

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



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



Trinitarian religious on the Redemption's vasselAndré Gonçalves (atrib.), c. 1754 | Convento de Cristo, Tomar

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



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.

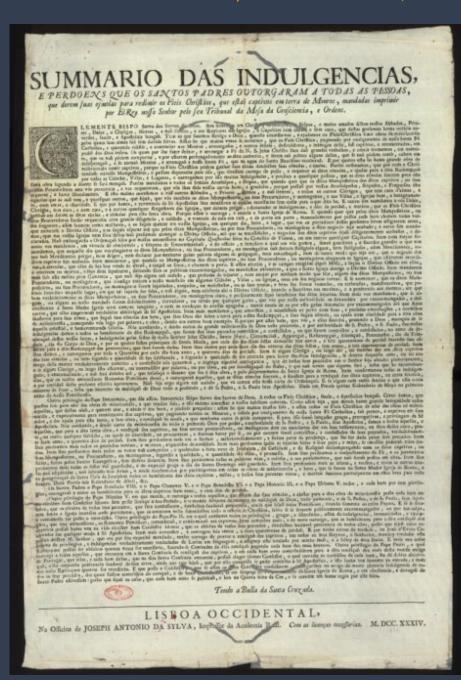
The Order of the Holy Trinity supported by the Church and monarchs sought to avoid apostasy and arrange for the captives to return to their homelands.



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



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

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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.

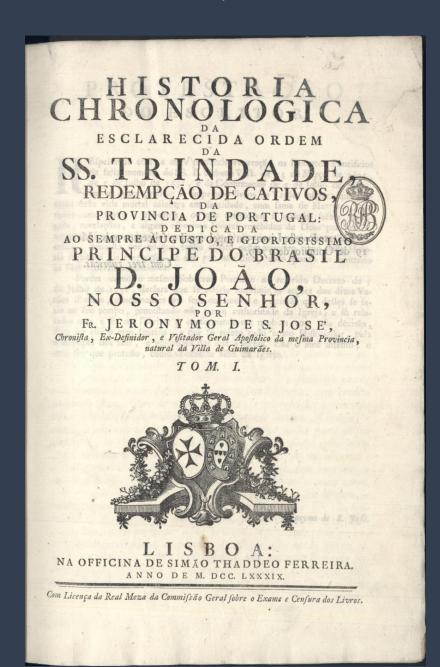


It was from the **Convent of the Holy Trinity of Ceuta** that the Trinitarian religious, under the guidance of Friar Roque do Espirito Santo, organized the rescues of Christian captives imprisoned as a result of the Battle of Ksar El Kebir.

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 (

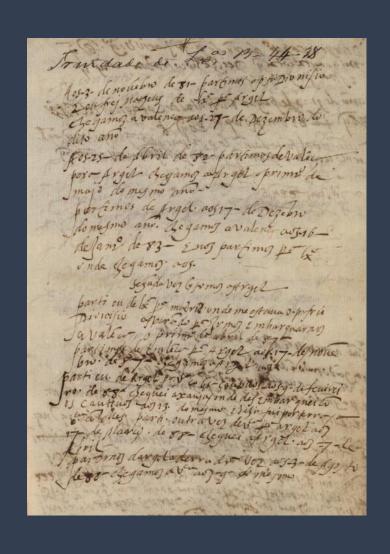


Chronicle of the Order of the Holy Trinity of Portugal

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



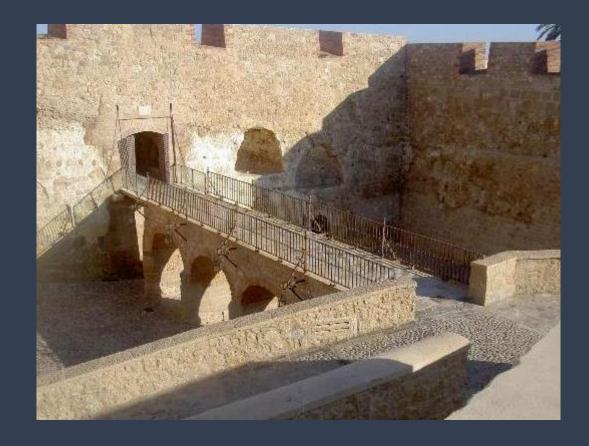
Map of Spain with Melilla highlighted. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki

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

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



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

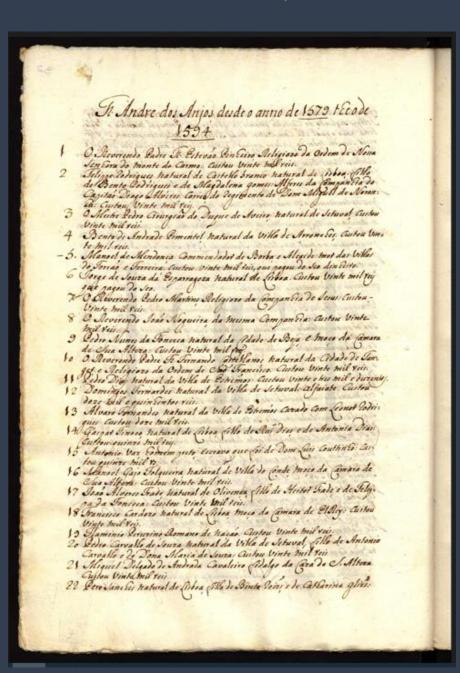


The captives who were transported to Melilla were stolen from the prisoners of the Battle by Muslims and sold in the city for lower amounts.

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.

Melilla



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.

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Custon Vini Ceristevas 24 Domingo

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31 Pedro Jen mara de E

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58 Ledro Fernandes de Azeve Oper mourato e de Cattar. 59 Ontonio Rodriques hate

Seligna Fine Curton Vini

60 Deminger Cones Carado Le termo le Monte prol a Ve 61 Diogo Dias Citto de Diogo Mosteiro de

62 Nicolas Rodrigues ofthe a na Cinade de Evera: Cuto 63 Francisco Martins morador

64 Antonio Pires Carado Co. de Guimaraem: Curton Vis

65 Jan Alveres della de Ban 66 Dominger Suite Carels Con Vinte bill to

67 Alvaro Joany Carado Com Vinte Pour mil 1.

68 Pedro Pirer fillo de Bach 69 Joanne De Petrus Stalians

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84 Vimão de Joar Gitale de fin 85 Diogo Lopela

be frie Weir. 86 Antonio Porrei Est fille de Br

87 Giraldo Jacon de Cotuval: Cu 88 Joan Fire Cara

Eum mil rei. 89 Dominger In Cinton Vinte a

90 Antonia Mon. Yadot em Jehuvi

91 Manoel do mor to down mil feir 92 Manuel Loges

93 Diego Corneis

94 Sebartias Mark Vinte mil vey

95 Brogo Dias dilla 06 Pedro Frie hats Vinte bil rein

97 Jone Courenes hu Filalga: Curton . 98 Manuel de Evo

Vorge Dias e de . 99 Redro Vicente h. Cattarina Vicen

100 Francisto Vanche peranea da Jones 10 Y Matten Gerrer e de Maria Enc

102 Joan Garcia hah C. Rajo che Joan 1 6 3 Joad Semander &

104 Dominger Quer Veres & de CAnto

105 Gainat Loin ha 1 0 & Baltearet gome

109 Joan gomes hah

1 0 8 Adas Tris hate

109 Sernag Jorge Wat. Rovi ede Beati

110 Alonco Quetterre, 111 Joan Pries Parton

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de coura: Jugio a 113 Garnar Malleiro Hoiro e de Maria

114 Bento Stire hah 115 Diografloure

ria Estever Cust 116 Antonio Gonzali

goncaldes Curto. 117 Francisco Mung

118 Peder mender has 119 Canto Pereira Car. 120 Mansel Sernandes haberal da Plade de Evera The de Antonio First e de Catearina Genealves Curtor Vinte dour mil reit. 121 Alvaro Monig hatural de Rebaldeira termo de Jones Vedras filo de Jos

ge Alverer de Briolanja Luis: Curtois quinze mil teis. 12 & Alonco Roman habutal de Albuquerque Carado em Campo maior Com Ca:

Varina goncalver: Curton quinte milven 123 Alongo Marcial natural da Mad da Madeira filo de Joan Martini da.

Calleta e de Maria Trini: Custou Vinte dous thit reis 124 Marion Tablero habiral de Olivenca fillo de Petro Janetes e de Cattaris

ha Duran: Curtou enine mil tuy 125 Martin de Berrio Saval natural de Vila de lo Lio movadot em Siboa fi

No de Martin de Berrio Vaval e de Marin la de Arega: Custou quinze

126 Antonio Giar natural de libea (illo de facas Estever e de Anna Dia. Custon Vinte down milvein U

127 Sacome Sorlando Nagolitano Colvorità de El Dey Curtou quinze milt. 128 Bartelomeu Join Companiciro do Sobredito Sacome: Canton quinze:

129 Francisco Dilao natural de Alcacel de Sal Tilo de Bartolomen Dels galo e de Violante Dilloa : Curtou Vinte mil vii.

130 Amaro de Sima morador em Janger haberal des Arcor de Valde Vez fr

Ho de Ferned Dalver e de Frantigea Diag: Curtou binte mil reis 13 1 Joan Fris hatural de Alvito fille de Manoel Frisi e de Margarida Cardora: Veio fugido ao Cativeiro.

132 Jorge Joan haharal de Coimbra Carado Com Trabel Simoir Vico fugido a

133 Tomingo Naldin Romano de harcas Curton Vinte done mil veil 134 Ledra Afonco Carado Com Babel Trizi hatural da Solanta a hova: Cuis

tou Write mil Veil 135 Antonio Frin Matural da Idanta a hova, Alo de Afonco gliri Mon:

no e de Domingar Alonco: Curtou Vinte mil Veis. 136 Manoel Var Carado em Janged Com Anna Percira: Custon Vinte mil ?.

137 Antenio Dias haberal do termo de Alemquet Cho de Afonco Diage De Beatin Fin: Culton Vinte mil tin. 2 138 Francisco goncalves natural da Conte do Porto: The de Goncalo Liver

e de Anna Afonco: Custou Vinte mil n. 139 Afonco Corio Colvorista de El Dey katural da Made Prega: Culoudera

Ly mil veis 1 4 0 Joan de Roma natural da merma Plade de Roma fillo de Miquel de

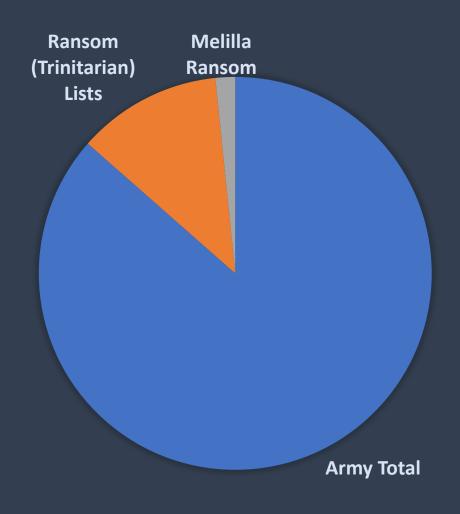
Roma e de Maria Romana: Custon deraccio mil veli. 14 | Soci de Gja natural da muma Plade de Gja Allo de Henrique de Ga e de Barbara... Curtou doctres mil Veis.

142 Antonio Roise Cavado em Pisoa Com Violante Gomes: Curtou Vinte dour

143 Pedro da Porta Carado em Ciboa Com Catlarina Joan: Curtou Vinte

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

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

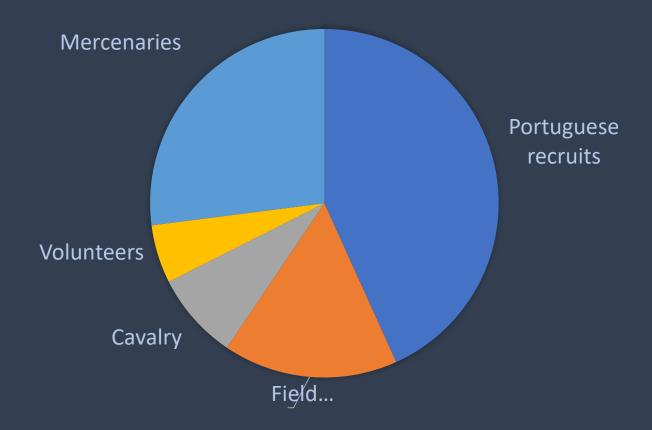


The lists provide an array of details about the human component of D. Sebastião's army. However, it must be underlined that substantive issues still require further development, and questions remain unanswered:

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;

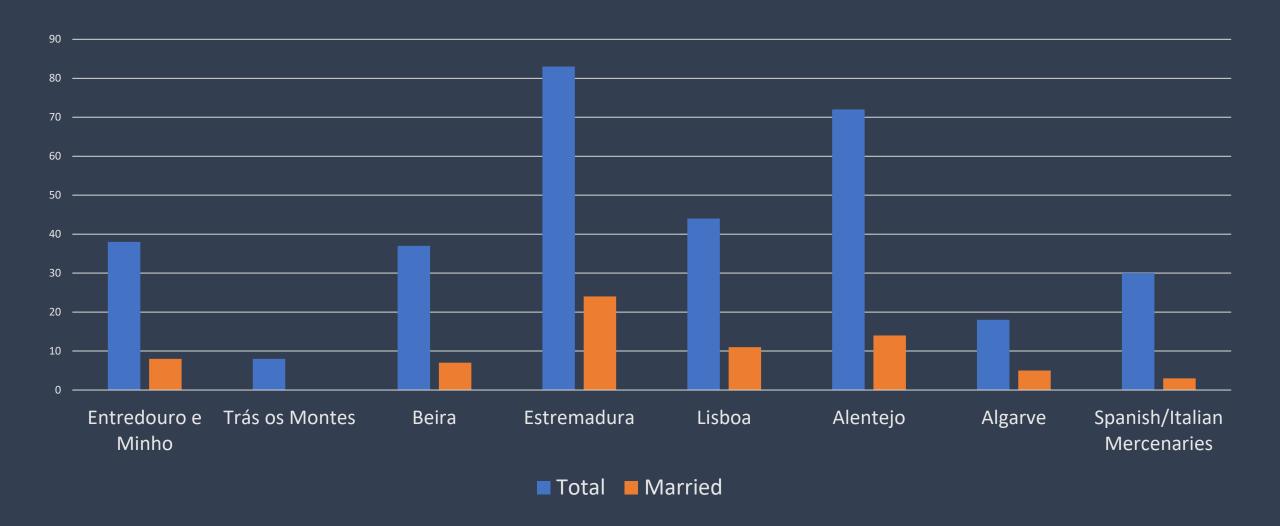
The specific case of a Spanish soldier who was accompanied by his wife

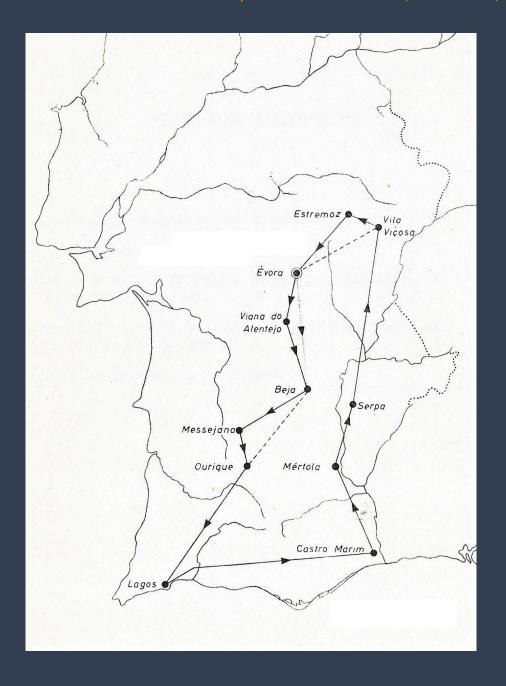
The Portuguese soldier that went for war accompanied by his parents, wife and children.

Population Structure:

recruitment places; mercenary market

Motivation to fight: married and non-married





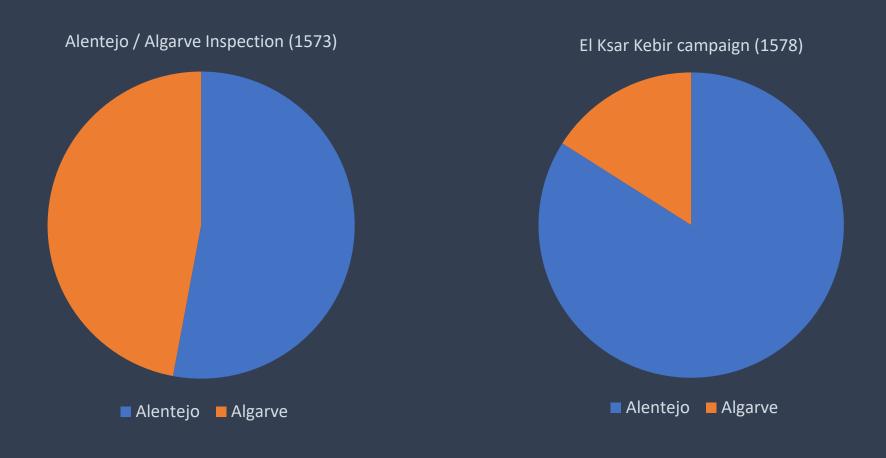
THE 1573 MILITARY INSPECTION

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.

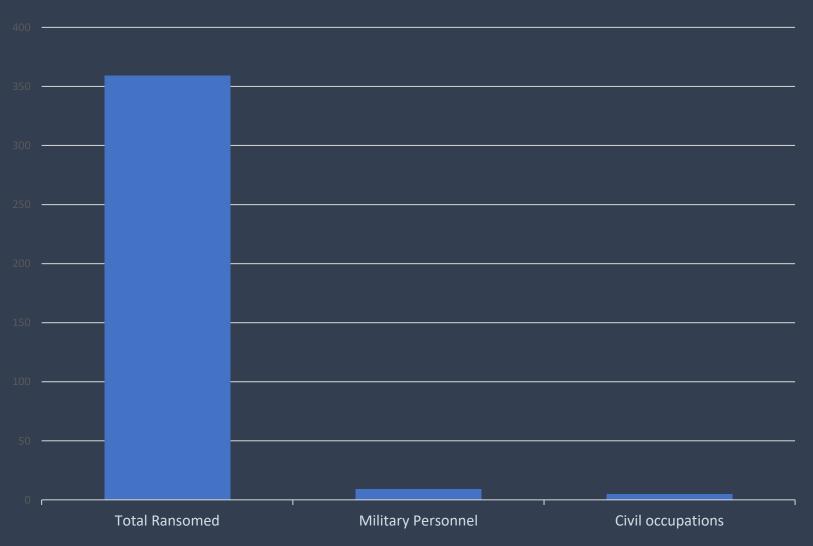
A report was written, giving a wide array of information, including a detailed account of some 30 musters, parades, and exercises that took place, including the military personnel involved.

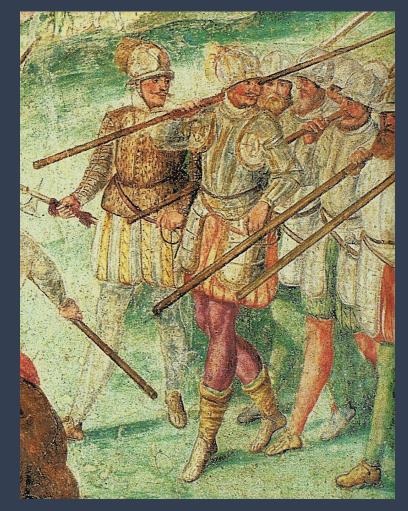
We can compare the results of the 1573 initiative with the geographical provenance of the Melilla captives

Recruitment in the Southern Portugal: 1573 and 1578



Occupations of the 359 captives from the Melilla Ransom





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

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

Felipe Rodrigues, "Alferes"

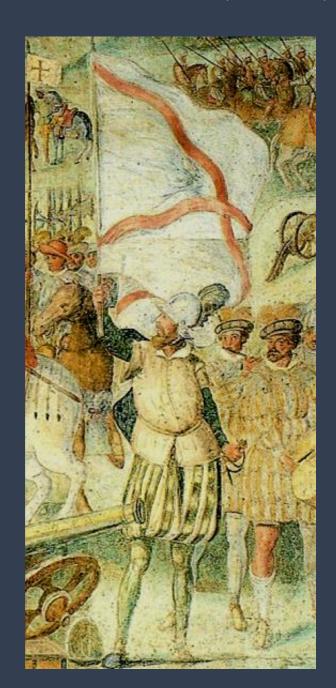
Company of Diogo Alvares Correia "Terço" of colonel D. Miguel de Noronha

Marcos Gomes Troguilho, Sergeant

Company?

Spanish "Tercio"?

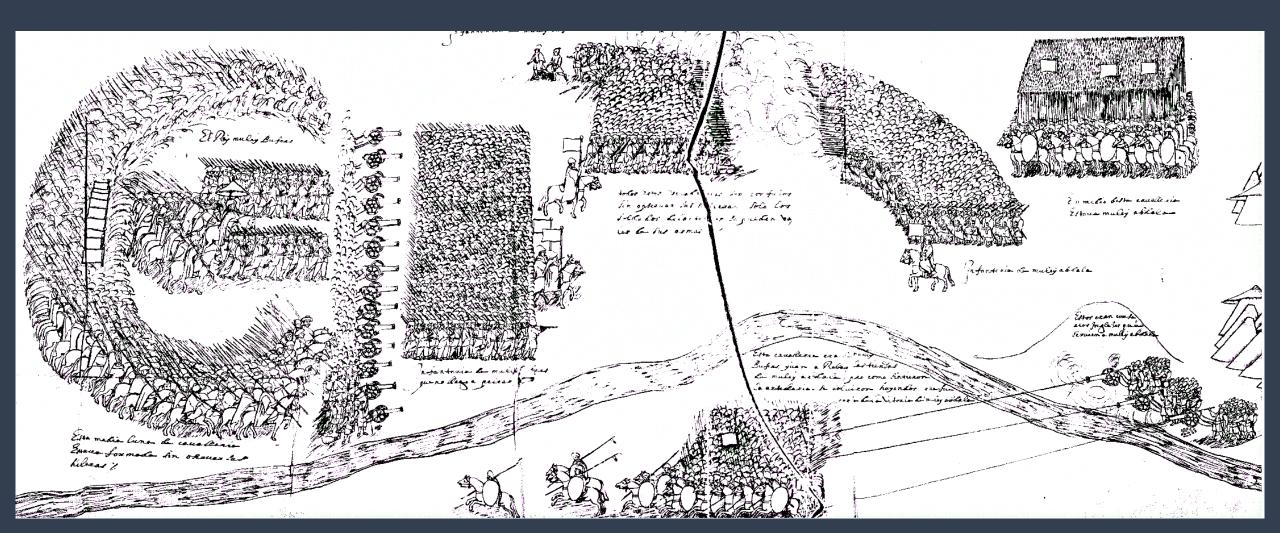
Embracing Islam would be a temptative option, in contrast with maintaining the former christian faith in an hostile environment; moreover, any warlike occupation would highly rewarding in Morocco



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European "renegades" and mercenaries in late XV – early XVII century Morocco, according to a contemporary eyewhitness

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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