public buildings. This work consisted of breaking stones and mashing lime. The testimony of Diego de Sotomayor, a captive along with four other men in Valona, Turkey, re-

106. *coger atocha, que es el esparto quando está verde, para los caualllos de sus sennor*, AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 65r.

107. People who, because of their elevated social status, waited for a profitable rescue in a short time could be excused from these labors.

108. *pasavan grand tormento e trabajo non solamente por las cosas que de cada dia les mandavan faser mas por las grandes prisiones que trayan* (AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 41v.). See: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 13r. (repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 2 v.); AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 46 (repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 153v.); AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 61r.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 104v.; AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 108v.

109. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 13r. (repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 2v.).

110. *figúraseme que el hierro traído aquí por los cautivos no podría ser transportado ni por doscientos carros* (Tetzl, Gabriel. *Cinco peregrinos viejos que tratan de Guadalupe, Virgen y Mártir. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, Vicente Barrantes, ed. Badajoz, 1895: 198, cited in: García, Sebastián; Trenado, Felipe. *Guadalupe: historia, devoción y arte*. Sevilla: Editorial Católica Española, 1978: 391).

111. Gosse, Philip. *Los corsarios berberiscos...*: 82-86, believes that the luck of the captives was extremely bad in the case of the galleys and for those employed in public works.

112. *Mi patrón, Mamí Bajá, dio con una maza de hiero en la cabeza a un pobre cautivo porque se cansó en el remo* (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 52).



flects this situation: “thus we passed a terrible life as we each carried a great stock on our feet, with which during the day we had to work in the caves and on the walls of the said city”.¹¹³

However, the surroundings in which they performed their daily tasks as well as their tools created spaces and elements conducive to flight. Thus, Pedro de Valdivieso took advantage of needing to go to the plain of Granada to pick figs when he threatened the Moor who accompanied him with a knife and fled toward Huelma.¹¹⁴ Likewise, Juan de Huete killed the Moor who worked with him in a vineyard to be able to flee towards Christian lands.¹¹⁵ Álvaro de Olid y Gonzalo stole both a horse and a lance in order to flee from his captivity.¹¹⁶ Other captives cut their irons or chains with a file,¹¹⁷ a knife,¹¹⁸ a sickle,¹¹⁹ or even a small chisel,¹²⁰ that they had previously stolen from their masters.

Captives and renegades carried out all the useful tasks that the Moor or the Turk needed. According to Gracián,

In truth, whoever has experienced the things of the Barbary coast will understand clearly that if it were not for the cause of the Christian captives, the Turks would have very little or no power to do us harm. Because by sea, all their sinew is in the Christians at the oars, for the Turkish galleys armed with jackals—that is what they call slaves of the galleys who are Turkish, Greek or Moorish—are worth nothing. And on land, the Christian petty officers and those who have rebelled are all that give them strength, and without them they would have neither weapons nor industry. Hence I conclude that the redemption of captives or the prevention of their capture would be to hamstring this great enemy of the Christian faith.¹²¹

Women were a special case. While their numbers were small (thought to be only 10% of the total captured), these captives did not live in the bath houses but in the homes of their masters; the younger and more attractive were chosen as concubines

113. *como passassemos muy mala vida por quanto trayamos a los pies cada uno unos grillos grandes, con los cuales de día nos hacía trabajar en las cavas e murallas de la dicha cibdat* (AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 61r).

114. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 136r.

115. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 113r.

116. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 47r y AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 133r.

117. Such is the case of Rodrigo, captive in Vélez, according to the testimony of: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 50v.

118. In this way, Martín Rolano fled, according to: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 71r.

119. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 168v. So fled Juan de Jaén and Juan Calderón.

120. Alfonso de Castro left behind his shackles in Marchena using this tool, according to: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 8v.

121. *A la verdad, quien tuviere experiencia de las cosas de Berbería, entenderá claramente que si no es por causa de los cristianos cautivos muy poca o ninguna fuerza tienen los turcos para hacernos daño. Porque por mar todo su nervio son los cristianos del remo, que las galeras turquesas armadas de chacales, que así llaman al los galeotes turcos, moros o griegos, no valen nada. Y por tierra, los cristianos de la maestranza y los que han remegado son los que les dan toda la fortaleza, que sin ellos ni tendrían armas ni industria. De donde concluyo que el redimir cautivos o impedir que no lo sean es desjarretar este gran enemigo de la fe cristiana.* (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 58).



and, in many cases, were forced to apostatize in order to become wives of their masters.

The characters in the accounts of Guadalupe are, almost exclusively, men, despite the large number of children¹²² and women placed in captivity.¹²³ Both José Rodríguez Molina¹²⁴ and Carmen Argente del Castillo Ocaña¹²⁵ maintain that the lower numbers of female captives is owed to the fact that women were dedicated to domestic activities which took place far from the border.

The texts studied show some cases or testimonies of children and women as captives. I will look at those of Olalla Sánchez and her daughter, captives in Granada,¹²⁶ Mayor González, captive in Orán,¹²⁷ Rodrigo de Berrio and his son Francisco,¹²⁸ Martín Díaz, from Fiñana, with his wife and daughter,¹²⁹ Dieguito, son of Diego del Valle de Illescas, page to the captain Arnaldo,¹³⁰ and Mari Sánchez as well as ten other devout pilgrim women.¹³¹

The case of Mayor Gonzales took on great symbolic significance in the context of Guadalupe, because this captive offered testimony—given that she was a witness— of the recognition of the Truth. This double testimony-witness role can be linked with the larger testamentary tradition, in particular with the role of Mary Magdalene on Easter Morning.¹³² It could even be linked with the Christian gospel

122. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 45 asserts that children are not rescued, because of which they easily fall into apostasy. This discussion can be seen in the lengthy story conserved in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 4, f. 15r., which narrates the tale of the captivity of Francisco, a ten year old child. He became a Moor in Málaga, with the name Bixer.

123. Salicrú i Lluch, Roser. "En busca de una liberación alternativa: fugas y apostasía en la Corona de Aragón bajomedieval", *La liberazione dei "captive"...*: 708-709, asserts that for the Crown of Aragon, *son bastante excepcionales los casos de fugas de cautivas*, "the cases of women fleeing from captivity are fairly exceptional", in spite of an elevated number of them. Several different reasons can be put forward to explain this "absence:" female weakness, rapid integration into the host society—as wives or concubines, the frontier as the setting for essentially masculine work and battles. For some historians of the American colonial frontiers— Carlos Mayor, Raúl Mandrini, and Susan Socolow, among others—this silence is related to the establishment of kinship ties, that is to say, with intermarriage. In this respect, see: Operé, Fernando. *Historias de la frontera: el cautiverio en la América hispánica*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001.

124. Rodríguez Molina, José. *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*. Jaén: Alcalá, 2007: 84.

125. Argente Del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos en la frontera entre Jaén y Granada", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada. Actas del IV Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza, Almería, 1985*, Cristina Segura Graiño, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 213-215.

126. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 40v.

127. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 142v.

128. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 4, f. 15r.

129. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 5, f. 4r. (repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 6, f. 12v.).

130. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 5, f. 65r. (repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 6, f. 61).

131. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 5, f. 119v. (repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 6, f. 122v.).

132. *Mateo* 28, 1-15; *Marco* 16, 1-8; *Lucas* 24, 1-11; *Juan* 20, 1-18. See: Pinto-Mathieu, Élisabeth. *Marie-Madeleine dans la littérature du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Beauchesne, 1997: 199-209, where she emphasizes the "initial and final role" played by Mary Magdalene in the context of the Passion.



of Saint Luke, as “witnesses of the life of Jesus”.¹³³ The same could be said of Martín Díaz and his daughter, who witnessed the resurrection of her mother, placed dead on a cross, from which she came down alive upon arriving in Mortil. This testimony, despite the differences with the biblical account, can be compared to the witnessing of the empty tomb—something that is repeated in other texts.

This fact is important given that as we approach the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the number of texts increased that contained stories of captives who had not been seen for three days and who are then “reborn-revived” (*renacer-resucitan*) in Christian lands. For example, this occurred to Alvar Pérez, a citizen of Malaga, and also to Pedro de Coria, both captured in Granada and then sent on to Tetuan.¹³⁴

Dieguito was captured as a boy of fourteen; he was taken away and dressed in the manner of the Turks. They even threw him into a deep silo one night for him to die. However, his faith in Our Lady of Guadalupe saved him; next, they threw him into a well without water or food, but the Virgin interceded again. The story says that, “she gave him food,” (*dióle de comer*), in this context implying spiritual food—something that many captives lacked as Jerónimo Gracián bitterly recounts.¹³⁵ Even the Moors recognized the wonders wrought by the Virgin¹³⁶ and afterward began treating Dieguito more like a captive, sending him to the dungeon.

The existence of two societies in constant confrontation enabled the development of “frontier men” (*hombres de frontera*), whose lives were characterized by instability and insecurity. The situation created a permanent tension between life and death, liberty and captivity, that helped to shape attitudes and mentalities. One typical feature of these men and women was the profound religiosity that they expressed in their daily lives; a religiosity that in turn gave rise to a series of devotions and manifestations of the divine. Together these constituted a source of comfort in the face of defeat and encouragement against adversity.

Captivity, understood as an extreme situation, generated trust both in God as the source of salvation and redemption and in the Virgin Mother, under the patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe, as a mediator and effective advocate. The prayers, promises

133. The story contained in this folio relates a form of the *Imitatio Christi*. See: Barrios Delgado, Dominique. “Testigo”. *Diccionario Enciclopédico de la Biblia*. Barcelona: Herder, 1993: 1504-1505.

134. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 5, f. 10r. (repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 6, f. 15v.).

135. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...: 39-40*, speaks of the youths and maidens who became Moors to better their daily lives. He also says that after having been bought, *le vistieron ricamente y le regalaban con comidas y con halagos, persuadiéndole se vuelva turco*, “they dressed them richly and give them food and flattery, persuading them to become Turks” (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...: 44*).

136. *Y los más entendidos de los moros, y que eran tenido por más sabios y letrados entre ellos, viendo estos milagros y la fe la osadía y constancia de este niño, decían espantados que esto era gran cosa y cierta señal del fin de su Ley mahomética, y que poco había de durar*, “and the most knowledgeable of the Moors, and those who were held to be the wisest and most learned among them, seeing these miracles and the faith, daring, and constancy of the child, said fearfully that this was a great thing and a certain sign of the end of the law of Mohamed and that there was little time left” (AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 5, f. 65r repeated in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 6, f. 61).



and appearances testified to in the texts illuminate the deep devotion and faith that existed in the world of the captives.

Because of the fame of her miracles, devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe extended through all the kingdoms of the peninsula and beyond, even including Portugal, France, England and Germany. In the border regions, this veneration took on a specific tone, being directly linked with the redemption of Christian captives from the hands of the enemies of the faith.¹³⁷

Prayers to the Virgin almost became the litany prayed by the faithful: Queen of Heaven, Mother of Mercy, Fountain of Grace, Advocate and Refuge of sinners, Gate of Heaven, Praise of the Angels, Joy of the Saints, Refreshment of the Tormented, Consolation and Joy to the Miserable, Star of the Sea, Source of Mercy and Compassion, Sweet Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, Constant Hope of the Afflicted, sweetest spring, cooling shade, Mother of Life.¹³⁸

These prayers came accompanied by petitions—for freedom, the end of captivity, a return to the land of the Christians—in exchange for which prisoners made a promise: to go to the monastery on pilgrimage or procession, carrying their bonds,¹³⁹ to serve the work of the Hieronymite monks during a specific length of time—from a few days to several months, depending on the case.¹⁴⁰ They also promised a variety of offerings, usually wax to be consumed at the altar of the Virgin, or alms,¹⁴¹ along with various other specific promises, including not shaving the beard, or amending of sinful ways as a sign of gratitude.¹⁴²

However, captivity also produced deviations and heresy. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios believed that North Africa, “lacked doctrine” (*falta doctrina*), “because

137. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 65, recognizes the importance of this devotion.

138. These expressions, taken from the stories of Guadalupe, find a poetic version in: San José, Francisco de. *Historia Universal de la Primitiva y Milagrosa Imagen de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, fundación y grandezas de su Santa Casa y algunos milagros que ha hecho en el presente siglo*. Madrid: Antoni Marín, 1743. It is interesting to note that the diocesan synods of Castile-Leon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries called Mary by these same names, as demonstrated in: Soto Rábanos, José. “María en los sínodos diocesanos de León y Castilla (Siglos XIV-XV)”, *Religiosidad Popular en España. Actas del Simposium (I), San Lorenzo del Escorial, 01 al 04 de septiembre de 1997*, Francisco Javier Campos, Fernández de Sevilla, coord. San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ediciones Escorialenses-R.C.U. Esorial-M^a Cristina, 1997: I, 335-341.

139. This is the promise that is found in one form or another almost constantly in the sources. The irons are left in the nave and on the columns of the temple as an external manifestation of the miracle. Today, the memory of them remains at the gate that separates the altar from the principal nave of the church; the gate was constructed in Valladolid in 1512 by order of father Francisco de Salamanca and father Juan de Ávila, using the irons and chains deposited in the monastery by the captives. See: Álvarez, Arturo. *Guadalupe: arte, historia y devoción mariana*. Madrid: Studium, 1964: 176-177.

140. Chinchilla, a squire from Úbeda, offered two days, as described in: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 3, f. 30v. Alternatively, Iñigo de Mendaño, from Santiago de Galicia, promised to serve for the duration of two months, according to: AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 2, f. 58r.

141. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 30, *bien le cae a la limosna el nombre de redentora, porque todas las partes de la limosna y todas las obras de misericordia se suman y encierran en redimir cautivos*, “thus the name of redemption falls to charity, because all parts of charity and all the works of mercy are added together and bound in the redemption of captives”.

142. AG. *Los Milagros de Guadalupe*, codex 1, f. 162v.



in the Catholic lands, there is good doctrine and the bad is not allowed, but among the captives, I found new errors and doctrine so perverse that it took much work to uproot only some of it".¹⁴³

In order to correct or avoid these errors,¹⁴⁴ it was necessary to "be vigilant and to punish", (*vigilar y castigar*). In the words of the Carmelites, they "lacked counsel", just as much as they "lacked punishment," (*falta castigo*). Hence the need for the presence of the Church¹⁴⁵ and the functioning of the inquisition, which defended the Church on several occasions.¹⁴⁶ Beatriz Alonso Acero worked for the Inquisition in the Spanish plazas of North Africa—even though none of them had their own court, except in Oran from 1516 to 1536—because they were so preoccupied with enforcement of the strictest religious and cultural orthodoxy.¹⁴⁷

The analysis of the sources, breaking the captivity/redemption duality, allows us to study the general discourse surrounding the liberation of captives that contains elements of what was considered the "official religion" of the time. It is therefore possible to analyze the constructing of the Christian discourse and the directing of popular devotion, as in the Marian devotion of the late medieval and early modern periods.

In the light of this study, the accounts from Guadalupe appear as documentation of the first order for the investigation of a complex historical and cultural framework that led to the *convivencia* and *coexistencia* along the border between Moors and Christians, as seen through the prism of captivity and redemption.

143. *porque en tierra de católicos hay buena doctrina y no se consiente la mala, mas entre los cautivos hallé introducidos errores y doctrina tan perversa que tuve mucho trabajo en desarraigar algo de ella* (Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 31).

144. The list is long and complete: consenting to the nefariousness of the Turks, thinking it acceptable to steal from Turks and Moors, not respecting fasts, eating meat on feast days, not observing Lent, being circumcized, claiming to believe in Christ and in Mohamed, scorning the sacraments, blaspheming, avoiding confession, living together with Turks, accepting sexual relations with Moors or Turks, believing in innumerable superstitions, practicing witchcraft or necromancy, being a traitor. See: Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 32, 38-41, 48-50.

145. García Martínez, Antonio. *La escritura transformada. Oralidad y cultura escrita en la predicación de los siglos XV al XVII*. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2006: 21 states that in, *el ambiente sociocultural de la Baja Edad Media y del Antiguo Régimen, la predicación constituye uno de los mecanismos del poder establecido —la Iglesia en este caso— para el adoctrinamiento de la población, es decir, para la difusión de modelos ideológicos y culturales, "the sociocultural environment of the late Middle Ages, and the Old Regime, preaching constitutes one of the mechanisms of established power —the Church in this case— and was used for the indoctrination of the population, that is to say, for the diffusion of ideological and cultural models"*.

146. Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo. *Tratado de la redención...*: 39-40, 50-51. Merlo, Grado Giovanni. "Coercition and orthodoxy: modalités de communication et d'imposition d'un message religieux hégémonique", *Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe. Au XVe. Siècle. Table Ronde organisée par l'École française de Rome, en collaboration avec l'Institut médiévale de l'Université de Padoue (Rome, 22-23 juin 1979)*, Rome-Paris: École française de Rome-Difusion de Boccard, 1981: 101-118, maintains that the Inquisition was as much a model of repressive practice as an instrument of propaganda, given that it castigated deviant appearances at the same time that it transmitted a hegemonic religious message.

147. Alonso Acero, Beatriz. "Heterodoxia e Inquisición en las sociedades hispanas de Berbería, siglos XVI-XVII". *Hispania Sacra*, 112 (2002): 481-500.



The miracles testify to the experiences of religiosity at the same time that they transmit, through the medium of images and discourses, representations and their own content of the ecclesiastical institutions. Thus, experience and preaching both conform to a complex and polyvalent whole that is found embodied in the texts.

Similarly, Jerónimo Gracián comes across as an effective builder of religious orthodoxy, closely associated with certain politico-religious ideals.

This construction of “We-Christians” is accomplished through the medium of a constructed “Others-Muslims” that represents the fears and insecurities of peninsular societies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hence, the functionality of the notion of the “enemy in the mirror”; a mirror that reflects as well as deforms reality.¹⁴⁸ Thus, in order to see one’s self, it becomes necessary to pass through another experience, to appreciate ourselves reflected as a subject-object, since we cannot see ourselves without also perceiving the distance and the otherness.¹⁴⁹

Self and Otherness are constructed dialectically,¹⁵⁰ in this case along the dangerous border regions, at once in flux and hopeful, in which captives make up the human group that engender the conflict; they allow one to observe the great moments of the reconquista along side the small, mundane history of everyday life.

The reality of captivity was dramatically inserted into the complex and challenging world of the Castile-Granada frontier in the fifteenth century, moving further from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and stretching to the Mediterranean basin in the sixteenth century. Captivity, which is related to the development and importance of Marian devotion generally, and to devotion to Guadalupe in particular, as the miraculous redemption became part, “of the social construction of reality”.

148. Fontana, Josep. *Europa ante el espejo*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1994.

149. See: Frontisi-Ducroux, Françoise; Vernant, Jean-Pierre. *En el ojo del espejo*. Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999.

150. Ricœur, Paul. *Sí mismo como otro*. Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1996, maintains that this type of reflection allows one to analyze the underlying dialectical elision between self, identity and otherness involved in the construction of self as otherness. See: Gómez García, Pedro, coord. *Las ilusiones de la identidad*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2000.

