Mirror in the Maghrib

Gender, Sexuality, and Identity in Early Modern European Captivity Narratives

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Introduction

"Though I have unhappily seldom experienced those Hours, who, may say, with too much Truth, that the Misfortunes I met with in Barbary *have been more than equalled by those I have since experienced, in this Land of Civil and Religious Liberty."* ~Elizabeth Marsh[1]

On July 27th, 1756, a twenty-one-year-old Englishwoman set sail from Gibraltar to England aboard the *Ann Galley*, led by British merchant James Crisp.[2] The young woman had moved to Gibraltar to follow her fiancé who was in the British military. Her name was Elizabeth Marsh, and on August 8th, the *Ann Galley* was set upon by Moroccan corsairs, and Marsh was taken along with Crisp and the other crew members. These "Sallee Rovers"[3] took Marsh to Morocco, where she was held captive by the Crown Prince Sidi Muhammad in the city of Salé. Marsh was taken aback as she and her fellow captives were march through the streets, as "all the Way, we were entertained with a confused Noise of Women's Voices from the Tops of the Houses, which surprised me much, until I was informed it was a Testimony of Joy on the Arrival of a Female Captive."[4] Marsh had to pretend she was married to Crisp despite her engagement with another man in order to protect her chastity from the Moroccans, and resisted the advances of the prince to convert her and sleep with her.[5] However, Marsh was deceived by the daughter of an English renegade, and mistakenly proclaimed in Arabic that "There is but one God, and Mahomet is his Prophet," converting her to Islam.[6] Marsh quickly renounced this conversion before the prince, who reminded her that the punishment for this would be execution unless she

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[1] Elizabeth Marsh, "The Female Captive: A Narrative of Facts which Happened in Barbary in the Year 1756, Written by Herself," in *White Women Captives in North Africa: Narratives of enslavement, 1735-1830,* ed. Khalid Bekkaoui (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011), 124-161 at 124.
[2] Marsh, "The Female Captive," 125.
[3] Salle Rover is the term commonly attributed to the Moroccan corsairs in English captivity literature, named after the port city of Salé, one of the central hubs of piracy in North Africa between 1500 and 1800.
[4] Marsh, "The Female Captive," 127.
[5] Marsh, "The Female Captive," 133, 145-147.
[6] Marsh, "The Female Captive," 146.

remained Muslim. Marsh stood firm in her Christian faith, however, "for Living, on the Terms [the prince] had proposed, would only add an Accent to my Misery."[7] The prince decided to spare her, and Marsh, Crisp, and the other captives were allowed to travel to Safi where they were able to secure a return voyage to Gibraltar on a British warship, nearly four months after their capture.[8]

Marsh's experience in Salé was published over a decade after her return, with the originally anonymous *The Female Captive: A Narrative of Facts which Happened in Barbary in the Year 1756, Written by Herself* being released in 1769.[9] *The Female Captive* was the first ever firsthand account of North African captivity written by a woman in the English language. Marsh not only used the account to describe the terrors of her captivity, but also as a way to defend her honor, which had been tarnished by her captivity at Muslim hands. Her fiancé terminated their engagement and alienated himself from her, and Marsh married her fellow captive and false husband Crisp in order to save face.[10] Due to the commonly perceived threat of sexual violence against women in North Africa, Marsh's captivity had marked her as an undesirable within English society.[11] The gendered experience of captivity in North Africa and European views of Muslim depravity was made all too clear to Marsh when she returned, only causing her more trauma and grief after enduring four months in Morocco. These issues of gender and sexuality are not unique to Marsh's account, and reveal how intertwined the early modern conception of sexuality was with European contact with Islam. Through the study of stories like Marsh's and other Europeans held captive on the Barbary Coast, new insights into the gender norms of the

[7] Marsh, "The Female Captive," 147.
[8] Marsh, "The Female Captive," 159.
[9] Stefanie Fricke, "Female Captivity in Penelope Aubin's *The Noble Slaves* (1722) and Elizabeth Marsh's *The Female Captive* (1769)" in *Mediterranean Slavery and World Literature: Captivity Genres from Cervantes to Rousseau*, ed. Mario Klarer (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), 111-131 at 119.
[10] Khalid Bekkaoui, ed. *White Women Captives in North Africa: Narratives of Enslavement, 1735-1830* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011), 33.
[11] Fricke, "Female Captivity," 111.

early modern period can be made.

Within the past two decades, the study of European captivity in North Africa between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries has boomed. The study of the Barbary corsairs of North Africa and of European captivity in the Muslim world are not new, but in recent years the analysis of captivity narratives has grown significantly. Scholars like Daniel J. Vitkus, Nabil Matar, Gillian Weiss, Khalid Bekkaoui, Linda Colley, Maria Antonia Garces, and Mario Klarer have brought new light to the study of the Maghrib[12] and European captivity since 2000, and the volume of works on the Barbary Coast has grown exponentially. These scholars have not only analyzed captivity literature alongside other European art, literature, theatrical performances, state records, and even rarer Muslim accounts of captivity, they have also promoted the study of the captivity genre as its own unique field. By following the genre's tropes, constructions, and inspirations, new understanding about European perceptions of Islam, early modern Christian divisions, trauma, gender roles, and sexuality have been brought to the forefront of scholarship exploring Christian-Muslim relations. Well-known stories of North Africa such as those of Miguel de Cervantes and lesser-known accounts like Marsh's have been revisited and re-analyzed through new lenses. Some authors have drawn parallels between modern conflicts between the "west and east" such as the terrorist attacks on September 11th or the hostage event involving the *Maersk Alabama* and Captain Richard Phillips to the captivity of Europeans in North Africa, where the Somali pirates were now being portrayed as the successors of the Barbary corsairs in the war between east versus west: violent Muslim seafaring marauders.[13] However, these scholars have worked to dismiss these Islamophobic claims and reveal the nuance of captivity, piracy, and the

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[12] The Maghrib is another term given by Arabs and other Near Eastern Muslims to describe the region of Northwest Africa, often called the Barbary Coast in European discourse. *Maghrib* is the Arabic word meaning "the place of the setting of the sun," which can also mean "west," hence the name given to the western expanse of the Islamic world.

[13] Adrian Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests, and Captivity in the 17th-Century Mediterranean* (New York: Penguin Group, 2010), xviii-xx.

cultural exchanges made between the Christian and Muslim worlds during the early modern period. Their studies have recontextualized European perceptions of Muslims through the vehicle of captivity, and have expanded the study of Mediterranean piracy and captivity to new fields in order to present a more wholistic image of early modern European thought. I seek to follow these recent scholars in their expanding study of the early modern captivity genre, specifically looking at the under-researched role of gender and sexuality within European captivity literature and how their representations of these concepts informed their societies.

European portrayals of Islam during the early modern period overwhelmingly capitalized on stereotypes and fabrications of Turks, Moors, North Africans, and other Muslims, and this is no different within captivity literature and art. Though Edward Said's concept of "Orientalism" cannot be accurately applied to this period due to the nuance of Christian-Muslim relations and the constant power struggle between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, there certainly was a construction of "otherness" that Europeans used against Islam in its depictions. Muslim exoticness was used as the antithesis to European society, namely with stereotypes of their ill-tempers, opulence, depraved sexuality, sodomy, and violence. Within the captivity genre, the use of North African sexuality and gender roles are common tropes used to define Muslim "otherness." This construction can be used to reveal the ways in which European accounts of captivity in North Africa portray their understanding of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality both through their framing of the Muslim "other" and their idealized constructions of themselves. Christian men and women are cast as virtuous in contrast to the Muslims, emphasizing the differences between the two cultures and fabricating idealized images of Europeans. Muslims who emulate these European ideals of gender roles are presented more sympathetically than those who are not, with the majority being denigrated for the real and perceived differences between Islamic and Christian practices. Common tropes of deviant sexual practices within the

Islamic world are used to demonize Muslims, while tropes of chastity, chivalry, and cunning are used to portray Christian Europeans as superior. The experiences of Christians in the captivity of Muslim infidels in North Africa holds a mirror to Europe, and the accounts of Christian captives reflect their own societal values and how those are used to differentiate themselves from the enemy of Islam.

History of the Barbary Coast

Christians and Muslims had been capturing and enslaving one another ever since their earliest conflicts with one another. This practice of captivity really began to take off, however, during the sixteenth century due to the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire, the annexation of the semi-autonomous North African city-states of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis by the Ottomans,[14] and the rising strength of the Sultanate of Morocco under Ahmad al-Mansur.[15] The Barbary Coast (Fig. 1)[16] was the pejorative term used by Europeans (derived from the native Amazigh people, who were called Berbers by Europeans and Near Eastern Muslims) to describe the North African city-states as well as the independent Morocco, a region also known as the Maghrib. This region had been controlled by the Spanish crown following a series of fierce invasions after the success of the *Reconquista* in 1492, but with the death of King Ferdinand II in 1516, these

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[14] These city-states were only nominally tied to the Ottoman Empire, and operated mostly autonomously. They modelled themselves after the Ottomans in terms of social organization and culture, but their political structure was independent of Turkish rule. The Ottoman influence was very much present in North Africa, however, and many European sources make the distinction between the Turkish inhabitants and the native Algerians, Tunisians, and Tripolitanians.

[15] Peter Mark, "'Free, unfree, captive, slave': António de Saldanha, a late sixteenth-century captive in Marrakesh" in *Piracy and Captivity in the Mediterranean 1550-1810*, ed. Mario Klarer (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 99-106 at 99; Maria Antonia Garces, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002), 19-20; Samuel Ricci, "Culture of Captivity: Piracy, Slavery, and Cultural Contact in the Mediterranean," *The UCSB Undergraduate Journal of History 2*, no. 2 (Fall 2022): 95-110 at 97-98.

[16] Abraham Ortelius, *Barbariae et Biledulgerid, Nova Descriptio*, Map, Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1595, Accessed March 7, 2022, https://www.sandersofoxford.com/shop/product/barbariae-et-biledulgerid-nova-descriptio/.

states rebelled. Hayreddin Barbarossa reclaimed much of the territory for the Ottoman Empire, and established his rule as Grand Admiral of the city of Algiers in 1529.[17] From then on, the Barbary corsairs, a multiethnic collection of pirates (privateers) flying under the Ottoman or

Figure 1: Map of the Barbary Coast, 1595

Moroccan flag and stationed out of North Africa, ravaged the Mediterranean. Robert Davis, one of the major scholars in studying Mediterranean piracy and captivity, estimating over a million Europeans captured throughout the early modern period.[18] Of the hundreds of thousands of

[17] Antonio de Sosa, *Topography of Algiers*, ed. Maria Antonia Garces and trans. Diana de Armas Wilson (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 102.
[18] Robert C. Davis, "Counting European Slaves on the Barbary Coast," *Past & Present,* no.172 (August, 2001): 87-127 at 117.

Europeans captured between 1530 and 1830,[19] it is estimated that only about five percent were able to regain their freedom and return to Europe.[20] Most captives were taken at sea by the Barbary corsairs, though some were captured in coastal raids.[21] These Europeans who were captured were often Spanish, Portuguese, French, or Italian on account of their proximity to North Africa, but many others including the Dutch, English, Germans, and Icelanders were captured as well. The threat of piracy, slavery, and captivity loomed over the Mediterranean during this period, making sea travel a constant threat.

European captives in the Maghrib, as well as the Muslim captives held in Europe,[22] were not enslaved for the same purpose as the African slaves taken across the Atlantic.[23] Though they were often forced into labor during their captivity, they were primarily used as a way to procure ransoms, forming an economic and diplomatic exchange of bodies across the Mediterranean for both Christian and Muslim captives.[24] Those who were able to secure ransom were often liberated by their families, governments, or redemptionist Christian organizations. Catholics had religious orders such as the Trinitarian and Mercedarian Orders dedicated to redeeming captives from all Catholic nations, as well as municipal confraternities that raised funds, though there are

[19] In 1830, the French bombarded and conquered the city of Algiers, marking what is considered to be the end of the Barbary corsairs' reign of terror in the Mediterranean.
[20] Mark, "'Free unfree,'" 100.
[21] Mario Klarer ed., *Piracy and Captivity in the Mediterranean 1550-1810* (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 1.
[22] Muslim corsairs were not the only force ravaging the Mediterranean during the early modern period. Christian corsairs, such as the Knights of Malta, captured thousands of Muslims and enslaved them in Europe during this period. For more on Muslim captivity, see Nabil Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity Through Arab Eyes, 1517-1798* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021).
[23] The distinction between African slaves and European captives can even be seen in the language used by the Turks and Algerians. The Christians taken by corsairs were referred to as *tutskullar* or *kullar,* meaning captive, and never as *abd,* which was reserved for Black African slaves. See Christine E. Sears, "'Arab Speculators," states, and ransom slavery in the Western Sahara," in *Piracy and Captivity in the Mediterranean: 1550-1810*, ed. Mario Klarer (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 144-163 at 146.
[24] Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 43.

rare accounts of those who were able to free themselves by escaping.[25] Protestant nations primarily relied on their governments, with family members (especially women) or returned captives petitioning kings, parliaments, or whoever else was in a position of power to pay off the ransom.[26] Depictions of captivity in literature and art became a way to encourage Europeans to give alms and support the redemption of Christian captives in North Africa by both Catholics and Protestants across Europe.[27] These narratives serve as the backbone for understanding European captivity in North Africa, and were crucial in shaping the European consciousness of the Muslim world and North African society.

A Note on Sources

The genre of literature known as captivity narratives rapidly expanded in popularity during the early modern period. These "captivity narratives" were published accounts written by those few captives who were redeemed from North Africa, though as the genre grew in popularity, fictional literary accounts cropped up, some written by true captives and others written by those merely inspired by the genuine accounts. Captivity literature came in many forms. Some were ethnographies describing the habits and religion of the North African people, while others took on a more autobiographical narrative role describing the captive's experience. Whatever form they took, their purpose was to inspire Europeans to financially support efforts at

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[25] G. N. Clark, "The Barbary Corsairs in the Seventeenth Century," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 8, no. 1 (1944): 22-35 at 23; Ellen G. Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers, 16th-18th Centuries," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 13, no. 4 (1980): 616-632 at 617; See also Andrea Pelizza, "Confraternity models in the 'redemption of slaves' in Europe: The Broederschap der alderheylighste Dryvuldigheyt of Bruges (Brugge) and the Scuola della Santissima Trinità of Venice," *in Piracy and Captivity in the Mediterranean: 1550-1810,* ed. Mario Klarer (London and New York: Routledge, 2019) 199-219.

[26] Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005), 9; See Erica Heinsen-Roach, "A Communal Affair: Women, Captivity, and Redemption in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 14, no.1 (Fall 2019): 3-24.

[27] Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea,* 41.

rescuing and redeeming Christians from the terrors of slavery and the lure of Islam.[28] Captivity narratives built upon other narratives within the genre and the common tropes within the European canon, finding inspiration in older medieval romances and crusader accounts in order to appeal to the wider European audience, and inspired other media genres such as literature, drama, poetry, opera, art, and philosophy.[29] The sources treated here are primarily firsthand accounts of North Africa by European captives, both ethnographies such as Antonio de Sosa's *Topography of Algiers* and narrative accounts such as Elizabeth Marsh's *The Female Captive*. However, this paper will also be analyzing artistic representations of North African people by a former captive as well as fictional accounts of North Africa by those who were captives and by those merely inspired by contemporary captivity literature. The artistic representations of North African people by Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang provide a visual medium to understand captivity from the European perspective, and is a contrast with the typical literary methods by which the tropes of gender and sexuality are presented. Fictional accounts of captivity such as that of Miguel de Cervantes still ought to be considered, especially since Cervantes actually was a captive in North Africa and therefore provides honest observations despite the lack of a proper autobiographical narrative from him. Fictional accounts of captivity such as Penelope Aubin's *The Noble Slave* may appear strange to include within this argument, but one must consider the genre of captivity as one that is heavily influenced by fiction, and subsequently inspired other fictional works, especially theatrical.[30] Genuine captivity narratives, as will be seen with Germain Mouette's account, oftentimes incorporated familiar fictional elements, blurring the lines of reality even within firsthand accounts. Therefore, regardless of the veracity of these

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[28] Mario Klarer, "Introduction," in *Mediterranean Slavery and World Literature: Captivity Genres from Cervantes to Rousseau*, ed. Mario Klarer (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), 1-22 at 4.
[29] Klarer, "Introduction," 9.
[30] Theatrical productions such as Philip Massinger's 1630 play *The Renegado* were inspired by captivity literature, introducing the tropes of the genre to a wider audience in seventeenth century England.

narratives, their purpose for this paper remains the same: to examine how they utilize stereotypes and literary tropes drawn from captivity in North Africa in order to construct Muslims and Christians within the contexts of gender and sexuality. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, little distinction will be made between the fictional and the "genuine" accounts of captivity, and they are meant to be read as a perception on the period and not for their literal merits.

Each chapter will break down the various ways Christian captivity narratives use these tropes of gender and sexuality in order to construct images of Muslims and themselves. The first chapter focuses on how masculinity was understood and defined within these narratives, examining the ways in which the detestable practice of sodomy contrasts with ideal male sexuality and male virtue. This chapter will analyze male captive narratives and artwork for the European fears regarding same-sex male sexuality and the threat conversion. It also covers the differences in how Europeans define virtuous behavior for men, whether it be religious piety or sexual prowess. The second chapter shifts to the ways in which women are portrayed within North African and European societies, and the ways in which they conform to male ideals of how women ought to behave. Lastly, the ways in which female captives present themselves within these contexts will be analyzed, the ways they themselves conform to male ideals and the ways in which they differ, and how their struggles with sexuality and gender roles within North African captivity differ from their male peers. The sources are generally organized chronologically within their thematic categories, with earlier sources such as Antonio de Sosa and Miguel de Cervantes's accounts preceding those of Joseph Pitts and Elizabeth Marsh's.

Chapter 1- European Conceptions of Masculinity in North Africa

As captivity narratives grew in popularity across Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, trends and tropes of the genre became easily identifiable across all of

Europe, regardless of religious or ethno-linguistic background. Through the vessel of these oftentimes bigoted accounts of the Muslim world in European literature and discourse, not only were European conceptions of Islam developed, but also conceptions of themselves and their own values. Common themes that emerge within captivity literature are those of masculine virtue and male sexuality. Investigating various captivity narratives across Portugal, Spain, France, England, and Germany for their depictions of masculinity and male sexuality will reveal the ways in which European images of Islam and themselves were affected by North African captivity, and helped reconstruct European identity during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Europeans used the tropes of sodomy to cast Muslims as deviants, while constructing themselves as noble Christian paragons of virtue.

Sodomy and Male Sexuality

Though the prospect of being abducted at sea or at home by Muslim corsairs was enough to strike fear into many Europeans, one of the major fears European men had throughout the early modern period was being subject to sodomy during their captivity in North Africa. Sodomy was considered one of, if not the most evil and unspeakable sins in the Christian world.[31] As early modern Europeans understood it, sodomy was not necessarily synonymous with homosexuality, as a sodomite was defined as one who actively engaged in the act of sodomy, or anal penetration, in this case between two males.[32] The conception of sexual orientation as it is understood today would not arise until the nineteenth century,[33] and so a sodomite was

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[31] Michael Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3.

[32] Khaled el-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500-1800* (London and Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 5.

[33] Karl Heinrich Ulrichs is generally credited as the first western author to write on sexual orientation and homosexuality as it is understood today. For more on Ulrich's work, see Karl Heinrich Ulrich, Vern L. Bullough, and Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, *The Riddle of "Man-Manly" Love: the Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality* trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994).

understood as a person who undertook the sinful act of sodomy, not as one who was predisposed to perform the act. Accounts from Catholics and Protestants alike throughout the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries demonstrated a shared fear and disgust in what was perceived as the common practice of Muslims to engage in sodomy.[34] Sodomy was also not directly equated with effeminacy, though homosexuals as well as Muslims were often considered effeminate for their excessive luxury, sloth, and flattery.[35]

Sexual violence, towards both men as well as women is one of the common tropes found throughout early modern captivity narratives regardless of the religious identity, gender, ethnicity, or nationality of the author. That being said, falling victim to same-sex violence was a fear that seemed uniquely troublesome to European men and features prominently in their captivity narratives. Though women had their own fears of assault to contend with (as will be demonstrated in a later chapter), the notion of becoming victim to Muslim sexual dominance and sodomitical practices was heavily emphasized by male authors. Linda Colley observes in her book *Captive* that the British were especially concerned with the sexual threats male captives faced while in North Africa or the Ottoman Empire. According to Colley, "for every single reference to heterosexual sex I have seen in British discussions of Barbary and Ottoman captivity before 1750, there are at least five to sodomy: and this is true of polite as well as popular literature, public statements and the most private of writings.[36] The deviant sexuality of the corsairs and North African people became a common trope in European literature on Islam, in earlier Spanish and French narratives before being further circulated and popularized in British

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[34] Greta LaFleur, *The Natural History of Sexuality in Early America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 66-67.
[35] Jacqueline Pearson, "'One Lot in Sodom': Masculinity and the Gendered Body in Early Modern Narratives of Converted Turks," *Literature and Theology* 21, no. 1 (March 2007): 29-48 at 32; Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships,* 88.
[36] Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850* (New York, NY: Anchor Books, 2004), 128-129.

captive narratives by the eighteenth century. Becoming a victim of sodomy was a chief concern of European men on the Barbary Coast, and this fear became a powerful device in reconstructing male sexuality and masculinity in Europe during this time.

Accusations of homosexuality and sodomy were commonly employed in Christian Europe as a routine trope to criticize so called "barbaric" societies throughout the medieval and early modern period. Though the manipulation of the trope of sodomy was used broadly to criticize other cultures, European fears of homosexual violence in North Africa were not necessarily unfounded, though they were at times hypocritical. The question of whether there is evidence that Muslims during the early modern period were indeed engaging in homosexuality, or if European captivity narratives have fabricated this within the literature in order to dehumanize the Muslim other is a complex one. There is indeed evidence that such practices were occurring in the Ottoman Empire throughout the early modern period, but the official stance of Islam and the Ottoman Empire does not differ greatly from those held by Christian Europe. Arabic literature during the early rule of the Ottoman Empire was often casual and even sympathetic to certain aspects of "homosexual" relationships, namely pederastic affairs.[37] This is further confirmed by later Moroccan scholar Muhammad al-Saffar, who expressed surprise at the fact that "flirtation, romance, and courtship" between men and boys was viewed as "extremely disgraceful" in Europe.[38] However, the act of sodomy was widely classified as "one of the most abominable sins a man could commit" by Muslims during this period, just as it was in Christian

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[37] Pederasty is the romantic or sexual activity between an older man and a boy, with the man taking the dominant role over the subordinate youth. Pederasty was not uncommon in southern Europe, from antiquity through the early modern period, namely in Ancient Greece, Rome, and medieval and early modern Florence. Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships,* 96; El- Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, 1.

[38] Though al-Saffar observes that romantic relationships between older men and boys was viewed as disgraceful in Europe, that is not to say that it was not occurring. Early modern Florence was known for its general acceptance of pederasty, though this was not viewed as acceptable throughout the majority of Europe. For more on homosexual relationships in early modern Florence, see Rocke, *Forbidden Friendships*; El- Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, 2.

Europe.[39] The only form of homosexual relationships that was officially acceptable was chaste pederasty, such as love poetry, but any action upon those desires would be considered an abomination. Outside of this example, sodomy was subject to religious condemnation, and was often illegal throughout the empire. Still, a polarizing discrepancy within sodomitical relationships regarding which roles were seen as particularly despicable existed: the subordinate, pathic role was viewed as much more dishonorable than the dominant role, despite the fact that both were still viewed as sinful.[40] This view, as will be seen, was general shared by European contemporaries, who were disgusted by the pathic sodomite and fearful of the dominant one. Irrespective of the criminality and religious toleration of sodomy, it does seem that Europeans had not fabricated this element of North African Muslim society from nothing. Their fixation on it within captivity literature is, however, clearly used to portray Muslims as deviant others, and acts as a reflection of their idealized views of sexuality and masculinity within their own societies. For the purposes of understanding captivity literature, the veracity of these claims of sodomy are inconsequential: the use of these tropes of sexual deviancy were weapons by which Europeans could demonize Muslims, which is the primary focus of this thesis.

One of the most comprehensive accounts of captivity in North Africa was Doctor Antonio de Sosa's *Topography of Algiers*, an encyclopedic description of Algiers as observed by de Sosa, and it was one of the first detailed European accounts that discussed the sexuality of North African Muslims. De Sosa was a Portuguese cleric who was held captive in Algiers between 1577 and 1581, and during his time he wrote extensively about his surroundings in what would later be published by Diego de Haedo in 1612 as a three-volume collection called the *Topography and General History of Algiers*, the *Topography of Algiers* being the first volume.[41]

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[39] El- Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, 3-4.
[40] El- Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, 153.
[41] Maria Antonia Garces, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University

Within the *Topography*, de Sosa relates a great deal of information about the city of Algiers, describing the social hierarchy, geography, ethnography, religion, and cultural practices of the people, observing the elements of their society in great detail. However, his is hardly dispassionate, and often demonizes the people of Algiers despite de Sosa's seemingly genuine interest in their society. De Sosa often takes an unsympathetic, antagonistic view of Muslims, and uses the tropes of sexual violence and sodomy.

De Sosa was particularly vocal about his disgust of Algiers in his portrayal of male Muslim sexuality, and of the Christians who submitted to their supposedly accepted practice of sodomy. During the early modern period, the idea that "turning Turk" was directly connected to sexual submission, i.e. embracing the recieving position in intercourse, was common, and in his account de Sosa echoed this point of view.[42] Observing that the Turks and Algerians seem to cherish the young European men more than they cherish their own Algerian women, he writes that some captives are motivated to conversion due to "the wickedness of sodomy imposed upon them by their masters."[43] He also describes how the Algerian corsairs would dress up their *garzones*, a sixteenth century Spanish term for the passive agent in sodomy, and measured their success in terms of who possessed the most handsome and well-dressed *garzón*.[44] De Sosa expresses his distaste for this practice, saying it is "enough to make one weep (that such a thing should occur among men, in public and with such great shamelessness)," and questions the "seriousness" of their masculinity.[45] So public was this practice of sodomy, de Sosa wrote, that "many Turks and renegades…not only do not want to marry women other than these garzones,

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Press, 2002), 2; Samuel Ricci, "Culture of Captivity: Piracy, Slavery, and Cultural Contact in the Mediterranean," *The UCSB Undergraduate Journal of History 2*, no. 2 (Fall 2022): 95-110 at 98.
[42] Patricia Parker, "Barbers and Barbary: Early Modern Cultural Semantics," *Renaissance Drama 33,* (2004): 201-244 at 204.
[43] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers*, 102.125.
[44] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers,* 159, 346.
[45] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers*, 159, 239.

but they boast of never having known a woman in all their lives."[46] In doing this, he defines that he believes the standard for European masculinity ought to be aggressive heterosexuality, or at the very least to resist the urge to commit sodomy with a younger man. This is despite the fact that Catholicism itself had become increasingly associated with the sin of sodomy and opulence during this period (in part due to the practice in Florence and Rome), especially from Protestant polemics.[47] By deliberately attempting to define Islam and North African society in these terms of sexual deviancy, de Sosa defined European Christian society as the antithesis. Similarly stressing their public and shameless embrace of sodomy, de Sosa likewise dehumanized the renegades, whom he identified as "the principal enemies of the Christian religion."[48] Thus, de Sosa skillfully deployed accusations of sodomy in Algiers as a weapon of discrimination against Muslims, stoking this trend throughout European captivity literature for over a century.

Catholic captivity narratives from other European nations shared similar views on sodomy in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire as Antonio de Sosa. Many French sources in particular describe the detestable sexual acts of the Muslims and the European renegades. Nicolas de Nicolay, a French court geographer and cosmographer who traveled to Constantinople in 1549, was especially concerned with the vices of the renegades, not unlike de Sosa. He wrote that "the most part of the Turkes of Alger, whether they be of the kings houshold or the Gallies, are Christians renied, or Mahumetised, of all Nations, but most of them, Spaniards, Italians, and of Provence, of the Ilands and Coastes of the Sea Mediterane, given all to whoredome, sodometrie, theft, and all other most detestable vices."[49] The sexual deviancy of the

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[46] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers*, 239.
[47] Some Protestant sources were divisive in their associations of Catholics with Turks, both posed as enemies as Protestantism and therefore sharing the same traits of excessive luxury and sodomy. This is less prevalent in captivity literature, but permeates seventeenth century Protestant European literature on Islam and Catholicism. Pearson, "'One Lot in Sodom,'" 33; LaFleur, *The Natural History*, 67-69.
[48] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers*, 127.
[49] Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Nauigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois, Lord of Arfeuile, Chamberlaine and Geographer ordinarie to the King of*

Muslim world and its threat to Christian captives and their faith was a serious concern for the French, as it was for the Spanish during the same period. French captives were appalled by how rampant it was in North Africa. Germain Mouette, a Frenchman from a town near Chartres, was captured by corsairs in 1670 at the age of nineteen and taken to Salé, a major port city in Morocco. Mouette was shocked to see that of all the activities considered illegal in Morocco, "only the Horrid Sin of Sodomy, tho' publickly committed, passes unpunish'd."[50] The young captive noted that "those Princes [of Morocco] are not satisfy'd with having as many Women as they please, but take a Pride in Sodomy."[51] Much like the corsairs described in de Sosa's account, the Moroccans that Mouette observed were not ashamed of displaying their sodomy. Mouettte shares harrowing details of the many hardships and tribulations captives faced in Salé, but still sees the temptation of conversion and succumbing to sodomy as a primary concern. He saw that "while starvation, overwork, and contagion killed off the physically weak…those with deficient religious armor submitted to the dangerous sexuality and seductive proselytizing of Muslims."[52] The concern for falling victim to sodomy in North Africa was serious enough that King Louis XIV, the King of France from 1643 to 1715, viewed plague, apostasy, and sodomy as the three main "Barbary contagions" that threatened his kingdom.[53]

Later seventeenth century accounts, such as Antoine Quartier's *L'Esclave religieux, et ses avantur*es, reflect this attitude of resisting these North African "contagions." Quartier was a French Catholic who was captured in 1660 and taken to Tripoli, making his account relatively

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Fraunce: conteining sundry singularities which the Author hath there seene and obserued, trans. T. Washington the Younger (London: Thomas Dawson, 1585), 8; Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 9, 229.

[50] Germain Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur Mouette, In the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco During his Eleven Years Captivity in those Parts* (London: J. Knapton, A. Bell, D. Midwinter, and W. Taylor, 1710), 91.

[51] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur*, 91.

[52] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 64.

[53] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 2, 28.

rare as France did not have as many resources dedicated to freeing captives in Tripoli as they did in Algiers, Tunis, and Morocco.[54] Quartier shared the concerns of his king and countrymen regarding disease, conversion, and sexual perversion in North Africa. In his account, Quartier credits his humoral balance and spiritual strength for helping him resist the temptations of Islam and sodomy, believing "sexual perversion in itself represented a step toward spiritual conversion, and those hobbled by youth or ignorance, avarice or impiety, or a burning desire for revenge were most vulnerable to apostasy."[55] His narrative served as a warning to the French, stoking their fears of Christians becoming pathic sodomites in North Africa. It also served as a guide, though, on how to avoid this fate through spiritual strength and piety. The renegades converted to Islam due to their sexual deviancy, which was seen as weakness. One's masculinity, therefore, was defined by their spiritual strength, which kept them from submitting to sodomy as the renegades did.

The fear of sodomy was a longstanding tradition during the early modern period, and even the most comprehensive and sympathetic accounts of Islam during this period propagated this myth, showing how fundamental it had become to European views of Islam and North African society. Joseph Pitts's 1738 edition[56] of his captive narrative *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans* describes his experience in Algiers and in Mecca, and like de Sosa's account, it is a thorough survey of the religion and culture of North African society. Pitts was from Exeter in County Devon, one of the wealthiest port cities in England during the early modern period, making it no surprise that at a young age he chose to become a sailor.[57] County Devon was also one of the most fiercely Protestant regions of England, and Pitts

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[54] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs,* 56.
[55] Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*, 54-55.
[56] Pitts first published his narrative in 1704, but had his account republished several times. The edition I am using comes from the 1738 fourth edition, which was likely published posthumously, but bears his personal preface written in 1731, the last edition he personally approved.
[57] Paul Auchterlonie, *Encountering Islam: Joseph Pitts: An English Slave in 17th century Algiers and*

himself was raised as a Presbyterian.[58] This upbringing would inform how Pitts prefaced his account, which is focused on justifying his faith and his adherence to Christianity despite his forced conversion to Islam due to the "barbarous Cruelty" of his first master, whom he despised.[59] Pitts's *A Faithful Account* was written about ten years after his return to England, and though his account is preoccupied with reconciling his time as an apostate, it also offers a unique perspective on Islam and seeks to dispel many of the common misconceptions about the religion in Europe. Though Pitts's account gave a much more sympathetic and humanizing view of Algiers than de Sosa's, the association of the "prodigious sin" of sodomy with Islam is very much present, and is used by Pitts to demonstrate his perceived superiority of the Christian world from the Muslim one in a religious context.

Pitts's account of sodomy within *A Faithful Account* diverges from his English contemporaries as well as from de Sosa and French sources regarding his anxieties about sodomy. English literature on Islam preceding and during Pitts's lifetime used sodomy as a divisive tool to separate the Christian and Muslim worlds from one another. Nabil Matar notes that "sodomy was the dividing line between the Christian, civilized Briton and the Muslim 'barbarian.' Belonging to the former group signified normalcy, civility, and humanness, while sodomy signified barbarity."[60] English sources throughout the seventeenth century reaffirmed the construction de Sosa had established in the sixteenth century that many European captives were forced into sodomy by their captors and that "sodomy sealed the fate of the sinful renegades" in their conversions.[61] However, where de Sosa and Pitts's contemporary English sources were

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Mecca (London: Arabian Publishing, 2012), 66-67; Ricci, "Culture of Captivity," 105.
[58] Auchterlonie, *Encountering Islam*, 67-68.
[59] Joseph Pitts, *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans…The Fourth Edition* (London: T. Longman, 1738), 183.
[60] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 113
[61] Matar, *Turks, Moors,* 114-116.

concerned with European Christians becoming victim of sodomy, Pitts was more concerned with the degeneracy of the act as a whole. Pitts's account of sodomy is brief, but he observes that in Algiers, "it is very dangerous for Women to walk in any By-place, but more so for Boys; for [the "Mahometans"] are extremely given to Sodomy…'Tis common for Men there to fall in Love with Boys, as 'tis here in England to be in Love with Women,"[62] Pitts does not appear to be as concerned with the masculinity or effeminacy of the North African Muslims, nor does he observe any of his fellow captives or other Christians being victim of sodomy. Rather, Pitts is appalled with the Algerians living in such a state of wickedness that is "so inhumane and unnatural a thing," so much so that he didn't wish to dwell on it for too long in order to spare his Christian audience the disgust.[63] In this way, the device of sodomy as a weapon against Muslims within Pitts's account is unique, as Pitts's concerns were not of being emasculated himself, nor of Christians succumbing to this threat as many like de Sosa feared. In his omission of these common views, Pitts not only suggests that very few Europeans were actually forced into sodomy with the Algerians (at least in his observations), but that the practice of sodomy is so distasteful in and of itself that no rational Christian man would dare be tempted by it. Pitts concerns with sodomy were of religious virtue, with the righteous Christian man not perverting himself to the act of sodomy, to the point where the temptation of the act does not even pose a threat to his ideals of European masculinity. Pitts did still express concern that English captives are converted to Islam, just as he himself was, but did not worry that those men would not be able to maintain their masculinity and would become *garzones,* fears that de Sosa, Mouette, and other French and English captives had. The fear of sodomy within Pitts's narrative is less about any threat to European bodies, but rather the threat of a powerful "barbarian" nation that engages

[62] Pitts, *A Faithful Account*, 26.
[63] Pitts, *A Faithful Account*, 26-27.

in sexual deviancy. Still, Pitts acknowledges his belief in the evils of sodomy, and uses this as a construction to separate himself and Protestant English society from Algerian Muslim society.

Further evidence that more subtly demonstrated Europeans fear and disgust towards North African sodomitical practices is the collection of copper engravings made by Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang. These engravings were produced around the year 1701, a little over two decades after Andreas's captivity in Algiers with his younger brother Johann Georg; the Wolffgang brothers were German copper engravers, initially trained by their father Georg Andreas Wolffgang before moving to Amsterdam to establish themselves independently.[64] The brothers were captured by Algerian corsairs in 1684 on their return trip from England to Holland, which they made against their father's wishes, and the pair would not return to their home in Augsburg until 1688.[65] The only surviving written account of the Wolffgang brothers' captivity was published in 1767 by one of their sons (who was unnamed and uncredited in the publication), which makes the collection of engravings unique as they were not only made by a professional artisan who had firsthand experience with the subject matter, but were also published without any supplementary narrative; therefore, the engravings served as the sole medium that Andreas himself chose to portray his experience. The collection features sixteen images depicting a wide variety of characters whom Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang encountered during his time in Algiers, including a self-portrait in his slave uniform (Fig. 2).[66] By examining these images through the lens of European conceptions of masculinity and their understanding of

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[64] "Travels and Wonderful Fortunes of Two Brothers in Algerian Bondage, Andreas Matthäus and Johann Georg Wolffgang, Engravers from Augsburg, Submitted for Printing by One of Their Sons on Account of Its Rareness," in *Barbary Captives: An Anthology of Early Modern Slave Memoirs by Europeans in North Africa*, ed. Mario Klarer (New York, NY: Columbia Press, 2022) 186-199 at 192.
[65] "Travels and Wonderful Fortunes," 192 and 199.
[66] Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "How I Was the King of Algiers's Slave and Had to Serve Him Chocolate Coffee" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/how-i-was-the-king-of-algiers-s-slave-and-had-to-serve-him-chocolate-coffee-depicted-by-myself-from-a-series-of-depictions-from-algeria.

Figure 2: “How I Was the King of Algiers’s Slave and Had to Serve Him Chocolate Coffee,”
Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, 1701

Figure 3: “Mustafa Vice Admiral of the Algerian Fleet,” Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, 1701

Islam, they reveal just how influential the sinister tropes found in captivity narratives are, and how they were presented not only in written media but also visual media.

One unique engraving in Wolffgang's collection that it is both distinct from the rest of the collection in its absurdity and exaggeration, yet portrays many of the tropes utilized throughout the other engravings of men, is the image of the "Mustafa Vice Admiral of the Algerian Fleet" (Fig. 3).[67] This piece is distinct from other depictions of sailors in Wolffgang's collection, as the Vice Admiral is the only sailor presented in color. This, along with the much more elegant dress that is punctuated by the addition of color, demarcates the Vice Admiral as someone of some position of privilege over the other pirates in his collection of engravings.[68] The dress of the Vice Admiral is not dissimilar to the pirates, wearing the same form of baggy trousers that reveal the ankles, but in a more opulent and conservative fashion than the simple, revealing outfits of the corsairs who prominently expose their muscular arms and legs (Fig. 4).[69] In this manner, the Vice Admiral's aesthetic bridges a gap between the very conservative, regal, and detailed depictions of more noble figures such as the Grand Turk's envoy and the more humble, exposed dress of other corsairs found in the collection.[70] Notably, Wolffgang seems to

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[67] Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "Mustafa Vice Admiral of the Algerian Fleet" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/mustafa-vice-admiral-of-the-algerian-fleet-from-a-series-of-depictions-from-algeria.

[68] Wolffgang refers to these figures as pirates in the description of the images, though they are actually corsairs, professional privateers for the Barbary city-states and the Ottoman Empire. The actions of these corsairs and actual pirates were similarly brutal and cruel, making the distinction the least of captive's concerns. For the sake of referencing this source, I will be using the two terms interchangeably. See W. R. Owens, "Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, and the Barbary Pirates," *Journal of the English Association* 62, no. 236 (Spring 2013): 51–66 at 53; Ricci, "Culture of Captivity," 102.

[69] Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "Admiral of the Turkish ships, of the Algerian pirates" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/admiral-of-the-turkish-ships-of-the-algerian-pirates-from-a-series-of-depictions-from-algeria; Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "Captain of an Algerian pirate ship" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/captain-of-an-algerian-pirate-ship-from-a-series-of-depictions-from-algeria.

[70] Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "Envoy from the Grand Turk to the King of Algiers seeks help against the Christians" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely

Figure 4: “Captain of an Algerian pirate ship,” Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, 1701

Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/an-envoy-from-the-grand-turk-to-the-king-of-algiers-seeks-help-against-the-christians.

place the figure of the Vice Admiral in a position similar to the more noble members of Algerian society despite his clear association with the corsairs. However, his dress seems strikingly similar to de Sosa's description of the *garzones*, which may suggest a more underhanded intention on Wolffgang's part for portraying the Vice Admiral in such lavish dress in comparison with the corsairs.

Beyond the clothing of the Vice Admiral, he is unique in how his facial features and body language are portrayed in comparison with the other images. The Vice Admiral shares a similar style of facial hair to the other corsairs, with a lengthy mustache elongated past the mouth, yet he also is made to appear much more Caucasian.[71] While the other pirates are portrayed as Turkish, having much darker skin tone and hair color (though still distinct from the Moors in his collection), the Vice Admiral sports a blonde mustache, light skin, and Germanic facial features, hinting at the fact that he is a renegade. Initially, it may be concluded that this is simply a concession to Wolffgang's intended German audience, with the artist portraying the Vice Admiral in a manner that is recognizable. However, there appears to be little motive for this, as Wolffgang took pains to realistically capture what he perceived to be the defining ethnic features of the Moors, Turks, Algerians, and even his own self in these engravings. Therefore, Wolffgang may be hinting that this man is actually a renegade;[72] specifically, due to his prominent look of bewilderment and his apparent femininity.[73] It was not unheard of for European captives, especially renegades, to be employed within the Algerian or Moroccan military during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. This is evidenced by the narratives of English renegade

[71] Wolffgang, "Mustafa Vice Admiral."
[72] The historical identity of the Vice Admiral is still unclear. It is known that the Dey of Algiers and later Grand Admiral (or *Kapudan Pasha*) that he would have served under was Mezzomorto Husayn Pasha, who himself may have been a renegade. However, the details about his exact identity remain a mystery, despite my best efforts at uncovering it through Algerian naval records and other captive narratives. For more on Mezzomorto, see Daniel Panzac, *La Matine Ottomane. De l'apogée à la chute de l'Empire (1572-1923)* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2009).
[73] Wolffgang, "Mustafa Vice Admiral."

Figure 5: “Algerian pirate steersman,” Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, 1701

Thomas Pellow and the Danish Hark Olufs, who were both captured as young boys and quickly rose in military rank due to their assimilation to North African culture.[74] The exaggerated confusion he presents may be meant to signify that the Vice Admiral is lost, deceived into abandoning his good Christian faith and converting to Islam. No other sailor, including the navigator (Fig. 5),[75] appears as bewildered as the Vice Admiral, but every other sailor is also made to appear distinctly non-European. Within the written account of the Wolffgang brothers' captivity, renegades are referred to as the "severest masters," and are depicted as cruel towards Andreas Matthäus. This is perhaps further evidence towards his depiction of the Vice Admiral, who is distinct from the other Algerians in his collection, as a renegade and not a Turk, especially given the uniquely critical treatment his image is given.

Another hint that this man may be a renegade is rooted in the European's imagination that European converts were drawn to Islam due to the sodomitical culture of North Africa. The other corsairs, particularly the pirate Captain, are portrayed as hyper-masculine. The Captain is posed in a very suggestive way, threatening the viewer with his overt sexuality and masculinity and giving a strange and crude look.[76] In stark contrast, the Vice Admiral lacks this masculinity, having his arms outstretched yet limp, with his wrist lazily hung downwards, which may be an indication that he (if he was indeed a renegade), had submitted to the sodomitical culture of the Muslim corsairs. Wolffgang appears to be emasculating the Vice Admiral through his body

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[74] For more information on Pellow and Olufs, see Thomas Pellow "Long Captivity and Adventures of Thomas Pellow," in *Barbary Captives: An Anthology of Early Modern Slave Memoirs by Europeans in North Africa*, ed. Mario Klarer (New York, NY: Columbia Press, 2022), 214-231, and Hark Olufs, "The Remarkable Adventures of Hark Olufs," in *Barbary Captives: An Anthology of Early Modern Slave Memoirs by Europeans in North Africa*, ed. Mario Klarer (New York, NY: Columbia Press, 2022), 236-253.

[75] Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "Algerian pirate steersman" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/algerian-pirate-steersman-from-a-series-of-depictions-from-algeria.

[76] Wolffgang, "Captain of an Algerian pirate ship."

language and facial expression, which is notable because the other Moorish, Algerian, and Turkish figures do not receive the same treatment. In tandem with his unique dress, the portrait Wolffgang has drawn of the Vice Admiral suggests that he was, by the tropes of masculinity that had been established, a renegade and a pathic sodomite.

The Vice Admiral does not appear to be "boyish" in Wolffgang's depiction, a quality that de Sosa and Pitts revealed was highly sought after by the Muslim corsairs and would immediately identify him as a sodomite. In fact, the Vice Admiral sports an impressive mustache, and appears as a mature man.[77] Throughout most of the early modern period, beards and facial hair were seen as symbols of masculinity, and a key feature that set them apart from their indigenous colonial subjects in the Americas.[78] Oftentimes, a sign of humiliation for captives was having their hair and beards shaved off, for Europeans and Muslims alike believed that "a strong and cunning man was 'a Man with a Beard.'"[79] The English in particular believed this practice of shaving captives, namely their selection of boys and young men, was a way for the Ottomans and North Africans to assert their masculinity over Christian Europeans, and "the association between beardlessness and the sexual disorder of effeminacy or sodomy" became most clear in these captivity narratives from the Barbary Coast.[80] Though the posture and dress of the Vice Admiral may suggest effeminacy, the fact that he sports a strong mustache would seem to contradict these features according to the traditional conceptions of masculinity of the early modern period.[81]

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[77] Wolffgang, "Mustafa Vice Admiral."
[78] Alun Withey, *Concerning Beards: Facial Hair, Health and Practice in England, 1650-1900* (London and New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021), 25
[79] Allison P. Coudert, "Orientalism in Early Modern Europe?" in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Multicultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 715-756 at 721.
[80] Eleanor Rycroft, "Hair, Beards and the Fashioning of English Manhood in Early Modern Travel Texts" in *New Perspectives on the History of Facial Hair: Framing the Face*, ed. Jennifer Evans and Alun Whitney (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 69-89 at 76-78.
[81] Wolffgang, "Mustafa Vice Admiral."

The presence of such facial hair on the Vice Admiral initially contradicts the idea that he was being emasculated by Wolffgang, but in fact it reveals a shift in European understanding of masculinity that occurred near the end of early modern period. One must consider the way Wolffgang portrays himself within this collection: young and clean shaven.[82] Why would Wolffgang depict himself in a manner that would appear to be emasculating, especially considering the precarious situation he would have been in as a redeemed captive who may have been forcibly converted? This, of course, was not the intention at all and instead his beardless depiction reveals a recent change in European beard culture. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, facial hair in Europe had become less popular. Though many still believed that facial hair represented "sexual potency and martial strength," within some circles "beard-wearing could also symbolize effete vanity, moral or physical weakness."[83] At the turn of the century, there was "a Europe-wide flight from the beard" that had begun in the 1680's; in 1701, King Louis XIV, who held great sway over European fashion consciousness, commissioned a portrait of himself with a clean-shaven, youthful face.[84] The popularity of the clean-shave quickly spread throughout "polite society" in Europe, who had begun to redefine masculinity as a representation of refinement and control.[85] Wolffgang's captivity occurred during the earlier stages of this shift in European culture, and his collection was published at the same moment that this culture was becoming widely popularized in Europe at the turn of the century. It appears both the traditional view of bearded masculinity as well as the refined masculinity of being clean-shaven are being expressed in his collection. The Vice Admiral certainly fits the description of "effete vanity," and the hints at his sexuality would certainly be considered signs of moral weakness, but the fact that

[82] Wolffgang, "How I Was."
[83] Withey, *Concerning Beards*, 19.
[84] Withey, *Concerning Beards*, 33.
[85] Withey, *Concerning Beards*, 34-35.

the other corsairs are very clearly depicted as hyper masculine reveals the paradoxical, shifting European views of expressing masculinity during this period. In any case, the implication is clear that Wolffgang utilized the popular tropes of the male image in his artistic expression of Algerian and Turkish corsairs in order to both dehumanize them and capitalize on common fears of Muslim sodomy.

Defining Masculine Virtue

The European construction of masculinity was informed by much more than just the fear of sodomy in Muslim society, however. As already hinted at in the discussion on Joseph Pitts and Antoine Quartier, religious piety and purity played a major role in defining a Christian man's virtue. In both Catholic and Protestant captive narratives, withstanding the tribulations and temptations of captivity on the Barbary Coast by adhering to Christianity was a major theme. A good and noble Christian man was one who resisted the temptations of Islam, gaining the respect of their captors with their faith due to their spiritual strength. Non-normative sexual habits and submission to sodomy were linked to apostasy from Christianity, and sexual deviancy was considered Islamic. Therefore, Christian conversion to Islam was emasculating. In the inverse, however, converting Muslims to Christianity was a part of Europeans' imperial mission, and therefore reinforced conceptions of European masculinity, power, and virtue.[86] These aspects of personal religious strength as well as religious domination and conversion appear to play a part in the construction of Christian masculine virtue in some of the early modern captive narratives. The experiences and writings of Miguel de Cervantes and Germain Mouette in particular

[86] Matar, *Britain and Barbary,* 40; Garces, *Cervantes in Algiers,* 19, 203-204; Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Introduction: Empires, wars, and languages. Islam and Christianity in 17th-century western and southern Europe" in *Christian-Muslim Relations, A Bibliographical History: Volume 9. Western and Southern Europe (1600-1700)*, ed. David Thomas and John Chesworth (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 1-15 at 3.

enlighten the gendered role of piety and chastity in terms of chivalry and male virtue in Europe by illustrating the ideals of religious virtue, which are shared across many captive narratives, by utilizing tropes of romance literature and sexual temptation, demonstrating how these values were tied to the gender norms of early modern Europe in the inverse of sodomy.

Miguel de Cervantes is one of Spain's most famous authors and perhaps the most famous captive to have ever been held in North Africa. He was captive in Algiers between 1575 and 1580, attempting to escape four times before his ransom was finally paid and he was able to return home to Spain.[87] Unlike de Sosa, who wrote an extensive autobiographical and historical account of Algiers, including a biography of Cervantes in his *Dialogue of the Algerian Martyrs*, Cervantes chose not to write a firsthand narrative of his experience.[88] Instead, several of his fictional literary and theatrical works contain elements inspired by his experience, such as *La Galatea, El Trato de Argel, Los Baños de Argel,* and what is widely known as The "Captive's Tale," three chapters found within his major work *The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*.[89] The "Captive's Tale" features a young sailor who narrates his tale to Don Quixote in a tavern. He explains how he sailed throughout the Mediterranean as a captain before being captured by corsairs and forced to work as a galley rower after the Battle of Lepanto,[90] until he is finally transferred to Algiers.[91] The sailor tells of the harsh cruelty of his captors, his life in the *baños* (deriving from the Turkish *banayya*, meaning "building") of Algiers, and his eventual escape from captivity.[92] The "Captive's Tale" focuses heavily on the suffering captives faced in

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[87] Garces, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 11.
[88] Garces, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 66-68; Ricci, "Culture of Captivity," 100.
[89] Garces, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 1-3.
[90] The Battle of Lepanto was a crucial battle between the Holy League, a unified force of Spanish, Italian, and Maltese naval powers, and the Ottoman Empire in 1571. The decisive victory by the Holy League marked a major turning point in the Ottoman expansion into Europe, halting their decades long invasions.
[91] Miguel de Cervantes, *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha*, trans. Tom Lathrop (New York: Signet Classics, 2011), 372.
[92] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, 380.

Algiers, illuminating the traumatic events that Cervantes likely witnessed during his time in Algiers. The young sailor tells Don Quixote that during his experience, “nothing bothered us quite as much as hearing and seeing at every turn the unheard-of cruelties that my master inflicted on Christians,” and that he witnessed Christians being hanged, impaled, mutilated, and beaten for his master’s own pleasure, as he was thought to be “murderously disposed toward the whole human race.”[93] The captive says his master was the King of Algiers, Hassán Bajá, who was a Venetian renegade; Bajá was in fact a real renegade slave master in Algiers, and actually served as Cervantes’s master during his captivity.[94] The captive proceeds to tell Don Quixote about how he escaped Algiers with the help of the beautiful Muslim woman Zoraida, whom he takes with him to Spain to convert her to Christianity and marry.[95] The captive’s role in converting and marrying the Muslim woman reveals the imperial, evangelical agenda of the Spanish Empire during the sixteenth century. It also reflects popular European romance literature, as this act was viewed as a noble, chivalrous thing to do, which demonstrates how Europeans saw religious dominance being tied to masculine virtue and chivalry.

The “Captive’s Tale” narrates how the young sailor was one day contacted by Zoraida through a letter that she passed to the captives through the *baño* window along with forty Spanish *escudos* (gold coins).[96] In the letter, which was translated by a *renegado* who could read Arabic, Zoraida explains that though she is Muslim, she has been taught about Christianity since childhood and has been contacted by *Lela Mari*én, or Our Lady Mary, to escape Algiers and travel to Europe in order to convert to Islam. She goes further to say to the captive “I am very pretty and young, and have a lot of money I can take with me. See if you can find a way for us to

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[93] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, 380-381.
[94] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 379.
[95] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 386.
[96] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 383.

go there [to Christian lands], and if you want, you can be my husband."[97] The captive, without knowing who this woman is or what she looks like, is inspired by her faith and agrees to Zoraida's offer, writing back to her that "as to your saying that if you went to the lands of Christians you'd be my wife, I promise you that I'll be your husband, as a good Christian, and you know that Christians keep their promises better than Moors."[98] For the young captive, marrying this Muslim damsel who desperately seeks to be made Christian was a noble act that any good Christian ought to do. The sailor keeps his word, and treats Zoraida very well even before they are married, staying by her side during their escape as she had she nearly fainted.[99] The captive is shown to be a good man and a loving partner, exemplifying European ideals of masculinity and chivalry in the style of romance literature. It can be deduced, then, that part of this masculine virtue was the evangelization of "good Muslim" women that sought out Christianity for themselves.

Throughout *Don Quixote*, Cervantes utilizes and satirizes the tropes of medieval romance literature and chivalry, but while the "Captive's Tale" is not an exception, it is likely not to be considered satirical as the rest of the novel is. The tale of converting the Muslim damsel was a common one throughout Europe. Daniel J. Vitkus, a scholar of representations of Islam in early modern English literature, explains that featuring the "downfall of 'bad Muslims' and the conversion of 'good Muslims' to Christianity" was a common trope within fictional Christian literature, namely romance literature and theatrical performances. He writes that "a stock plot from European romance narrative features a Muslim princess who falls in love with a Christian knight, opens the castle of her father, the Sultan, so that the Christian knights can capture it in a

[97] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 384.
[98] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 386.
[99] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 387.

surprise attack; she converts, they get married—and the Sultan either converts or is killed."[100] Clearly, the story of the sailor and Zoraida is inspired by these narratives, transplanted into the setting of the Barbary Coast rather than the Levant. Within the North African setting, the Crusader element of conquering Muslims is lost, and the more relevant practice of redemption and escape is used instead. However, as many elements of these specific chapters in *Don Quixote* are semi-autobiographical to Cervantes's captivity, the use of these tropes here are likely meant to be less satirical, but used instead as a way to "legitimize" the construction of *Don Quixote* as a typical romance story with recognizable motifs in order to satirize the genre as a whole. Cervantes was also one of the few seventeenth century advocates for the *Moriscos,* the Muslim converts to Christianity in Spain, so it follows that he would be sincere in his portrayal of the noble Christian man as one who rescues the "good Muslim" damsel and converts her.[101] Therefore the "Captive's Tale" was likely an honest reflection of what the beliefs about gender and Islam in Spain and Europe as a whole were at the time, and not meant as satire. The sailor is shown to be a noble and chivalrous man, despite the fact that he is ignoble.[102] Cervantes is constructing an image of what true chivalry and masculinity is through the young captive, and part of this construction is the duty of a good Christian man to convert Muslim women to Christianity through romantic seduction. Cervantes is promoting the imperial mission of Spain by encouraging men to take on Muslim women who seek Christianity as their wives, in a way conquering them through their masculine virtue.

The love story of the captive and Zoraida is one that reveals idealized gender roles in early modern Spain: a woman who seeks to become more devout in the Christian faith and

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[100] Daniel J. Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Europe" in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 207-230 at 216.
[101] Bernabé Pons, "Introduction," 3.
[102] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 368.

wishes to marry a good Christian man, and a man who maintains his steadfastness in his spiritual strength and seeks a bride to share this virtue with. The conversion of Zoraida solidifies the captive's masculine virtue as the hero of this tale in an entertaining and fantastical way that can be achieved in a fictional work such as *Don Quixote*. Other captivity narratives during the early modern period do not focus on this element of Christian virtue until Penelope Aubin's fictional account (which will be explored in Chapter 2). Cervantes provides a unique way of understanding gender roles during the early modern period by drawing upon the older traditions that shaped it, utilizing tropes of other literary genres within his "captive narrative." Courtliness, mutual respect, and evangelism are the ideals for Cervantes, which he believes all European men ought to embody.

Germain Mouette takes a different approach in how Christian male virtue is constructed by emphasizing the virtue of resisting the temptations of beautiful Muslim women in his account as well as besting Muslim men through sexual and intellectual dominance. Mouette, like Cervantes in the "Captive's Tale," dwells on the brutality of captivity during his eleven years in Salé. During those eleven years, Mouette endured and witnessed a great deal of violence and suffering at the hands of the Sultan of Morocco and the other slave masters.[103] Mouette's account, titled *The Travels of the Sieur Mouette, In the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco During his Eleven Years Captivity in those Parts*, tells of captives being subjected to very hard labor, primarily back-breaking construction projects while he and the other slaves were poorly fed and constantly beaten.[104] It was likely even more distressing for Mouette, however, to witness the sadistic violence levied against his fellow captives. Mouette watched many men get abused during his time in Salé. Mouette witnessed a man being beaten and butchered to death before

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[103] Ricci, "Culture of Captivity," 104.
[104] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur*, 23-30.

being fed to dogs, and on another occasion watched a man be thrown into the lions' den as punishment after refusing to convert to Islam (miraculously, the man was not eaten).[105] Mouette clearly draws upon common tropes of Biblical persecutions as well as classical and medieval tales of Christian martyrs, idealizing his fellow captives as saintlike figures with little regard for accuracy, instead opting for familiar and inspiring imagery. In contrast, Mouette observed that the Sultan was a particularly cruel leader, who due to the disrespect of a Genoese pirate, swore he "would never give Liberty to any Christian, for any Price whatsoever," and that the mere sight of the man made him quake.[106]

The tribulations Mouette experienced were harsh, but one that he seems to have struggled with on top of his labors was the seductive nature of the Moroccan women. It was a common trope within early modern European depictions of Muslims to portray them as seducers and temptresses, part of their construction of the Islamic world as loose and sexually deviant. In Philip Massinger's 1630 play *The Renegado*, the Christian characters are frequently being seduced by Muslims, and their conflict is to "hold onto their Christian virtue and resist Muslims' material temptations and sexual seduction."[107] Earlier captivity narratives from the Barbary Coast, such as Richard Hasleton's *Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton* from 1595, tell of Muslim mistresses tempting their Christian slaves into converting to Islam. Hasleton writes that when his master failed to convince him to convert to Islam, "he sent the queen and her gentlewomen to talk to me. When she came, she very courteously entreated me to turn and serve the king…And many times she would show me her gentlewomen and ask me if none of them could please me," but each time he would refuse, saying he was already married.[108]

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[105] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur*, 17, 34-36.
[106] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur*, 17, 24.
[107] Dawlat Yassin, "Representation of Muslims in Early Modern English Literature," *Plaza: Dialogues in Language and Literature 2,* no.2 (Spring 2012): 10-22 at 19, 22.
[108] Richard Hasleton, "Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton" in *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England,* ed. Daniel J. Vitkus (New

Resisting these temptations was a core element of maintaining one's Christian virtue, but it also appears to have been tied to protecting one's masculine virtue, especially in Mouette's account.

While Cervantes's account does describe North African women as beautiful, this fascination is primarily directed at Zoraida, who is not a true seductress as she seeks to become Christian, which in a way purifies her. Mouette, however, finds himself and his fellow captives attracted to the women of Salé. He observes that the women that lived in the cities of North Africa, Moorish or "Arabian," were "very Beautiful, Fair and Genteel in their Habit."[109] Beyond this, he notes that these women "are particularly fond of Christians, on Account of their not being Circumcis'd, and use all Arts to gain the Affections of their own Slaves."[110] Here, Mouette casts nearly all of the women of Salé as seducers and adulterers, preying specifically on European men due to their sexual "superiority." Muslim men were circumcised, and renegades were circumcised as part of their conversion. For Europeans, circumcision not only became a sign of conversion to Islam, but also became associated with emasculation, as if one had become castrated.[111] The practice of circumcision was poorly understood by early modern Europeans and sparked great fascination and horror. Early anatomists such as Andreas Vesalius and Gabriello Falloppio began to be more widely circulated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their observations of male and female sexual organs determined that circumcision resulted in less sexual pleasure for both males and females, and therefore resulted in sterility and infertility.[112] Marion Ann Keady writes that "for a virile male, the threat of circumcision would therefore be a source of natural anxiety," which explains Europeans' fear of circumcision in the Maghrib.[113]

York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 71-95 at 90-91.
[109] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 95.
[110] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 96.
[111] Matar, *Britain and Barbary*, 52; Parker, "Barbers and Barbary," 204.
[112] Marion Ann Keady, "'Cleane cutte of[f]:' Circumcision and Identity in Early Modern English Barbary Captivity Narratives," *Études anglaises* 70, no. 2, (2017), 209-221 at 210-211.
[113] Keady, "'Cleann cutte of[f],'" 211.

Clearly, Mouette is utilizing this conception to construct himself and his fellow Christians as more masculine, virile figures, not just because they resist conversion and circumcision, but because they are desired for their ability to please women sexually. Their masculinity is not only in their piety, but also their sexual virility and ability to induce enjoyment better than their Muslim male counterparts. Whereas sodomy was strictly condemned within captivity narratives, Christian attraction to the women of Salé is not rejected. Male sexual attraction towards Muslim women was acceptable as it was a way for Europeans to conquer their captors' wives and daughters. Many Christian captives would ultimately cuckold their Muslim masters due to the apparent stereotype that they viewed Christians as "sexless." Mouette asserted that the Muslim husbands "do not so much suspect, either that they think the Christians blind, or believe that the Burning…is sufficient to deter them. Thus they take all possible Precautions on the one Hand, and none on the other."[114] Similar observations were made by Cervantes, who wrote that the Algerian women could not be seen by any other men but their husbands or fathers, except for the Christian captives, who were trusted with them.[115] Not only are Christian men sexually superior to Muslims, Mouette asserts they are also much cleverer. Similar to the late medieval and early modern Italian concept of *furbo* and *fesso,*[116] the Christian captives in Mouette's narrative outsmart and defeat their Muslim captors both sexually and intellectually by sleeping with their wives and daughters, while the Muslims are entirely unaware that they have been bested by their own slaves. Mouette's vision of European masculinity is in part defined by Christian men taking advantage of Muslim men's supposed ignorance and exploiting the sexual desires of Muslim women.

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[114] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 63-64.
[115] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, 392-395.
[116] The *furbo* and *fesso* in Italian literature were character archetypes, with the *furbo* being the sly, clever deceiver who is portrayed as heroic in comparison to the *fesso,* who is a foolish chump that is easily deceived by the *furbo.*

Despite the clear attraction Mouette felt toward the Moroccan women, and though he subtly praises his fellow captives for their sexual exploits, he resists their temptations and refuses to sleep with any of them, according to his account. He instead chose not to assert his masculinity in this way, and instead preferred to display his chastity and spiritual strength as a sign of his male virtue. Though he presents the idea of Christian men cuckolding Muslims as a clever deceit and a way of conquering them with their superior masculinity, he is also casting the women of North Africa as depraved whores. He says that "the African Women are generally incontinent" and will sleep with whomever.[117] He demonstrates the ways in which Muslim women were temptresses and seducers of noble Christian captives, and their converting captives through their sex posed a threat to Mouette and European masculinity. Still, it appears to have been difficult for him to resist the temptations of Islam due to the kindness of the women, especially his master's wife. Mouette describes how his master's wife "who was young, and very handsome," treated him quite well during his captivity, feeding him white bread and honey, and protected him from the harshest abuses of his master.[118] This practice of seducing men with sweet foods is used elsewhere in Mouette's narrative, where he describes another Muslim mistress feeding her captive dates, raisins, white bread, and honey as well as money in exchange for musical lessons before seducing him behind her husband's back.[119] When she offered Mouette the hand of her "very beautiful and rich Niece," if he would convert to Islam, he refused her kindly, saying "that were she to be my Reward I could willingly incline to it; but I could never admit of such a Thought for any other."[120] Mouette skillfully refuses conversion by simultaneously flirting with his mistresses, admitting his attraction to her, placing her in an

[117] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 63.
[118] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 10.
[119] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 66-68.
[120] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 10.

impossible situation where she cannot leave her husband to be with him, but cannot punish his advance due to her apparent loose sexual morals. His refusal was so charismatic, he says, that his mistress permitted him to live in comfort until he was transferred to his next master. He casts her as a procuress, despite her good treatment of him, and it is only through his spiritual strength and chaste masculinity that he is not seduced by the beautiful woman, resisting the temptation of improved circumstances that life as a renegade would provide him.

Chapter 2- European Conceptions of Femininity in North Africa

The depictions of Muslims and Europeans found in early modern captivity narratives not only reveal the ways in which Europeans defined and constructed their notions of masculinity, they also reveal the ways in which they understood ideal femininity and feminine virtue. Within their narratives, European men and women presented their observations of women's roles within North African society and the sexuality of North African women, and in the case of female captives, their own sexuality. These depictions demonstrate popular European notions of gender roles, with Christian women being idealized as chaste and righteous in opposition to Muslim women who are portrayed as depraved. Tropes of chastity, domesticity, diligence, piety, cunning, and modesty are used by men and women alike to characterize the ideal European Christian woman, through both positive and negative definition of the Muslim "other" and of female captives.

The Male Perspective

As the vast majority of surviving literature on captivity comes from male authors, our first impressions of feminine virtue are defined by European men. These men, however, are conflicting in their portrayal of women. Earlier narratives by primarily Catholic male authors

focus on the sexual depravity of North African women, while others give more sympathetic and romanticized views of female Muslims, with clear signs of attraction and fascination displayed throughout. Later narratives, particularly Protestant ones, appear to focus on an appreciation for the modesty of Muslim women and a curiosity about their domestic roles, though some of the sexualization still persists. These conflicting images of gender roles across time and faith traditions demonstrate the different ways the fascination with the Muslim "other" can manifest itself in the European consciousness. Catholic sources disagree with other Catholic sources, and later Protestant sources fluctuate in their decisions to include women at all in their accounts. It also establishes divergent traditions in how European feminine virtue was understood, and how the ideal woman was painted by men. In looking at captivity narratives across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Southern and Northern Europe, the descriptions of early modern women at home and abroad construct a complex ideal of chastity, domesticity, beauty, and modesty.

The most detailed account of Algerian women of all the captive narratives treated here is that of Antonio de Sosa. He is also the most explicit in laying out what he sees as feminine virtue, and frequently condemns the women of North Africa for their sexual deviancy and being unlike Christian women in Europe. De Sosa says that "there is no woman in Algiers who is *not* [a prostitute]," and that they seek sleep with Turks, Moors, and Christians alike without punishment (though he acknowledges adultery is illegal).[121] Just as he was disgusted by the sodomitical practices of the Algerian men, so too are the women characterized by sexual deviancy through their adultery. He paints a portrait of Algerian women as depraved seductresses in the same way Mouette does, though de Sosa does not admit to any temptation or attraction in the way Mouette does. De Sosa also does not describe the Algerian women showing the same

[121] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers,* 230, 238.

kindness that Mouette's mistress had showed him, nor are they made out to be "agents of conversion" in the same way he describes sodomites to be.

De Sosa is also surprised at the lack of education available to the women of Algiers, and their unwillingness to educate themselves. He states that they "have small will to learn and their mothers even less will to pressure them to learn. This is why female Christian captives are so prized, especially those who work with their hands."[122] It is true that during the early modern period, European women saw improvements in education, though not in the traditional sense. By the standards of male education, it can be argued that early modern women were uneducated, as they were barred from universities and other "traditional" learning institutions and literacy rates were estimated to be extremely low for women across Europe.[123] However, this undermines the informal education that many women benefitted from during this period. Before the early modern period, apprenticeship opportunities for women with physicians and midwives were particularly rigorous and informative, especially in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain. Women were being introduced to new avenues of medical education through reading, which some women were taught to do (though female literacy during this period is very difficult to calculate accurately).[124] De Sosa, clearly believes women ought to receive some form of education, albeit not through the model we imagine today, and he vilifies the Algerians for depriving their women of this, while lauding Christians and Christian women for their desire to be educated.[125]

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[122] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers*, 203.
[123] Barbara J. Whitehead, ed. *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe: A History, 1500-1800* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), x.
[124] Adrianna E. Bakos, "'A Knowledge Speculative and Practical' The Dilemma of Midwives' Education in Early Modern Europe," in *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe: A History, 1500-1800,* ed. Barbara J. Whitehead (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), 225-250 at 230-232.
[125] The *Querelle Des Femmes* (or "the woman question") and the discussion of women's education during the early modern period goes far beyond the scope of this thesis. For the purposes of this chapter, I have limited my analysis to this brief section. For more on early modern women's education, see Whitehead, *Women's Education.*

This unwillingness to seek an education is tied to the chief vice de Sosa levies against the women of Algeria, whom he observes to be far lazier than the women of Europe in their domestic duties. He says that it is "because of this great and general laziness and sloth of the Moorish and Turkish women of Algiers, [that] the furnishings in their homes are few, because they do not manage to augment their clothing and household items with their work and diligence as do Christian women."[126] Embroidery and furnishing the household were valued domestic roles by men for women in Europe, so de Sosa attributes the lack of this practice in Algeria to their women's laziness and failure to serve their duty as wives.[127] This is a direct attack on the feminine virtue of the Algerians, and paints the image of the idle housewife as a poor, lazy, and unfaithful one. According to de Sosa, the women of Algiers were so inferior to the women of Europe that he claimed the men of Algiers preferred to marry renegade women as they are "all more perfect in the service of their husbands and management of their homes," and are much more beautiful than the women of Algiers.[128] De Sosa emphasizes the superiority of Euro-Christian values and gender roles in his vilification of Algerian women, and at every opportunity compares their perceived "backwardness" to the ideal image of a Christian woman. These comparisons, however, are clearly exaggerated, both in the demonization of Muslim women and the idolization of Christian women. As a man of the Church, de Sosa is using Christian patriarchal ideals for how women ought to behave in order to define his notion of feminine virtue, and using the antithesis of these ideals to characterize the Muslim "other."

What is not typical for a man of de Sosa's status is the curiosity he has for the lifestyle and appearance of exotic Muslim women. Though de Sosa claims that the Muslim men of

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[126] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers*, 207.
[127] Stacey Shimizu, "The Pattern of Perfect Womanhood: Feminine Virtue, Pattern Books, and the Fiction of the Clothworking Woman," in *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe: A History, 1500-1800,* ed. Barbara J. Whitehead (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), 75-100 at 77.
[128] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers,* 188.

Algiers find renegade women more beautiful than their own women, he seems to take great interest in the physical appearance of the women of Algiers. He notes the variety in the styles of dress that they wear, even taking note of the craftsmanship used in their clothing, shoes, and jewelry.[129] De Sosa even observes much more personal details about the women's appearance. He notes that they wear jewelry around their ankles and around their necks that hang to their breasts, walk around their homes barefoot, "tend to shave with a razor everything beneath the nape of the neck where the *albanega,* or hairnet, does not reach," that they use fragrant oils to color their hair black, and that they use bleaching agents, rouge, and other black makeup to style themselves.[130] He also draws parallels to the appearance of Christian women and their superior standards of beauty. De Sosa claims that these habits of wearing cosmetics "turn those who are beautiful quite ugly, and the ugly women, to a degree, even uglier."[131] European men often criticized the use of cosmetics as a way to portray them as prostitutes; a women who wears make up has made herself public, and are less attractive than when "adorned with pure simplicity and true virtue."[132] No other writer gives such a detailed account of women's appearance in Algiers as him. The observations he makes are intimate, implying close contact with a variety of women in Algiers. This would be very unusual for a man of his status, and especially unusual for a man who so fervently demeans women in his account. It is not uncommon, especially within ethnographic travel narratives, for authors to make very close observations in order to establish their legitimacy in their depictions. D Sosa's decision to dedicate three chapters of his work specifically to the women of Algiers, and the intimate details he provides within them, intensify his presentation of feminine virtue. He is by far the most critical of Muslim women in his

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[129] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers,* 198-200.
[130] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers,* 200-201.
[131] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers,* 200.
[132] Leon Battista Alberti, "The Family in Renaissance Florence," in *The Civilization of the Italian Renaissance: A Sourcebook, Second Edition,* ed. Kenneth R. Bartlett (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 126-140 at 129.

account of any other captive narrative treated here, but his scrupulous observations reveal deep interest in them that also exceeds that of other narratives. His fascination is profoundly objectifying, but his attention to detail reveals his close interest in the exotic women of North Africa, though he denies this. His understanding of Muslim women blends the boundary of honest observation and use of tropes, so that de Sosa is able to capture the exoticness of Muslim women while simultaneously casting them as the antithesis of Christian feminine virtue.

The objectification of women within captivity narratives does not end with de Sosa's account, even if his is the most thorough in doing so. It has already been established how Germain Mouette viewed the women of North Africa and how his characterization of them was used to assert his ideals of European masculinity. As with de Sosa, Mouette notes the loose sexual morals of the women of North Africa, though he is not as fiercely demonizing as de Sosa. Rather, he uses their debauchery as a way of emasculating their husbands and emphasizing the virility of his fellow Christians. Mouette admits that he found the women of Morocco attractive, and was especially fond of his mistress for her showing kindness to him, but he still portrays her as a temptress trying to lure him into conversion by using her beautiful niece.[133] Outside of these characterizations, though, he does not reveal much in the way of how he believed women ought to behave outside of traditional chastity.

What is unique to understanding European conceptions of feminine virtue within Mouette's account is how he portrays his fellow female Christian captives: Mouette uses his female peers as idyllic, saint like figures of redemption in order to define Christian righteousness. He specifically mentions fellow female captives during his time in Morocco, and uses an example of one of his fellow captives to exemplify ideal gender roles. The story goes that "a Spanish Woman Captive went to petition the King for Bausset's Deliverance. She was call'd

[133] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 10.

Mary of the Conception…Having abundance of Wit, without the least Immodesty, she had gain'd the King's Affection, who granted her whatsoever Favour she ask'd."[134] Just as he had done elsewhere in his narrative, Mouette is characterizing Christian captives as saint-like figures, and this Spanish woman is associated with the most venerated saint of all: Saint Mary, the Mother of Christ. Saint Mary was commonly seen as a liberator of Christian captives during the Crusades, and Mouette is associating Mary with this Spanish woman either as a way to draw connections to those tales of martyrdom and Christian heroism, or as a direct embodiment of the Holy Mother in the flesh as a captive among them.[135] She is the foil of North African women: intelligent and chaste, she uses her influence over the Moroccan king to spare her fellow captives of suffering, while the Muslim women use their bodies and offers of food to convert Christians. Such was her ability to save others that "she was call'd the common Mother of all Persons in Distress," by Mouette and his fellow captives, further invoking the Saint Mary imagery.[136] Like de Sosa, Mouette uses an archetypal Christian woman to, by contrast, criticize the deviancy of Muslim women in his account. He is not as savage in his attack, and does present the women of North Africa in a more sympathetic light, but ultimately follows similar tropes in order to define European feminine virtue.

The romantic "Captive's Tale" diverges from the critical accounts of de Sosa and Mouette, and presents Cervantes's understanding of feminine virtue without vilifying North African women. Zoraida is depicted as an ideal woman by Cervantes, the "Muslim damsel" to the "Christian knight" of chivalric literature. Though she is ultimately a convert to Christianity, it

[134] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 35-36.

[135] The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* were a popular collection of songs from the thirteenth century praising Saint Mary, and make frequent reference to her as a savior of captives. For more on the usage of Saint Mary as a symbol of redemption, see Catherine Infante, "Images of Mary on the Battlefield," in *Christians, Muslims, and the Power of Images in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2022), 115-138.

[136] Mouette, *The Travels of the Sieur,* 36.

is through his characterization of her as a North African woman that he defines feminine virtue within his narrative. In some ways, Zoraida behaves in the typical fashion of Algerian women of the time, which Cervantes has no qualms with. Not only is she considered beautiful to the Spanish male captives, but she is also considered beautiful by Algerian standards. Her father relates to the captive hat she is said to be "the most beautiful in this kingdom [of Algiers]" when they first meet.[137] Their meeting also hinges the cultural traditions of how women were allowed to interact with other men in North Africa, without which the sailor would not have had the opportunity to meet Zoraida in person after she had contacted him through letter. Cervantes explains that North African women were not permitted to be seen by or speak with other men unless they are given explicit permission by their fathers or husbands, "whereas with Christian captives they're allowed to have dealings and speak, even more than is becoming," as they are never "bashful" in the company of Christian male captives.[138] De Sosa and Mouette recognize this practice as well, but they credit it to the depravity of Muslim women and their desire to sleep with whomever, or more specifically the virile Christian male in Mouette's case. Cervantes uses it merely as a narrative device to further the love story, without any crude reference, and Zoraida never makes any pass at the Christian captive and maintains chastity until she is converted in Europe. Unlike de Sosa and Mouette, Cervantes does not sexualize Zoraida for her beauty or participation in Algerian customs, nor is any other Muslim woman in this narrative given the same dehumanizing treatment.

Beyond this, Zoraida's characterization is used to exemplify how a devout and honorable woman ought to behave according to European patriarchal ideals. Though Zoraida's father remains a Muslim and is appalled at her conversion to Christianity, she stays strong in her faith

[137] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 394.
[138] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 390-392.

despite his pleas to remain with him and keep her faith as a Muslim.[139] Still, she shows her father respect, and wishes for him to be well taken care of by the escaping captives. Cervantes says that her loyalty and love for her father is so great that "she would rather throw herself into the sea than see her father, who had loved her so much, being carried off a prisoner on her account."[140] Zoraida's virtue is in her piety and fervor to convert to Christianity, as well as her loyalty to the men in her life. Even though her father remains Muslim, until she is married to the sailor, she must show respect to her father according to European codes of obedience for women.[141] Therefore, Zoraida represents the archetypal Christian woman, and an idealized image of what North African women could be if converted and brought to Europe. She is beautiful and exotic, but also adheres to Christian ideals of chastity, loyalty, and domesticity. She shows love for her soon to be husband while still obeying his Muslim father, refusing to betray him. As mentioned in the previous chapter, traditional romance narratives about Christian knights and Muslim damsels often saw the Sultan, or Muslim father, meet an unkind end if he was not converted. While Zoraida's father certainly does not have a happy ending, being stranded on a beach while the captives make their escape, he is never betrayed by his daughter, and even in the end she feels sorrow at abandoning her father when he pleads for her to return to him and remain a Muslim.[142] Cervantes chooses to depart from traditional methods of romantic storytelling where "bad Muslims" are punished, as Zoraida's father is not seen to be a bad man or a bad father. Therefore, it is within her female virtue to remain loyal to him, even though her greater calling is to convert to Christianity. Cervantes chose to use an Algerian native as his medium of representing feminine virtue and adherence to European patriarchal ideals rather than using

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[139] Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, 400-402.
[140] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 398.
[141] James Daybell, "Gender, Obedience, and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Women's Letters," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 41, no. 1 (2010): 49–67 at 50.
[142] Cervantes, *Don Quixote,* 402.

definition by negation as de Sosa and Mouette did.

Cervantes was not alone in his more romantic depiction of North African women that departs from the more sexually oriented accounts of de Sosa and Mouette; the account of the Flemish nobleman Emanuel d'Aranda shares a similarly generous view towards the women of Algiers. One of the most popular captivity narratives distributed during the seventeenth century, d'Aranda's *Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey* became an archetype of the captivity genre, and it was quickly translated into several languages and reprinted throughout Europe.[143] D'Aranda's account was popular with both Protestants and Catholics alike, making the ideals he espouses a better reflection of European values across national and religious differences. D'Aranda spent nearly two years of captivity in Algiers from 1640 to 1642 after being captured by corsairs on a return journey to Spain from the Netherlands.[144] As a nobleman, d'Aranda would have been worth a hefty ransom, but he claims to have cleverly deceived his captors into thinking he was a soldier, which would be worth considerably less to the corsairs.[145] After lengthy negotiations, d'Aranda and two other captives were finally liberated through the exchange of a Algerian captive, Monstafa Ingels.[146] D'Aranda's narrative is much more palatable than those of Mouette and de Sosa, which capitalized on European fears of Muslims to present a cautionary tale about the dangers of the Islamic world. By contrast, d'Aranda speaks well of many of the people he comes across in Algiers, including the corsair captain who captured him and of one of his slave masters Mahomet Celebi Oiga, whom he described as "well-mannered" and "very devout."[147] D'Aranda presents a more sympathetic image of North Africans, and

[143] Mario Klarer, *Barbary Captives: An Anthology of Early Modern Slave Memoirs by Europeans in North Africa*, ed. Mario Klarer (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2022), 117-118.
[144] Emanuel d'Aranda, "Short Story of My Unfortunate Journey," in *Barbary Captives: An Anthology of Early Modern Slave Memoirs by Europeans in North Africa*, ed. Mario Klarer (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2022), 121-159 at 121.
[145] D'Aranda, "Short Story," 123.
[146] D'Aranda, "Short Story," 134.
[147] D'Aranda, "Short Story," 123, 140.

focused on building a compelling story rather than one of propaganda. D'Aranda chose to judge Muslims and Christians equally in moral experience, giving his narrative a uniquely unbiased tone.[148] This makes his construction of the Muslim "other" unique in comparison to other captivity narratives, and his depiction of Muslim women is especially generous compared to those like de Sosa or Mouette.

Though his presentation of the corsair captain and his master Mahomet Celebi Oiga are sympathetic characterizations, d'Aranda goes into much more detail about the virtues of Oiga's wife, his mistress. Generally speaking, d'Aranda found the women of Algiers attractive, saying "the beauty of the women of the barbarian land lies in their opulence and devoutness," and admits that he found his mistress attractive.[149] This idea of finding the devoutness of Muslim woman admirable was not new; even de Sosa's denigrating *Topography of Algiers* takes note of devotion of Muslim women, how they frequently visit the Mosques with their children and the graves of their loved ones to pray and show their respect.[150] Like the other Catholic captives, he was enamored with the exoticness of the women in North Africa, but does not objectify them in the same way de Sosa and Mouette had. He describes how through his hard work, d'Aranda eventually endeared himself to his mistress, and she began to care for him and protect him from the rare abuses of her husband and Monstafa Ingel's grandmother, who was trying to secure the exchange of her grandson for d'Aranda and his peers.[151] His mistress was initially apprehensive to d'Aranda, however, which is in stark contrast to the way Mouette depicts his mistress. Oiga's wife initially did not approach him or speak with him, which he found odd because, as other

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[148] Lisa F. Kattenberg, "The Free Slave: Morality, Neostocism, and Publishing Strategy in Emanuel d'Aranda's *Algiers and It's Slavery* (1640-82)," in in *Mediterranean Slavery and World Literature: Captivity Genres from Cervantes to Rousseau*, ed. Mario Klarer (London and New York: Routledge, 2020), 153-174 at 154.
[149] D'Aranda, "Short Story," 140.
[150] De Sosa, *Topography of Algiers,* 204-205.
[151] D'Aranda, "Short Story," 140, 142-143.

authors observed, Muslim women “generally looked for any chance to speak to the Christians.”[152] D’Aranda employs this common trope of North African women seeking the company of Christians, which had been used by de Sosa and Mouette to emphasize the licentiousness of Muslim women. However, like Cervantes, d’Aranda does not develop that trope beyond the mention of it, and does not characterize the women of Algiers as depraved in the way other authors had. When d’Aranda’s mistress finally did speak with him, she reveals her doubts about him being a soldier, as he does not behave as other captive soldiers do. She decides to keep this secret between them, though, and does not use it to threaten or coerce him in any way.[153] Afterwards, she displayed much more compassion towards d’Aranda, consoling him when he was sad, and when his redemption was secured, she expressed her joy at seeing him free and gifted him cheese from Mallorca and white biscuits for the journey home.[154] Their relationship was one of mutual respect, and d’Aranda thanked his mistress for her kindness before he is freed. He never implies any sort of romantic or sexual relationship with her, despite his admitted attraction to her; in fact, he does not ever suggest any sort of infidelity on her part, as she does not seek out any relationship with d’Aranda.

Mouette’s account of his mistress closely resembles that of d’Aranda’s, which would have preceded Mouette’s captivity by several decades, but the two differ in how they use this to represent their views of women’s virtue and sexuality. D’Aranda’s mistress never seeks to convert him to Islam, and is painted as merely a nurturer, albeit cleverer than the other Muslims. Mouette cast his mistress as a procuress, and other Muslim women as depraved seductresses that preyed upon Christian men, whereas d’Aranda chooses to portray Algerian women as

[152] D’Aranda, “Short Story,” 139.
[153] D’Aranda, “Short Story,” 140.
[154] D’Aranda, “Short Story,” 144.

virtuous.[155] Even Ingel's grandmother, whom he finds abrasive and demanding, is characterized as a loving grandmother who would stop at nothing to have her grandson return from captivity in Europe. Like Zoraida, d'Aranda's mistress represents and idealized Algerian woman who conforms to European values of feminine virtue, though in this case it is even more radical since his mistress does not convert to Christianity. His portrayal of Algerian women, and of Muslims in general, is the most radically tolerant of any early modern captivity narrative treated here. D'Aranda is able to look past the ethnic and religious differences between him and the Algerian people, and recognize his mistress as a woman of dignity and worthy of respect regardless of her exoticness. His portrayal of the Muslim "other" did not vilify them, and his understandings of virtue could be observed within Christianity and in Islam.

These earlier Catholic writers were enamored by the beautiful women of North Africa in their captivity narratives. Whether it be through romantic ideals, sexual temptation, or fascination with their Muslim "otherness," many of these earlier narratives highlighted the physical attraction (or at least critical interest, in de Sosa's case) European men had for Muslim women. The allure of North African women seems to be mostly absent, however, from the later early modern captive narratives, especially within Protestant narratives. The seventeenth century accounts of Icelandic Lutheran Reverend Ólafur Egilsson and French Huguenot Isaac Brassard hardly bring up Muslim women at all, and certainly not in a sexual manner; instead, they focus on their own personal struggles to maintain their faith amidst their suffering in captivity and intra-Christian tensions back in Europe, with very little concern for the potential sexual

[155] D'Aranda's account reveals the non-linear developments in European understanding of Muslims, with his account being more sympathetic than those that preceded him as well as those that would follow. Mouette would use tropes similar to d'Aranda in order to demonize Muslims. Later Protestant sources such as Joseph Pitts also demonstrate this non-linear development, as his contemporaries and near contemporaries avoid the nuance and sympathy that he provides, including women writers such as Elizabeth Marsh. General European understandings of and tolerance towards Islam goes beyond the scope of this paper, but is worth further investigation. See Ricci, "Culture of Captivity" for an elementary analysis of this.

temptations of the exotic Islamic culture and landscape of North Africa.[156]

Protestant sources are not without their criticisms of North African sexuality, however. Beyond their fear of sodomy, the fear of Muslim sexual habits and the abuse of Christian women remain as a constant. The nuance of later captivity narratives' understanding of North African sexuality is especially evident in Joseph Pitts's account. Pitt's references to Algerian women's physical appearance are typically brief, unlike de Sosa: he wrote only a short paragraph about their dress, and the few times he speaks on them in more depth, he is mostly concerned with their domestic roles, religious habits, duties as a wife, and their modesty.[157] Pitts is nowhere near as comprehensive as de Sosa in his account on women, despite the fact that *A Faithful Account* is one of the most thorough descriptions of Algerian society from the early modern period. His mentions of North African women were not explicit or dehumanizing in the way de Sosa and Mouette tended to be, nor did they mention any type of romantic attraction or admiration in the way Cervantes and d'Aranda had. Despite his tamer descriptions of Muslim women, Pitts does not shy away from the common European practice of debasing Muslim women as depraved whores. Pitts is highly critical of Egyptian women in his account, and is repulsed by their sexuality. He observed courtesans and prostitutes running rampant in the streets of Alexandria and Grand Cairo, and claimed "there is in no Part of the World, I am apt to think, greater Encouragement given to Whoredom, than in Egypt."[158] Pitts also provides conflicting accounts on the sexual immorality of Muslim men towards Muslim and Christian women. On one hand, Pitts dismisses the myth that Muslims take on many wives, saying "there is not one in a thousand

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[156] For more on Egilsson and Brassard's experience in captivity, see Ólafur Egilsson, *The Travels of Reverend Ólafur Egilsson*, ed. and trans. Karl Smári Hreinsson and Adam Nichols (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016), and Isaac Brassard, "Tale of Mr. Brassard's Captivity in Algiers," in *Barbary Captives: An Anthology of Early Modern Slave Memoirs by Europeans in North Africa*, ed. Mario Klarer (New York, NY: Columbia Press, 2022), 204-209.
[157] Pitts, *A Faithful Account*, 36-39, 42, 54, 65-67.
[158] Pitts, *A Faithful Account,* 98-99.

hath more than one, except it be in the country, where some here and there may have two," and women captives are not as likely to convert to Islam in Algiers.[159] On the other hand, he does observe the inhumane treatment of female Christian captives in Grand Cairo, where they are groped and examined before being purchased in the slave market, and the conversion rates are much higher there.[160] Pitts appears hesitant in his demonization of Muslims, simultaneously casting them as less depraved as popular European notions may suggest, but still engaging in debauchery. This method is part of his complex apology for his apostasy, seeking to recast Muslims in a more sympathetic light while still conforming to European traditions of "othering" the Islamic world based on their deviant practices. Pitts struggles to walk this line, resulting in these conflicting ideals of the female sexuality of Muslim women and the chastity of Christian women. He seems to appreciate Algerian women within their society, making honest observations about their habits, but still seeks to cast other Muslim women as the antithesis to Christian feminine righteousness.

Despite the absent or conflicting accounts of women in later Protestant captivity narratives, the focus of some in regard to observing female virtue in North Africa appears to be oriented towards their modesty, rather than be defined by their beauty or sexuality. While Pitts was critical of Egyptian women, his account of Algerian women reveals an appreciation for their domesticity, loyalty, and modesty. This admiration is echoed in the depictions of Algerian women within Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang's engraving collection. There are four out of the sixteen images Wolffgang created that portray Algerian women, and in many ways these images are not unlike other traditional depictions or descriptions of Muslim and North African women found in Europe at the time. For instance, the image titled "Algerian Women Going About the

[159] Pitts, *A Faithful Account*, 39.
[160] Pitts, *A Faithful Account*, 106.

Figure 6: “Algerian Women Going About the Town,” Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, 1701.

Figure 7: “So the Morisca women gave signs for themselves on the streets of Granada,”

Christoph Weiditz, c.1530.

Town" (Fig. 6)[161] depicts an Algerian woman wearing a *haik*, a white cape with a hood that wraps around the body that is still commonly worn in North Africa today, which de Sosa describes in his chapter on women's dress. The *haik* is also found in sixteenth century German woodcuts of the *Moriscas* (Fig. 7),[162]so the image of Muslim women wearing such conservative wrappings would not have been entirely foreign to Wolffgang's audience. These images are, however, unlike the romanticized and sexualized descriptions found in earlier captivity narratives. Wolffgang's collection does not shy away from criticizing North Africans through its imagery, but in the case of the women, the images present them modestly. This is with the exception of the Algerian Moorish[163] woman, who wears very revealing clothes.[164] Wolffgang is very detailed in his portrayal of the Algerian women, including the intricate designs of the women's fabrics, their jewelry, and their facial expressions. His images bear resemblance to the prose descriptions by de Sosa in terms of detail, and Wolffgang gives the same tenacious attention de Sosa did in his engravings. The image of "a Turkish Maiden at Home" (Fig. 8)[165] is especially detailed in his collection. Though she is dressed modestly, the maiden's clothing is layered, with different designs engraved into the various fabrics such as the sash worn as a belt,

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[161] Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "Algerian Women Going About the Town" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/algerian-women-going-about-the-town-from-a-series-of-depictions-from-algeria.

[162] Christoph Weiditz, "Allso gandt die morysgen weiber für sich an Zuesechen auf der gassen In Granada" in *Trachtenbuch*, Engraving, Nürnberg: Germanisches National Museum, 1530s, Accessed February 17, 2023, http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs22474/247.

[163] The term "Moor" is used to distinguish Black African Muslims from other North Africans and Turks within Wolffgang's collection and other captivity narratives, as well as other media, such as William Shakespeare's plays *Titus Andronicus* and *Othello*.

[164] Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "How Algerian Women Play at their Celebrations" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/how-algerian-women-play-at-their-celebrations-from-a-series-of-depictions-from-algeria.

[165] Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "A Turkish Maiden at Home" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/a-turkish-maiden-at-home-from-a-series-of-depictions-from-algeria.

Figure 8: “A Turkish Maiden at Home,” Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, 1701.

the undergarment's design peeking through at the chest and sleeves, and even the ribbon tying her long hair into a braid. Wolffgang's etching are likewise incredibly detailed in their representation of the various articles of jewelry that adorn her body, such as bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. Her facial features are also distinctively and carefully rendered: she has a kind expression, with a chin dimple and tufts of hair peeking out from under the headscarf she wears, framing her face. The maiden is also performing her domestic role of serving a bowl of what appears to be couscous. The women depicted in Wolffgang's collection of engravings were not meant to be sexually objectifying or idealizing as the North African women depicted in the previous Catholic captivity narratives were. Even in his depiction of a dancing Turkish woman "amusing herself in the summer," Wolffgang covers her entire body in the same thickly wrapped clothing as the serving maiden, limiting any form of sexualization.[166] Like de Sosa, the attention to detail gives Wolffgang's work credibility, but his does not seek to dehumanize the Algerian women in the same manner than de Sosa had, or even in the same manner that the Vice Admiral is portrayed. Wolffgang seems to be much more concerned with the accuracy of his depictions of Muslim women's dress and domestic chores than presenting them as objects of desire, temptation, or revulsion.

Despite this attention to detail in the depictions of Algerian women, it is notable that there is no mention of them in the written account of the Wolffgang brothers' captivity, much like the other Protestant captive narratives. Wolffgang's meticulousness in his depiction of the Algerians is shared across all of his engravings, in his pictures of North African men as well as women. Consequently, he does not seem to be as interested or infatuated with the North African

[166] Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, "A Turkish Maiden Amusing Herself in the Summer" in *A Series of Depictions from Algiers*, Engraving, Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections, 1701, Accessed August 24, 2022, https://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/collections-online/a-turkish-maiden-amusing-herself-in-the-summer-from-a-series-of-depictions-from-algeria.

women in the way that de Sosa, Mouette, Cervantes, or d'Aranda were. Wolffgang's engravings were not meant to inspire the same sort of disgust, fear, or romanticization of North African women that the Catholic narratives sought. They did seek to capture the exotic nature of these "barbarian" women and their dress, but not for the purposes of making them sexual objects, but as foreign and intriguing figures to be observed for their exoticness. The women are represented clearly and precisely, with the same curiosity of de Sosa but without vilification or idealization. Though two of the women are depicted dancing, there is nothing in these images implying that these women were lazy, as de Sosa had asserted. Likewise, there is no obvious effort to depreciate or sexualize them. It is their modesty and domesticity, then, and not their attractiveness or sexuality, that is being highlighted. The exoticness of the women's clothing is underlined, but Wolffgang emphasizes their modesty, in stark contrast to the more sensual/sexualized description of North African women offered by de Sosa and Mouette.

Women's Captive Narratives

European literature on captivity in North Africa was dominated by male voices during the early modern period, and as such, the elements of gender and sexuality within captivity narratives have been most often analyzed through the experience and perspective of these European men. Thus far, only male narratives have been treated here, looking at their understanding of both masculinity and the perceived ideal roles of women within North African and European societies. This does not present a truly holistic image of how gender and sexuality in early modern Mediterranean exchange was understood, however. Without the consideration of women's narratives about and agency within Barbary captivity, the European consciousness on these subjects is a one-sided construction. Despite the fact that captivity narratives were overwhelmingly written by men, some accounts by women have survived, albeit in far fewer

numbers in relation to those by men.[167] These female captivity narratives offer a new perspective on the genre that had developed over the course of the early modern period. While they build off of the literary traditions established by prior male writers, these captive women also assert their own attitudes towards European gender and sexuality, presenting their own ideals and fears from their own voice.

Throughout medieval and early modern Europe, Muslims were depicted as lustful and predatory towards European women. Muslim and renegade men were not only cast as deviant sodomites, but were also imagined to be generally sexually aggressive, which included women. capturing women for their large harems and taking on many wives. In a public address made to the British Parliament in 1680, the people pleaded for the English captives in North Africa, citing the sexual dangers the men and women faced there. They claimed that "above all, is their frequent forcing of Men and boys by their execrable Sodomy, also their inhumane abuses and force to the Bodies of Women and Girls, frequently attempting Sodomy on them also, some of whom both Males and Females have been so abused as hardely to escape with their Lives."[168] Within the European male consciousness, Christian women were the most endangered and susceptible to the Barbary corsairs. Christian women were viewed as a prized commodity within North Africa, becoming domestic servants for Muslim masters, though some were taken into the *seraglios,* or harem apartments.[169] In early modern literature, such as Miguel de Cervantes's other fictional work *El Trato de Argel,* the desperateness of female captives' plight was emphasized, and the tragedy of their circumstance as they succumb to their Muslim masters became a real fear for Europeans.[170] Despite the fact that the plight of female captives became a

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[167] Matar, *Britain and Barbary,* 76.
[168] *The Case of many hundreds of poor English-captives in Algier together with some remedies to prevent their increase: humbly represented to both Houses of Parliament* (London, 1680).
[169] Bekkaoui, *White Women Captives,* 13; Matar, *Britain and Barbary,* 93.
[170] Matar, *Britain and Barbary,* 93.

recurrent trope in European literature and discourse, and the fear that they would become victims of sexual violence, the redemption of these female captives never became a prominent issue for European redemptionist efforts or foreign diplomacy. Khalid Bekkaoui, a scholar of women captives in North Africa, writes that "it is confounding, indeed, that female captives are left out of redemption lists and rarely feature in diplomatic correspondences or ransoming petitions."[171] Despite popular consciousness's deep concerns with women captives, the priority of their redemption was considered low, despite the efforts of writers such as Cervantes who highlighted the horrors that women faced. In fact, within Moroccan folk songs about corsairs, it was said that Christian captains offered up their women to the corsairs to appease their captors.[172] Once in captivity, female captives were much less likely to receive support for redemption, having to rely on themselves. It is likely for this reason that authors such as Penelope Aubin and Elizabeth Marsh began to write about their own personal experiences in captivity during the eighteenth century, to reinvigorate European concerns about female captives through their depictions.

With the exception of Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, the pervious captivity narratives have been firsthand accounts of North Africa by European captives. Even in Cervantes's case, though the "Captive's Tale" was a fictional construction, Cervantes was actually a captive himself, so his characterization of Muslims was based not only on romantic literature, but also his own observations of Algiers. Not all fictional accounts of captivity were written by those who were captives themselves, however. One of the most popular authors in the captivity literature genre never set foot in the Maghrib, or the rest of the Islamic world for that matter. The English author Penelope Aubin's career exploded during the 1720s as she began to write several novels that utilized the trope of captivity by Muslims, just as contemporary authors

[171] Bekkaoui, *White Women Captives*, 16.
[172] Matar, *Britain and Barbary,* 96.

such as Daniel Defoe had done with works like *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*.[173] Aubin's first and most popular novel, *The Noble Slaves,* tells a story of four European captives, two men and two women, who find themselves stranded off of Mexico and eventually captured by Barbary corsairs.[174] Despite the fact that Aubin's novel is purely fictional, it is one of the most detailed accounts of female captivity in North Africa from the early modern period, predating Elizabeth Marsh's genuine account by over forty years.

The Noble Slaves reveals the influence of popular captivity literature in England, and the intentions of European authors in writing captivity narratives. Aubin was explicit with her intentions for her work in the preface: "to encourage Virtue and expose Vice, imprint noble Principles in the ductile Souls of our youth, and setting great Examples before their Eyes, excite them to imitate them."[175] The goal of the work was not just to entertain readers and capitalize on European anxieties about the Islamic world, it also set out to cement the dichotomy between the virtuous Christians and the sinful Muslims. Within the preface, Aubin wastes no time to frame Muslims as sexual deviants, and the Christian captives as pure and faithful. Aubin writes that the Dey of Algiers "gives a loose to his Passions, and thinks it no Crime to keep as many Women for his Use, as his lustful Appetite excites him to like…this caused our beautiful Heroines to suffer such Trials," using the trope of Muslim depravity and sexual violence as the main threat to the female protagonists.[176] On the subject of the four "noble slaves," she writes that "You will find that Chains could not hold them; Want, Sickness, Grief, nor the merciless Seas destroy them; because they trusted in God, and swerv'd not from their Duty."[177] The protagonists are perfect images of the Christian faith, in the same way earlier authors such as Cervantes and Mouette

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[173] Fricke, "Female Captivity," 113.
[174] Fricke, "Female Captivity," 113.
[175] Penelope Aubin, *The Noble Slaves: or, the Lives and and Adventures of Two Lords and two Ladies…* (Dublin: R. Reilly, 1736), viii.
[176] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* vi-vii.
[177] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* vii.

sought to portray Christian captives. Therefore, the setting of North Africa and the conditions of captivity are directly connected to "European virtue in distress," as Stefanie Fricke puts it.[178] Just as previous authors had done, Aubin uses the tropes of Muslim sexuality, Christian purity and chastity, and traditional European gender roles in order to frame Muslims as the exotic "other" and the antithesis to European values.

Before the protagonists are actually taken captive on the Barbary Coast, Aubin establishes her ideals for female Christian virtue. When the protagonists are lost at sea, they come across a Persian Muslim named Tanganor who relates the story of how he took a young Spanish girl named Maria as a slave for himself from Turkish corsairs. Tanganor initially seeks to use the young woman his own sexual pleasure, but Maria refuses Tanganor's advances, telling him:

> You are an odious Mahometan, and I a Christian: I am your Slave, by Heaven's Permission; but my Soul is free and can't Content to such a hateful Deed. Leave me or kill me; for I prefer Death to disgraceful Life. Force me, and I'll hate you, loath you, ruine your Joys, and fly you with Scorn and Coldness: but spare my Virtue, oh! Spare my Shame, and I'll adore you, do anything you command.[179]

Tanganor is to taken with her words and her resilience in her faith, and upon seeing her purity and virtue, decides to convert to Christianity in order to marry her. Unfortunately, as soon as he has made this decision, his Sultan commands him to relinquish Maria to him, which Tanganor cannot refuse. The Sultan attempts to rape Maria despite her protests, until finally she proclaims that "'my Eyes shall never see my Shame…nor more inflame Mankind: These I offer up to Virtue, and they shall weep no more in ought but Blood.' At these Words I tore my Eyeballs out, and threw them at him."[180] The Sultan is so appalled at her self-mutilation that he returns her to Tanganor, who escapes with her and marries her, leading them to the island where the

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[178] Fricke, "Female Captivity," 115.
[179] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* 19.
[180] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* 22.

protagonists meet them. This Spanish woman is seen as a heroic figure within the novel, a woman who would rather pluck out her own eyes than witness herself be violated by a Muslim man. Mutilation was acceptable in this case as it ultimately preserved her honor and allowed Maria to maintain her chastity. This, along with her previous display of feminine virtue, moves Tanganor so that he abandons his faith and chooses to be with her. This is similar to Cervantes's "Captive's Tale," though the reverse gendering and brutal violence is a far departure from his romantic portrayal of converting "good Muslims."

Not only is the Spanish captive that the protagonists meet a beacon of Christian piety and female virtue, so too are the heroines of the story: Teresa and Emilia. The two women are shown to be unwavering in their faith, unmoved by the romantic advances of Muslim men throughout the novel. Emilia rejects the advances of their Muslim captors, stating that "'my Soul is prepared for all Events, and I will die rather than live a Vassal to a vile Mahometan's unlawful Lust,'" to which Teresa then echoes her support.[181] After the women have been separated from one another, Teresa pleads with a Muslim to respect her virtue, citing that she is married and would not ever be unfaithful to him, telling the man to "'Resolve therefore to see me die, or generously set me at Liberty. Do not attempt to force me, lest I do some dreadful Deed, and fill your Soul with endless Remorse.'"[182] Not only are the women willing to kill themselves in order to preserve their womanly honor, but Emilia goes so far as to murder a Muslim man who attempts to assault her.[183] Suicide and murder were two seriously sinful crimes, but the actions of the two women are seen as heroic, as they are done for the purpose of preserving their chastity and virtue and resisting conversion and sexual violence at the hands of the infidel.

Aubin's *The Noble Slaves* bares much resemblance to earlier fictional narratives such as

[181] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* 28.
[182] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* 30.
[183] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* 31.

Miguel de Cervantes's "Captive's Tale" within *Don Quixote*. Both stories focus on the purity of Christian captives, romanticizing their faith and virtue amidst the terrors of captivity in North Africa. Like Cervantes, Aubin sees the virtue of captives converting Muslims to Christianity, imagining an astonishing number of Muslim converts to Christianity that is entirely fictional.[184] Aubin extends this trope beyond what Cervantes intended, though; for Cervantes, it was core to masculine virtue to convert, and a woman's virtue was merely in her adherence to her piety. Aubin went a step further, leaning into chastity and adherence to Christianity as crucial to feminine virtue, but also making it a powerful force for converting Muslim men. Women now had a much more active role in demonstrating their virtue, both resisting the sexual advances of their Muslim captors and being so righteous as to compel Muslim men to convert. Aubin used these characters in order to compel her audience to behave more like them, to learn from their example and assume the same level of steadfast piety that they had. Aubin says in the final chapter of *The Noble Slaves* that the "The Ladies, I fear, will scarce find any here who will pull out their Eyes, break their Legs…and chuse to die, to preserve their Virtue."[185] Aubin criticized English society for their weakness of faith, and urged them to become as devout as the characters in her novel. Even the ethnicity of the two women, Spanish and French, seems deliberate, considering these were rival Catholic nations. It is true that the number of Spanish and French captives in North Africa were higher than the number of English captives, and would therefore add authenticity to Aubin's novel. Still, Aubin makes reference to the plight of English captives in her preface, and her English audience would be acutely aware of the threat English men and women faced in captivity, so choosing non-English protagonists in order to demonstrate the ideals of piety, chastity, and virtue seem to intentionally stir up her English audience. Her call to

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[184] Fricke, "Female Captivity," 115.
[185] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* 124.

emulate these captives can be seen as a unified European sentiment against Islam, crossing confessional differences in order to portray Christians of all backgrounds as morally superior to Muslims.

Though the concern of women captives facing great danger within North Africa dominated European discourse, the case of Maria ter Meetelen reveals another side of women's experience in the Maghrib. Many women would never see redemption and return to Europe, though it may actually be the case that some did not wish to be ransomed. Some captive women achieved higher status and power within North Africa, either through their own personal endeavors or through conversion and marriage with the local elite, though conversion of Christian women was not a necessity under Islamic law.[186] In the case of Maria ter Meetelen, it was enough for her to endear herself to the Moroccan Sultan Moulay Abdallah, without marrying him or converting to Islam, in order to live a successful life as an entrepreneur in Meknes.[187] Ter Meetelen was a young Catholic Dutch woman who was captured by Moroccan corsairs with her Protestant husband Claas Van der Meer in 1731.[188] Her twelve yearlong captivity was markedly different from what Aubin, Marsh, or most of the male captives experienced in North Africa, as she was able to enjoy a relatively comfortable experience for a Christian captive. Her account is particularly insightful to understanding feminine virtue, as it is the first authentic autobiographical account of captivity in North Africa written in Europe by a woman.[189] It also depicts a situation mostly removed from the perceived dangers of the Islamic world that other sources promulgated, instead focusing on individual success and skillful navigation of the exotic

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[186] Matar, *Britain and Barbary,* 92, 99.
[187] Bekkaoui, *White Women Captives,* 62.
[188] Maria ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events of Twelve Years Slavery, of a Woman, Called Maria ter Meetelen, Resident of Medemblik." in *White Women Captives Captives in North Africa: Narratives of enslavement, 1735-1830,* ed. Khalid Bekkaoui (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011), 64-120 at 64, 71.
[189] Bekkaoui, *White Women Captives,* 63.

North African world.

Ter Meetelen's portrait of Muslims in Morocco is one of the most nuanced, and complicates her expression of sexuality among the Muslim "other." On one hand, she leans into the common European tropes of sexual depravity, making unsubstantiated claims such as the Sultan seeking out a "young virgin every Friday" while deeming it it sinful to sleep with a pregnant woman despite there being no law in Islam or Morocco preventing this.[190] On the other hand, she does not fully demonize the majority of the Muslim men in Morocco in the same way earlier authors had, speaking particularly well of the Sultan Sidi Muhammad Wald al Arbiyya.[191] She says that he was a good king to the Christian captives, and despite a period of economic ruin and starvation,[192] the Sultan treated her family well and always ensured they had what they needed, allowing her private business of alcohol sale to flourish.[193] Despite the terrible famines plaguing Meknes, Sidi Muhammad Wald al Arbiyya showed great affection to ter Meetelen and her fellow Christian captives.[194] She even promised her baby daughter to be the bride of the Sultan's baby son, Sidi Muhammad, the prince that Elizabeth Marsh would face in 1756. Ter Meetelen also uses the tropes of promiscuity, depravity, and procuring to characterize the women in the Sultan's harem, but again is less critical of them than authors like de Sosa. When she first enters Moulay Abdallah's palace, she remarks that the women in his harem had "make-up on their faces, and dressed as goddesses, extraordinarily beautiful, each of them with her instrument, on which they played and sang. It was such a wonderful melody I had never heard the like of it

[190] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 74-75; Bekkaoui, *White Women Captives,* 285-286.
[191] Called "Sidi Magomet Ulda Lariba" in the original narrative.
[192] Meknes was experiencing a particularly difficult period of famine, plague, and political turmoil during ter Meetelen's captivity, especially between 1736 and 1742. At one point, four sultans were installed and subsequently removed before noon of the same day. Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 96-99, 112; Klarer, *Barbary Captives,* 256.
[193] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 94-96.
[194] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 99.

before."[195] Unlike de Sosa, ter Meetelen does not seem to be offended by Muslim women's use of makeup or their dress, and instead remarks that they are quite attractive. This may be a sign of some solidarity between women, Christian or Muslim, or due to the fact that the Dutch had a much less negative outlook on the practice of prostitution compared to other European nations.[196] The complex image of Muslims that ter Meetelen constructs is primarily sympathetic, but still bears the mark of European conceptions of Muslim opulence and salaciousness.

Ter Meetelen's presentation of feminine virtue is further complicated by her presentation of herself, frequently defying traditional gender roles for European women with little remorse. She begins her narrative with the story of how she attempted to join a regiment of dragoons in Spain dressed as a man, but was quickly found out.[197] This act would have been highly controversial,[198] but ter Meetelen confidently relates this on the first page of her narrative. From the outset, ter Meetelen is established as an atypical, confident woman, and this characterization of herself persists throughout her narrative. While aboard the corsairs' ship after just being captured, she says she was "not in the least chagrined and shed not a single tear. I engaged myself in a conversation with these people as though they were no enemies."[199] Not even the bravest of the male captives treated here claim to have been so fearless in the face of their Muslim captors. After the death of her husband Claas, one of ter Meetelen's fellow Christians informs her that the Sultan would execute her if she married one of her fellow Dutch captives, to which she responded "that the king could do what he pleased, for I wanted no Christian but the chief of the Dutch nation. 'Well,' said he, 'do you prefer to die than fulfil to the king's will?' I

[195] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 74.
[196] Lotte C. Van de Pol, "Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam," *International Symposium in Europe* (March 30, 2001): 85-98 at 85.
[197] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 64
[198] Examples of women cross dressing as a male soldier was extremely rare, but not unheard of during the early modern period. The most fascinating and famous case of this is that of Catalina "Antonio" de Erauso from the sixteenth century.
[199] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 67.

said yes."[200] When the women in the Sultan's harem try to convince her to convert, she rejects them, pushing them away telling them she would prefer to have her head cut off than to convert, and begs with "courage to be such as of a lion" for the Sultan to do the same.[201] This willingness to die rather than convert or marry a Muslim is standard behavior, but ter Meetelen goes a step further when the Sultan confronts her. She decides to deceive him into believing she is pregnant so that he will spare her, and forces herself in his path three times as he tries to leave his harem. When he is told that she is pregnant, he finally sets her free from his palace and allows her to marry Pieter Jansz Iede, the "chief" of the Dutch nation in Morocco.[202] She chose this man for herself without ever consulting him, though he willingly accepted her hand when asked.

Throughout her narrative, ter Meetelen remains confident and bold, confronting Moulay Abdallah and his wife, the former of which eventually allows her and her husband to live comfortably.[203] The dominant behavior ter Meetelen expresses would have been quite uncharacteristic for women during this period, as the traits of positivity and obedience were considered more feminine, as will be seen with Elizabeth Marsh. Even within Aubin's novel, the assertiveness of the heroines that they displayed while escaping captivity disappeared once the men in their lives return, their agency returning to the control of their husbands.[204] Ter Meetelen's behavior, however, is not dependent upon the men in her life. Before her husband dies, after dies, and when she remarries, she maintains her assertive, fearless nature. In fact, she often speaks to the various sultans of Morocco on her husband's behalf. Her writing reveals that she is proud of her confident, dominant behavior, and of her entrepreneurial efforts.

The experience and writings of Maria ter Meetelen account are fascinating, remarkable in

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[200] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 74.
[201] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 75-76.
[202] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 78.
[203] Ter Meetelen, "Miraculous and Remarkable Events," 82-85.
[204] Fricke, "Female Captivity," 117.

how unique her experience is when compared to other European captives, men and women. Though there are captives such as Thomas Pellow, Hark Olufs, Emanuel d'Aranda, and even Joseph Pitts, to a degree, who suffered very little and found great success or at least kindness from their Muslim captors, very few were as successful as ter Meetelen, especially given her gender. Her experience and account of female captivity challenges the traditional notions of Christian women being vulnerable damsels in danger of sexual violence at the hands of Muslims, and while ter Meetelen did have to maneuver her way out of being forced into the Sultan's harem, she lives most of her twelve years in Morocco without fear of sexual danger. She also demonstrates that captivity was not solely a miserable experience, and that Christians had the opportunity to elevate their status through negotiation and entrepreneurship. Her depictions of the Muslim "other" are also tamer than most other sources. Her use of traditional tropes of Muslim hypersexuality seem to be used out of obligation to her European audience as reminders of the exotic setting, and are not as important to her understanding of her own virtue. Instead, ter Meetelen redefined feminine virtue for herself in North Africa, adopting more masculine, dominant traits in order to establish her honor and virtue during her captivity.

This brings us back to Elizabeth Marsh, who's story I began with. Marsh's account is published just as the early modern period has begun to end, yet it loudly echoes the tropes established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the likes of de Sosa and Mouette. Her account could not be more unlike that of ter Meetelen's, and even differs from Aubin's, though these two display much more similarity. Marsh's account is characterized by the terror she experienced while captive, and relies much more heavily on traditional tropes of European femininity in order to establish her credibility and defend her honor, which as already mentioned was put under serious question upon her return to England. By leaning into traditional European tropes of femininity, Marsh attempted to reclaim her virtue and justify herself to her English

audience.

The insecurity of Marsh's situation upon her return to England is reflected throughout her narrative, making hers a much more meticulous construction than the other female narratives presented here. Unmarried captive women in North Africa such as herself were seen as especially susceptible to sexual violence by Europeans, and Aubin's heroines as well as ter Meetelen were married while in captivity, giving them a bit more security in their honor. Marsh's fiancé was not present to attest to her chastity while in captivity, and had to rely on her friend James Crisp as a male witness. Not only did Crisp act as a witness, but he also had to serve as one of her protectors during her captivity. Marsh relates that when she and Crisp were in the company of Don Pedro, a fellow captive, he shows his concern for her plight, telling Crisp:

> "As a Christian, I cannot but be deeply affected at your Misfortunes, but the Danger your fair Companion is exposed to gives me inexpressible concern…the Anxiety I am under, on her Account, induced me to accompany you…I have determined, once more, to represent to you, how very necessary it is for her Safety, that you should pass for her Husband…if she is at all preserved from being detained in the *Seraglio,* it must be by the Means above proposed."[205]

Despite the fact that female captives like Marsh were often left to fend for themselves by their nation and their families once they were taken, they were still made to rely on whatever men remained in their lives to maintain any semblance of honor, which is why Marsh is forced to cling to Crisp and lie that they are married. Unlike the fictional Teresa and Emilia, who were able to transcend their passive roles in the absence of their husbands, and ter Meetelen who appears much more active and dominant than her husband, Marsh clings to Christian men in her narrative in order to maintain her honor. When she is able to return to Gibraltar after her captivity without the help of her family or fiancé, her honor is quickly put into question, and her engagement is soon ended. Bekkaoui observed that women were often neglected from ransom

[205] Marsh, "The Female Captive," 133.

records and were not prioritized by Europeans in their redemption efforts: their consciousness surrounding sexual violence instead caused them to question the virtue of redeemed females such as Marsh. Marsh says that "the Misfortunes I met with in Barbary have been more than equalled by those I have since experienced" after her return to England due to this continuous challenge to her honor.[206] As such, her narrative is more thematically akin to that of Antonio de Sosa in terms of attitudes towards the Muslim "other" out of necessity,[207] as she must rely on more traditional tropes of femininity and "othering" of the exotic North Africans than other sources.

One way Marsh employs these tropes is in her utter distaste and rejection of Muslim society. Whereas Mouette and other male authors were permitted to express their attraction to Muslim women and Muslim society, Marsh steers clear of this at all costs in order to preserve her honor. Her situation is much more precarious than those male authors, with the exception perhaps of Joseph Pitts on account of his conversion to Islam. None of the men had their chastity or sexual integrity put into question, and even if they had slept with Muslim women, accounts like Mouette demonstrated that this was not unacceptable. Even Aubin's novel reaffirms this gender disparity, with the male protagonist Don Lopez accepting the advances of a Venetian woman named Eleonora, despite his marriage to Teresa, in order to achieve liberation.[208] Though Aubin's heroines remark that the men of North Africa were not always so cruel, and even comment on their good looks, there is no romantic or sexual attraction. Sexual attraction towards the exotic "other" was clearly only permissible for Christian men, and women had to reaffirm in their narratives, fictional or authentic, that they did not feel any attraction to Muslim men and the Islamic world. Elizabeth Marsh takes this rejection of the Muslim "other" the farthest of all the

[206] Marsh, "The Female Captive," 124.
[207] Though I argue that the reliance on older tropes is a necessity for Marsh's narrative, this is not to diminish the very real fear and suffering she endured while captive.
[208] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* 36.

narratives presented here. Whereas Aubin's protagonists used Muslim dress in order to escape,[209] and ter Meetelen embraced the culture of Morocco in order to improve her status, Marsh rejected all symbols of Muslim society, distancing herself as much as possible from the exotic Islamic world. Marsh finds the music in Morocco intolerable, even critiqued the food she was offered, saying it was a "Collation after the Moorish Taste" which she could only bear to eat a little out of respect to her host, who she says was one of the very few good men in the entire country.[210] This is markedly different from Aubin, who seems to neglect the exoticness of North African food entirely in her account, and ter Meetelen, who easily embraces the food and culture of the Maghrib, even relishing in its foreignness. Marsh is afforded no such luxury, as she had to do much more to preserve her honor in her account than ter Meetelen did due to her unmarried status, and could not be as imprecise as Aubin is in her fictional account.

Though Marsh is quite precise own introspection and sufferings, she her avoided discussing the people or environment of Morocco almost in its entirety, which was uncommon for even the least ethnographic accounts (the exception to this being very brief accounts such as Isaac Brassard's, though Marsh's is much lengthier than Brassard's).[211] This stylistic choice is twofold: it is indicative of English literature at the time, which emphasized "voyeuristic descriptions" of suffering, especially of female protagonists, and it is also another way for Marsh to avoid association with North African society.[212] Where male authors like de Sosa, Mouette, and Pitts were encouraged to closely observe North African society and report these findings in their narratives in order to provide authenticity, too much attention to detail in Marsh's account may have roused further suspicion regarding her honor and virtue. She wittily avoids detail in her

[209] Aubin, *The Noble Slaves,* 31.
[210] Marsh, "The Female Captive," 127, 129.
[211] Klarer, *Barbary Captives,* 307.
[212] Klarer, *Barbary Captives,* 308.

account outside of her contemplative hardship, ensuring her account would be both more popular in accordance with public interests and indubious regarding her virtue.

Though these three accounts differ wildly in their portrayals of Christian women, the decision of choosing death over conversion and resisting the advances of Muslim remains constant throughout. Marsh generally comes across as quite passive and timid in her account, avoiding confrontations with the Muslims whenever possible, too swept up in her terror. This presentation of herself was meant to further defend her reputation, as passivity and compliance were "seen as acceptable behavior for heroines."[213] However, in her second confrontation with Prince Sidi Muhammad, she asserts herself as a virtuous Christian, just as ter Meetelen and the fictional Maria, Teresa, and Emilia do. It was universal in female captivity narratives for women to resist all temptations of Islam, even more so than in male captivity narratives, which fluctuate in the degrees to which they understand "resistance" to said temptations (such as in the case of Mouette encouraging Christians to sleep with married Muslim women). The duty of the early modern Christian woman was to defend her honor and virtue while in captivity, which meant that traditionally impermissible acts such as Emilia murdering her assaulter or ter Meetelen seeking the platonic company of the sultans became acceptable. Ter Meetelen is careful to not insinuate any sort of romantic relation with any of the sultans, even those that favored her most like Sidi Muhammad Wald al Arbiyya. Marsh chose to present herself in the most feminine, passive way she possibly could throughout her account, but even she stood firm when she was deceived into conversion, choosing death over apostasy. This element of commonality between all three female narratives, which are each quite different from one another, is most revealing as to what European values of feminine virtue were. Whereas Christian men were certainly compelled to reject the Muslim other, it was an absolute necessity for Christian women to do so. Though the

[213] Fricke, "Female Captivity," 122.

women in these accounts vary in their outlook on Muslims and the degrees to which they interact with the Islamic world and North African society, the European consciousness of women needing to be chaste and being victims of Muslim lust is reflected in their writings.

Epilogue

On August 3rd, 2001, several humanitarian aid workers employed by Shelter Now International were arrested by the Taliban in a private residence in Kabul, Afghanistan.[214] Among them were two Americans, Dayna Curry and Heather Mercer. Curry and Mercer were members of an evangelical, non-denominational Christian church in Waco, Texas, before they both decided to volunteer and serve as aid workers in Afghanistan. They were arrested for supposedly spreading the Gospel to the locals that they were aiding, caught with various Christian books and pamphlets, and were put on trial on September 1st. After the terrorist attacks on September 11th, and the subsequent U.S. airstrikes on Afghanistan, Curry and Mercer were locked away and held as prisoners until November 15th, when U.S. and anti-Taliban Northern Alliance forces liberated them to be returned home.[215] They would go on to co-author their own modern captivity narrative titled *Prisoners of Hope: The Story of Our Captivity and Freedom in Afghanistan* in 2002. Their narrative emphasizes the fear and suffering they felt during their captivity, and touched upon their anxieties about the threat of sexual violence at the hands of their Afghan captors.[216]

In the Western media, Curry and Mercer were simultaneously constructed as figures of western liberation and freedom as well as vulnerable victims of Muslim sexual rapacity.[217]

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[214] "Afghan Prison Ordeal Ends Happily for U.S. Aid Workers," CNN (Cable News Network, 2001), https://www.cnn.com/CNN/Programs/people/shows/curry.mercer/profile.html.
[215] "Afghan Prison Ordeal."
[216] Youssef Boutahar, "Images of White Womanhood in Contemporary Narratives of Middle Eastern Captivity," in *Unsettling Whiteness*, ed. Lucy Michael and Samantha Schulz (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2014), 23-32 at 26.
[217] Boutabar, "Images of White Womanhood," 25.

Strikingly, in their own twenty-first century captivity narrative, the women portrayed themselves as heroes of Christianity who preserved their chastity and "preferred martyrdom…[rather] than renouncing their Christian faith," just as Elizabeth Marsh had done over two centuries earlier.[218] It is clear that the legacies of Mediterranean captivity narratives and the construction of the Muslim "other" as depraved sexual deviants have persisted in the modern Western consciousness. The language used to describe the Taliban and other Muslim extremists echoes the European descriptions of the Barbary corsairs and North African people from the early modern period. Though the works of Antonio de Sosa, Germain Mouette, Andreas Matthäus Wolffgang, Maria ter Meetelen, and many other captive narratives have been all but forgotten by the West, their tropes and stereotypes have informed the Islamophobic, xenophobic, and Orientalist ideologies espoused today. Studying these early modern captivity narratives reveals the long history of these tropes within the West, and the ignorance that has persisted in continuing them in modern dialogues. The gendering of captivity in relation to cultural and religious divide and the vilification of the Islamic world in the early modern period has persisted into the present, whether we are aware of it or not. By informing contemporary audiences of these important legacies and the deeper histories of these constructions in this paper, I hope to expose how these tropes have been used and continue to be employed in Western Christian discourse on Islam to dehumanize Muslims and establish bigoted Western imaginaries of superiority.

[218] Boutabar, "Images of White Womanhood," 25.

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