



Piracy and Captivity in the Mediterranean 1530 - 1810

Barbary Coast Captivity Narratives

International Conference

June 16 – 18, 2016

Claudiana, Herzog-Friedrich-Str. 3, Innsbruck

(Thursday 09:00–17:00, Friday 10:00–18:30, Saturday 10:30–17:00)

Keynote Speakers

WOLFGANG KAISER (Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne)

NABIL MATAR (University of Minnesota Twin Cities)

JEREMY POPKIN (University of Kentucky)

CHRISTINE SEARS (University of Alabama, Huntsville)

GEORGE A. STARR (University of California, Berkeley)

DANIEL J. VITKUS (University of California, San Diego)

GILLIAN WEISS (Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio)

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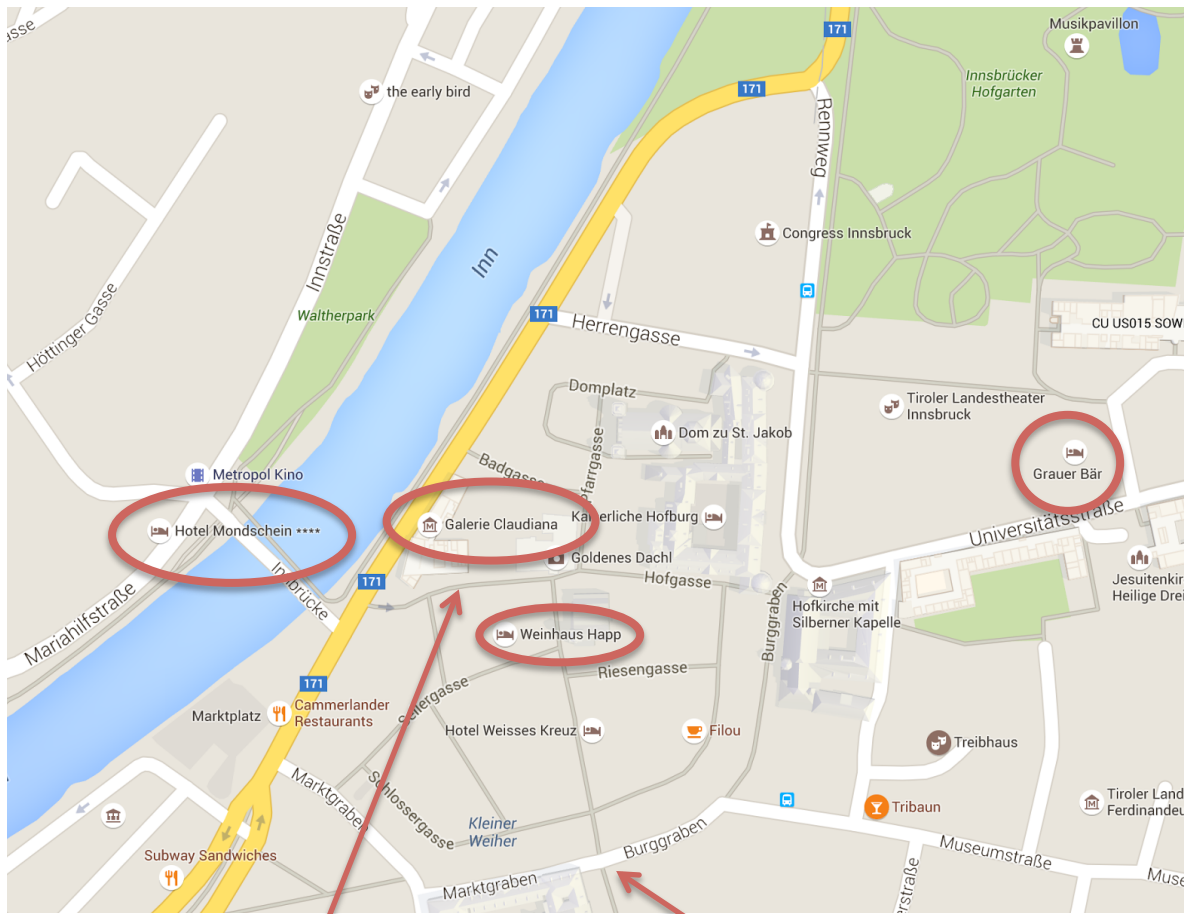
**ESCAPE – European Slaves:
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Important Locations, Innsbruck Old Town



**Hotel
Goldener
Adler**

**Bus stop
Maria-Theresien-
Straße**

Conference Venue: Galerie Claudiana

Dinner: Weinhaus Happ

Accommodation: Hotels Mondschein, Grauer Bär, and Goldener Adler (right across from Galerie Claudiana)

Bus M (direction Mentlbergsiedlung) takes you from Innsbruck's main train station directly to Maria-Theresien-Straße, which is the entrance to Innsbruck's old town!

We would like to thank our sponsors:



Thursday, 16 June 2016

08:00 Registration desk opens

09:00-09:30 Opening Remarks

Tilmann Märk - Rector, University of Innsbruck

Sebastian Donat - Dean, Faculty of Humanities 2 (Language and Literature),
University of Innsbruck

Mario Klarer - Head of the Department of American Studies

09:30-10:30 Keynote Lecture I

Nabil Matar (University of Minnesota): "Two Arabic Accounts of Captivity in Seventeenth-Century Malta"

10:30-11:00 Coffee Break

10:30-11:30 Keynote Lecture II

Christine Sears (University of Alabama, Huntsville): "Arab Speculators' and Slavery in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Western Sahara"

12:00-14:00 Lunch Break

14:00-15:30 Parallel Workshop Panels 1

Workshop A: The Northern European Perspective (Chair: M. Ressel)

Joachim Östlund (Lund University): "Slave Trade and Slave Labour at the Swedish Consulates in North Africa: A Study into the Networks of Slavery and the Use of Unfree Africans and Europeans 1730-1850"

Þorsteinn Helgason (University of Iceland): "The Extreme Point: The Turkish Raid in Iceland 1627"

Adam Nichols (University of Maryland): "Reverend Ólafur Egilsson, a Man of His Times"

Workshop B: The American Perspective (Chair: E. Furlanetto)

Nikoletta Papadopoulou (University of Cyprus): "Conversion and Integration: National Anxieties in American Barbary Captivity Narratives"

Tobias Auböck (Universität Innsbruck): "Easier Imagined than Described: Femininity and Fictionality in American Barbary Coast Captivity Narratives"

Zsolt Palotás (University of Szeged): "Welcome Visitor or/and Political Pest of Society?: The Mission of the Tunisian Envoy from Barbary to the United States (1805–1806)"

15:30-16:00 Coffee Break

16:00-17:00 Keynote Lecture III

Gillian Weiss (Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio): "A Huguenot Captive in 'Uthman Dey's Court: *Histoire chronologique du royaume de Tripoly* (1685) and Its Author"

19:00 Conference Dinner, Weinhaus Happ (registration required)

10:00-12:00 Workshop Panel 2

Processing Captivity (Chair: L. Kattenberg)

Michael Gordon (University of North Carolina, Wilmington): "Spanish *cautivo* Literature and the Return of the Jew to the Iberian Peninsula"

Marcus Hartner (Bielefeld University): "Rereading Captivity: Hybrid Genres and Narrative Experimentation in Early Modern Captivity Narratives"

Giulia Bonazza (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales): "The Color of the Skin in Mediterranean Slave Exchanges: Palermo, Livorno, Algiers and Tunis"

12:00-14:00 Lunch Break

14:00-15:00 Keynote Lecture IV

Daniel J. Vitkus (University of California, San Diego): "From Ransoming Captives to Human Trafficking: English Texts, Commercial Transformation, and Barbary Captivity in the Early Modern Period"

15:00-15:30 Coffee Break

15:30-17:00 Parallel Workshop Panels 3

Workshop A: Negotiating Identity (Chair: G. Bonazza)

Stefanie Fricke (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München): "Renegades between Christian 'Self' and Muslim 'Other': The Captivity Narratives of Joseph Pitts and Thomas Pellow"

Salvatore Bono (Università degli Studi di Perugia): "*L'esclave religieux* di Antoine Quartier come fonte storica" (**Presentation will be held in Italian!**)

Robert Spindler (Universität Innsbruck): "Identity Crisis: Returning from the Barbary Coast"

Workshop B: Orientalism and the Orient (Chair: R. Rebitch)

Anna Diamantouli (King's College): "Beyond Orientalism: Re-Reading American Barbary Captivity Narratives"

Abdelmjid Kettioui (Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University): "Islam's Blonde Conquests on the Barbary Coast: Geopolitics, Faith and Sexuality in Elizabeth Marsh's *The Female Captive* (1769)"

Ernstpeter Ruhe (Universität Würzburg): "Images from the Dey's Court: The Artist as Slave in Algiers" (**Presentation will be held in German, English translations will be distributed!**)

17:00-17:30 Coffee Break

17:30-18:30 Keynote Lecture V

George A. Starr (University of California, Berkeley): "Barbary Slavery and *Robinson Crusoe*"

19:00 Buffet, Galerie Claudiana

10:30-12:00 Parallel Workshop Panels 4

Workshop A: Captivity and Life Stories (Chair: M. Gordon)

Robert Rebitsch (Universität Innsbruck): "Michael Heberer as Prisoner in the Ottoman Navy"

Christine Isom-Verhaaren (Brigham Young University): "Captivity Tales and the Captive Admiral, Venedikli Hasan"

Peter Mark (Wesleyan University): "Ahmed Al-Mansur and Antonio de Saldanha: The Muslim Ruler as Enlightened Despot"

Workshop B: Images of Slavery (Chair: J. Östlund)

Lisa Kattenberg (University of Amsterdam): "Muslims, Morality and Commercial Success: The Captivity Narrative of Emanuel d'Aranda, 1640-1682"

Magnus Ressel (Historisches Kolleg München): "Putting Christian Slavery into Perspective. On Johann Frisch's *Schauplatz barbarischer Schlaverey* (1666)"

Sebastian Zylinski (Universität Gießen): "Gotha and Its Lost Seamen – The Image of Slavery in Central Germany in the First Half of the 18th Century"

12:00-14:00 Lunch Break

14:00-15:00 Keynote Lecture VI

Wolfgang Kaiser (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne): "Persuasion and Plausibility. Narrative Elements in the Ransoming Process"

15:00-15:30 Coffee Break

15:30-16:30 Keynote Lecture VII

Jeremy Popkin (University of Kentucky): "Émile in Chains: A New Perspective on Rousseau and Slavery"

16:30-17:00 Closing Remarks

All keynote lectures take place in the Claudiasaal.

Workshops A take place in the Claudiasaal, workshops B in the Tüdingsaal.

All talks are open to the public.

Abstracts Keynote Lectures

Keynote Lecture I: Thursday, June 16, 09:30-10:30

Nabil Matar (University of Minnesota): “Two Arabic Accounts of Captivity in Seventeenth-Century Malta”

Captivity studies remain focused on European captives and Muslim captors. Although there were some accounts about Turkish captives in European hands, they have not been integrated into the scholarship. Nor have accounts about Arab-Muslim captives, notwithstanding their very high numbers in the Mediterranean basin. This paper will present two accounts of Arab captivity in Malta in the first part of the seventeenth century. The survival of manuscript sources with information about captivity is important: both are in Arabic and are by Arabs (not Turks), and while one account furnishes a detailed and firsthand description of the captivity of a jurist and his family, the other uniquely consists of writings by the captive himself showing the manner he tried to ‘defeat’ his captors. The paper will urge that more research be conducted in the Arabic archives in order to make available the Arab-Islamic narrative of captivity and slavery in the early modern Mediterranean.

Nabil Matar is Presidential Professor of English at the University of Minnesota. His most recent publications are *Henry Stubbe and the Beginnings of Islam* (Columbia UP, 2013) and *British Captives from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1563-1760* (Brill, 2014). His forthcoming book is an abridgment and translation of the writings of the Moroccan traveler Ibn Uthman al-Miknasi, *A Muslim Arab in the Mediterranean World, 1779-1788* (Routledge, forthcoming).

Keynote Lecture II: Thursday, June 16, 11:00-12:00

Christine E. Sears (University of Alabama, Huntsville): “‘Arab Speculators’ and Slavery in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Western Sahara”

In 1815, a late summer gale drove the New England ship *Commerce* onto the northwestern coast of Africa, leaving the crew bereft of possessions “upon the inhospitable coast of merciless barbarians.” Indeed, Africans claimed coastal shipwreck victims like Captain James Riley and his crew as slaves. They enslaved men like Riley not for their labor, though they might be assigned work, but for their ransom. In order to collect ransom, however, African masters dragged slaves through the brutal terrain of what is now the Western Sahara to the coastal town of Mogador. Here, African masters negotiated with European agents, consuls, or merchants anxious to free their countrymen or co-Christians in a well-established, yet informal, negotiation system.

The processes and procedures for ransoming enslaved “Christians” in the Western Sahara has been little studied. We know little about the role of American, European, and Moroccan states in these negotiations, but less about the roles of indigenous buyers, owners, and agents. Using British Public Records, U.S. state papers, official correspondence, and narratives written by ransomed slaves, I investigate the mechanisms and meanings of ransoming processes, and what these practices indicate about this particular slave system.

More specifically, I explore connections between European and American government officials and the indigenous agents they hired to find and help deliver enslaved Westerners to Mogador. I consider how European agents and the enslaved negotiated with their masters for ransom, what the ransom costs were, and how those costs were paid. Investigating these topics illuminates the local eighteenth and nineteenth century ransom practices in this particular locale and to see how this system of ransoming fits into the larger context of world slavery and ransoming.

Christine E. Sears is assistant professor of History at the University of Alabama in Huntsville, where she teaches classes on the Atlantic world, the early American republic, and comparative slavery. Her research interests include the maritime world, impressment, gender, and slavery during the early American Republic.

Keynote Lecture III: Thursday, June 16, 2016, 16:00-17:00

Gillian Weiss (Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio): “A Huguenot Captive in ‘Uthman Dey’s Court: *Histoire chronologique du royaume de Tripoly* (1685) and Its Author”

The unsigned, two-volume, eleven-hundred-page manuscript was completed in 1685. Since *Histoire chronologique du royaume de Tripoly* entered the collection of France’s national library, it has drawn the greatest interest from historians interested in its account of the Borno sultanate of southern Nigeria and from archaeologists interested in its descriptions of Leptis Magna and additional sites of classical antiquity. These scholars and others note that the anonymous author made his political observations and visited the Roman ruins while a captive in the Ottoman regency of Tripoli. All of them repeat biographical details from the text and from the writings of a French doctor that identify a ship surgeon from Provence employed on a Marseille corsair who spent 1668-1675 as the personal physician to the Tripolitan *dey* and later treated soldiers in King Louis XIV’s Swiss Guard. On the basis of new archival research, this paper will offer evidence Pierre Girard was, in fact, a Huguenot – with good reason not to attach his name to an account completed the year of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. As such, *Histoire chronologique du royaume de Tripoly*, stands as one of the only North African captivity narratives by a French Protestant, a man who seems to have traded physical constraint and religious freedom in Libya for physical freedom and religious dissimulation in France.

Gillian Weiss is associate professor in the Department of History at Case Western Reserve University. She is an expert on slavery in the early modern Mediterranean with a special focus on France. Her book *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford UP, 2011) was recently published in French (Anacharis, 2014).

Keynote Lecture IV: Friday, June 17, 2016, 14:00-15:00

Daniel J. Vitkus (University of California, San Diego): “From Ransoming Captives to Human Trafficking: English Texts, Commercial Transformation, and Barbary Captivity in the Early Modern Period”

The essay will argue that the English understanding of slavery and captivity shifted during the early modern period, from an older, pre-capitalist notion of the enslaved subject or the ransomed

person to new and emerging forms of human mobility, conversion, commodification and trafficking within the developing system of long-distance trade and the English commercial and maritime diaspora that included (but extended beyond) North Africa. The article will show how these changes were represented, contested, measured and disseminated through popular forms of writing and performance: in plays, poems, and prose narratives. In these texts, the questions of "truth value" and fictionality (the proverb said that "Travelers are liars by authority") are frequently raised on a slippery ground where "true reports" and romance tales often overlap. The experience of the captive (and its narrative representation) often functions as a powerful model for strength and fortitude in the face of suffering and deprivation, and in particular the urgency and extremity experienced by the Christian captive in Barbary becomes an index of authenticity. At the same time, the proliferation of "true reports" or "relations" as commodified texts produced an inflationary cultural economy from which the fictional (or quasi-fictional) travel novel emerges over the course of the seventeenth century. The paper will also emphasize that the literary was not separated from the economic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in English cultural responses to the expansion of trade and to the material circumstances that followed, at home and abroad, from that expansion.

Daniel J. Vitkus holds the Rebeca Hickel Endowed Chair in Early Modern Literature at UC, San Diego. He is the editor of *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (Columbia UP, 2000) and *Piracy, Slavery and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (Columbia UP, 2001), and he is the author of the book titled *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (Palgrave, 2003).

Keynote Lecture V: Friday, June 17, 2016, 17:30-18:30

George A. Starr (University of California, Berkeley): "Barbary Slavery and *Robinson Crusoe*"

Among all the accounts of escape from Barbary, the best known is probably the passage early in *Robinson Crusoe* in which the hero, captured by a "Rover of *Sallee*" and enslaved for two years, escapes aboard a small boat belonging to his master. Crusoe's enslavement departs drastically from what had become the conventions of the genre. As he himself puts it, "The Usage I had there was not as dreadful as at first I apprehended" (p. 69). His actual experience contains none of the privation or grueling exertion, and none of the harshness or cruelty, that is the usual fate of European slaves in Morocco. Nor is he under pressure to "turn Turk," for his master is tolerant, generous, and trusting to a fault. So the image of slavery that emerges is quite mild and almost benign, in contrast with the grim picture painted in the escape narratives.

The Barbary episode in *Robinson Crusoe* has to be approached both within the context of that book, and in the larger context of Defoe's thinking about slavery as well. Within *Robinson Crusoe* itself there are further passages, when the hero is no longer in *Sallee*, which bear on this issue: not only Crusoe's dealings with the "*Maresco*" boy, Xury, but also his later venture to fetch slaves from Africa for Brazilian planters--the very voyage during which he is shipwrecked on his island. In both passages, Crusoe is clearly complicit in slavery. Yet it is noteworthy that in the course of his later repentance, Crusoe reproaches himself strenuously for defying his father, and for disregarding Providential warnings to mend his ways, but he never mentions involvement in slavery among his sins. From this we can perhaps infer that neither Crusoe nor Defoe finds his participation culpable. If so, this might help to explain the relative innocuousness of Crusoe's own brief enslavement. Had his experience been more gruesome, this would have posed the

threat of a double standard: namely, that slavery is acceptable when imposed by Europeans on Africans, but not when imposed by Africans on Europeans. By playing down the grimmer aspects of slavery throughout this book, Defoe avoids seeming to endorse this particular form of racism.

George A. Starr is professor of English at UC, Berkeley. His most recent publication is *Christianity Not as Old as the Creation: The Last of Defoe's Performances*, ed. G. A. Starr (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012). In 1965 he published *Defoe and Spiritual Autobiography* with Princeton UP. His landmark essay "Escape from Barbary: A Seventeenth-Century Genre" (1965) is the first publication to acknowledge the Barbary captivity narratives as a literary genre.

Keynote Lecture VI: Saturday, June 18, 2016, 14:00-15:00

Wolfgang Kaiser (Université Paris): "Persuasion and Plausibility. Narrative Elements in the Ransoming Process"

The ransoming of captives and liberation of slaves was an inherent element of war-making, especially corsairing and *l'ars piratica*, and the slave trade in the early modern Mediterranean. The negotiations led by individuals, families or – religious, municipal, royal – institutions prior and also after the liberation produced a mass of documents. In fact, the mobilization of religious (compassion, relief from affliction), social (solidarity) or political (patriotism) sentiments with its cultural expressions and rhetorical codes took place in institutionalized forms. Diplomatic missions or municipal charity institutions, but also *redentori* from religious orders engaged by them were destined to liberate "their" captives and slaves, had to verify life stories and to identify persons asking to be or who had been ransomed. Those who wanted to be liberated tried to present themselves according to the expectations of the ransoming institutions, and they were helped in doing so by circulating texts and "experts". Thus, this verification and identification procedure was a complex communication process combining external inspection and labelling and self-fashioning: fact and fiction were intimately intertwined. An emblematic figure of this *imbroglio* of fact and fiction is of course Miguel de Cervantes, captive in Algiers from 1575 to 1580, with the complex structure of his *Don Quixote*, but also the judicial *Informaciones* to which he was exposed and in which he played an active part. But apart from these famous examples and the elaborated *genre* of Barbary Captivity narratives, the paper production during the ransoming process (correspondences, *memoriali*, petitions or *suppliche*, *registri* with identification lists and marginal remarks, account books, *questionnaires*, etc.) can be analyzed as a place of production of narrative elements conceived as persuasive arguments, and as a laboratory of fiction which has, as we all know, a greater plausibility than fact.

Wolfgang Kaiser is professor of early modern history at Université Paris 1 (Panthéon Sorbonne). He presides over the research project "The Economy of Ransoming and Intercultural Exchange in the Early Modern Mediterranean," and published *Le monde de l'itinérance en Méditerranée, de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne: Procédures de contrôle et d'identification* (Ausonius, 2009) and "Sprechende Ware: Gefangenenerfreikauf und Sklavenhandel im frühneuzeitlichen Mittelmeerraum" (2009).

Keynote Lecture VII: Saturday, June 18, 2016, 15:30-16:30

Jeremy D. Popkin (University of Kentucky): “Émile in Chains: A New Perspective on Rousseau and Slavery”

Jean-Jacques Rousseau is considered one of the great eighteenth-century proponents of human liberty, but he wrote very little about the issue of slavery, especially in its contemporary context. Discussions of his attitude toward the subject are usually based on a brief passage from the *Social Contract* and a casual mention of colonial slavery in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Scholars have overlooked a much more significant treatment of the subject in the uncompleted sequel to Rousseau's other major novel, *Emile*. In the opening pages of *Emile et Sophie*, Rousseau's protagonist embarks on a Mediterranean voyage and is captured by Barbary pirates, a misadventure that befell many Europeans during this period. In Rousseau's story, Emile is initially downhearted when he finds himself enslaved in Algiers, but he soon concludes that he retains his human freedom, since he can choose to risk his life by defying his master. In an anticipation of Hegel's famous dialectical analysis of the master-slave relationship, Emile's owner finds himself compelled to recognize his slave as an autonomous individual. Rousseau's never-finished story breaks off just at this point, leaving us uncertain of Emile's fate, although Rousseau can hardly have intended to have his main character killed off in the opening chapters of what was planned as a full-length novel. Rousseau's text demonstrates the impact that the enslavement of Europeans in the Barbary Coast had on one of the leading writers of the Enlightenment.

Jeremy D. Popkin is professor of history at the University of Kentucky and a specialist on the French Revolution. His publications include *You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery* (Cambridge UP, 2010), *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799* (Duke UP, 1990), *History, Historians and Autobiography* (University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Abstracts Workshop Panels

Thursday, June 16, 2016, 14:00-15:30

Parallel Workshop Panels 1

Workshop A (Claudiasaal): The Northern European Perspective (Chair: M. Ressel)

Joachim Östlund (Lund University): “Slave Trade and Slave Labour at the Swedish Consulates in North Africa: A Study into the Networks of Slavery and the Use of Unfree Africans and Europeans 1730-1850”

When the Swedish consul in Tripoli, Gråberg af Hemsö, was interviewed by *The London Magazine* in 1828 on the question of the current state of Tripoli, the topic of slavery was one of the main questions. The article tells that 2000 from the Sahara slaves arrived at Tripoli each year for further transportation across the Mediterranean, a transportation that somewhat surprisingly was said to have been done on European ships while it was forbidden on the Atlantic. Concerning the slaves that were left in Tripoli the article says: “they are generally treated with humanity”. This example captures the European view of enslavement of Africans in the Islamic world until the 1840s; both in relation to the unawareness of the European participation and to the lack of interest from the abolitionists (Wright 1996). This paper explores two forms of servitude in the European imagination from 1650 to 1850; the enslavement of Africans and the enslavement of Europeans in the Ottoman world. Empirical examples are mainly Swedish. In the early modern period, Sweden’s experience with slavery had first of all been as slaves, not slaveholders; stories of the enslavement of Swedes by Barbary corsairs dominated up until the middle of the eighteenth century. Information of Sweden’s involvement in the Atlantic slave trade was unusual and the Swedish shipping of slaves in the Mediterranean during the eighteenth century was probably totally unknown in Sweden (Östlund 2014). The purpose of this paper is two-fold: to highlight how Europeans responded and reacted towards different features of Ottoman slavery and to adjust the traditional chronology of abolition in the Atlantic centered historiography of European slave-trading.

Þorsteinn Helgason (University of Iceland): “The Extreme Point: The Turkish Raid in Iceland 1627”

During the summer of 1627 corsairs of Algiers and Salé, Morocco, appeared at the coasts of faraway Iceland, raided the southern and eastern regions, took some 400 captives and sold most of them on the slave market as future work force or ransom objects.

This event was a disruption of normal existence in Iceland which, normally, included harsh winters, pestilence and annoying piratical incursions of the English, Dunkirkans and others. The “Turkish Raid” was, however, something quite different and had to be recorded in detail. Based on an old literary tradition together with the latest trends in travel writing and cosmographic pamphlets, comprehensive accounts were written, of which “The travelogue of Rev. Ólafur

Egilsson who was captured in the Raid, released in Algiers and returned to Iceland where he wrote an account of his experiences” is among the most prominent. The narratives of the Raid are detailed and authentic, and constitute the backbone of our knowledge. There are also narratives in another form, i.e. folktales, place names and local memory. They mostly describe rescues and heroic deeds. Collective, public memory is a malleable creature.

Adam Nichols (University of Maryland): “Reverend Ólafur Egilsson, a Man of His Times”

Barbary Coast captivity narratives contain details about slavery and piracy that can provide historical and cultural context, but they are also narratives, and the structuring of the narrative itself can give us insight into the historical/cultural context in which they were written.

This article will focus on the *Reisubók séra Ólafs Egilssonar* (*The Travels of Reverend Ólafur Egilsson*), which recounts how Reverend Ólafur, an Icelandic Lutheran priest, his family, and several hundred other Icelanders were captured by Barbary corsairs in 1627 and taken to Algiers to be sold into slavery, and how he travelled alone to Denmark in an attempt to raise ransom money for his wife, his children, and the other captives. An astute observer, Reverend Ólafur describes Islamic and Christian civilization in considerable detail, but his book is not simply a travel memoir. It is also a kind of *imitatio Christi* and cycles between detailed, practical description of the places through which he travelled and spiritual moralizing upon the import of the terrible events he endured. This duality feels clumsy to the modern reader — the narrative is neither quite one thing nor the other — but it also provides insight into the times in which Reverend Ólafur lived.

The early modern European period saw an uneasy balance between secular and spiritual, proto-scientific and religious ways of knowing. The *Reisubók* reflects this, the narrative itself being an uneasy balance between straightforward informational travel memoir and spiritual exhortation. The *Reisubók* has never before been translated into English and so represents a novel source of information for English speakers. This article will examine the duality that structures the narrative, show how that duality derives from the turbulent times in which Reverend Ólafur lived, and explore how it presents us with a window into the inner workings of the seventeenth century mind.

Workshop B (Tüdingsaal): The American Perspective (Chair: E. Furlanetto)

Nikoletta Papadopoulou (University of Cyprus): “Conversion and Integration: National Anxieties in American Barbary Captivity Narratives”

This paper seeks to examine narratives of American captives in the Barbary coast and, in particular, the anxiety expressed in many of these narratives over the issue of conversion and integration. As most of these narratives express the constant fear of “going native” and converting to Islam, another issue which becomes prevalent is the theme of integration within the socio-economic environment of the Barbary states, which could not only contribute to the captives’ personal survival and improve their living conditions, but could also assist in the formation of a national – and simultaneously global – identity back home. Looking at late 18th and early 19th century autobiographical as well as fictional American accounts, this paper sets out to explore this attempt by captives to re-define their condition of captivity and commodification while at the same time it also addresses how the Orient provided American captives with a new frontier where national identities could be forged. People such as James Leander Cathcart, who managed to rise to the position of chief Christian secretary to the Algerian Dey, and Jonathan Cowdery, who became the personal physician of the Bashaw in

Tripoli, provide just a few instances where early American national culture recognized that forging a national post-bellum identity also involved the need to climb the socio-economic ladder while present in "uncivilized" nations. At the same time, a new recognition was established in early American ideology of expanding its borders of national "influence" and establishing new frontiers which moved beyond the nation's geographical borders. In the words of Susanna Rowson, who published her play "Slaves In Algiers" in 1794, the new vision of the American nation would include "Freedom [to] spread her benign influence thro' every nation, till the bright Eagle, united with the dove and the olive branch, waves high, the acknowledged standard of the world."

Tobias Auböck (Universität Innsbruck): "Easier Imagined than Described: Femininity and Fictionality in American Barbary Coast Captivity Narratives"

In the narrative about her captivity in Algiers in the early nineteenth century, Maria Martin states on numerous occasions that a certain event or feeling "must be imagined, rather than described." Considering the fact that her narrative turns out to be completely fabricated, this expression receives an interesting second level of meaning – it describes the author's process of inventing everything that Maria Martin supposedly goes through in the course of her narrative. This is all the more fascinating as her narrative ended up being the most successful female-authored Barbary Coast captivity narrative ever to be published in the U.S.

This study shows how the images and ideas depicted are often subconsciously constructed but also in some cases carefully drafted. This also becomes apparent when analysing the publication history of the narrative, which not only shows how often the text had been altered and adapted to public demand throughout the editions, but also what contemporary texts were being read and thus served as a model for Martin's narrative. Both the depiction of women and of the Muslim captors were strongly influenced by widespread contemporary expectations and beliefs, thus vividly illustrating the tension between genre limitations, popularity and authenticity.

Zsolt Palotás (University of Szeged): "Welcome Visitor or/and Political Pest of Society?: The Mission of the Tunisian Envoy from Barbary to the United States (1805–1806)"

On September 5, 1805, the Congress frigate with Sidi Soliman Mellimelli on board, who was the representative of Hammuda, Tunisian Pasha Bey (1782–1814), sailed off Tunis and went to North America. The Muslim ambassador was commissioned to find a diplomatic solution to the misunderstanding (the US Navy captured three Tunisian vessels) that emerged between the Regency of Tunis and the United States of America in the summer of 1805.

Mellimelli was the first Muslim envoy who negotiated in the United States between November 4, 1805, and September 17, 1806. The American government satisfied every personal demand of Mellimelli's so as to gain the sympathy of the Ambassador. Furthermore, the Jefferson administration acknowledged that Tunisia should be compensated for the captured vessels. However, the administration refused to accept to pay any kind of tribute to the Regency of Tunis.

While the Tunisian envoy was enjoying the hospitality of the American cities (Norfolk, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston), the American government had serious doubts about whether the differences would be resolved or a war would break out between the two nations. According to the primary sources, Mellimelli could keep the American leadership in suspense for more than a year.

Friday, June 17, 2016, 10:00-12:00
Workshop Panel 2

Processing Captivity (Chair: L. Kattenberg)

Michael Gordon (University of North Carolina, Wilmington): “Spanish *cautivo* Literature and the Return of the Jew to the Iberian Peninsula”

Various social, economic, and religious forces combined in the 16th and 17th centuries to create a Mediterranean world that thrived off the capture and ransom of hundreds of thousands of Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike. With regard to literary production, however, captivity would have its greatest impact in the Christian world, especially in Spain. Not only did former captives such as Cervantes recount their experiences after being freed, but also writers who had not suffered as captives themselves, such as Lope de Vega, produced literary works relating to captivity in Muslim lands because they realized the commercial potential of the *cautivo* genre. Therefore, my presentation will focus on three Algerian captivity plays, two written by Cervantes and one by Lope, and on how those works complemented each other and served as the foundational pieces for the construction of what became known as the *cautivo* genre, specifically in the realm of theater. Finally, I also plan to highlight a by-product of this literary rivalry that has thus far received very little critical attention: the fairly accurate representation of Jewish life in North Africa and the role these *cautivo* works had in bringing back openly-practicing Jews to Spain, or at least to the Spanish stage.

Marcus Hartner (Bielefeld University): “Rereading Captivity: Hybrid Genres and Narrative Experimentation in Early Modern Captivity Narratives”

Since the late 1990s a revival of interest in early modern connections with and representations of the Muslim World has taken place in English Studies and has led to what Bernadette Andrea and Linda McJannet have called “‘the third-wave’ of historically, politically, and theoretically informed studies” on historical and discursive relations between Britain and “various Islamic worlds” (2011:3). In the context of this development, Barbary Coast Captivity Narratives have become the subject of important, pioneering works by scholars such as Nabil Matar, Daniel Vitkus, and Linda Colley. While the latter has employed the figure of the British captive in order to draw attention to the precariousness of the Early British Empire and its economic and military expansion, other scholars have seen captivity narratives primarily as source material that allows unique insights into the history of European-Muslim relations, as well as early modern Mediterranean piracy and slavery, and English cultural representations of the Muslim world (e.g. Gillian Weiss, Robert Davis, Daniel Vitkus).

Despite the growing body of scholarly works on these topics, however, the field of English Studies, for example, has so far hardly engaged with captivity narratives as a textual and literary phenomenon in its own right. Yet, I think that building on the foundational scholarly work mentioned above, we are now in the position to add another layer of research to the study of this fascinating genre by rereading reports of captivity with a stronger interest in their narrative composition, their discursive and generic contexts, and the pragmatics of publishing. In this context, my paper will engage with the topic of generic hybridity and narrative structure in texts such as Richard Hasleton’s *Strange and Wonderfull Things* (1595). Based on an analysis of the blending of different generic elements and narrative patterns, I will suggest that the genre’s struggle to merge disparate thematic and rhetorical elements formed an important stage in the development of prose fiction and the early English novel (cf. Snader).

Giulia Bonazza (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales): “The Color of the Skin in Mediterranean Slave Exchanges: Palermo, Livorno, Algiers and Tunis”

The aim of this paper is to discuss cases of slaves' exchange and ransom of slaves between the cities of Livorno and Palermo and two city-states of the Barbary Coast, Algiers and Tunis, between the second half of the 18th century and the first half of 19th century. Particularly, I want to underline the lesser value of the black slaves in comparison to others slaves from Algiers or Tunis. The color of the skin was an important element of discrimination also for the exchange operation. The money value of a black slave was minor in comparison to a Tunisian or a levanter slave.

For example, in Palermo in 1808 the value of the slaves ransomed by the Redenzione dei Cattivi (without the use of money) was two Muslim slaves for a Christian one and five black slaves for two Christians. The intermediaries of these exchanges were frequently Trinitarians or Mercedarians but also privates. In my case study in Livorno the intermediary was the Jewish Bacri; this is a clear demonstration that Mediterranean slavery was not just divided into two parts, the Christian and the Muslim world.

There were also Jewish slaves and the religious connotation was an important element but not sufficient to explain Barbary Coast slavery and episodes of piracy in the Mediterranean world. There were many typologies of slaves and I would like to present them and to demonstrate that the problem of the aristocracy of the color of the skin was also quite significant in the Mediterranean world.

Friday, June 17, 2016, 15:30-17:00

Parallel Workshop Panels 3

Workshop A: Negotiating Identity (Chair: G. Bonazza)

Stefanie Fricke (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München): “Renegades between Christian ‘Self’ and Muslim ‘Other’: The Captivity Narratives of Joseph Pitts and Thomas Pellow

This paper will discuss the captivity narratives of Joseph Pitts (1704) and (to a lesser extent) Thomas Pellow (1738-1745?), two men who were captured as children, converted to Islam, and lived for long years as fully integrated members of Muslim society before finally returning to England. Their narratives are not only the longest British captivity texts we have today, they also constitute unique testaments of immersion into North African culture. At the same time, as apostates Pitts and Pellow were under particular pressure to demonstrate their allegiance to Christianity and England, and consequently fashioned their narratives to distance themselves from their adopted, Muslim society. My paper will trace this oscillating between participation and rejection in each of the texts, point out the fissures it creates in the narratives, and demonstrate that the authors ultimately fail to establish a stable dichotomy between East and West.

Robert Spindler (Universität Innsbruck): “Identity Crisis: Returning from the Barbary Coast”

In the early modern period, falling victim to pirates from the North African Barbary Coast not only meant facing the threat of grueling slave work, torture, or losing one's life. It could also mean facing an identity crisis. After a release or an escape, some Barbary Coast captives found a way of coming to terms with such a crisis by writing about their experiences. The narrative of Thomas

Pellow, *The History of the Long Captivity and Adventures of Thomas Pellow* (1739), is evidence of the identity crisis of a man who was thrown into a foreign and exotic environment during the crucial years of adolescence. Pellow was an Englishman who was captured in 1716 at the age of 11 and remained in Morocco for 23 years. On the Barbary Coast, he had to find new attachment figures and eventually integrated into the foreign environment exceptionally well. When he finally returned to England, however, he experienced trouble trying to re-integrate into his home society. This paper will demonstrate how these issues become apparent in Pellow's narrative on a subtle level.

Salvatore Bono (Università degli Studi di Perugia): “L’esclave religieux di Antoine Quartier come fonte storica” (Presentation will be held in Italian)

Le memorie di schiavitù del francese Antoine Quartier sono particolarmente significative anche come fonte storica sulla reggenza di Tripoli, dove egli visse come schiavo dal 1660 al 1668. Egli era infatti una persona colta – al ritorno in patria entrò nell’Ordine dei Mercedari – e dotata di molta sensibilità, attento dunque alla realtà umana e sociale circostante. D’altra parte gli anni in cui egli visse a Tripoli sono particolarmente significativi nella storia di quella reggenza maghrebina: proseguiva quel periodo di sviluppo e di prosperità iniziato sotto il pascià Mohammed di Chio, predecessore di Osman, anche egli detto di Chio, così chiamati poiché provenivano da una famiglia greco-genovese da tempo insediata in quella isola. Quel periodo fu caratterizzato, fra l’altro, da un notevole inserimento nella società locale di europei passati all’Islam, detti ‘rinnegati’, di alcuni dei quali Quartier riferisce la vicenda. *L’esclave religieux*, segnalato all’attenzione degli studiosi soltanto nel 1972, da Guy Turbet-Delof, è rimasto poco noto e poco utilizzato, mentre è degno di confronto – anche se costituisce soltanto una ‘relazione di schiavitù’ – con la importante *Histoire chronologique* del medico Girard, vissuto alla corte di Tripoli pochi anni dopo il nostro autore.

Workshop B: Orientalism and the Orient (Chair: R. Rebitch)

Anna Diamantouli (King's College): “Beyond Orientalism: Re-Reading American Barbary Captivity Narratives”

American Barbary captivity narratives published during the late eighteenth century offer some of the earliest American representations of political and diplomatic encounters with other nations following the establishment of the new American nation. They also represent citizens of the newly independent America coming into contact with Muslim nations and peoples.

A more commonplace reading of these American Barbary captivity narratives has been to discuss them as enacting a discourse of power over the Barbary States and their inhabitants, presenting them as the ‘other’ from which American identity emerged through a framework of rigid oppositions. This paper will argue that this discourse had not taken hold as early as the decade of the 1790s.

Rather, it will be posited that the links with representations of the disorienting space and geography of the Barbary States found in these narratives deserve to be explored in more detail. In close literary readings of John Blair Linn’s ‘The American Captive: An Elegy’ (1795), Royall Tyler’s *Algerine Captive* (1797) and John Foss’s *A Journal, of the Captivity and Sufferings of John Foss* (1798), it becomes clear that such representations, despite characterising the Barbary States as unnavigable, confusing and incoherent, disrupt their own Orientalising logic. Their determined preoccupation with the disorder and chaos of the Barbary States disarms and subjugates the American captive. Descriptions of the Barbary States in these narratives thus

work in a more ambivalent, disorienting (or, indeed, dis-Orientalising) manner than seems to be the case.

Abdelmjid Kettioui (Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah University): “Islam’s Blonde Conquests on the Barbary Coast: Geopolitics, Faith and Sexuality in Elizabeth Marsh’s *The Female Captive* (1769)”

This paper sheds light on the geopolitical, spiritual and sexual stakes that are featured in and haunt Elizabeth Marsh’s *The Female Captive* (1769). In contemporary British captivity discourse and Maghrebi official and popular culture, this paper argues, white women captives in North Africa constitute Islam’s blonde conquests on the Barbary Coast. The captive’s sex was significant to the corsairs, potentates and the whole enterprise of redemption. For the Maghrebis, the arrival of a female captive is a chance at celebrating the power of Islam over the infidels at sea. It also means higher ransom prices, foreign harem wives and new converts (Bekkaoui, 2003, 2010). The interception of Marsh’s vessel, the *Ann*, in 1756 came in the context of the Moroccan sovereign’s sanction to his corsairs for the capture of British vessels on account of their illegal activities in Moroccan waters. A shipwright’s daughter, Marsh refuses social preferment in the manner of some of her renegade countrywomen populating Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah’s harem. To her horror, it was an English female renegade who did her best to inveigle her into wedding the Moroccan potentate, irrevocably unhinging her sense of eventual safety and solidarity. This notwithstanding, Marsh has no compunctions about her fascination with the “noble figure the Prince made”. Marsh’s conspicuous passion for the prince blurs her narrative of virtue and endurance amidst eminent sexual threat. Pitting Marsh’s “Moorish fancy” (The Earl of Shaftsbury, 1711; Bekkaoui 2008) against her “image of the imperial prude” (Michel Foucault, 1990), I tease out the Anglo-Moroccan economy of desire that informs a chronicle of maritime transgression and sovereign acts of capture, captivity and manumission.

Ernstpeter Ruhe (Universität Würzburg): “Images from the Dey’s Court: The Artist as Slave in Algiers”

Among the many slaves that were taken to Algiers throughout the seventeenth century were also two German artists, the brothers Andreas Matthäus and Johann Georg Wolfgang from Augsburg. This bad fortune turned out to be most fortunate for present-day research, as next to the captivity narrative written in their name, there are also a number of engravings depicting their time in captivity that have survived. One of the brothers fashioned them based on sketches he had produced in Algiers. This study investigates the brother’s account and images in the light of the tradition of North African captivity narratives.

Saturday, June 18, 2016, 10:30-12:00

Parallel Workshop Panels 4

Workshop A: Captivity and Life Stories (Chair: M. Gordon)

Robert Rebitsch (Universität Innsbruck): “Michael Heberer as Prisoner in the Ottoman Navy”

Not many details are known of Michael Heberer’s life. He studied in Wittenberg, Leipzig and Heidelberg. In 1582 he decided to go to France and Italy. In 1585, while travelling to Egypt on a

ship of the Order of Malta, he was captured by an Ottoman fleet. He had to spend three years as a galley-slave in Ottoman war captivity. In his travel description “Aegyptiaca Servitus, Das ist Warhafft Beschreibung einer Dreyjährigen Dienstbarkeit, so zu Alexandrien in Egypten ihren Anfang und zu Constantinopel ihr Endschaft gefunden, Heidelberg (1610)” Heberer provides an interesting insight *from below* into political conditions and landscapes, traditions and costumes of the eastern Mediterranean, into the Ottoman culture and religion, and not least into his life as a prisoner. This lecture gives an overview of Heberer’s work and his personal impressions of the Ottoman Empire as a galley-slave. In 1588 the French envoy at Constantinople could redeem Heberer out of slavery.

Christine Isom-Verhaaren (Brigham Young University): “Captivity Tales and the Captive Admiral, Venedikli Hasan”

This paper argues that to explore the career of the Ottoman Admiral Venedikli Hasan, historians must rely on captivity tales by captives in Algiers during the period that Hasan was governor. Venedikli Hasan, or Venetian Hasan, originally Andretta Celesti from Venice, Grand Admiral 1588-1591, was one of three Ottoman admirals originally from Italy. The circumstances of their capture varied but due to powerful patrons, they all advanced to become admirals. Hasan and Ali, both captured by corsairs from North Africa, became corsairs themselves. Cigalazade was also captured by corsairs but due to his elite background received an education in the sultan’s palace school in Istanbul. Hasan’s patron and predecessor, Kilij Ali, admiral 1571-1587 and his successor Sinan Cigalazade, admiral 1591-1610, gained fame and their accomplishments have been examined by Ottoman historians. However, Venedikli Hasan has left few traces in Ottoman records. But Hasan can be studied using narratives by captives in Algiers during the period that Hasan was the Ottoman governor, particularly Cervantes and Sosa. Antonio de Sosa was a prisoner in Algiers 1577-1581 and his work, *History of the Kings of Algiers*, was published in the 17th century by Diego de Haedo, who claimed the work for his uncle. But its value is that of an eyewitness account by the captive Sosa. Miguel de Cervantes’ period of captivity overlapped with that of Sosa and his descriptions of Hasan occur in *Don Quixote*. The question that arises is whether they can be accepted as having historical value for the life of Hasan. Thus, studying Venedikli Hasan provides a fascinating opportunity to explore the life of a captive of the Barbary corsairs who rose to the highest rank of Ottoman naval leadership through the narratives of two later captives of corsairs, who eventually returned to Christendom where they wrote accounts of their experiences in North Africa.

Peter Mark (Wesleyan University): “Ahmed Al-Mansur and Antonio de Saldanha: The Muslim Ruler as Enlightened Despot”

A seminal event in the early modern history of the western Maghreb was the Battle of Al-Kasr Kebir [Alcazar-quivir] in August 1578. The Portuguese King Sebastian was killed and nearly 2,500 of his soldiers were taken captive by the victorious forces of Ahmed Al-Mansur. Al-Mansur set up “factories” to produce ‘armas brancas,’ firearms and light mortars. Production was based on manpower provided by Portuguese captives. Al-Mansur’s key innovation was to attract free European artisans to settle in Marrakesh. There were thus two groups of Europeans involved in the Moroccan arms industry: the craftsmen who had come of their own accord, and the earlier captives of the battle.

The most important European primary account of the Sultan’s reign is a captivity narrative: Antonio de Saldanha’s *Cronica de Almançor Sultão de Marrocos (1578-1603)*. Al-Mansur offered captive European craftsmen better living conditions than they had in Europe. He permitted them to construct their own churches and to attend religious services. Saldanha

writes: "And since the captives lived separated [from the rest of the population] they possessed all of the goods they needed to live well and they could even become wealthy, which the Sultan very much appreciated being told and he saw to it that they were very well treated." This passage illustrates the duality of the Europeans' situation. They were prisoners, yet at the same time, they were well-treated and were granted religious freedom. It is significant that this early captivity narrative should present a distinctly positive assessment both of the captor, Al-Mansur, and of the manner in which he treated his Christian captives.

Workshop B: Images of Slavery (Chair: J. Östlund)

Lisa Kattenberg (University of Amsterdam): "Muslims, Morality and Commercial Success: The Captivity Narrative of Emanuel d'Aranda, 1640-1682"

The History of Algiers and its Slavery (1656), treating the 2-year Barbary captivity of the Flemish nobleman Emanuel d'Aranda, is a special case within the genre of captivity narratives. Research is largely based on narratives as they appeared on markets in Europe and America, which are usually the only versions available. Questions regarding the process that preceded their publication remain largely unanswered. To what extent did commercial editions differ from the original tales authors took home from their captivity, and how should we explain possible alterations? Besides several seventeenth-century editions of *Algiers and its Slavery* published in the Spanish Netherlands, England, France and the Dutch Republic, we also have the recently recovered original manuscript. Comparing the manuscript to the various print editions of *Algiers and its Slavery* offers unique insight into the intricate process of turning the experience of captivity into a narrative suitable for a wide audience.

Although Emanuel d'Aranda comes across as a wonderfully objective observer and is often hailed as a beacon of tolerance, on closer examination he did not abstain from judgment at all. *Algiers and its Slavery* clearly distinguishes between good and bad on the basis of rules of moral experience, to which Christians and Muslims were equally subjected. This morality appears to have been consciously worked into the first published version of the book and further emphasized in subsequent editions. Exploring *Algiers and its Slavery* in the context of the manuscript reworking, its publishing history and contemporary literary-philosophical trends, this essay argues that, in the editions, d'Aranda and his publishers engaged with a literary genre of neostoic moral prose. While adapting the manuscript, they introduced a moral frame which emphasized the stoic virtues of patience and resignation in the face of adversity, naturally fitting the setting of captivity. D'Aranda's slavery was transformed into a hybrid piece of prose: both captivity narrative, and neostoic exercise in the search for inner tranquility.

Magnus Ressel (Historisches Kolleg München): "Putting Christian Slavery into Perspective. On Johann Frisch's *Schauplatz barbarischer Schlaverey* (1666)"

In 1666 the Lutheran Pastor of Altona, Johann Frisch (1636-1692), published a remarkable book, bearing the title: "Schauplatz barbarischer Schlaverey" (Theatre of Barbarian Slavery). The theme of the book was the situation of Christian slaves in Northern Africa. Despite its rather lurid title, the content of the book was far from most texts which were usually produced in Baroque Europe on their Muslim neighbors. Mostly Frisch puts forward a differentiated picture: at times he harshly criticizes the Muslims, at times he praises them for their good conduct. Some of the manifold layers and their specific sources shall be presented and analyzed. By intensely contextualizing the book and its author I hope to illuminate a changing nuance in the European-wide discourse on the Barbary corsairs.

Sebastian Zylinski (Universität Gießen): "Gotha and Its Lost Seamen – The Image of Slavery in Central Germany in the First Half of the 18th Century"

Situated in the center of Germany, the duchy of Gotha, like other imperial territories without direct coastal access, was recognized in historical research, but was hardly worth considering with respect to Barbary slavery. This may be due to the small amount of sources that are only available to a limited extent or to the fact that this kind of material is very fragmented in itself. Contrary to these findings, in the 18th century the duchy of Gotha was a treasure. There are two remarkable printed slave reports (Johann Michael Kühn's *Lebensbeschreibung*, printed in Gotha in 1741 and Hans Nicol Fürneisen's *Reisebeschreibung*, improved and in a second printing in Arnstadt in 1835, the original may be dated in the early 18th century but doesn't exist anymore), which show their fate and distribute knowledge of mediterranean slavery in central Germany.

We especially need to consider that Kühn's "Lebensbeschreibung" has to be seen as a fictional report in which the discourse about slavery is more "readable" than in a real slave's story. I suggest that these texts offer an insight into a prevailing understanding of slavery in central Germany in the first half of the 18th century. In contrast to these, there is a petition of the Gotha Court to the Senate of the city of Hamburg (in the year 1747) with a request to redeem two Gothanian sailors who were held in captivity. In the lecture, the understanding of slavery (being a slave) in Gotha is elicited to reconstruct argumentation patterns in the use of a slave's image as redeeming strategy due to the petition and in contrast on the basis of the slave reports by Kühn and Fürneisen. Especially the distribution mechanisms and "routes" of the slave image, in and to Gotha, will be shown.