

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Away from Home: Ideas, Emotions, Images and Writings on Homesickness in the Mediterranean World (1492-1923)



AWAY FROM HOME IN MOROCCO LANDS: CONTRIBUTION FOR THE STUDY OF THE PRISONERS OF THE BATTLE OF KSAR EL KEBIR

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“**Homesickness** is a sentiment, and an idea shared by societies around the Mediterranean, and felt by individuals and communities alike, either temporarily or permanently; particularly in a geography marked by the voluntary and **involuntary displacement of people** across the political, cultural and **religious** divide since Antiquity.

Being away from home triggers a vast array of situations and feelings, like nostalgia manifested by narratives, art, patterns of consumption, etc.; **or the attempt to keep the identity in face of a different set of values in the place one is living as an exile or as an expatriate;** namely through **the endeavour to build Home away from Home;** and to maintain contact with Home exchanging writings, presents, etc.”

In

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE Away from Home: Ideas, Emotions, Images and Writings on Homesickness in the Mediterranean World
Program & Book of Abstracts, page 2.



Barbary Slave Trade, Anonymous, 1624 (Science Photo Library)

CAPTIVES

These individuals were captured as a result of the military conflicts, notably as a result of the Portuguese presence in North African places but above all they were involuntarily seized at sea and on the sea, continental and island coasts, on the voyages or on the fish activities, by Berber pirates and privateers.

The attacks were also carried out on the villages or during agricultural work, as occurred in the Algarve and the Atlantic islands.



Slave markets flourished on the Barbary Coast of North Africa, between the 15th and middle of the 18th century.

The North African slave markets traded in European captives which were acquired by Barbary pirates and privateers in slave raids on ships and by raids on coastal places from Italy to Spain, Portugal, France, England ...

Men, women, and children were captured and awaited their rescue in the ports of modern-day Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and western Libya.

Places
where
Christian
captives
were taken



- ① Salé
- ② Ceuta
- ③ Tetuan
- ④ Mequinez
- ⑤ Algiers
- ⑥ Tunis

The Order of the Holy Trinity
a religious order founded with the aim of rescuing
and supporting Christian captives.



Trinitarian religious on the Redemption's vessel

André Gonçalves (atrib.), c. 1754 | Convento de Cristo, Tomar



Symbol of the Order of the Holy Trinity

Church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (1638-1641), Rome

The Trinitarian religious provided assistance to the captives and negotiated their rescue.

They were intended to support all those who kept persevering in the Christian faith, to maintain their own identity in a society with such different values and where reneging arose as a tempting option.

The Order of the Holy Trinity supported by the Church and monarchs sought to avoid apostasy and arrange for the captives to return to their homelands.



Captive rescue

Atrib. André Gonçalves, c. 1754
Convento de Cristo, Tomar



Summary of Indulgences and pardons granted to all those who have given alms intended for the rescue of captives

Summario das Indulgencias ...

1734

ANTT, Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, mç. 14, cx. 53

LISBOA OCCIDENTAL

Na Officina de JOSEPH ANTONIO DA SYLVA, Impressor da Academia Real. Com as licenças necessárias. M. DCC. XXXIV.



Research project

MOVING CITY

Cities made for war: a European army in late Sixteenth-Century Morocco

EXPL/HAR-HIS/1521/2021

supported by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia

MOVING CITY

This project aims to identify:

- **The human component:** The Trinitarian ransom reports provide a large amount of information concerning the individuals of the army, that will be coupled with other primary sources. Identify and register all listed captives from the battle of Ksar El Kebir mentioned in the lists of the rescued prisoners, and in the documents of the collection of the Convent of the Holy Trinity of Lisbon. Paleographic transcription and data organization, to be harmonized and inserted into a geo-database in order to allow the study of the spatial dynamics of the population involved in the recruitment effort.
- **The internal structure of the army.** The identification of the soldiers will provide information on the officer staff, the age of soldiers, and will help to understand the demographic pressure, and the crucial (but still elusive) non-military that participated in the event. It will be possible to acquire knowledge of the relative importance (in Portugal) of the “profession of arms” compared with other specialized personnel such as musicians, artillerists, engineers, etc. The nature of non-military personnel, namely those dedicated to various jobs and camp followers, like the soldier’s families, servants, etc. The geographic incidence of the recruitment effort, as the traditional narrative associates that each of the four Portuguese “terços” had a regional basis, namely the North, Centre, and South of Portugal.



It was from the **Convent of the Holy Trinity of Ceuta** that the Trinitarian religious, under the guidance of Friar Roque do Espirito Santo, organized the rescues of Christian captives imprisoned as a result of the Battle of Ksar El Kebir.

From Ceuta, Trinitarian priests left for the main points of the Maghreb, where, in the years following the conflict, they identified and rescued the Portuguese who imprisoned and sold, were distributed throughout the Muslim world.

Ceuta. Holy Trinity Convent

Georg Braun; Frans Hogenberg: *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Band 1, 1572 (

HISTORIA
CHRONOLOGICA

DA
ESCLARECIDA ORDEM

DA
SS. TRINDADE
REDEMPÇÃO DE CATIVOS,

DA
PROVINCIA DE PORTUGAL:

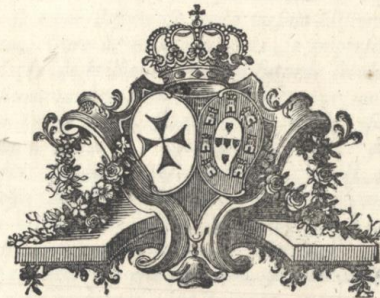
DEDICADA
AO SEMPRE AUGUSTO, E GLORIOSISSIMO
PRINCIPE DO BRASIL

D. JOÃO,
NOSSO SENHOR,

POR
FR. JERONYMO DE S. JOSE,

Chronista, Ex-Definidor, e Visitador Geral Apostolico da mesma Provincia,
natural da Villa de Guimarães.

T O M . I.



L I S B O A :

NA OFFICINA DE SIMÃO THADDEO FERREIRA.
ANNO DE M. DCC. LXXXIX.

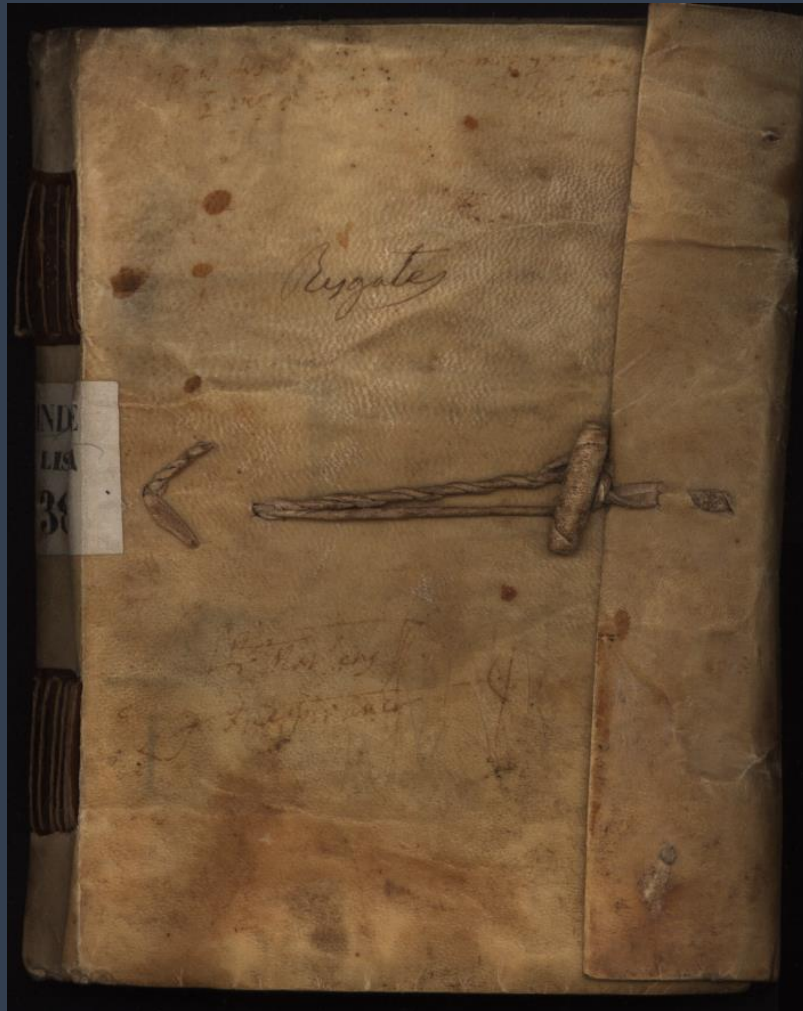
Com Licença da Real Meza da Commissão Geral sobre o Exame e Censura dos Livros.

Chronicle of the Order of the Holy Trinity of Portugal

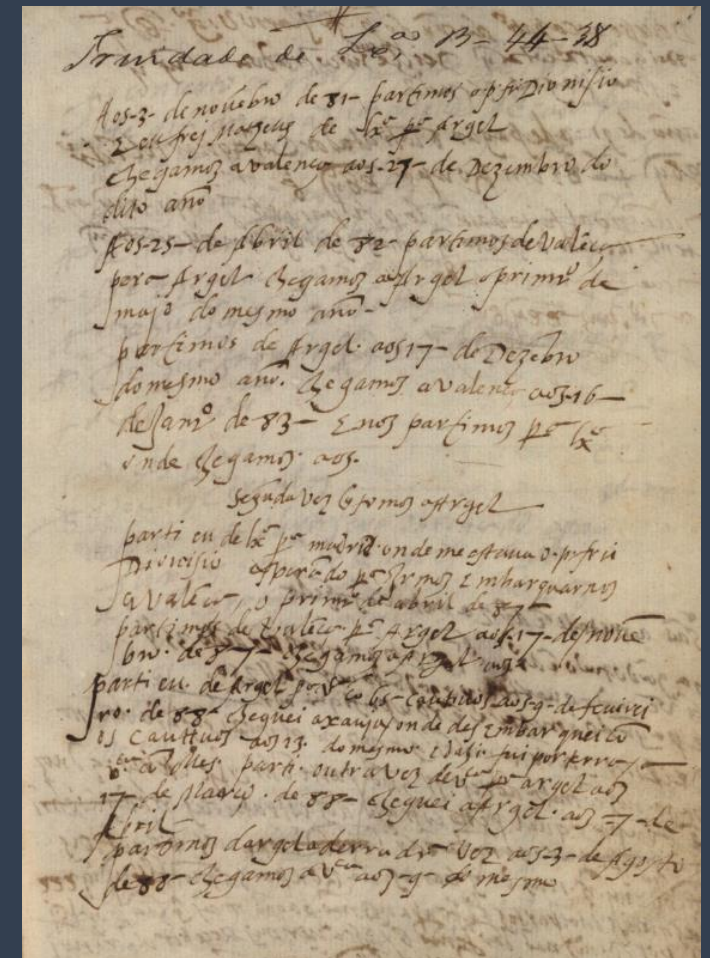
*Historia chronologica da esclarecida Ordem da SS. Trindade ,
Redempção de Cativos da Provincia de Portugal*

Fr. Jerónimo de São José

Lisboa: Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1789-1794, 2 vols.



Following indications of Friar Roque do Espirito Santo, the Trinitarian priests should write down, in specific books for this purpose, all the rescues made identifying the captive with reference to the naturalness, affiliation, age, craft, cost of the rescue.



Book of Ransoming

ANTT - OSST, Convento da Trindade de Lisboa, livs. 28



Map of Spain with Melilla highlighted.

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki>

**Rescues organized in Melilla
by the Trinitarian Fr. André dos Anjos
between 1579-1594.**



Melilla



Melilla

Over the course of 15 years, Fr. André dos Anjos, rescued 359 captives who arrived at Melilla fortress, taken by Muslims who intended to profit from the amount to be received for the ransom.

Situation contrary to what was happening in other locations where the rescues obeyed a protocol defined between the Portuguese crown and the local governors.

The captives who were transported to Melilla were stolen from the prisoners of the Battle by Muslims and sold in the city for lower amounts.

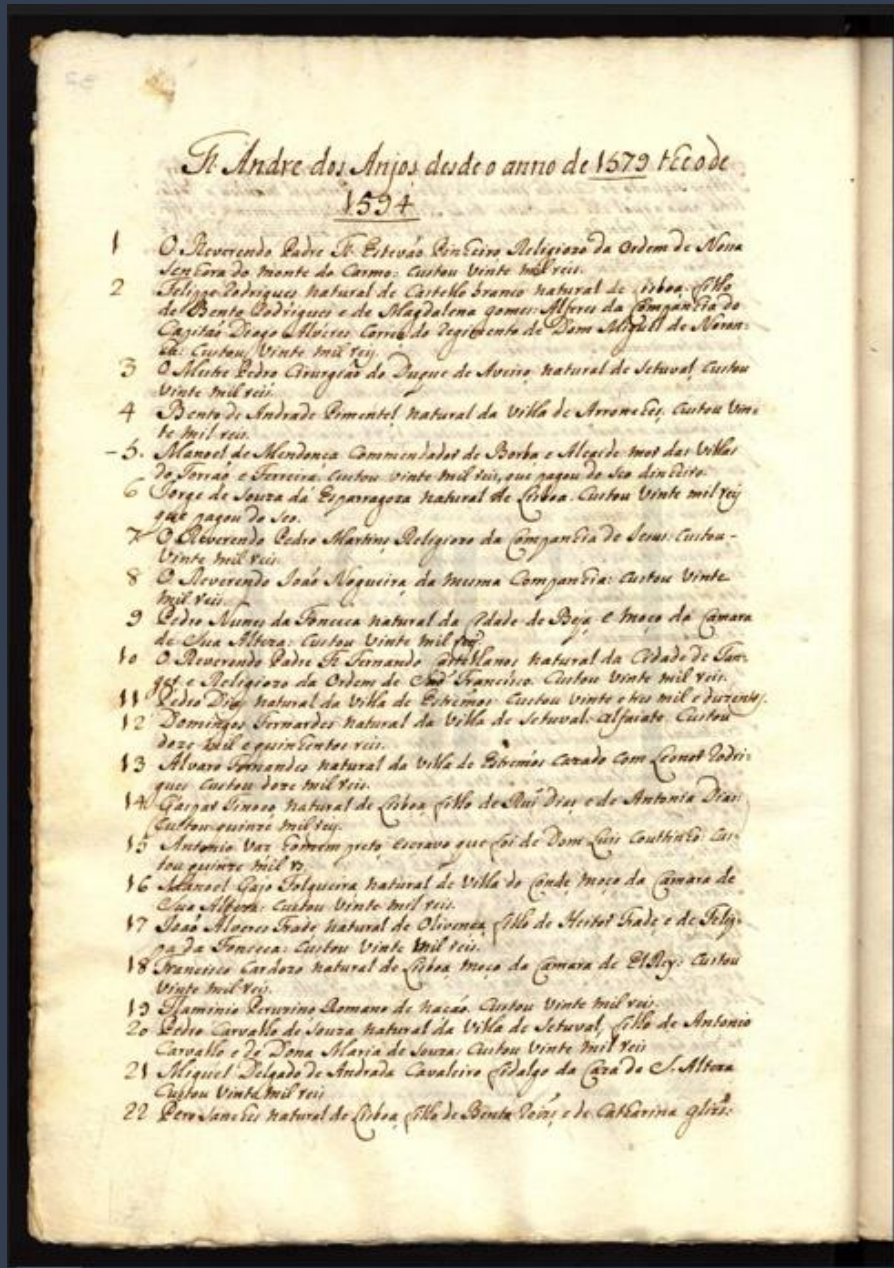


Melilla

The captives who were transported to Melilla were stolen from the prisoners of the Battle by Muslims and sold in the city for lower amounts.

To seize the occasion, it was decided to employ all the money and goods that were destined for the rescue of Fez.

However, despite their good quality, and in Berberia was worth a lot, the goods were not useful on this occasion because the Muslims who brought the captives to sell, as they were thieves, did not want goods as payment not to be discovered by them, but money.



List of rescued by Friar André dos Anjos 1579-1594

Historia chronologica dos varoens illustres que tem havido na
Provincia da Ordem da Santissima Trindade ...

Unknown author

[18th century]

ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria, nº 565, fl. 32v.

St Andre dos.

- 1 O Reverendo Padre Sr. Senador do monte de Ca...
- 2 Felippe Rodrigues natural de Bente Rodrigues e a Capita Diago Alveira...
- 3 O Alente Pedro Amargos vinte mil reis.
- 4 Bento de Andrade com te mil reis.
- 5 Manoel de Mendonca de No. Tomaz e Ferreira. Cui...
- 6 Jorge de Souza da Espa...
- 7 O Reverendo Pedro Alva...
- 8 O Reverendo Joao No...
- 9 Pedro Nunes da Fonseca de Sua Magestade. Custou...
- 10 O Reverendo Padre Joa...
- 11 Pedro Dias natural da V...
- 12 Domingos Fernandes tr...
- 13 Alvaro Fernandes natu...
- 14 Gaspar Diniz natural...
- 15 Antonio Vaz com cem p...
- 16 Manoel Gago Solgueira...
- 17 Joao Alveira Fado natu...
- 18 Francisco Cardoso natu...
- 19 Flaminio Severino Rom...
- 20 Pedro Carvalho de Souza...
- 21 Miguel Delgado de Alm...
- 22 Pedro Lancini natural de...

- 23 Custou vinte...
- 24 Domingos...
- 25 Dom...
- 26 Christovao...
- 27 Pedro...
- 28 Marcos...
- 29 Corat...
- 30 Pedro de...
- 31 Pedro...
- 32 Francisco...
- 33 Luiz de...
- 34 Antonio...
- 35 Bartolomeu...
- 36 Francisco...
- 37 Joao...
- 38 Dele...
- 39 Salvador...
- 40 Manoel...
- 41 Amaro...
- 42 Jorge...
- 43 Pedro...
- 44 Antonio...
- 45 Afonso...
- 46 Pedro...

- 47 Manoel Cordeiro Casado na...
- 48 Domingos...
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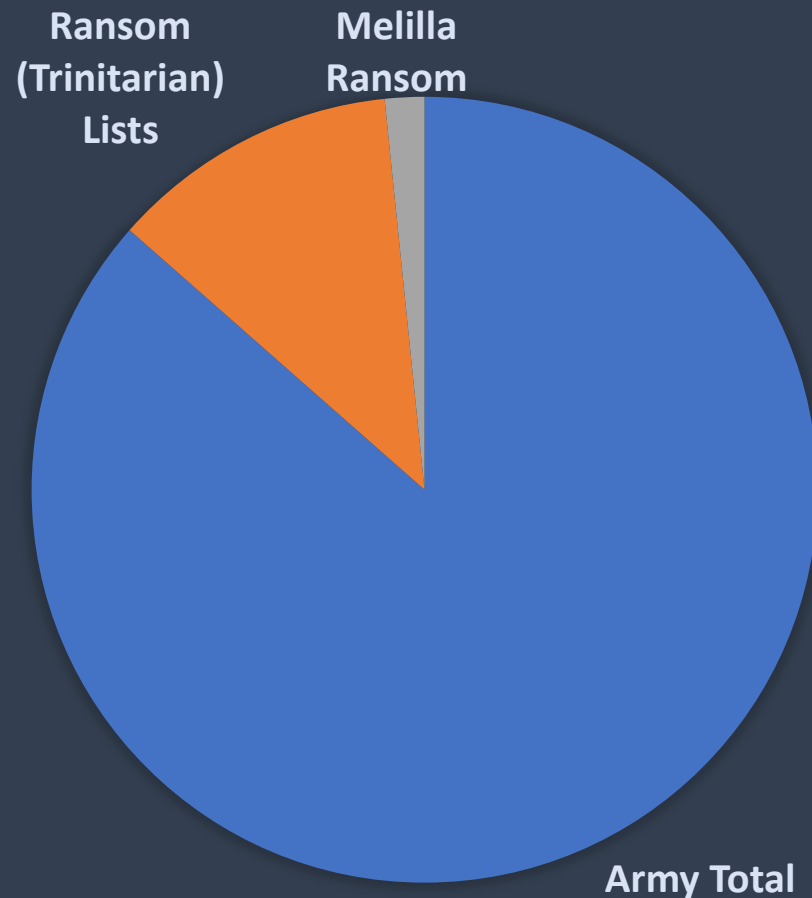
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- 120 Manoel...
- 121 Alvaro...
- 122 Afonso...
- 123 Alvaro...
- 124 Maria...
- 125 Martin...
- 126 Antonio...
- 127 Joao...
- 128 Bartolomeu...
- 129 Amaro...
- 131 Joao...
- 132 Jorge...
- 133 Domingo...
- 134 Pedro...
- 135 Antonio...
- 136 Manoel...
- 137 Antonio...
- 138 Francisco...
- 139 Afonso...
- 140 Joao...
- 141 Joao...
- 142 Antonio...
- 143 Pedro...

A PORTUGUESE MILITARY CITY IN MOROCCO (27 July - 4 August 1578)

A sample of a sixteenth century army based on the Trinitarian ransom lists

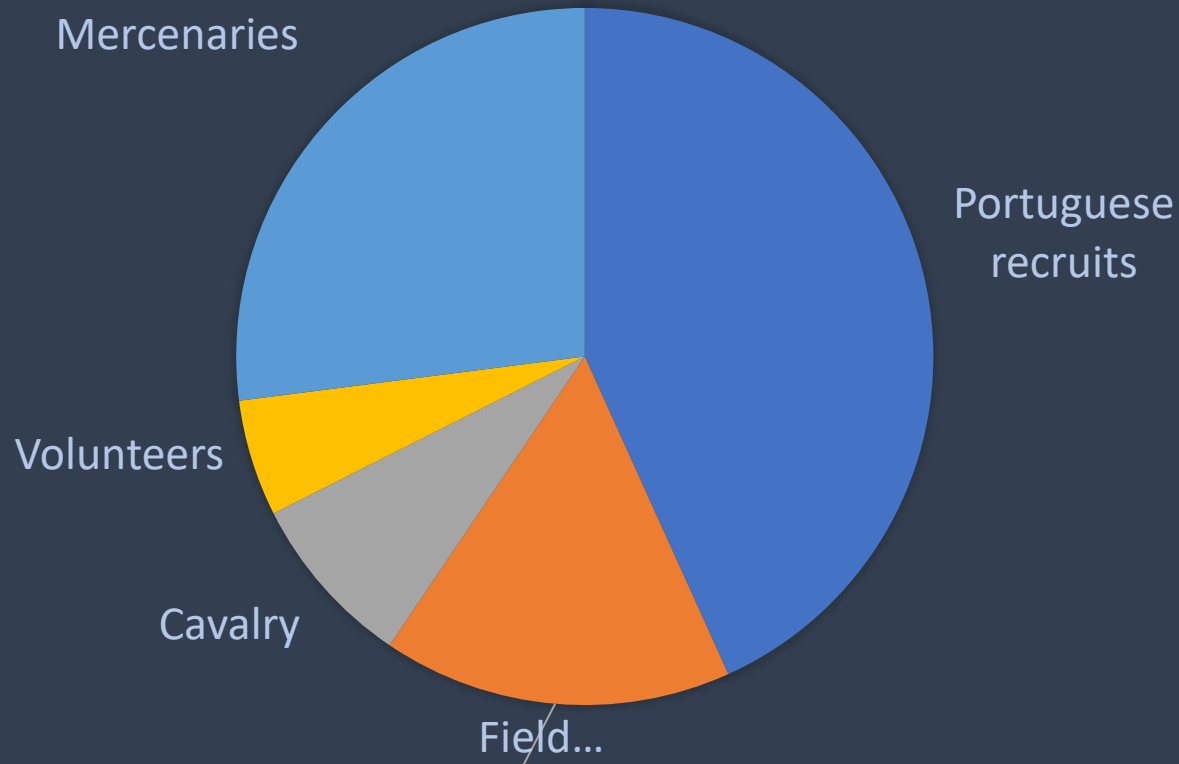


The lists provide an array of details about the human component of D. Sebastião's army. However, it must be underlined that substantive issues still require further development, and questions remain unanswered:

How many died in the battle?
How many stayed in Morocco?

The captives rescued by the Portuguese Trinitarian friars are a small part of the army, and Melilla's list is an even smaller part.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE MILITARY CITY: HOW MANY CIVILIANS?



The military component of the army is well documented in the various accounts.

We also know that there were workers for building the encampments and siege works (for the planned assault of port city of Larache).

Civilians are also mentioned, but we do not have more than dispersed details:

The wives of mercenaries from the Netherlands;

The specific case of a Spanish soldier who was accompanied by his wife

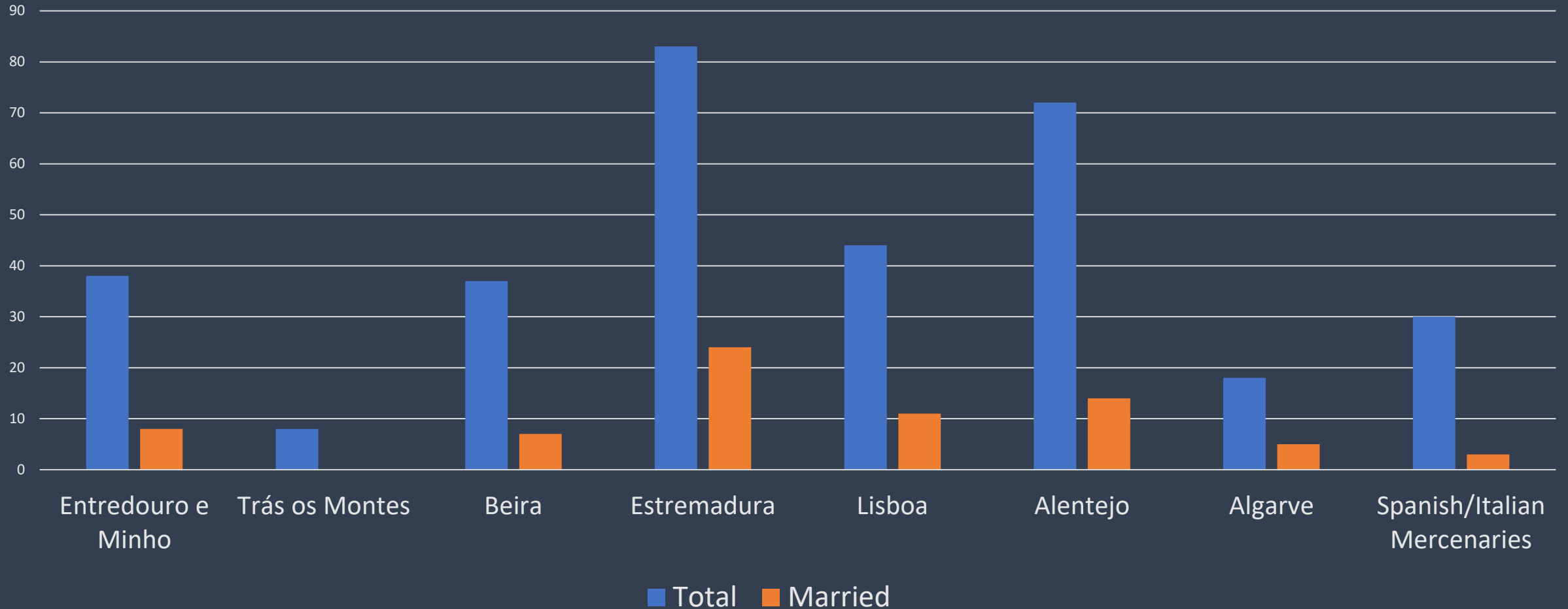
The Portuguese soldier that went for war accompanied by his parents, wife and children.

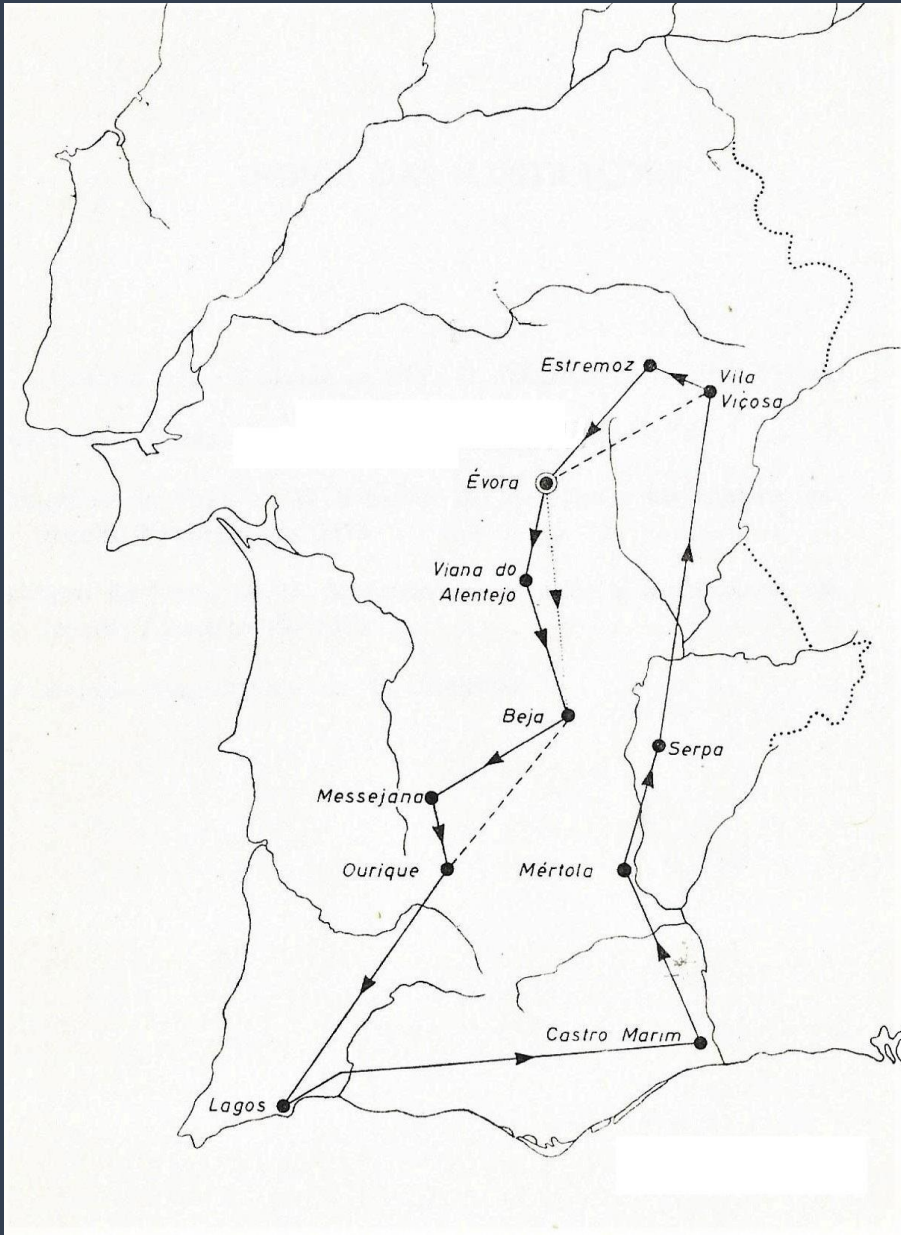
Population Structure:

recruitment places; mercenary market

Motivation to fight:

married and non-married





THE 1573 MILITARY INSPECTION

In 1573, King D. Sebastião made a two-month inspection journey to Alentejo and Algarve; the main objective was to assess the military potential of the southernmost part of the kingdom, exposed to periodic corsair attacks from North Africa.

A report was written, giving a wide array of information, including a detailed account of some 30 musters, parades, and exercises that took place, including the military personnel involved.

We can compare the results of the 1573 initiative with the geographical provenance of the Melilla captives

Recruitment in the Southern Portugal: 1573 and 1578

Alentejo / Algarve Inspection (1573)



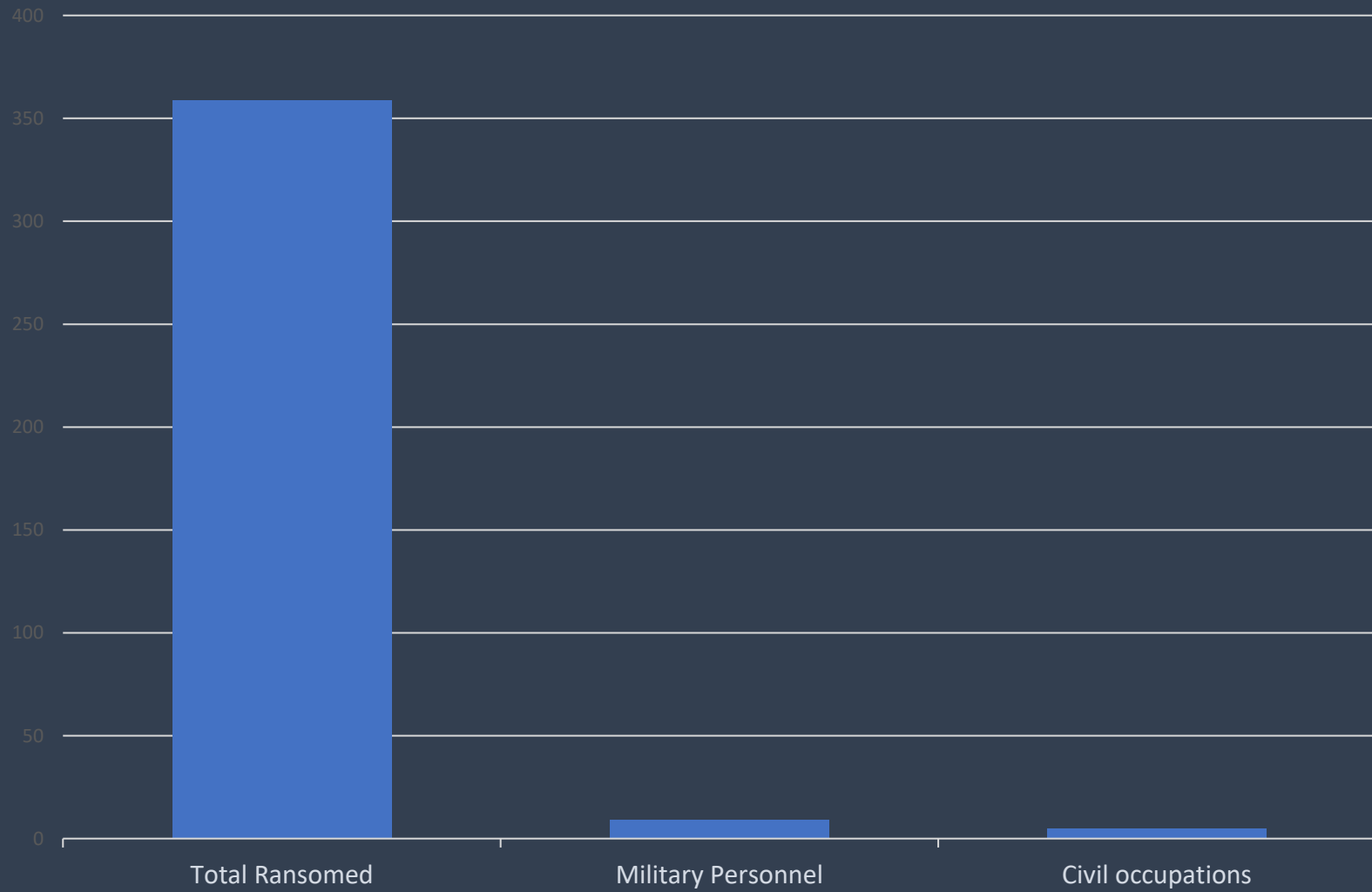
■ Alentejo ■ Algarve

El Ksar Kebir campaign (1578)



■ Alentejo ■ Algarve

Occupations of the 359 captives from the Melilla Ransom



Only two high rank officers have been identified in the Melilla ransom:

Felipe Rodrigues, “Alferes”

Company of Diogo Alvares Correia

“ Terço” of colonel D. Miguel de Noronha

Marcos Gomes Troguilho, Sergeant

Company?

Spanish “Tercio”?

Embracing Islam would be a temptative option, in contrast with maintaining the former christian faith in an hostile environment; moreover, any warlike occupation would highly rewarding in Morocco

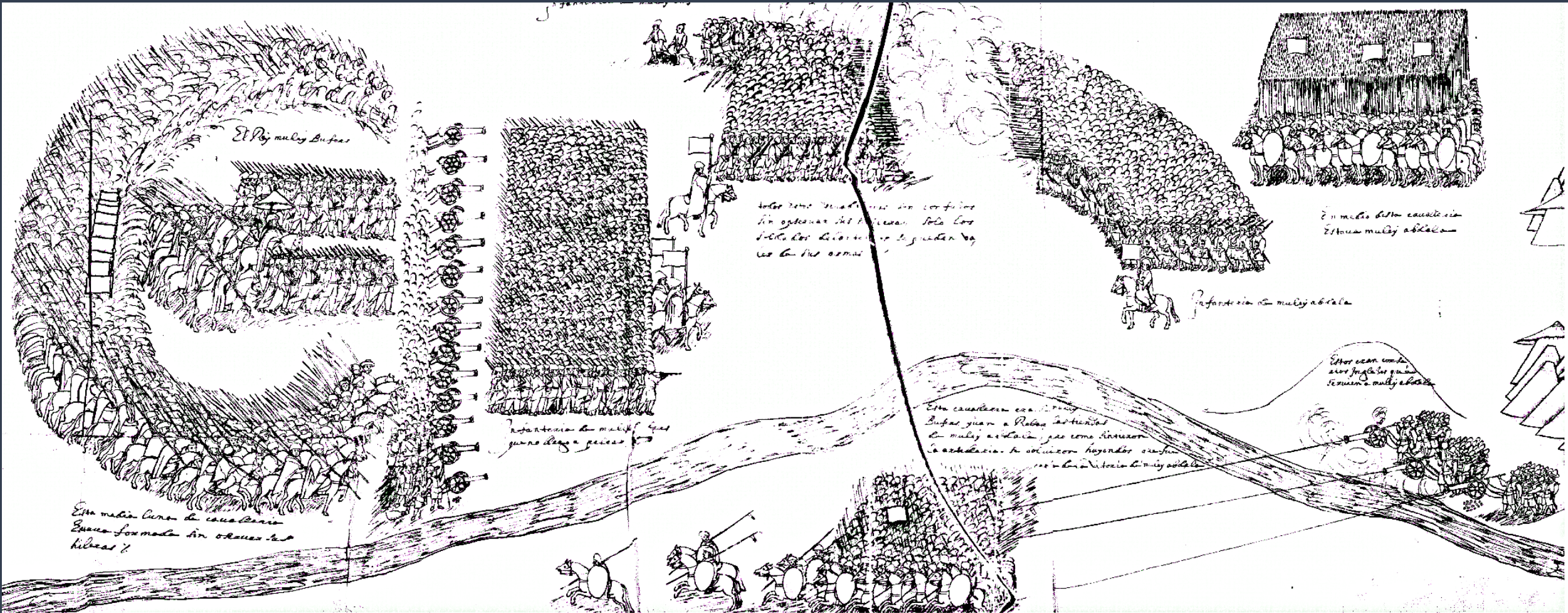


“Conquista de Azamor”, André Peres (atr.), 1600, PDVV



European “renegades” and mercenaries in late XV – early XVII century Morocco, according to a contemporary eyewitness

Jorge de Henim, Memorial, 1613



After 1578, the “*Sharif*” Almansor initiated a fortification campaign covering the western and eastern borders: Larache and Fez were to be provided with new systems that followed European models.



A significant part of that unusual urban organism - the military city of D. Sebastião in Morocco – kept its cultural identity. They captives would return during the ransom initiatives that lasted until early XVII century.



Algiers Slave Market, Van Luyken, 1684



Communication presented under the projects:

MOVING CITY Cities made for war: a European army in late Sixteenth-Century Morocco

EXPL/HAR-HIS/1521/2021, supported by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia

DE RE MILITARI From military writings to the image of battlefield in Portuguese space (1521-1621)

PTDC/ ART-HIS/32459/2017), supported by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia

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THANK YOU