Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article

MUSLIM CAPTIVES IN EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN SCULPTURE

ERKEN MODERN AVRUPA HEYKELLERİNDE MÜSLÜMAN ESİRLER

Yazar/Autor

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Abstract: In the early modern period, Europeans held Muslims captive and recorded information about their number, place of origin and physical appearance. The experiences of the captives differed: those held on galleys or sent to the mines were treated differently from those held for domestic labor in cities where they walked around, worked and even indulged in sensual behavior. Many captives spoke with their masters about their professions, families, favorite foods, regional traditions, and towns. Their stories have survived in European records as well as in the narratives they told after their return to their communities – if they did. But in sculpture, the captives were stereotyped in defeat and humiliation: no attention was paid to their personal histories or characters. The sculptures appeared in various spaces, on city gates, in cathedrals, and in parks, and although captives had their own stories about their experiences, the European representation in art was unchanging, showing captives in defeat and submission. In sculpture, the *turc* lost his voice; there was only one sculpture of captive women. This paper examines how *turcs* appeared in early modern European sculptures in cities from Budapest to Berlin, and from Palermo to Vienna.
Keywords: Sculpture, Captivity, Representation of Muslims

Özet: Erken modern dönemde Avrupalılar Müslümanları tutsak ederek sayıları, geldikleri yerleri ve fiziksel görünümleri gibi bilgilerini kaydetmişlerdir. Köle sahipleri, tüccarlar, kayıt tutanlar, deniz kaptanları, kilise ve devlet memurları ve tutsakların yürüdüğü, çalıştığı ve hatta duygusal bağ kurduğu kasaba ve şehir sakinleri için Türklerin deneyimleri, kadırga kölelerinin veya maden işçilerinin deneyimlerinden farklıydı. Esirlerin çoğu efendileriyle meslekleri, aileleri, en sevdikleri yiyecekler, bölgesel gelenekleri ve kasabaları hakkında konuşurlardı. Hikâyeleri bu tutulan kayıtlar sayesinde bugüne dek ulaşmıştır. Müslümanları çeşitli rollerde, ayırt edici özellikler ve fiziksel niteliklerle tasvir eden hikâyeler yaratılmış olsa da Türk'ün heykellerdeki tasviri sürekli olarak aynıdır: yenilgi ve aşağılanma ile basmakalıp hale getirilmiştir. Bu dönemde, korkutucu ve güçlü Türkleri utanç verici bir yenilgi ve teslimiyet içinde tasvir etmek daha etkili olduğu için erkek Türkler heykelde daha çok yer alır. Heykellerde tasvir edilen Türkler, anlattıkları hikâyelerdeki sesini kaybetmek zorunda bırakılmıştır. Bu makale, erken modern dönemde Türklerin heykellerde nasıl tasvir edildiğini incelemektedir.
Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Heykeli, Esirlik, Müslüman Temsili

INTRODUCTION[1]

In the early modern period, tens of thousands of Muslims were held captive in Europe, in regions extending from England to France, and from Italy to Malta. Many died in captivity or converted to Christianity and assimilated; others were ransomed or escaped. The vast majority of these captives remain unknown had it not been for the few *qiṣaṣ*/personal stories, which were told by them to later writers and scribes. Arab captives wrote very little about their ordeals, but there are a few Turkish captives who left detailed accounts about their captivity.

Many records of Muslim captives, however, survive in European archives, with information about histories, numbers and places of origin. These captives – both Arab

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and non-Arab – constituted the largest number of Muslims whom Europeans saw in the early modern period on long-term bases. Although there is extensive evidence about the near ubiquitous presence of Muslim merchants and captives, converts and laborers in cities stretching from Livorno to Venice, Vienna to Madrid, and Marseilles to London, as the magisterial collection of essays by Jocelyne Dakhlia and Bernard Vincent has shown, *Les Musulmans dans l'Histoire de l'Europe,* [2] "the only Muslims that ordinary Catholics [Italy and France] encountered in their daily lives were the enslaved."[3] Of those Muslims were the tavern keepers and the porters, the domestic servants and the gravediggers (during plagues),[4] the galley slaves and the miners, and sometimes in France, captured Muslims who were made to march with returning captives ransomed by the Mercedarian Fathers in their processions to Paris. About these Arabs, Turks, Moors, Berbers, and others – *esclaves turcs,* as scholars have designated them – their owners and ship captains, naval officers and priests and physicians collected detailed information about their age, appearances, distinguishing mark/s, scar/s, shapes of their heads, geographical backgrounds, and professions. In the French, Italian, Spanish, and Maltese records, less so in the English, the physical and familial details about Muslim captives were carefully compiled to ensure accuracy in issuing safe conduct documents, sale records, ransom agreements, and letters patent.[5]

One Maltese record in the early seventeenth century, for instance, included the following information:

> Achmet bin Michamet, 15 years old, "per segno una brucciatura
>
> nel brazzo" (with a burn on his arm);
>
> Abdalla bin Abdellatif della Maometta, 35 years old, "d'alta stat[u]ra" (tall);
>
> Ussain Mahamet, 60 years old, tall, with a disfigured left arm;
>
> Ayxa bint Buselem, 50 years old, blind in her left eye;
>
> Selima bin Brahim, 12 years old, "figliola" (daughter/girl);
>
> Fatuma bint Achmed, 45 years old, with a small black mark on her left arm.

There are various other pieces of information about captives. One captive, for instance, had two wounds on the forehead, swarthy, swollen leg, and "figliolo" (son) (October 1605); another captive, Abdraman bin Sayt of Jerba, was 20 years old, "brunetto di alta e sottil statura tiene per segno una ciactrice di foco nella mano sinistra" (1607). Hadet bin Seit, "moro," was forty years old, "con alcune macchie rosse dietro l'orecchia sinistra, e con due cicatrice di fuoco nella gamba destra, et un altra simile cicatrice ne ginocchio sinistro" (January 1613); Rays Mihamed bin Ahmed el Hammemi, "moro di Susa" (Moor from the Sus valley in Morocco), was thirty years old, "d'honesta statura, con una ferita longa in testa della banda sinistra" (tall, with a big wound on the left side of his head) (January 1617), and others.[6]

In the same vein, the information about the 225 captives in France a century later, from 1700 to 1727, shows the differences in the looks and sizes of the captives, again with an emphasis on distinguishing scars.[7] As for their age, the captives in these French sources ranged from young teens, the youngest being 14 years old, to a septuagenarian, with the majority of captives in their twenties – although how the French captors figured out the exact ages could not but have been conjectural. [8] There were males of all body builds, from the muscular to the boyish to the haggard. Then, there was mention of the professions of the captives: launderers, cooks, barbers, weavers, fishermen, soldiers, sailors, mariners, cobblers, helmsmen, gunner (only one), and galley slaves. The latter were the ones who had spent years at the oar, thereby acquiring physiques that were stronger than those of cobblers or weavers. There were the *noir* (black) and the *mulatre* (mulatto), but fewer in number than the others because they were a small minority among the North African population. Also, the captives were physically defined by body height (*grande, bonne, haute, petite, moyenne*); color of hair (*noirs, bruns, gris, chastains, crespez, obscurs*); shape of the face (*long, oval, rond, plat, long bazzané*); and then, "*grosses lèvres*," "*marqué au bras gauche*," "*cicatrice ronde au bras droite*," "*cicatrice derrière le gras de la jambe gauche*," "*cicatrice joignant le bout du sourcil du costé gauche*," "*cicatrice au milieu du front*," "*une grande cicatrice et une petite sur le front du costé gauche*," "*plusieurs marques sur l'oreille droite*," "*une cicatrice au coin du front, une à l'espaule gauche et une a côté du genouil gauche*," and many other particulars. The captives were inspected carefully, their bodies stripped and measured – and everything was recorded.[9] There was also information about the captives' parents and siblings, at the same time that differences were noted between the "*natif des montagnes*" (mountain dweller) and the captive from the city. There were captives who spent decades behind the oar (in one case between 1665 and 1712), and the lucky one who spent just about a year; there were the "*invalide*" (sick) or the "*faqir*" (poor/ascetic) and the full-bodied, the soldier and the helmsman. There were stories about them that individualized them – as in the case of a captive who had been given the name "Tripoli" – most likely the city from which he came. His master reported that Tripoli never drank wine, fasted during Ramadan "from sun rising to sun setting: in spite of all the toil and fatigue of the oar, he never seemed uneasy: though ready to faint through weakness."[10]

For the slave masters, traders, record keepers, sea captains, church and government officials, and residents of towns and cities where captives wandered, worked, and even indulged themselves sensually, the *turcs* had different experiences from galley slaves or mine workers. Many told their masters about their professions and families, foods and customs and villages. Occasionally, Muslims were depicted on tapestries and palace ceilings, altar triptychs and medallions, woodcuts and manuscript illuminations and maps – nearly always in positions of submission and humiliation. Captives piqued the interest of writers who included them in plays, especially in Spanish, French, and English drama, or invented adventures for them in fiction, filled with romance, heroism, and wanderings. In 1725, Joseph Morgan told of a "Moor, born at Tripoli," who was enslaved in Cadiz, attempted to escape and had his "Ears cut off according to Custom," was ransomed, and enslaved again in Lisbon. He was taken and tortured by the Inquisition, "hoisted up in the Air by his Arms, fast tied behind him, for near Half an Hour," but did not accept Christianity whereupon he was sent as a slave to the "Tercera Island" from where he escaped on board a Dutch ship.[11] Another captive story was told by Cornelis de Bruyn in his *Reizen* (1698).[12] Even the philosopher David Hume had a story to tell.[13] There were also grim Ottomans on frontispieces of histories and chronicles, and there were those who appeared in European romances about sultans and other "Mahometans."[14] There were even operas: in 1761 Paris, there was Charles-Simon Favart's comic opera,

Les trois sultanes (which remained on the repertory of the Comédie Française into the twentieth century);[15] and in 1769 London, there was Isaac Bickerstaff's *The captive, A comic opera*, taking place in "a Garden belonging to the CADI, near Algiers." In 1782 Vienna, there was Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio,* followed in 1808 by Anelo Anelli's *L'italiana in Algeri,* which was taken up by Rossini in 1813, *The Italian girl in Algiers*. For English and Austrian, Italian and French audiences, captivity and "Barbary Pirates" had become the stuff of entertainment.[16]

MUSLIM CAPTIVES IN SCULPTURE

While stories were invented about Muslims, showing them in different roles and with distinguishing characteristics and physical features, in sculpture, the representation of the *turc* was invariably the same: they were stereotyped in defeat and humiliation. From Budapest to Santiago de Compostela, from Berlin to Salzburg, Rome and Palermo, Paris and Catania, Livorno and Morino, artists sculpted *turcs* for churches and piazzas, memorials and city gates and fountains – sculptures that remain *in situ* or in museums. Such statuary art was exhibited in churches and public spaces, which, during the Baroque period, produced an explosion of figures of angels and putti, saints and martyrs, popes and kings and princes that adorned presbyteries, chapels, church facades, and palaces. In these widely different spaces, the number of Muslim and Christian captives is admittedly small in comparison to the other figures, but at the time of unveiling sculptures of captive *turcs*, viewers could look closely at them, even touch them, and recall battles and religious hostilities, past and ongoing captivities and ransoms, and ordeals their kith and kin had endured.[17] In a culture where the devout lit candles before statues of the holy, or touched them for blessings, where the visual elements played a powerful role in piety and doctrine, the figures of the *turcs* confirmed their physical danger along with their spiritual threat to Christianity. That is why the *turcs* in sculpture were always the same: chained, crouching, and crushed under Euro-Christian victory. The sculptures assured observers of the defeat of the religious, military, and maritime enemy.

The Church of the Order of the Holy Trinity (Trinitarians) in Rome, built in 1732, was exclusively dedicated to the activities of two saints, John of Martha (1160-1213) and Felix of Valois (1127-1212), who had established the Order for the ransoming of Christian captives.[18] As worshippers entered the church, they saw high above the church entrance the Pietro Pucilli depiction of an angel with two captives, flanked by sculptures of the two saints. The two captives are held together by a black iron chain that dangles down – much like the chain that appears in many paintings of captives. The captive to the right, the Christian, is looking up at the angel who presumably will effect his release by exchanging him with the captive to whom he is tied: a *turc*, recognized by his moustache, who as in most sculptures, is looking down, presumably at the hell to which he is consigned. For worshippers or for casual passers-by, the sculpture told the whole story of the encounter with the *turcs*: Christians capture *turcs* in order to exchange them with their own coreligionists, who are protected by an angel saint in the robe of a Trinitarian Father.[19]

Although the Turk had been the "present terror of the Worlde," as Richard Knolles wrote in 1603, from the battle of Lepanto on (1571), the *turcs* in sculpture were not depicted as the fierce "Mahometan" warriors or the cruel captors wielding the lash and torturing Christians – as in various European frontispieces and book

illustrations. Rather, and perhaps in a vicarious sort of vengefulness, *turcs* appear either crouching/kneeling, with heads shaven and hands tied, or standing in submission, or sometimes lying prostrate under the feet of victorious Christianity. Sometimes they have garments and sometimes not – but they are always tied. The only *turcs* in sculpture were the enslaved *turcs*. They could no longer provoke fear.

Sculpted *turcs* were male, with the exception of the stylized Venturi sculpture of c. 1632 in Marino, Italy. There were no sculptures of captured Muslim children, of whom there were high numbers in Christendom. In the period under study, wealthy European families were beginning to acquire their trophy Muslim (or Native American or Sub-Saharan) children or women who appear frequently in paintings, but it was male *turcs*, who also served as trophies and dominated sculpture. It may be that sculptors or their commissioners felt there was no point in showing the capture and humiliation of women and children: they were easy prey. More effective was to show the muscular and fearsome *turcs* in disgraced submission and defeat. The captives with "cicatrice" or "plusieures marques sur l'oreille droite" or a burns on the arm were all folded into one uniform sculpture of the Turk as slave.

Figure 3 Entrance of the Church of the Order of the HolyTrinity—SantissimaTrinita degli Spagnoli (Rome) Photo by Zvonimir Atletic / Shutterstock.com

The defeated posture of the captives appears most forcefully and influentially in the "Four Moors" in Livorno. It was executed by Pietro Tacca who established the future model for sculpting captured *turcs*. The work celebrated Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, after his victory over the Ottoman fleet and his attack on Annaba in Tunisia in 1607, which resulted in the capture of "one thousand five hundred slaves."[20] But it was only between 1623 and 1626 that the four captive Moors were added by Tacca, made from casts of living men after he had examined the bodies of slaves, measured and weighed them, felt their arms and thighs to select those who were fittest. While Tacca may have tried to individualize the captives, and while

scholars have argued that he showed their humanity and beauty by their anguished facial expressions,[21] many aspects in his interpretation/depiction demean and humiliate them. That he chose to represent the captives as Black, "mori," is important: doubtless, there were Blacks in the Livorno bagnios, but the majority of captives whom Ferdinand brought back with him after his campaign were North Africans – not necessarily Black, perhaps more with the skin color of the Moroccan ambassador to England in 1600 or Velasquez's Moor in 1645. It is not clear why *turcs* from Tunisia would be Negroid Black – unless it was to reflect the involvement of Fernando II, who later completed the monument, in the sub-Saharan slave trade.[22]

But the most violent act committed by Tacca against the captives was to show the oldest Moro among the four men, who has been argued to be the father of the other three, without cover for his sexual parts, revealing his male (circumcised? uncircumcised?) organ.[23] Tacca was a contemporary of Bernini who sculpted some of the most stunning naked bodies, but then the latter was often dealing with mythical nudes, Apollo, Prosperine, and others. To represent the captives in the nude was not an aesthetic choice for Tacca, however, nor indeed a realistic one, as even the most miserable of captives had some covering for their bodies. To the right of the father is his son (?), semi-naked, with his buttocks half-exposed. He is the youngest of the four and the most sexually attractive – unless his very smooth skin and hairless body suggest that he was a eunuch. To have a father (if he is the father) in the nude with his son/s next to him is devastatingly damning: in Christian exegesis, Noah cursed his son Ham for looking at his nakedness. For Tacca, the captives were not just degraded and defeated: they were cursed too.

Meanwhile, and for the men and women and children viewers of the sculpture then (it remains today "Livorno's most popular monument," as the information piece next to the fence states), the four men represented the wild, semi-naked, "Barbary Corsairs" who had terrorized them but have now been caught, shackled, stripped naked, and put on exhibit by the Knights of St. Stephen. All four had their heads shaven, but for a pig's tail of hair (topknot), so Satan, as the joke went, could snatch them down to hell. Defeat in battle meant defeat in the afterlife, too: and so, as Christ was depicted in paintings and sculptures atop of Satan and his cohorts, so now the white marble duke is atop the Black bronze slaves. It is unlikely that any viewer had any sympathy for the Moors,[24] especially not for the naked 'father' captive, his face haggard, his organ dangling: how did women, promenading near the Livorno harbor react to this sexual affront? There could not but have been bemused disgust at such savage primitiveness accompanied by spiteful glee that the enemy who used to threaten men and women at sea is now chained and emasculated.

Figure 4 Monumento dei Quattro Mori (Livorno)
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Figure 5 Monumento dei Quattro Mori (Livorno)
Photo by by Sailko, Attribution 3.0 Unported (CC BY 3.0)

The addition of the four Moors consolidated the image/memory of Duke Ferdinand in his glory over the black *turcs.* He is dressed as the Grand Master of the Order of St. Stephen, and like a Roman emperor, he stands parading his subjected enemies and attaining glory in enslaving them. The four Mori were larger than life, perhaps to show how much their danger had been large: but chained, they were proof of Tuscany's maritime victory and Christianity's power. There was no verisimilitude in representing them, similar, for instance, to Michelangelo's slave sculptures ("Bound Slave," "Dying Slave," and others) just over a hundred years earlier;[25] nor was there in Tacca the kind of humane realism that appears in Raphael's painting of "The Battle of Ostia" (1514). Raphael included captured Saracens, just about the time Michelangelo was carving his slaves, but he neither racialized nor demonized them. Although he was recalling a time of violent wars when native Italians were fighting Arab invaders in the ninth century, his Saracens appear as prisoners of war, with their hands tied, one fully dressed, the other naked on his knees, but without excessive brutality or physical grotesqueness. The Arab captives of Raphael, defeated as evidenced by their sunken ships in the background, and once dangerous conquerors, are just slightly different from the victors in skin color; and one is dressed in the same manner as the Pope's soldiers who had captured him.

Tacca's racialization of the captives as Blacks appears full blown in the stone Fontana dei Quattro Mori sculpture before the Palazzo Colonna in Marino. It was designed by Sergio Venturi, and executed by Pompeo Castiglia and Tacca. These captives were carved between 1632 and 1642 to celebrate the victory at Lepanto in 1571, over half a century earlier. The captives were, presumably, prisoners of war – thus the piazza down the street, which is named "Lepanto." But, again, the four captives are Negroid Black even though in the Ottoman armies that were defeated at that sea battle, the largest number of soldiers and sailors and oarsmen were not Black. Among these four Moors, there are two women, naked till the waist, with their breasts exposed and chains around their necks. As for the men, the two still have their swords on their sides.

Figure 6 Battle of Ostia by Raphael (Vatican) Photo by Nabil Matar

Figure 7 Fontana dei Quattro Mori (Marino, Italy)
Photo by Nabil Matar

All four are on their knees, and again, there is not even an attempt at verisimilitude: the women do not look humiliated in their nakedness as if nakedness was their common state. There is actually a pornographic element in the posture of the women with their legs wide open, seductively covered by a piece of garment, their plumb breasts pushing forward, their lips apart, as if inviting sexual seizure. Nor have the two men been disarmed since they no longer can threaten anyone, and so as villagers filled their jugs with water spouting from under the Moors, they must have snickered at the uncivilized and the unchristian who were enslaved and, in the case of the women, to be prostituted in the brothels of Rome. The celebration of the victory of Lepanto was a celebration of victory of race and religion.

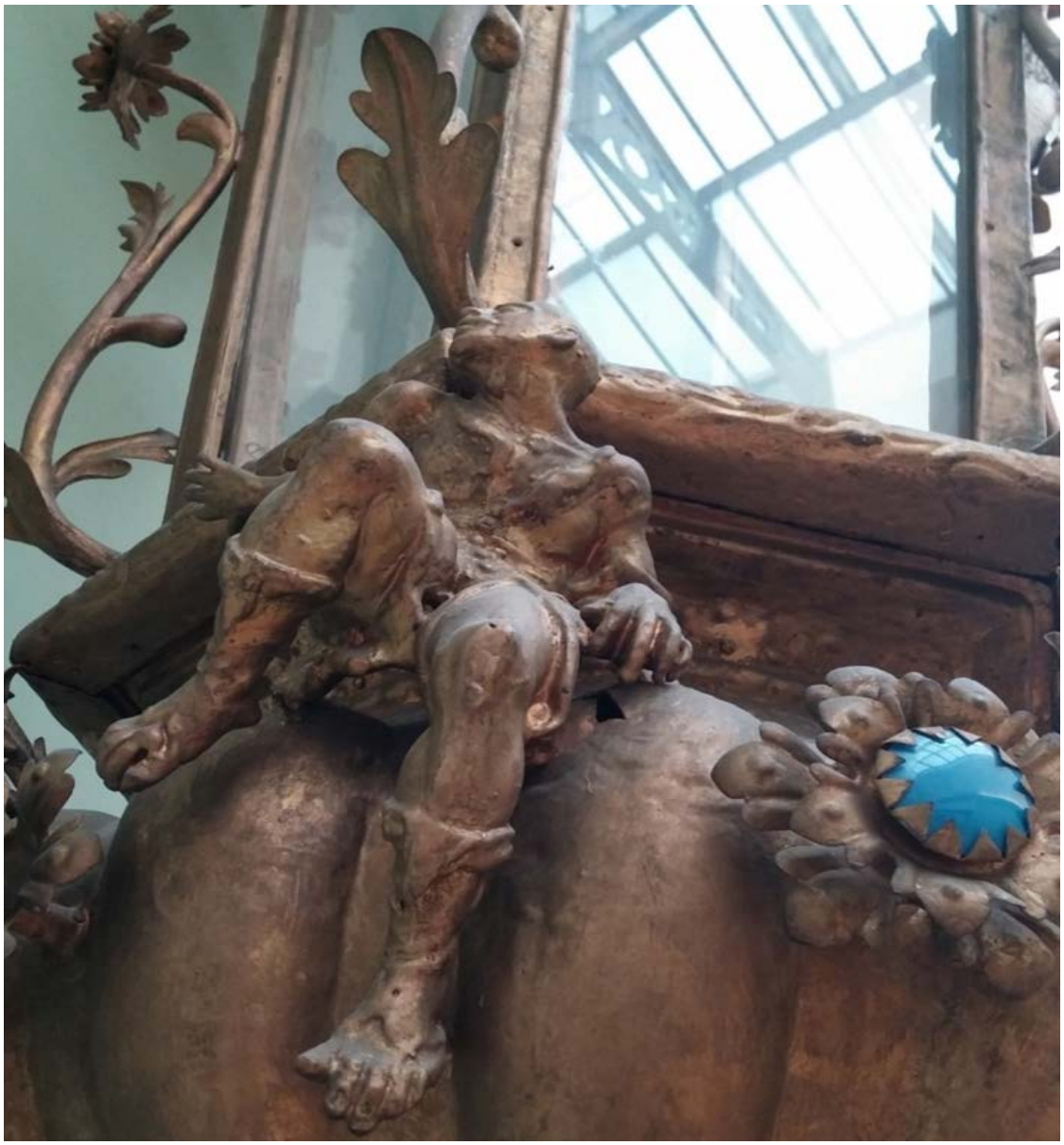


Figure 8 Fanal de Galère, Paris Maritime Museum (Paris)
Photo by Nabil Matar

The figure of the crouching captive appears again in the Paris shipyards at the end of the seventeenth century.[26] Significantly, this demeaning representation of the Muslim slave in French figural representation (at the Maritime Museum, Paris), was not replicated with the Huguenots who were also enslaved on the French galleys.

The thousands of Protestants/Huguenots after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 were not depicted in such a manner, or, for that matter, the voluntaries (bonevoglies) or the condemned (forçats). Much as they suffered and endured like their fellow *turcs*, they, French and European, did not undergo the dishonor of humiliation in sculpture, to be exhibited on ships or in museums – nor of course did sculptures (and paintings and votive offerings) of Christian captives held by Muslims, who were depicted in humility and piety, with eyes ever raised to the Christian savior.

In c. 1710, Giovanni Barrata (1670-1747) modeled his "Bound Corsair" on Tacca's oldest of the four Moors; his muscular arms and back are an exact imitation (Berlin National Museum). A century after Tacca, the *turc* remained a cringing figure, with muscles on steroids, but at least, his private parts are covered. And he is no longer black since by this time, the saying was common in the French arsenals where thousands of *turcs* were shackled to the oars, "fort comme un Turc."[27] The *turcs* were harnessed to serve the maritime needs of the emerging naval empires, transformed from captives to sheer brawn, with animal-like threatening features, but tightly tied. In 1728, just over a decade after Baratta sculpted his "Bound Corsair," Daniel Defoe published *A Plan of the English Commerce* in which he proposed a project for a European invasion of North Africa and the harnessing of the defeated "Barbary natives" in the service of European trade.[28] As sculpture reflected a subjugation of the undifferentiated *turcs*, European imperial goals extended that subjugation onto the Islamic Mediterranean.

The sculpture of Pietro Galleti in the St. Agatha Cathedral in Catania stands to the side of the altar: and so, as worshippers looked to the priest officiating at the mass, they saw the bishop above the *turc.* But the words under the captives make no mention of the bishop's involvement with turcs:

> Pietro Galleti joined the clerical [military] service. He was so pious, prudent, and learned that he was put in charge of Sant'Antonio Magno in Palermo. Then, he was made Apostolic Inquisitor, regent of the inquisition in Sicily. Then, he became bishop of Patti, then of Catania. He was an uncorrupt judge of justice, fought for the freedom of the church, was an enemy of vices and friend of virtues, took care of the poor, hurt no one, helped everyone. The only thing that he did wrong to his people was that he submitted to fate. He died April 6, 1757, in the 27th year of his episcopacy.

Figure 9 Bound Corsair, by Giovanni Baratta; Kaiser Friedrich Museumsverein (Berlin)

Figure 10 Mausoleum of Pietro Galleti, Church of St Agatha (Catania, Sicily)
Photo by Nabil Matar

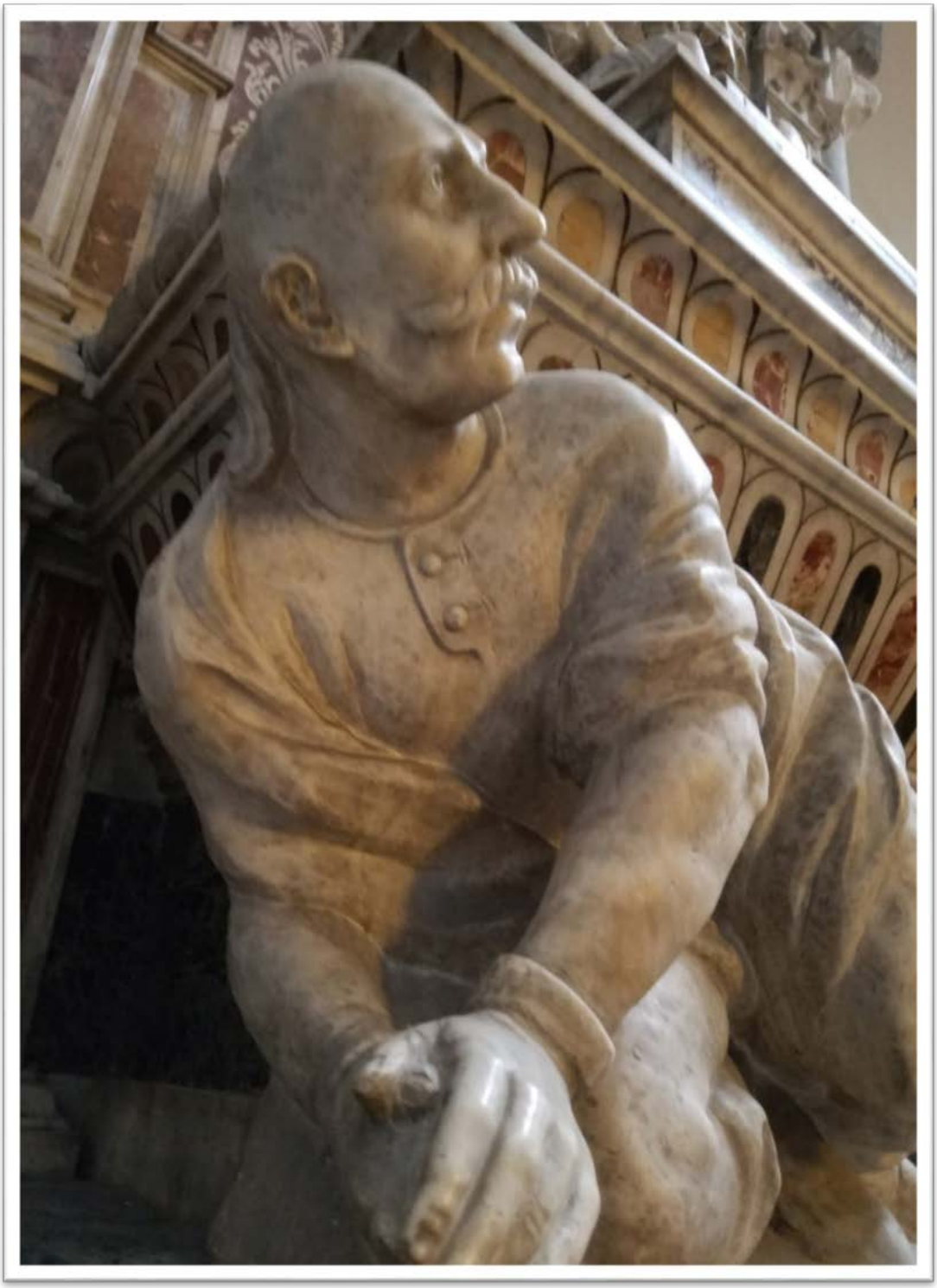


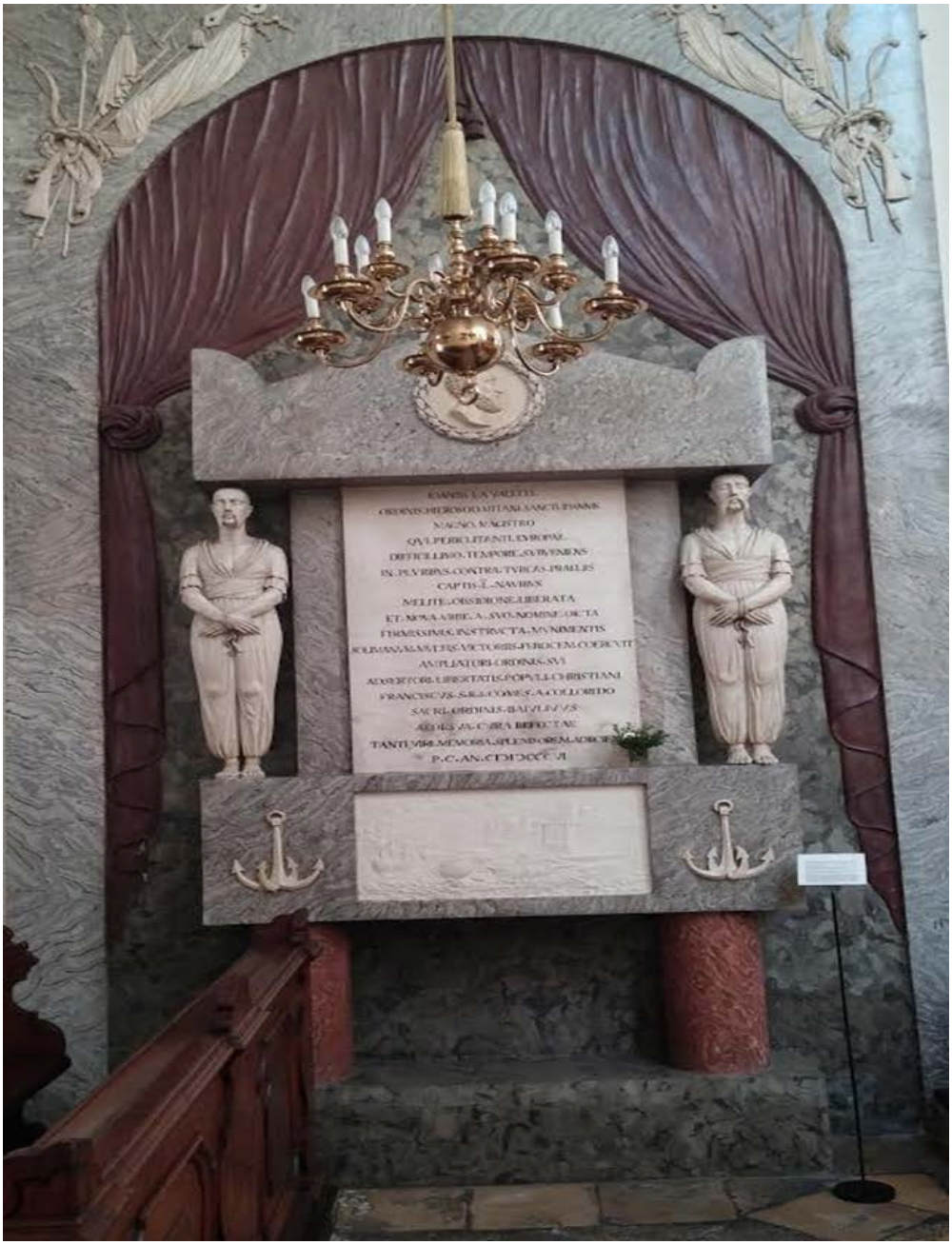
Figure 11 Detail of mausoleum of Pietro Galleti, Church of St Agatha (Catania, Sicily)
Photo by Nabil Matar

Evidently, the commissioner/artist could think of no other way of celebrating the life of Pietro Galleti and praising his piety and prudence except by exhibiting the chained *turc,* along with a Black, under him. The two were good ornaments – as they also appear in the Co-Cathedral of St. John in Valletta under the mausoleum of Grand Master Nicolas Cotoner. At the height of the European slave trade in Africa, the *turc* was turning into another object of possession, especially as the Ottoman Empire was losing lands and dominance and its markets were becoming part of the European global emporium. Both Blacks and *turcs* were in submission to Christendom: they were undifferentiated brute physicality on whose backs sat or stood the White Man.

Like all sculptures, *turcs* in stone were intended for longevity and to serve as a record of their defeat in history. And no defeat was more spectacular than the Ottoman retreat from Vienna in 1683. There is no other *turc* in sculpture who is as viciously represented as the *turc* on the outside wall of St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, stretched prostrate in death's grips, screaming as he is sinking down to hell, his face contorted, under the triumphant child Jesus.

Figure 12 Statue of St. Stephen, St. Stephen's Cathedral (Vienna)
Photo by Shutterstock

This sculpture, attached to the cathedral, recalls Romanesque sculptures of Saracens who were depicted in war and defeat. In those sculptures, the imagery often reflected biblical and literary themes, such as the battle between Joshua and the Amalekites or the sacrifice of Isaac.[29] Similarly here, the enemy on the battle field was the Satan of the Book of Revelation, defeated and crushed by the Cross. Down the street from this sculpture is the Maltese Church with its 1806 memorial of the 1683 victory: two hand tied *turcs* standing in humiliation and submission.



Photograph by Nabil Matar

Another celebration of the 1683 victory along with numerous other victories over the Ottomans was the sculpture of Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736). He fought against the Turks in their failed siege of Vienna, won a major victory against them in the Battle of Zenta, 1697, and at Petrovaradin in 1716. In 1897, Jozef Rona worked on the statue that was installed in 1900 outside the National Gallery in Budapest. It showed the defeated *turc* crouching at the hooves of Christendom in the kind of vertical axis that had framed earlier sculptures and that showed Christian supremacy over the Muslims. Downcast and nearly totally naked, he is still in his turban, his hands tied behind him.

Figure 13 Base of equestrian statue of Prince Eugene of Savoy, Josef Rona, National Gallery (Budapest) Photo by Adobe Stock

Oddly, the most realistic representation of the *turc* is the least frequent: as a dignified prisoner of war, held by chains. A panel celebrating the Lepanto victory is stylized as it prominently shows the *turcs* in turbans – their distinctive markers. They are defeated – four of them, as always it seems about *turcs*, in a seated position, fully dressed, and seemingly awaiting their fate (The Palatine Museum, Rome).

Figure 14 Celebration of Victory of Lepanto, 1571, Palazzo dei Conservatori (Rome) Photo by Nabil Matar

Very much like them, a lone *turc* (National Museum, Berlin), presumably after the defeat of 1683, expresses submission and despair. Showing him in his full regalia confirmed the Christian victory over not just the infantry but also the nobility. The captive is recognizably Muslim, *turc*, receiving punishment for having dared to threaten Christendom – whether at Malta in 1565 or Lepanto in 1571 or Vienna in 1683. [30]

Figure 15 Turkish prisoner in chains, c. 1700, Deutsches Historisches Museum (Berlin) Photo by Nabil Matar

As sculptors and their commissioners repeated the humiliation of the *turc*, they established a permanent transnational image. After all, the funds for building the (above-mentioned) Church of the Holy Trinity in Rome came from Bishop Diego Morcillo in Peru, while the architect was Portuguese, the painter of the church décor was Spanish, and the royal patron was King Carlos V.[31] The image was also trans-temporal: the façade of the church promoted the Fathers whose order had been established in 1198. The various sculptures of the defeated or crushed *turcs* were even inter-Christian, Catholic largely, but not objectionable to Protestants too, and intercontinental, in Europe but also in America: the Annapolis memorial to the Barbary Wars, 1806, with the heads of Moors lined up on all four sides of the upper pedestal.[32] When captivity was part of life, and the encounter with the *turcs* – and Islam – was a European, and American, preoccupation, sculptors, commissioners, and viewers treated the sculptures as narratives in stone of the fearsome enemy that had been defeated and chained.

CONCLUSION

There were no other captive *turcs* in sculptures for viewers to compare: no sculpture of them in torture, or with their noses and ears cropped in punishment.[33] Nor were there *turcs* shown in piety and surrender to God, or in ambassadorial processions or commercial roles – as they sometimes appeared in paintings and woodcuts and plays. Rather, the *turcs* were captives, nameless, stereotyped commodities, slaves for the sail, on exhibit in churches and in parks, city gates and fountains and mausoleums – in spaces that centered the communal life of society. Viewers saw the same unchanging *turcs,* demeaned and overpowered. It is as if the stories of the *turcs* were one story told by sculptors who 'spoke' for them as they crouched or cringed or lay crushed under feet or hooves. As Tacca's humiliated Moors had been under the Duke, so were other *turcs* under the bishop, under the Grand Master, under the Child Christ, under the hooves of victorious horses, and under the American Eagle. In sculpture, the *turcs* were immobilized cultural and political signifiers, useful in so for as they revealed the power and the glory of the victors. They "are what they are," as Edward Said put it in his discussion of the Western representation of the 'Oriental,' "for once, for all time, for ontological reasons that no empirical matter can either dislodge or alter."[34] Not all the stories that the captives told about themselves to their European captors, or the data that were collected about them by government agents, clergy, and slave sellers, or the letters they had sent or the appeals they had forwarded could change them into individuals with emotions and agency. In sculpture, as in the scholarship on Mediterranean captivity, the *turc* was made to lose his voice and *qiṣṣa.*[35]

ENDNOTES:

[1] This chapter is taken from *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes, 1517-1798* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), with the permission of the author.

(Bu makale büyük ölçüde, yazarın izniyle, *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes, 1517-*1798 (Leiden: Brill, 2021) alınmıştır.)

[2] See also Lucette Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers* (Paris: Payot, 2012).

[3] Ariel Salzmann, 'Migrants in Chains: On the Enslavement of Muslims in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe', *Religions* 4, no. 3 (September 2013): 400, https://doi.org/10.3390/rel4030391.

[4] Moulay Belhamissi, *Les Captifs Algériens et l'Europe Chrétienne* (Paris: Enterprise Nationale du Livre, 1988), 41.

[5] See for the "Turk" in art, James G. Harper, ed., *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750: Visual Imagery Before Orientalism* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011); the articles Elizabeth McGrath, 'Caryatids, Page Boys, and African Fetters: Themes of Slavery in European Art', in *The Slave in European Art. From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, ed. Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel Massing (London: The Warburg Institute, 2012), 3–38, and Rick Scorza, 'Messina 1535 to Lepanto 1571. Vasari, Borghini and the Imagery of Moors, Barbarians and Turks', in *The Slave in European Art. From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, ed. Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel Massing (London: The Warburg Institute, 2012), 121–63, and Jean Michel Massing, 'The Mediterranean Scene', in *The Image of the Black in Western Art: From the 'Age of Discovery' to the Age of Abolition v. 3*, ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011).

[6] Pignon, "Aperçu."

[7] Philippe de Cossé Brissac, ed., *Sources Inédites de l'histoire Du Maroc. Deuxième Série, Dynastie Filalienne (1661-1757). VI, 1700-2 Mai 1718*, vol. 6, 8 vols (E. Leroux, 1960), 54-83.

[88] It is curious to find precise numbers such as 27 or 26 or 42 or 19. If the captives knew their birth dates, which is most unlikely, they would have known them according to a hijri calendar – with its shorter year. In 1832, and among 634 Spanish captives of Indians in South America, 67% did not know their date of birth, Fernando Opere, *Indian Captivity in Spanish America: Frontier Narratives*, trans. Gustavo Pellon (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 76.

[9] As Muscat and Agius confirmed about the Muslim captives of the Knights of Malta; "They were stripped to check for hidden distinguishing marks or body defects," Joseph Muscat and Dionisius A. Agius, 'Slaves on Land and Sea', in *Georgio Scala and the Moorish Slaves: The Inquisition Malta 1598*, ed. Dionisius A. Agius (Sta Venera, Malta: Midsea Books, 2013), 371. The method of describing and identifying the captives is similar to what Mulay Ismā'īl did after he ordered the enslavement of all blacks in Morocco. See the study of the 1710 register of the slaves in Chouki El Hamel, 'The Register of The Slaves of Sultan Mawlay Isma'il of Morocco at The Turn of The Eighteenth Century', *The Journal of African History* 51, no. 1 (2010): esp. 95. For the American side of the Atlantic, see the advertisements for runaway slaves, which record similar physical descriptions, Flossie E. Windley, *Runaway Slave Advertisements* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1983).

[10] Jean François Bion, 'An Account of the Torments Which the French Protestants Endure Aboard the Galleys', in *The Torments of Protestant Slaves in the French King's Galleys : And in the Dungeons of Marseilles, 1686-1707 A.D. : With Some Illustrative Texts*, ed. Edward Arber (London: Stock, 1908), 448.

[11] Muhammad Rabadan, *Mahometism Explained*, trans. Joseph Morgan, 2 vols (London: Mears, 1725), 2: 238-9.

[12] His work was translated into English in 1702 and the story was included in a 1736 English collection of writings about the East. See John Green, *A Journey from Aleppo to Damascus* (London: W. Mears, 1736), 193-208: The "Turk" is from Damascus (and so a Muslim Arab not a Turk) and was captured by the Knights of Malta who sold him into Spain where he converted to "the Romish Religion." He became an excellent soldier and in Flanders, as a "young Spanish Officer," he married an Amsterdam woman. He then took her and their son to the East, claiming a wish to visit Jerusalem, but in reality eager to return to "Turkey, in order to enjoy the free Exercise of his Religion." Mostafa changed ship that took his family Algiers and then Alexandria, where he frequented "the Mosks" and finally divulged his secret to his wife. Helpless, she decided to stay with him as they continued to Aleppo "where he had a great many Acquaintance." Soon, and suspected of possessing wealth, he was murdered during a robbery. Bruyn had told an even more dramatic story about the Turk's courtship, marriage, travels, and final settlement in Aleppo: "The Surprizing Adventures of Mostafa, a Turk."

[13] See David Hume, *Hume on Religion*, ed. Richard Wollheim (Cleveland: World Pub. Co., 1964), 73.

[14] For studies of Turks and literary imagery of Turks in France, see Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature: 1520-1660* (New York: Ams Pr Inc, 1974); Dominique Carnoy, *Représentations de l'islam dans la France du XVIIe siècle: La ville des tentations* (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1998), and Michèle Longino, *Orientalism in French Classical Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For England, see Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent And The Rose Islam And England During The Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937).

[15] From a lecture by Galina Yermolenko at the University of Minnesota, 4 March 2013.

[16] And Americans too, see Susanna Rowson, *Slaves in Algiers; or, A Struggle for Freedom: A Play, Interspersed with Songs, in Three Acts.* (Philadelphia: Wrigley and Berriman, 1794).

[17] My discussion is based on sculptures I have personally seen and photographed. Other than the works mentioned here, my list includes the following: the Matamoros of Santiago of Compostela at the top of the Palacio de Raxoi, which shows captives on both sides of the pedestal of the saint; the Tudor room in Minneapolis Institute of Art; the "Telamones" of "Porta Nuova" in Palermo; (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries); the memorial for Otto Christoph von Sparr in St Mary's Church in Berlin; the mausoleum of the 61st Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of Jerusalem, Nicolas Cotoner, in the Co-Cathedral of St. John in Valletta; the sculpture

of Jean Casimir, King of Poland, in the Chapel of St. Francis Xavier in the church of Saint-Germain-Des-Pres in Paris (after 1672); Francesco Bertos's "Allegorical Group of Victory supported by Valor" in the Chicago Institute of Art (1700-1710); Teatro Marmereo Fountain in Palermo, built in honor of Philip V; the fountain in central Salzburg; the 1728 sculpture of St. Ignatius of Loyola in his church in Rome by Giuseppe Rusconi; the Turks in the Maltese Church in Vienna (1806); the 1889 statue of Saint/King Ladislaus with his foot on a Turk's head in the Basilica of St. Stephen, Budapest. I will mention other sculptures below, but I exclude the Fontana del Moro in the Piazza Navona as the Moors are not human, with tentacles for legs. I am also excluding the four captives under the equestrian statue of Henri IV (Louvre, 1614-18), and the four captives at the pedestal of the statue of Louis XIV, Place des Victoires, since they do not represent *turcs* (1670s-80s). For a study of paintings showing ransomed Christian captives, see Rosita D'Amora, '"Saving a Slave, Saving a Soul": The Rhetoric of Losing the True Faith in Seventeenth-Century Italian Textual and Visual Sources', in *Conversion and Islam in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 155–78.

[18] Just about a decade earlier, between 1720 and 1723, the hospital of St. John of Martha had been established in Tunis: Clara Ilham Alvarez Dopico, 'The Catholic Consecration of an Islamic Dār. The Chapel of the Saint John de Matha Trinitarian Hospital in Tunis', in *Sacred Precincts: The Religious Architecture of Non-Muslim Communities Across the Islamic World*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour, 2015, 291–307.

[19] In 1714, a sculpture of the same two saints liberating Christian captives was installed in Prague. It was designed by Ferdinand Maximilian Brokoff (1688-1731).

[20] Franco Cardini, *Europe and Islam*, trans. Caroline Beamish (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001), 166.

[21] See the "beauty" of the captives in Steven F. Ostrow, 'Pietro Tacca and His Quattro Mori: The Beauty and Identity of the Slaves', *Artibus et Historiae*, no. 71 (1 January 2015): 145–80.

[22] David Bindman, Henry Louis Gates, and Karen C. C. Dalton, eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art, Volume III: From the 'Age of Discovery' to the Age of Abolition, Part 2: Europe and the World Beyond*, vol. 3, 5 vols (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2011), 183.

[23] Was the old Moor from Salé and called Ali or Salebino Melioco, and the young Moor Algerian called Margiano? See the discussion in Mark Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany', *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 1 (2015): 34–57, and the reference to Cesare Venturi, '"Il Monumento Livornese Detto Dei "Quattro Mori"', *Liburni Civitas* 7, no. 5 (1934): 213–51. See also Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 82-83.

[24] See for a different view: "Tacca deliberately depicted each [of the four captives] as an individual, allowing viewers to project their own stories on to these specific figures, something eagerly done by later viewers," Mark Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's "Quattro Mori" and the Conditions of Slavery in Early Seicento Tuscany', *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 1 (2015): 47.

[25] Charles Robertson, 'Allegory and Ambiguity in Michelangelo's "Slaves"', in *The Slave in European Art; from Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, ed. Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel Massing, Warburg Institute Colloquia (London: University of London Press, 2012), 39–61.

[26] The "fanal de galère," seventeenth century. See also the article which discusses other examples: Meredith Martin and Gillian Weiss, '"Turks" on Display during the Reign of Louis XIV', *L'Esprit Créateur* 53, no. 4 (2013): 98–112, https://doi.org/10.1353/esp.2013.0049.

[27] Gillian Weiss, 'Ransoming "Turks" from France's Royal Galleys', *African Economic History* 42, no. 1 (2014): 39-40; Michel Fontenay, 'L'esclave Galérien Dans La Méditerranée Des Temps Modernes', in *Figures de l'esclave Au Moyen-Age et Dans Le Monde Moderne*, ed. Henri Bresc (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), 125.

[28] Daniel Defoe, *A Plan of the English Commerce: Being a Compleat Prospect of the Trade of This Nation, as Well the Home Trade as the Foreign. In Three Parts* (London: Charles Rivington, 1728).

[29] Ruth Bartal, 'The Image of the Saracen in Romanesque Sculpture. Literary and Visual Perceptions', in *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Luis García-Guijarro (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 329–45.

[30] The celebration of the two victories of Malta and Lepanto was mapped in the late sixteenth-century Cartographic Gallery at the Vatican Museum. To the left and to the right of the entrance, the maps show the naval preparations that led to the defeat of the Turks.

[31] For similar transnationalism, see the Mercedarians who sent money from New Spain to ransom captives in North Africa: Karen Melvin, 'Charity without Borders: Alms-Giving in New Spain for Captives in North Africa', *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no. 1 (1 April 2009): 75–97, https://doi.org/10.1080/10609160902738505.

[32]https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tripoli_Monument_(sculpture)#:~:text=The%20Tripoli%20Monument%20is%20the,James%20Decatur%20(brother%20of%20Capt.

[33] See Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf a'lām al-nās* 2:68 for the anger of Mulay Ismā'īl at such cruelty.

[34] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 70.

[35] For many of the stories that captives told in Arabic, see Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity through Arab Eyes, 1517-1798*.

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