

Relato de João Carvalho Mascarenhas, um soldado português deslocado pelo mundo

Report of João Carvalho Mascarenhas, a portuguese soldier displaced through the world

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Resumo: Chegamos a este número da *História*, sob o tema *Deslocamentos Culturais*, munidos do testemunho escrito por João Carvalho Mascarenhas, após ter estado uns quatro anos cativo na cidade de Argel. Capturado na sequência da perda da nau *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, a 11 de Outubro de 1621, à vista da Ericeira, é levado pelos “turcos” e aí permanece até sua libertação, em 1625 ou 1626. Durante este tempo - infortúnio sobre infortúnio - foi “metido ao remo” na nau capitânia de uma frota turca, em retaliação, pelo mediterrâneo: “para que nisto pudesse também ser testemunha de vista” (COMBATE, p. 138).

Keywords: João Carvalho Mascarenhas; travel accounts; Turks.

Abstract: For this edition of *História*, with the theme of *Cultural Shifts*, we bring an account written by João Carvalho Mascarenhas, who spent four years as a captive in the city of Algiers. Taken captive after the ship *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* was lost within sight of Ericeira on October 11, 1621, he was taken by the "Turks" and remained captive until freed in 1625 or 1626. During this period - in misfortune after misfortune - he was strapped to the oar of the lead ship of a Turkish fleet in the Mediterranean, in an act of retaliation: "so that this might also be a testimony for all to see" (COMBATE, 138).

Keywords: João Carvalho Mascarenhas; travel accounts; Turks.

João Carvalho Mascarenhas was a firsthand witness to everything that he recounted. We can say in advance that he had a well trained "view" regarding the world, in which the Iberian Peninsula, particularly the Portuguese kingdom, functioned as a platform of political, military, economic, scientific and religious power¹.

His testimonial was shaped in *Memorável Relação da Perda da Nau Conceição*² (A Memorable Account of the Loss of the Ship *Conceição*), a remarkable story that confirms our fascination with texts that combine systematic information with personal commentary and memories. In this case, *Relação*³, which is midway between a travel narrative, an epistle and a

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chronicle⁴, demonstrates its author's rich life experience and rational sensibility, which, for those who know how to inquire, make it an exceptional historical source. This is especially true in terms of modes of thinking, an overarching concept that, as we understand, can only be truthfully grasped through an analysis of a wide variety of behaviors and reflections of a political, social and economic nature. However, *Relação* clearly shows how a Portuguese man knew how to use his experience and knowledge of the world to live, survive, observe and narrate everything that he experienced as a slave in enemy territories... *Relação* is not an exercise in "flowery language". It is a narrative written by a man who had "practiced in the militia in India and in other places (COMBATE, p. 46), with well defined operative aims."

Who is João Mascarenhas?

Aged 38 when he wrote *Relação* in 1627 (COMBATE, p. 97), João Carvalho Mascarenhas was captured on a Monday on October 11, 1621, while on board the ship *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*. He was returning from serving Portugal, which at that time was a dual monarchy with Spain⁵, as a soldier in the state of India. Within sight of land near Ericeira (Ribeira d'Ilhas, to be exact), this ship of the so-called *Carreira da Índia* was attacked by seventeen "Turkish" (Algerian) pirate ships. After two days of intense battles, the attackers set fire to the ship and took its crew and passengers prisoner, since any support had not arrived.

Mascarenhas' detailed description of the battle, together with files from the legal proceedings of the captain of the Coastal Armada, D. António de Ataíde (COMBATE, p. 149-309), described the circumstances - in a highly improbable combination, which led to the loss of the ship and the misfortune of the narrator, beginning with the surprise of encountering such a large Corsair fleet that close to the coast, as opposed to the Azores, which was more common. Let us look at the sequence of events that immobilized D. António de Ataíde's armada: firstly, there was no wind to move the galleons and pinnaces or to allow the *Conceição* to deviate from the attackers; the judge of Ericeira could well have mounted his horse and reached Cascais to sound the alarm over the perilous situation facing the ship, which had no one to warn the armada that was scudding near the cape of Espichel, because the owner of one of the ships had been too frightened while another had thought it more important to fish for bream. On the other hand, we can observe how changeable the perception was of the ships that surrounded the *Conceição*: at dusk, the ships were thought to be D. António's fleet; however, by dawn, they were "seventeen wide ships" that were "carrying salt from Setúbal". Alas, "these were Turkish ships" (COMBATE, p. 55). In the same way, these ships only perceived that the *Conceição*, isolated on her own, was a ship from India, because it was recognized by the Christian sailors, who were "old slaves" serving the Algerians (COMBATE, p. 55).

It is important here to point out this element of factual imponderability, which is staked on two aspects that appear in the legal files of D. António's Defense (COMBATE, p. 150-309): the first, rigorous only in appearance, concerns the astronomic measurements that were applied to a navigation that was already so close to the coast; and the second refers to the legal interpretation of the execution of royal orders in the armada regiment, that is to say, the debate over the captain's initiative in uncertain contexts. We believe that incorporating "chance" into the perception of events is an element that should be combined with the detailed, truthful account of a Portuguese man who was displaced but not estranged from the world. That is to say, João Mascarenhas.

As he himself informs us (COMBATE, p. 97), having traversed a Portuguese empire that was so vast that, paraphrasing Camões' description, it accompanied the path of the sun from where it arose to where it dipped beyond the horizon. Mascarenhas had been serving the crown mostly in Brazil, India, East Africa, the Red Sea and the Strait of Ormuz, Persia and Arabia, where he had gotten to know cities that were "ours and of the Moors". As a slave, chained to the gallows of Algiers, he came to know several "Berber cities" and "many islands in the Levant", rubbing shoulders with people from all across the Mediterranean and others who navigated its waters.

Like many Portuguese - such as the discoverers chronicled by Daniel Boorstin - Mascarenhas was an experienced traveler who was revealed to be a detailed observer, especially of Algiers: the city of rock and lime and an amalgam of people from all "nations" who inhabited or simply passed by its port for different reasons.

Clearly educated in the field of Literature, Mascarenhas had insightful knowledge of Roman History, which he accurately cited, particularly with respect to military (possibly reminiscent of a reading of Vegetius), geographical, and administrative matters (COMBATE, p. 83; 97; 103). He must have read an edition of *Crónica del-Rei D. Rodrigo* (Chronicle of King D. Rodrigo), or at least the legend of Florinda "La Cave", daughter of Count Julião (COMBATE, p. 73).

In brief, we may include João Mascarenhas in the group of servants of the crown who carried within them the Ciceronian *pen* and the *sword*. We believe that the testimonies of these men are highly relevant due to the fact that they are not professional writers. In fact, it had been close to two hundred years that the *empire of the written word*⁶ had extended beyond that of the royal office in its application in government (treasury, justice, diplomacy) or had departed from the pure functionality of private business or wills. Furthermore, it was no longer just the royal, aristocratic, episcopal, or other religious-related chroniclers who wrote serial narratives. By the end of the 1500s and the first quarter of the 17th century, the writing of these descriptions was managed by a small military nobility and by those who had learned to systematize ideas and express them in a way that was perceptible to those who might be interested, since these texts had various intentions.

It is in this context that, in the 18th century, as pirate attacks were intensifying, accounts of individuals who were captured aboard ships emerged, which placed an emphasis on sensitizing *public opinion* to the question of the captives (DOMINGUES, 2003, p. 220).

Aims of Relação

Indeed, as we come now to what really interests us, *Relação* has very clear intentions, whether in the author's Letter of Dedication to D. Pedro de Meneses and the note to the Reader, or in the decision by the ecclesiastical or legal officials to release the licenses necessary for its publication in the name of the Holy Office.

The first and most extensive of the Holy Office's opinions is from the *magister* Dominican friar Tomás de São Domingos. Written on the orders of the General Inquisitor, the bishop D. Fernão Martins de Mascarenhas, the opinion underscores the function of the account as being an example for others to follow. Firstly, *Relação* would serve to warn all of the extent to which happiness is judged to be eternal and estimable in this world. Friar Tomás writes that *Relação* "tells of pitiful successes and much to be sad about, but also serves as a warning and disillusion of the brevity of mundane happinesses and how little they should be esteemed" (COMBATE, p. 44). Here, it is worth making a brief remark about the introduction in this apparently legal work and the topic of change and instability in life, in which fortuity and surprise are the rule (SILVA, 2001, p. 49-64). Everything can change in one day... It is interesting how Mascarenhas insists on these abrupt ruptures, which always happen on a Monday (COMBATE, p. 69). Being themes that are classically inspired from a philosophical and literary point of view, they are suitable for Christian reflection and become recurrent in Portugal by the end of the 16th century. Here, we see them applied not for the purposes of problems common to all humanity, but to frequent events in the everyday life of the Portuguese, who were repeatedly confronted by storms, pirates, and Corsairs, not just in the Islamic world; but in all of the kingdoms that were challenging the doctrine of *mare clausum* or that simply wanted to take possession of ships, people, and goods.

To be captured by Algerian Corsairs meant more than losing a ship's cargo. It meant losing one's very freedom, since after one was captured, one was sold into slavery in Islamic lands. It is this latter consequence that friar Tomás points to as the worst misery of all: to be a captive of "the Turks". Indeed, it was a dangerous situation for the souls of the captives, as noted in an opinion by Doctor Jorge Cabral (COMBATE, p. 44). Seeing as everyone could be subjected to this misfortune, the doctrine and the examples that Mascarenhas cites are of great interest.

This exemplary function is very explicit in Mascarenhas' *Letter of Dedication*. In fact, the person to whom *Relação* is dedicated to is also exemplary or symbolic: It is D. Pedro de Meneses,

the prior of St Maria de Óbidos. He was a grandson and great grandson of great lords who had been held captive by the Moors and died in captivity, yet gained glory in heaven for their perseverance in the faith and in their suffering as martyrs.

To survive without giving up one's faith was to be a *vade mecum* and this was the ultimate aim of *Relação*⁷. However, this didactic is not confined to the 3rd part of the work⁸, in which the author recounts the adventures of specific captives. These stories, with their various outcomes, are introduced naturally, whether in describing the behavior of the crew members and passengers shortly after the sinking of *Conceição* or everyday life in the city of Algiers.

There is, as well, a further intention, which while not explicitly referred to, is nevertheless imposed on us: Mascarenhas expresses a hope that Algiers, "if Heaven allows", will become a part of the Portuguese crown (COMBATE, p.98). This is expressed when he mentions the main gate of the city's wall, "through which I hope to God that this city will be entered and conquered and that the banners of Christ, Our Lord be flown above her (COMBATE, p. 89). To turn this idea into concrete reality, D. Patrício, a priest from Valencia who was a prisoner and believed that the conditions were right invading Algiers, attempted to send letters to the king in support of this idea. Included in the letters was a piece of paper on which he had "drawn the city" (COMBATE, p. 111). It so happened that this was a plan of the city, indicating the best locations for access and penetration. In fact, we believe that the 2nd part of *Relação* is more than mere "spirit and curiosity", as its author termed it in the Letter of Dedication. "Nova Descrição da cidade de Argel" contains details on not only military architecture, but also urbanism and population distribution, information that would be useful to have in any kind of siege. Mascarenhas ends the Dedication by praising the persistence of the Spanish king's battle against the Turks. In a divided Europe, in which religious options mirrored political debate and vice versa, the author takes up the elegy that Camões had dedicated to D. Sebastião a century earlier: "Only the King, our lord, continues the war against them" (COMBATE, p. 147).

Complex narrative

Relação is a complex narrative about the world that Mascarenhas knows as such. In truth, the many sources used by historians in the first half of the 17th century show a highly turbulent world of political, legal, economic, and religious forces. The Mediterranean and the city of Algiers, however, are elevated by their geostrategic positioning, making them a stage for this entire world (MACEDO, 2006, p. 167s).

A world that was divided. For someone who was less prudent - such as Mascarenhas or someone of our contemporary - there appeared to be only one well defined, impenetrable border.

This was situated in the political-religious discontinuity between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, that is to say, Christians and Muslims, according to Pope John VIII's formulation (by then fictitious) that had been made at the end of the ninth century.

Indeed, neither the Ottoman Empire nor Europe were monolithic blocks. As Mascarenhas notes, just as the small "nations" of Corsica and Sardinia valiently opposed Turkish attacks in the Mediterranean, other countries, pressured by the need to defend themselves, delivered Christian captives in exchange for their liberty (COMBATE, p. 136s). Mascarenhas, echoing "what the Turks say" and in a spirit of praise for Philip II, affirms that there are only two blocs that exist in the world: that of the Moors (represented by the Great Turk) and that of the Christians (overseen by the Spanish king).

The Muslim world's internal political issues, which Mascarenhas certainly knew about, are not echoed in *Relação*, except for brief allusions to the animosity of Turks towards the "Moors" (COMBATE, p. 71) or rivalries between Tunis and Algiers (COMBATE, p. 145). Little else is more important than explaining the government of the city and of the Algerian kingdom that functions "in the name of the Great Turk" (COMBATE, p. 75). This government, he says, "depends on a Vice-King called Baxá, who is sent from Constantinople by the Great Turk, sometimes each year and sometimes for a longer period, who is ordinarily an apostate (COMBATE, p. 98-99). After noting how the official manages to acquire his position, Mascarenhas describes the ritual of his arrival in the city: he makes a point of saying that the official throws coins to the people upon arriving on shore. He also notes how the official makes first contact with Customs "or the republic, which is one and the same", as it is in Venice and other lordships or as it once was in Rome (COMBATE, p. 75 and 103), and with the captain of the famous Janissaries, the "paid soldiers", whom they call Agá (COMBATE, p. 127).

Whether on an economic, financial or military level, Mascarenhas detects Algiers' servitude to Constantinople, believing that the Baxá is "more a rent-payer than a governor" and whose control was underscored by the presence of a Turk. This Turk brings with him from Constantinople a counselor or "senior lieutenant" named Caia. There is also another Turk sent by the Great Turk, named Berlebei, a person with "much authority in peacetime as well as in war". The narrative continues over various chapters, noting the way in which Algiers' revenues are collected for the Great Turk (very impiously...) and providing an inventory of political-administrative and military institutions and their respective positions and proceedings, as well as hierarchies. It also constantly records the lexicon of the so-called "Moorish" language (COMBATE, p. 119).

As for Europe, what is certain is that after the Lutheran reformation and its religious and political consequences, one can no longer speak of *Res publica christiana*: European kingdoms,

who had their own problems with cohesion within their borders, fought for supremacy over land, maritime routes, and territories to which they gave access.

To a Portuguese person, a *fundamental* opposition was the enmity between Christians and Muslims (a line of power that began in the very foundation of the kingdom and was forged for centuries in various geographical locations), which is not imposed in Mascarenhas' narrative as a common European project, since it did not, in truth, exist. On the contrary: Mascarenhas records the agreements that, in fact, existed between the "Turks" of Algiers and the king of England and the states of Holland, both separated from the Roman Church and whose subjects had no hesitation in destroying everything, including the chapels on the island of St. Helena (COMBATE, p. 51). He mentions the Genoans who paid levies to the Turks (COMBATE, p. 149) and the Sardinians whose greed exceeded their devotion for the Christian life (COMBATE, p. 137), independent of the position of their respective governments. Above all, he criticizes the peace that the king of France maintained with the Great Turk (COMBATE, p. 147; 116; 145; 147).

In the Mediterranean, the Algerian Corsair conducted his activities in the sea and in coastal zones without much impediment, despite the well-known intrepidity of the Sardinians who defended Sardinia's "wealthy villages" (COMBATE, p. 137) and the galleys of the Grand Duke of Florence (COMBATE, p. 139). The expansion of the Ottoman Turks' political, military and trading power, to which Algerian piracy functioned almost as an advance guard extending from the North Atlantic to Iceland, did not meet coordinated opposition from a Europe that was fractured by disagreements that were as much about religion as geostrategic.

People of many nations

For many years, Braudel studied the joint presence of all mankind in the Mediterranean. It is in these "routes and cities, cities and routes" (BRAUDEL, I, 1966, p. 253s) that Mascarenhas meets people from all parts of the world. Some of them, when relevant to *Relação's* intentions, are recorded.

Many of these people are Christian captives and it is in the context of describing the four prisons for Christians, the so-called *banhos* (COMBATE, p. 85), in which we meet this cast of characters. The "Roman Church" alone has some eight thousand, in spite of the plague, since for each one that is freed, twenty more enter (COMBATE, p. 86). The word "nation", so often used by Mascarenhas in its semantic sense (medieval), takes on a very interesting meaning here, as it could be associated with belonging to Catholicism. Notice that when Mascarenhas refers to a hospital for Christians (which we will mention later), he says that only Portuguese, Castilians, French, Basque, Galicians, and Italians enter (COMBATE, p. 80), not just because others do not contribute to its

upkeep, but because among this large crowd "few are found who are not heretics". In the ensuing appraisal of the Christian captives just mentioned, the author continues: "Of the other nations there are many others, such as Flemish, English, Danish, Scottish, German, Irish, Polish, Moscovites, Bohemians, Hungarians, Norwegians, Burgundians, Venetians, Piedmontese, Slavonians, Syrians, Egyptians, Chinese, Japanese, Brazilians, and people from New Spain and Prester John. And of these, there are also apostates, and many others, in great quantity" (COMBATE, p. 86).

While this is not the place to consider how these people ended up in this city, it is certain that they were inhabitants of coastal zones or islands and served as crewmembers or were slaves from ships seized by pirates (BRAGA, 1998, p. 21-23). Seen on the ship *Conceição*, for example, were Chinese and Japanese slaves of captain D. Luis de Sousa, described as so pretty "that there was nothing further to draw" (COMBATE, p. 69); a Polish man that the same captain had brought over from Ormuz and would be used to execute a Turkish prisoner (COMBATE, p. 63); and a "negro" from Java (COMBATE, p. 58) who arrived as a cook and was ready to die and drag his enemies with him⁹ (COMBATE, p. 58).

Daily life: Christians and Turks

Whether describing the "Turkish" inhabitants or the slaves, Mascarenhas applies his skill in observing and writing about daily life in Algier. He also describes the life of the slaves on board the Algerian galleys operating in the Mediterranean. To serve in these galleys was worse than what could follow, such that "the captives in Algiers say that he who does not go to the galley does not say that he is a captive".

To serve as a slave in the city was not the same as being forced to serve in the galleys (BRAGA, 1998, p. 56), which appeared to be commanded not by men but by "evil spirits". The skillfulness and effectiveness of the navigation was only comparable to the horrible treatment the captains inflicted on the slaves: chained to the vessel, they sank with it; unable to sleep, they were given only "handfuls of black biscuits" each day, and they were continually lashed by whips greased with tar until they bled¹⁰ (COMBATE, p. 138; BRAGA, 1998, p. 56). Even so, somewhere in one of these galleys, the captain became moved by the familiar story of an old Sicilian he had captured... (COMBATE, p. 142).

Relação stays away from stereotypes: we do not see the expected dichotomy between Christians - practitioners of loyalty, honesty, and piety... - and Muslims, to which everything evil was associated. Mascarenhas manages to approach and draw us near to real people who are under very unusual circumstances. Thus, *Relação* is important both for the *cultural dislocation* that its author manages to experience and express, and for the facts that effectively come in its wake.

An example of the lack of stereotyping of *good* Christians and *evil* Muslims is the narrative of what follows on the ship *Conceição* on the second day of fighting with the Algerian armada (COMBATE, p. 63). Renewing the attack, the captain D. Luís de Sousa summoned a Turk who had been captured prisoner on the first day of the attack, declaring "he will pay for what you wish to do again". Mascarenhas does not shy away from commenting that this decision is contrary to all of the precepts of the just war doctrine, which had been defined for many centuries. He writes: "which was certainly cruelty, for one does not kill outside of battle and in cold blood".¹¹ It fell to a Polish man to carry out the execution. He had been brought over from Ormuz by the captain and had been enslaved by the Turks for many years. Mascarenhas describes the entire process in detail, praising the "courageous heart of the brave soldier", because he was a "Turk". Finally, he notes that after the ship was set alight, the Turks knew that the Polish man would cut the head of the prisoner, but it wasn't because of this that they treated him badly".

On the other hand, with respect to the fate of those who were sold as slaves, Mascarenhas advises that they would not "be sold haphazardly" (COMBATE, p. 76-77). These suggestions contain not only specific slave-purchasing institutions and certain officials, but also deem important that slaves try to get sold to "a Moor or Turk who is known to be a decent man". Mascarenhas, without a doubt, recognizes that the "Moors are like the Chinese" when it comes to business, and that a slave cannot be too careful in devising rescue plans through a future patron.

In parallel, the author records relations of trust between slaves and their respective masters, as well as bonds of friendship between slaves, in long narratives that exemplify those who persevere in the faith or those who abandon it.

Mascarenhas acknowledges the existence of what we would call *humanity* among the Turks of Algiers. When the prisoners are distributed upon their arrival (COMBATE, p. 72), *Relação* notes that the "order" was "very good, unlike that of the Corsair barbarians". It also notes the difference in behavior of the Malabars and Moors of India, who immediately beheaded the Portuguese and greased the bow of the vessel with their blood "so that it runs well". These Turks have great respect for women, who are under protection throughout the night. Mascarenhas insists greatly on this point, explaining: "for they consider any sins of the flesh committed at sea to be a grave sin, and the ship on which such [sins] are committed cannot be saved and must be sunk". With respect to all of the captives and without any intention of encouraging it, Mascarenhas acknowledges that [the Turks] "take pity" to the point of offering food that they themselves eat - cooked rice or wheat, olives and cheese, and "sympathize" with the hardships suffered during many months at sea, even giving "raisins and grains", which are, for them, a treat."

Concerning the daily life of the city's captives, we can offer, as an example of some respect for institutions, the fact that when Customs ordered the destruction of Christian taverns (sufficiently

tolerated to allow some income, likely for the same Christian captives), it had to be carried out by the mayor accompanied by a Turk appointed by Customs, who would be in charge of monitoring the mayor and preventing theft (COMBATE, p. 102).

There were of course masters who did not let their slaves out; however, this does not appear to be the rule. These same masters allowed priests to enter [their houses] if they dared, as was the case of the ship's chaplain, the Franciscan friar Gregório: he gave confession and [administered] the Sacred Communion to these men and "to many apostates who, in their heart of hearts, were not"¹² (COMBATE, p. 79).

This access to the sacraments was part of an ample concept of a freedom of worship that the Christian captives surprisingly enjoyed. In the Letter to the Reader, Mascarenhas highlights how "the churches and priests" are preserved and "the perfection with which the divine offices are celebrated".

Prior to the arrival of the captives from the ship *Conceição*, Mascarenhas testifies to the existence of a hospital with nine beds (COMBATE, p. 80) in the King's Prison, which is to be renovated by the aforementioned friar Gregório, who is continuously served by two Christians. During the time of the plague, many thousands of Christians who had died were treated there or taken from there to their funeral. The hospital possessed a barber, a doctor, and an apothecary. Each priest who gave mass at the King's Prison was obligated to give mass at the hospital and to give confession and bless the ill. At the hospital, there was no lack of "chicken, sweets and the most delightful [foods] for the ill, such that they rarely ate meat". The hospital was a place for support and solidarity for Catholic captives, together with Algier's main church, which was also in the King's Prison. Nevertheless, this existed in all of the other churches and fraternities that provided assistance in life and in death in exchange for the alms of the faithful. In particular, the author highlights the Easter ceremonies, with the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, which, "through the mercy of Christ, Our Lord", is done with more solemnity and perfection than in many of Lisbon's parishes.

In describing the city of Algiers, Mascarenhas dedicates a chapter to the "prisons of the Christians": "there are also four prisons for Christians, which are called *banhos*" (COMBATE, p. 85s). Once again, I say that in each one there is a church, where every day "in the goodness of God", fifteen or more masses are given "with open doors through which Moors and Turks often enter to watch". On festive days, they give "a sung mass, sermon, vespers, complete with plenty of fine music and the churches are well adorned in silk and cloth that the Turks themselves lend to their slaves". Mascarenhas also highlights the beautiful paintings and liturgical robes, especially in the churches of the King's Prison¹³ and in the Bartada Prison, where there are more than fifteen priests of all religious orders "including clerics and monks who were captured by Turks in various

locations." The other prisons also have their chapels. Mascarenhas insists on this several times: "thus, is Our Lord Jesus Christ served, whose church and ministers are sustained and standing in the land of the barbarians".

Besides, just as masters impose profitability on their slaves¹⁴, they also provide them with comfortable services in their homes, where there are luxuries to be had and permanency in areas under looser scrutiny. Such is the case with the orchards and vegetable gardens that surround the city, which Mascarenhas calls the best and freshest "gardens" he has ever seen in all of the places he has been to (COMBATE, p. 97s). Slaves who work there are very eager to build and hide small boats (of good and bad quality) to attempt an escape through the Mediterranean or even to hide a female lover (COMBATE, p. 118-119). It is there that they happen to make the wine that they drunk in the taverns (COMBATE, p. 102).

This enthusiasm, although well controlled, is evident in the free use of the sixty "bath houses" that exist in the city (COMBATE, p. 87s).

Certainly, proximity to city life serves the function of providing clarity for the captives' eventual futures. However, it seems that Mascarenhas's skill for observation presupposes a certain empathy: there is a noticeable lack of "procurators, registrars, scholars, registry offices" and the entire bureaucratic panoply of Christian kingdoms (COMBATE, p. 102). He describes government and military institutions, and recognizes that there is a system for punishing crimes, with rules and exceptions, depending on the people involved. He mentions burial methods and describes a mosque, the devotions and prayer times (which he was familiar with from previous travels to the Muslim Orient). He notes the knowledge others have of the non-existence of Islamic sacraments (COMBATE, p. 130) and recognizes a religious festival called "Easter of the lambs" (Festival of Sacrifice). Mascarenhas also informs us of the more than sixty "bath houses" that exist in the city, showing a familiarity with this Turkish custom. Furthermore, he describes in detail not only how they are organized (he makes a point of explaining that men and women do not bathe together), but also the process of bathing, which ends with the spraying of perfumed water. All of this costs half of a farthing, and this "is done to the saddest slave who will bathe". The only people not allowed in were Jews.

Algiers is a prosperous city, with an abundance of water and vegetation and temperate weather. However, from time to time, God sends the plague so as not to make its citizens think they can live peacefully in such a good place while "committing against God such public and grave sins without being punished: prostitution (COMBATE, p. 87), financial speculation and theft, violations and murder."

Of all these sins, the gravest is sodomy (COMBATE, p. 98). The subject is suggested in the beginning of *Relação*, when he mentions the fate of the young boys who are captured on the ship

Conceição. However, it is (along with prostitution) in the context of contempt that the Turks have for the Jews that the cruelest of allusions emerges: "When the Turks find women in the street or boy prostitutes - ordinarily they do not find sodomy strange nor punishable, they take them to the house of the Jews, who are forced to leave, and the house and bed is left to them for as long as they wish to stay. And the Jews had to feed them" (COMBATE, p. 87).

There is nothing new about the relation between the sins of people and divine punishment. The plague, which struck Algiers between January and the arrival of summer, is one such punishment, in the same way that confession and communion can free oneself of illness (COMBATE, p. 129).

Relação also registers the author's belief in a connection between the lack of rain and water for farming and the punishments resulting from imbibing wine. We note here that taverns existed in Algiers, where Customs could order the mayor to carry out a raid. Always accompanied by "a serious Turk (COMBATE, p. 102) from Customs", he could limit the excesses of zealotry and theft (COMBATE, p. 102), as mentioned before.

According to *Relação*, the Turks considered any sin committed at sea to be seriously grave, which would cause the ship on which the crime was committed to become lost. This was the explanation given so that women arriving from the ship *Conceição* could be protected all night in well-lit places (COMBATE, p. 72).

Mascarenhas often makes note of propitiatory customs. For example, when the captives from *Conceição* embarked on the Algerian ships, the first man to do so in each ship was placed "head bowed in the hatchway" so as to "run well"¹⁵ (COMBATE, p. 72).

When he had embarked on the galleys, Mascarenhas had seen one of these customs, which he called "witchcraft": those in the galley "made a book" (no explanation is given on what this entailed) and soon after a ship of Catalans coming from Sicily on its way to Barcelona suddenly appeared (COMBATE, p.142).

Mascarenhas describes the ritual he witnesses when the Corsair fleet enters the Strait of Gibraltar, oscillating between the word "custom" and the word "witchcraft" in its most explicit diabolical connotation: for there is a "great fear" of crossing the Strait. The "marabouts" who board the Corsair ships take several "live sheep with them and after parting them in two while half alive, they place half of the head facing Spain and the other part of the tail facing the Barbary Coast. It is this witchcraft or sacrifice that makes the devil watch over the miserably deceived, giving them the wind to pass the strait more quickly" (COMBATE, p. 73).

Mascarenhas praises the priests who are present among the travelers and captives. There are priests from all religious nations and families who, deprived of this world's riches (see the reference to the Jesuits who came on the ship *Conceição*) (COMBATE, p. 71), organize hospitals, cure the ill,

celebrate the divine worship, give confession to all or, like the aforementioned D. Patrício, try to show the kings of Christendom the way to capture the city.

The Moors in Algiers, who had probably arrived after having been expelled from Spain and Portugal in 1609, had an image of good masters; one of them was Mascarenhas' doctor, who cured and helped him after his painful service on the galleys, and would help him escape (COMBATE, p. 146).

As for the Jews, Mascarenhas limits himself to noting their existence in Algiers and their plight. They live in 150 houses, divided into two neighborhoods, each one with a synagogue (COMBATE, p. 86-87). They come from various nations, originating in France, Majorca, Spain, and all over the Barbary Coast, paying tributes in order to live in the city. Mascarenhas says the Turks consider them the "most persecuted and saddest people that exist in the world", giving an example of the absolute contempt they face and the complete impunity of those who wish to beat them. Both men and women wear their own clothes, which are easily identifiable. As mentioned already, they are not allowed to visit bath houses.

The Apostates

For the mass of captive Christians mentioned above, there was a danger of them abandoning their faith.

This did not involve children - or rather, boys - such as the sons of crew members from the ship *Conceição* or those that came to their care, sent to Constantinople to the court of the Great Turk to be made into Turks, as Mascarenhas writes; that is to say, converted to Islam (COMBATE, p. 75-76). In fact, the opposite also occurred, as one narrated episode demonstrates: the case of a Turkish girl captured by merchants from Liorne, whose baptism in Corsica resulted in the death of Father Monrroy, which we will later discuss.

Aside from canonical penalties, abandoning Christianity for Islam was a crime that had been punishable under the Portuguese Ordinations since the Middle Ages. It was as frequent as the capture of Christians by Muslims. It was urgent to rescue them, not only to secure their physical freedom and return them to their kingdom of origin, but also to limit, as fast as possible, the possibility of abandoning the Christian faith.

However, considering the painful conditions of captivity, the effective free will of each one was obliterated, which was, in fact, explicit in the narratives contained in the respective processes of the Inquisition.

Relação records several cases of Christians who voluntarily renounced their faith. Mascarenhas writes that for these Christians, there was a notification ceremony. Here, he recounts

the request of a French man who renounces his faith and becomes a Janissary to escape punishment for theft and murder: "he went to the city on horse, with his arrow in hand, and many trumpets and all manner of solemnities accompanied those who freely renounced [their faith] of their own accord" (COMBATE, p. 126-128). A voluntary action, though unjustified, was the behavior of a young Portuguese aristocrat who had renounced on the same day that he had confessed and received communion. Mascarenhas also describes here a series of acts that we believe preceded the previously mentioned solemnities: the young man, whose identity Mascarenhas refuses to reveal, went to Customs and "throwing his hat on the floor in front of everyone, and gesturing above with his finger, spoke the words that those who become Moors speak. He said that he had renounced his faith and wanted to become a Turk with all of his heart." It was after his master circumcised him that he came to know the process of becoming a Moor (COMBATE, p. 129-131)¹⁶.

The mission of rescuing or redeeming captive Christians was institutionally taken up by the Order of the Holy Trinity, a mendicant institution founded in France in the late 12th century. Approved by Pope Innocent III in 1198, the practice arrived soon after in Portugal, as the first monastery, in Santarem, dates from 1208 (BRANQUINHO, 2002, p. 149). The religious Trinitarians collected alms from all across the kingdom, encouraged by the papal indulgences that were granted to those who made material contributions for their redemptions. Thousands of captives were rescued, accompanying the successes (or non-successes) of the Recapture of the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.

After various clashes with the royal powers, the Trinitarians in Mascarenhas' time shared the task of redemption with officials appointed by the Council of Conscience (SÃO JOSÉ, 1789, p. 170-171; 248-250; 290-292 and BRAGA, 1998, p. 163s). With this articulation comes news from Mascarenhas (COMBATE, p. 115) of the death of Father Monrroy, who had gone to "Algiers to rescue captives with a substantial ransom and a large sum of money, under the orders of the Crown of Castile".¹⁷

The conditions of captivity that Mascarenhas suffered, the advice he offers captives, and the exemplary stories of attempted escapes or successful rescues occur within a scenario in which there are three methods that collaborate or compete against each other. One of these is the joint action of the Order of Holy Trinity (which collected alms from natural, legal or indigent individuals) with the Council of Conscience. Another method is the recourse to private donors, especially merchants to whom the king gave authorization to act so that the families of rich captives could send the money necessary for their respective ransom. Finally, the captive could adjust his own value with his master, that is to say, "to be cut". These last two methods were prohibited in 1624. Nevertheless, the monarch himself had to allow exceptions in periods when general ransoms were not being done.

The king organized general ransoms nearly every year. According to the pontifical indication of one every three years, the ransoms with respect to Algiers were in the order of 1618 and 1621, after which there was a hiatus until 1627 (BRAGA, 1998, p. 220).

In Algiers, there were apostates of all nations, and many of them (BRAGA, 1998, p. 77). Mascarenhas tells us where he meets them, beginning with the first sighting of *Conceição* by Algerian ships (COMBATE, p. 57). It was an apostate who had the idea of burning the ship (COMBATE, p. 65); they are usually the vice-kings of Algiers who are appointed by the Great Turk (COMBATE, p. 98); they are on the side of the Moors as keepers of the Christian prisons (COMBATE, p. 85); they are in the houses of their masters secretly awaiting a confessor (COMBATE, p. 79);

The fear of falling to the temptation of renouncing one's faith is not so great as to arouse Mascarenhas's understanding, for whom the liar and the traitor will always be a person who is reliable and whose ill will towards Christians, especially priests, is the norm. Mascarenhas perceives that this zeal is so that Turks will have no doubt whatsoever about their conversion to Islam and therefore impede from abandoning their religion and returning to Christianity (despite the danger of being summarily executed by the Turks if found out). However, the author does not forgive the lies and duplicity that they commit every day. This includes the cruel and unjust death of the Irish cleric (COMBATE, p. 113-15).

Despite the pressure, there is no doubt that several persevered in the faith, such as the "old Christian slaves who worked as sailors on the ships of the Turks" that captured *Conceição*: the captain's wife distributed amongst them the diamonds that she brought over so that they would not be discovered by the Algerians (COMBATE, p. 71). Other old slaves who had been in captivity for years, visited new captives prior to their being sold as slaves, bringing them food and sometimes money "with the greatest care in the world" (COMBATE, p. 74s).

Mascarenhas lived more in desperation than in hope of any being rescued.

Let us look at the last chapter of *Relação*. Mascarenhas recounted how his master, Agit Amet, had ordered him to serve as an oarsman on the lead galley of Captain Ali Mami (COMBATE, p. 138). Only "God's mercy" sustained him and other Christians, as "human strength cannot endure such work."

Returning to Algiers, he, as other slaves, went back to the house of his master and offered his obedience "as your slave", bending on one knee and kissing his master's clothes. The following is the record of a dialogue that elucidates well the process of redemption: "He asked me if I knew

why he sent me to the galley. I responded that I did not. He told me that the ransom had been delayed. I replied that I well knew that I was a soldier, and that there were no more ransoms beyond the King's Ransom, and that furthermore there was no need to wait for me. With this resolution and seeing that work on the galley did not give me hopes of being freed, he desisted from paying the 3,000 cruzados that I had requested". As one can see, Mascarenhas applied the same advice to himself that he gave to all captives (COMBATE, p. 71 and p 76-77)¹⁸.

Meanwhile, in Algiers, "an order and payment to a merchant for a ransom" had arrived. We do not know to whom it was designated.

Being certain that the masters of the slaves wished to make a maximum profit with the ransom, Mascarenhas points out that it was not worth much. Later, he found a way to lower the price further, in collusion with the Moorish doctor who pretended to treat him for a grave illness: the doctor assured the master that Mascarenhas had tuberculosis and would not last more than three months. As such, any price that could be paid for his sale would be a profit. Mascarenhas soon appears before Agit Amet pretending to be "very weak and debilitated, carrying a stick in his hand", making as if he is sicker than he actually is. The strategy works, for he is ransomed for "600 patacas, not wanting less than 3,000 escudos. And by this path God was pleased to grant me freedom when I had least expected and when he saw more work in store for me."

In this way, João de Mascarenhas went, returned, and narrated this world filled with illusions on land, at sea, and, most of all, in the hearts of people.

The Battle of the Conceição

Nonetheless, how did the ship *Conceição* become lost? What was the result of João Carvalho Mascarenhas' extraordinary witnessing of a battle and shipwreck within sight of land? What, in the end, happened between the unhappy Portuguese ship and the Algerian pirates? Could the anathema of neglect and negligence attributed to various Portuguese authorities, who knew that that ship was in trouble, be the only justification for one of the most tragic losses in the *Carreira da Índia*?

Let us resume the narrative (FONSECA, p. 401-403). *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* faced fierce combat, its last, within sight of the Portuguese coast. It perished, but it was not captured. In naval battles, more than in any other human enterprise, time is an insatiable demon. The rhythm of the sea is essentially slow and whimsical. One is either hostage to a wind that never appears, or one struggles against a powerful current that drags the ship where it does not want to go. At sea, time

stretches to infinity. At sea, it waits. It waits for hours, days, months. It waits until it can act. Then it flies. The wind howls, the mist parts, and the enemy appears. The fate of a ship and a fleet is decided in an instant, even when it has been warned.

Moreover, D. Luís de Sousa, commander of *Conceição*, had been warned. A replacement for Joaquim Correia Peixoto, who had just died on the island of St. Helena, he was put in charge of the splendid ship. They called it *Nova Conceição* to distinguish it from an older ship with the same name and it had been built at the shipyards of Panjim, India, to make a voyage to Portugal carrying people and precious goods. It came "overloaded", as was common for ships plying the *Carreira da Índia*. It had come around the Cape of Good Hope in the company of another ship, *Nossa Senhora da Penha de França*; however, a big storm along this cape separated the two boats.

Alone, *Conceição* took refuge in St Helena to make repairs and replenish water (COMBATE, p. 50), after which it sailed for the Azore Islands. Near Faial, another storm forced it to anchor at Terceira Island (COMBATE, p. 53). Here, D. Luís de Sousa received letters from the king, delivered by two caravels that told him to expect a squadron of Algerian Corsair ships off the Portuguese coast that were being prepared in Algiers and would be sailing towards the *Conceição*. In these same letters, the commander received detailed instructions for taking the ship to the north of the Berlengas islands, which were at a latitude of approximately 39.5° North (COMBATE, p. 53), where D. António de Ataíde's Coastguard Fleet was waiting to escort the ship to Lisbon.

Had the new commander been overconfident in the face of D. António de Ataíde's ships and in the ability of his own ship and crew, while underestimating the Algerian forces? Confidence (or an excess of it) appears to have been the determining factor. Armed with 22 good quality cannons, it had only 14 gunners and a garrison of 6 soldiers. Among its passengers, only eight knew how to handle guns. It also had a crew of 90 sailors. It was insufficiently outfitted for such a crossing, especially if it had to meet combat. D. Luís de Sousa thus requested the governor of Terceira to provide soldiers who could strengthen the ship's forces. Soldiers came, but not in sufficient numbers, and those who came on board were either young and inexperienced or old veterans. Even with a more complete garrison, albeit greatly varied, the arms that were available were not the best: the muskets, spears, and swords were old and in poor condition, as *Conceição* had been sailing for more than a year.

Nevertheless, the decision had been made. *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* sailed from Terceira with a good wind. Accompanying it was one of the two caravels, commanded by captain Estêvão Soares, and seven days later, on October 8, it reached the Portuguese coast, with the Berlengas islands on its port tack. However, a prevailing wind blowing from the northwest made it impossible for the ship to join the Coast Guard Fleet. In those conditions, it was a challenge to keep

its position. D. Luís decided to take the *Conceição* southwards, heading to Cascais and taking advantage of a fresh wind in a bid to outwit the Algerians.

By dawn, the wind had pushed *Conceição* near Ericeira. There, the crew began to hear voices they did not understand and the movement of ships. As day broke, however, D. Luís and his men realized that these ships were neither the king's Coast Guard nor the salt ships of Setubal, but rather a powerful fleet of Algerian ships. Seventeen ships and pinnaces, each carrying 30 to 40 cannons, were positioned to attack the Portuguese ship. This pirate fleet was headed towards Galicia, with more than 5,000 men on board under the command of Tabaco Arrais. It was a lucky morning for the Algerians. In front was the most highly prized capture: a ship from India loaded with cargo. With a weak wind and forced to head towards land, *Conceição* prepared itself for combat.

The Algerian fleet, blessed with stronger winds and fast sailing ships, formed a column and approached the Portuguese ship. As soon as the pirate flagship drew abeam, it fired a blank volley, giving the signal for *Conceição* to lower its flag and surrender. Not knowing what ships they were, *Conceição*'s captain ordered the flag to be lowered and raised. The lack of a response showed that those approaching were enemies. In reply, *Conceição* fired an opening shot (COMBATE, p. 55). Thus, began a long and extended battle between the ship and the pirate fleet. Lined in a row, the Algerian ships fired at *Conceição* one after the other, subjecting it to a constant bombardment that lasted more than eleven hours and causing damage and numerous casualties. The constable was dead, while the commander, D. Luís de Sousa, gravely wounded in one leg and lying prostrate atop a box, continued to lead the resistance and make himself heard, helping to sustain the strong spirits of the Portuguese crew.

Under attack, *Conceição* made sure it inflicted its own damage. Its well-made cannons and skilled gunners caused the deaths and destruction of many enemy ships. The Portuguese ship's cannons had greater caliber and armed with heated or spiked cannonballs, caused serious damage to the hulls of the pirate ships, as well as a high number of casualties among crew members.

One of the ships that suffered the most damage belonged to Calafate Açan, one of the most fearless pirates in Algiers. With his ship leaking substantially and at risk of sinking, Calafate and all of his men leaped onto the *Conceição*'s forecastle. Crammed into this part of the ship, the Algerians were decimated by the Portuguese muskets, which while few in number, caused a great number of deaths. The more courageous of the pirates tried to cut the ropes of the sails by aiming at the rigging of the foresail in an attempt to reduce the speed of the Portuguese ship and allow other pinnaces to approach and board the vessel. Mistakenly, one of the pirates cut the halliards of the topsail crossjack, which collapsed onto the forecastle, killing many of his cohorts. In the middle of this confusion, the Portuguese fell upon the pirates, attacking them three times. Any men who did not

leap overboard died on the forecastle. Only one prisoner was taken. By nightfall, the Portuguese had taken back control of their ship and hostilities had subsided. The guards noticed that the Algerian ships, badly damaged, had retreated westwards.

Most of the *Conceição's* ship had been damaged. All of its sails were broken, but it continued to head slowly towards the coast. All night long, its crew worked without rest to repair the rigging, seal the cracks and erect new sails. By dawn on October 10, it was in better condition and the village of Ericeira could be seen from the forecastle. There was no sign of the Algerian pirates.

If the northwest wind blew, *Conceição* would take a little over five hours to reach the bay of Cascais. This morning, however, there was hardly a breeze to be found. Instead, a weak wind blew in from the southwest. D. Luís da Cunha decided to anchor in Ericeira. Gravely wounded, he continued to command and hoped this maneuver would save the ship, its crew and its cargo. He would seek more men and weapons from Ericeira to keep defending the ship from the pirate attacks (COMBATE, p. 62).

It was in this context that one of the strangest episodes in this story took place. Surmising the intentions of *Conceição's* commander, who was preparing to set anchor, a ship arrived from the coast carrying orders for the ship to head immediately to the high seas, where D. António de Ataíde's fleet would be preparing to escort it to Lisbon. D. Luís da Cunha was not able to disembark even one of the wounded, women and children, or some of the more precious stones his ship was carrying. The arriving boat carried specific orders not to come alongside *Conceição* (COMBATE, p. 62).

It ordered D. Luís to turn the ship around and head in a northwest direction with reduced sails in the hope that the wind would pick up. However, no help came from the wind. On the morning of the 11th, the Algerian fleet reappeared. They were well positioned, windward of the *Conceição*, which continued to be pushed by a weak southwest wind. Approaching in a column, with the flagship at the front on the portside, it called for the Portuguese ship to once again surrender. Again, it was refused. Cannon fire began from both sides, but the *Conceição's* gunners were all injured or dead. Now it was only the inexperienced sailors and soldiers who manned the cannons. In spite of this, they managed to inflict damage on the enemy flagship. Fearing the Portuguese cannons, the ships and pinnaces that were following behind abandoned the column and luffed on the windward side, keeping out of reach of *Conceição's* weapons.

Apprehensive about the length of time a single ship was managing to impose on the battle and the damage that its cannons had inflicted, and knowing that nearby hovered a Portuguese fleet that could appear at any moment, the chief captain of the Algerian fleet gathered his captains and suggested they draw back to Algiers. With a fleet in tatters and badly wounded, it had now become

difficult to continue its raid on Galicia. Furthermore, prior to having encountered the *Conceição*, it had taken 19 English ships, to which it had transferred a large number of its own crew, making Calafate's fleet highly vulnerable. Despite everything, it would be a worthy retreat to Algiers. The suggestion was not well received. Calafate Açan, having survived the attempt to board the Portuguese ship in the first encounter, joined other younger captains in opposing the idea of abandoning the raid and suggested clasp the ships to the *Conceição* and burning them all (COMBATE, p. 65).

This boded ill for the *Conceição*. The Algerians resumed the attack. Once again, in file formation, they chose, however, a different tactic: the Algerian squad would run parallel to *Conceição* but beyond the reach of its fire, and after advancing ahead, would turn around and pass alongside the Portuguese ship at a short distance. This maneuver allowed the Algerian gunners and the musketeers to fire more rapidly in sequence than if they had been beside the *Conceição*. While the Portuguese carried their arms, the Algerian ships pursued them, launching a torrent of flames at D. Luís de Sousa's ship.

The last Algerian ship arrived to fire flaming projectiles at the *Conceição*, which set fire to several parts of the Portuguese ship. The fire was put out except for a blaze located on the deck of the stern. Added to this was the fact that the Algerian ship, in a parallel maneuver against the Portuguese ship, had just gotten its mast entangled with the *Conceição*. D. Luís de Sousa ordered the ship to head for shore to save itself from the Algeria ship. This was not a good maneuver, as the Corsairs took advantage and boarded the *Conceição*, preventing it from freeing itself of the other ship. Meanwhile, the core of the fire was spreading.

The fighting ended when the Algerians withdrew to their ship, struggling to free themselves from the Portuguese ship, which was now succumbing to an uncontrollable fire. Abandoning their arms, the Portuguese crew jumped towards the Algerian ship, surrendering themselves.

Nossa Senhora da Conceição burned until it reached the waterline, after which it sank with all of the riches from India aboard. Its crew and passengers, now taken prisoner, were distributed to Algerian ships and transported to Algiers. Few were rescued. Its captain, D. Luís de Sousa, died three days after due to battle wounds (COMBATE, p. 70).

The events that led to the loss of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* are instructive in terms of the difficulties faced by ships traveling on the *Carreira da Índia*. Tragedy could strike within sight of the Portuguese coast, even in the last stages of the voyage. The "Turk", as it was then called, was patrolling the waters there and was well equipped. The coast guards did not always manage to arrive in time or to prove effective in every circumstance, and ships on their return journeys rarely arrived in the best conditions, at least in surviving and prevailing against such disproportionate attacks.

Despite being warned, *Conceição* was not prepared for effective combat. Overloaded with cargo, its ornaments waiting to be calmly disembarked in the port of Lisbon, the ship was slow in noticing the enemy that was ahead. It believed it was surrounded by friendly ships, which corresponded, in fact, with the instructions it had received at Terceira, and because of this, it allowed the enemy to approach as close as it did.

Alone and no longer able to refer to the caravel that had accompanied it in Terceira, *Conceição* fought valiantly for two days, showing the skillfulness of these ships who plied the *Carreira da Índia* and the hardiness of their crew members.

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Notes

- 1 Allow us to make reference to the Exhibition at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon (March-June 2013) entitled "360° Ciência Descoberta". With the catalogue.
- 2 Here is the title page of the *princeps* edition (KOISO, K. 2009, p. 235-245). This edition, was used as a reference for the recent publication, included in *Combate* (2012, pp. 44-147), that we used: MEMORAVEL / RELAÇAM DA PERDA / DA NÃO CONCEIÇAM QVE / os Turcos queimarão à vista da barra de Lisboa, / varios sucessos das pessoas que nella cativarõ. E / descripçãõ noua da Cidade de Argel. de seu gover- /no. E cousas mui notaveis acontecidas nestes vltimos anos de 621. até o de 26. / Por Ioam Carvalho Mascarenhas que foi cativo / na mesma Não. / DEDICADA A DOM PEDRO / de Meneses Prior da Igreja de Santa Maria de Obidos. / Anno [vinheta heráldica com a empresa VEXAT ET ILVSTRAT] 1627 / EM LISBOA. / [Tranca] / Com todas as licenças necessarias. / Por Antonio Aluarez. [Colofão] Em Lisboa. With all rights reserved. / Por Antonio Aluarez. 1627.
- 3 Paul Teyssier (*o.c.*, p. 237) makes reference to two editions from the 20th Century.
- 3 Abbreviated title used by the author and in the opinions of the Holy Office.
- 4 But never classified as a "leaflet" or "cordel literature", as Paul Teyssier terms it (p.8).
- 5 Mascarenhas, born after Portugal lost its independence and having made his career at the service of the Spanish monarchs, did not show any hostility toward the situation, whether mentioning the kingdom of Portugal (in the Letter of Dedication, for example) or the common monarchy (COMBATE, p. 147), although he distinguished both nations (COMBATE, p. 80).
- 6 We use the concept employed by Maria José de Azevedo Santos for the end of I. Média.
- 7 This aspect is still interesting today. On May 12, 2013, eight hundred martyrs from the city of Otranto (Italy) were canonized when the Ottomans initiated an invasion in 1480 to sack Rome, beginning with this city.
- 8 *Relação* was organized into three parts. The 1st tract is "Perdição da Nau Nossa Senhora da Conceição; the 2nd is "Nova descrição da cidade de Argel" and the 3rd recounts "Vários sucessos de cativos." The author inserts into this last section (chapters 9-12) the forced service he witnessed on the pirate galleys of Algiers.
- 9 Mascarenhas recounts that on the first day of combat with the Algerians, "a black man from Java [...] feigned deafness, as was customary in his land, which was a decision to die or kill the enemy".
- 10 A description that reveals great violence, even for the behavior that was normal in that era (VICENTE. 2009, Cap. I); a cf. with the accounts of Fr. João Álvares regarding the capture of Prince D. Fernando in Fez).
- 11 Mascarenhas ends his commentary with a much more prosaic intention: "it is a war in which captives on each side" are objects of exchange (BRAGA, 2011).
- 12 A very common situation, as witnessed in the tribunals of the Inquisition. Vd. BRAGA, 1998, p. 91 e p. 131.
- 13 Santa Cruz, founded by Trinitário Sebastián del Puerto, vd. BRAGA, 1998, p. 66.
- 14 On what we know of the occupation of the captives, based on the Inquisition tribunals, vd. BRAGA, 1998, pp. 56s.
- 15 This custom is lauded and referred to as being merciful in contrast to that of the malabars and Moors of India "who behead the first Portuguese prisoner and grease the bow of the galley with his blood".
- 16 Arriving on Christian lands, the unconvicted apostates must have gone through several exams and reconciliation rituals with the Church.
- 17 It is likely that the author refers to an earlier rescue in 1618 (ALBERTO, 2005, p.3), although the Muslim captive's story is not coincidental.
- 18 The price attributed to the captives was highly variable. Mascarenhas' ransom was not part of the General Ransom. There had been a Ransom for Algiers in 1621, which did not occur again until 1671. Vd. BRAGA, 1998, p. 240-241.

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