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Rethinking Conflict and Sexual Violence in Early Modern Europe

Repenser les conflits et la violence sexuelle dans l'Europe moderne

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Péter Bokody and Cristelle Baskins

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Rethinking Conflict and Sexual Violence in Early Modern Europe

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Religious Conflicts, Enslavement, and Sexual Violence*

TAMAR HERZIG
Tel Aviv University

This article examines the different types of sexual violence inflicted on enslaved females who were captured during the War of Candia (1645–69). Women and girls constituted an exceptionally high percentage of the individuals enslaved in the course of this religiously justified war. Many of the captured Muslims were trafficked to Catholic Europe, where they were subjected to various forms of sexual exploitation. Yet this article suggests that the prolonged conflict also gave rise to Italian slavers' sexual violence against enslaved females who were, in fact, not Muslims. It then illuminates the role that religious affiliation actually played in shaping local reactions to the rapes, as well as the responses of Church and state authorities to supplications asking to liberate the survivors of repeated sexual abuse. Finally, the article argues that taking sexual violence into consideration complicates our understanding of early modern Mediterranean enslavement, its motivations, and its implications.

Le présent article examine les différents types de violence sexuelle infligés aux femmes capturées et réduites en esclavage pendant la guerre de Candie (1645–69). Les filles et les femmes ont formé un pourcentage exceptionnellement élevé des esclaves faits au cours de cette guerre de religion. Beaucoup de musulmanes capturées ont été emmenées dans l'Europe catholique, où elles ont subi différentes formes d'exploitation sexuelle. Cet article indique toutefois que ce long conflit a aussi donné lieu à des violences sexuelles de la part d'esclavagistes italiens envers des esclaves non musulmanes. Il met également en lumière le rôle joué par l'appartenance religieuse dans les réactions locales aux viols, ainsi que les réponses des autorités ecclésiastiques et laïques aux supplications de libérer les survivantes d'abus sexuels répétés. Enfin, l'article soutient que la prise en compte de la violence sexuelle nuance notre conception de l'esclavage, y compris ses motivations et ses implications, dans la Méditerranée des premiers temps modernes.

Introduction

In the last few decades, scholarship has emphasized the role of religion in determining the status of enslaved individuals in the early modern

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Mediterranean. Salvatore Bono and others have stressed the reciprocal logic underlying the treatment of enslaved Muslims and Catholics on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea in the context of the political economy of ransom.¹ Studies have also pointed to the reversibility of enslavement as a result of the redemption or exchange of captives, which allowed the enslaved to regain their freedom and return to their countries of origin.² All of these features, so the argument goes, distinguished religiously justified bondage in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mediterranean from enslavement in the Atlantic world, which lacked any dimension of reciprocity or reversibility and was predicated primarily on racial, rather than religious, difference.³ Although Kate Lowe, Carmen Fracchia, Aurelia Martín Casares, and Emily Wilbourne have lately pointed to the relevance of race to understanding enslavement in the Catholic regions of the early modern Mediterranean,⁴ religion nonetheless remains the main prism through which historians approach this complex phenomenon.⁵

This article examines the different types of sexual violence inflicted on enslaved females who were captured during the War of Candia (1645–69), a violent clash between the Republic of Venice and its Catholic allies on one side, and the Ottoman Empire on the other.⁶ Women and girls constituted an exceptionally high percentage of the individuals enslaved in the course of this religiously justified war.⁷ By focusing on the sexual abuse that many of them had to endure, the article aims to shed new light on the motivations, mechanisms, and implications of enslavement in early modern Italy.

1. Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo*; “Schiavi maghrebini”; *Schiavi*; Fiume, *Schiavitù mediterranee*; Hershenzon, *Captive Sea*.

2. Sarti, “Bolognesi schiavi”; Fontenay, “Esclaves et/ou captifs”; Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*; Kaiser and Calafat, “Economy of Ransoming.”

3. For the dominance of this historiographic view, see Tucker, “She Would Rather Perish.”

4. Lowe, “Black”; “Isabella d’Este”; *Provenance and Possession*, 82–122, 186–228; Martín Casares and García Barranco, *La esclavitud negroafricana*; Fracchia, *Black but Human*; Wilbourne, *Voice, Slavery, and Race*. See also Fiume, *Il Santo Moro*.

5. Important recent contributions include Calafat and Santus, “Les avatars du ‘Turc’”; Colombo et al., *Schiavitù del corpo*; Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity*; Zappia, “In the Sign”; Caffiero, *Gli schiavi del papa*; Di Nepi, *I confini della salvezza*.

6. Setton, *Venice*, 104–243; Greene, *Shared World*, 13–19.

7. Boccadamo, “Tra Croce e Mezzaluna,” 340–43; Tarlo, “Brindisi,” 44–47.

Although violent domination is a defining aspect of all types of enslavement, scholars have recognized rape, in particular, as a key feature of female experience under slavery and captivity. Rape endangers enslaved females and males alike, but some of its implications are gender-specific because of the health risks involved in ensuing pregnancies and childbirths.⁸ In addition to these physical consequences, in premodern Mediterranean societies, in which perceptions of honour were closely linked to female sexual reputation, the stigma that accompanied enslaved women's rapes also had devastating psychological, familial, and social effects.⁹

Slavers' recourse to the sexual coercion of enslaved females was often motivated by their sexual drive, yet this was not the sole factor at play.¹⁰ By raping enslaved women, some slavers also hoped to procure the birth of potential heirs, thereby securing their social standing and the durability of their lineages.¹¹ Certain slave owners forced enslaved women into prostitution,¹² or into having intercourse with enslaved men in order to "produce" new slaves, thereby increasing the gains elicited from slaving.¹³

During the War of Candia, Christian women and girls were regularly captured by Muslim forces and sold into slavery in the Ottoman Empire, whereas female Muslims were enslaved by Christians and trafficked to Catholic Europe—especially to Italian cities—where they were subject to varied forms of sexual violence.¹⁴ Yet as this article suggests, the prolonged conflict also gave rise to Italian slavers' sexual violence against enslaved females who were, in

8. Blumenthal, "Slaves Molt Fortes," 18. See also Arrabal Ward, "Significance of Wartime Rape," 190; Askin, "Prosecuting Wartime Rape"; Goldstein, *War and Gender*, 362. For the early modern Mediterranean, see especially Martín Casares, "Maghrebians Slaves in Spain," 99. For American enslavement, see Berry, *Price*, 78–83.

9. For early modern Mediterranean societies, see Dursteler, "'Convenient,'" 372–77; "Slavery and Sexual Peril," 480. For general considerations, see the classic Brownmiller, *Against Our Will*; and Diken and Bagge Laustsen, "Becoming Abject."

10. See Herzog, "Slavery."

11. McKee, "Implications"; Barker, "Risk of Birth."

12. Meyerson, "Prostitution of Muslim Women," 87–89; Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars*, 87–91; Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 46–69; Paoletta, *Human Trafficking*, esp. 145–66.

13. Morgan, *Laboring Women*; Warren, "'Cause of Her Grief"; Berry, *Swing the Sickle*, 76–103; Smithers, *Slave Breeding*; Zhang, "Rethinking 'Domestic Enemies.'"

14. Jačov, "La vendita"; Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam*, 161–64.

fact, not Muslims. The article thus illuminates the role that religious affiliation actually played in shaping local reactions to the rapes, as well as the responses of Church and state authorities to supplications asking to liberate the female survivors of repeated sexual violence. Ultimately, it argues that taking sexual violence into consideration complicates our understanding of early modern Mediterranean enslavement.

**“Have this miserable girl freed, although her honour
remains forever imprisoned”**

The first case involves the rapist Giuliano Regolino, a Livornese corsair who was authorized by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando II de' Medici (r. 1621–70), to lead two ships in battle against the Muslim Turks, together with his fellow Livornese Antonio Martini.¹⁵ The Medici rulers regularly granted corsairs' patents to private captains, such as Regolino and Martini, which allowed them to attack the vessels of Muslim powers in the name of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.¹⁶ The expedition that Regolino and Martini led was funded by Giovan Francesco Cardì, an affluent merchant who resided in Livorno, the city from which the two ships set out.¹⁷

Upon entering the Gulf of Thessaloniki (Salonica) in 1658, Regolino and Martini seized a vessel owned by Charles Longland (1603–88), one of the wealthiest merchants in Livorno and the English Admiralty agent in Tuscany.¹⁸ Longland's ship, the *Tripoline*, had also hailed from Livorno, where it was manned with an English crew and received a patent issued by Tuscan officials that was supposed to protect it from Tuscan attacks. The *Tripoline*, which bore an English flag, had first sailed to Alexandria, where it was loaded with rice and flax.¹⁹ Twelve Muslim and five Jewish passengers, who wished to travel to

15. On Regolino and Martini, see Villani, “Le lettere,” 713, 731–33.

16. Frattarelli Fischer, “Prede di Mare.”

17. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato [hereafter ASFi, MP], 1804, no. 90, “Conto della robba levata della nave di Carlo Longland da Cap.no Martini mandata fuori in corso dal Capitano Cardì, con patente e Bandiera di S.A.S. provato da otto testimoni.”

18. On Longland's life and career in Livorno, see Villani, “‘Republican’ Englishman.”

19. ASFi, MP, 2431, fols. 420 (letter of Charles Longland to Ferdinando Bardi, 31 July 1658), 731 (letter of Charles Longland to Ferdinando Bardi, 6 November 1658), 732 (letter of Peter Whyting to Charles Longland, 3 August 1658).

Thessaloniki, also boarded the ship in Alexandria. Before Longland's vessel reached its destination, though, Regolino and Martini took over the *Tripoline*, ignoring its captain's claims about the Tuscan patent that it carried.²⁰

Regolino and Martini described the *Tripoline's* seizure and plundering in their letter of 8 March 1658 to Cardi, in which they affirmed the following: "inside this vessel we found twelve Turks and two Jews, who went to Thessaloniki with the said vessel."²¹ The corsairs conveniently omitted the presence of three additional Jews: a fifteen year-old girl named Vida, her mother, and her elderly father. The capture of this family is recounted in a supplication that Moise Franco, one of the three Jews in charge of the Jewish fund for ransoming captives in Livorno, sent Ferdinando Bardi, Ferdinando II's secretary of state, on 20 June 1659.²² According to this supplication:

Five Jews were captured by Captain Giuliano Regolino and Captain Martini, who were armed here in Livorno by Captain Cardi, on board of an English ship on its way from Alexandria to Thessaloniki. Among them were an old man with his wife and one daughter, a fifteen-year-old girl named Vida who was violated and deflowered (*violentata e levata l'onore*) by the same Regolino. In the course of the eighteen months in which he has kept her in his possession, she bore him a baby girl, and this kind of tyranny was decried by several Knights of Malta, who are also corsairs, as a shameful thing. Nonetheless, he left this unfortunate [Vida] in Candia, at the house of a French merchant, with the order not to free her, with the intention of persisting [in raping her]. This is why in Candia compassionate letters were written, describing the fact, and why we are appealing to the benevolence of the Most Serene Grand Duke, so that he would

20. ASFi, MP, 2431, fols. 218 (letter of Giuliano Regolino and Antonio Martini to Giovan Francesco Cardi, 8 March 1658), 283 (letter of Charles Longland to Ferdinando Bardi, 31 May 1658), 471 (letter of Giovan Francesco Cardi to Ferdinando Bardi, 7 August 1658); 2432, fol. 300r (supplication of Moise Franco, sent to Ferdinando Bardi, 20 June 1659).

21. "dentro detto vassello ci habiamo ritrovato dodici Turchi et due ebrei il qualle andavano a Salonico con il detto vassello." ASFi, MP, 2431, fol. 218r (letter of Giuliano Regolino and Antonio Martini to Giovan Francesco Cardi, 8 March 1658). All translations are my own.

22. *Deputados de Seboim*, published in Toaff, "Establishment of a Fund," *238–*240. On the activities of Livorno's *Deputados de Seboim* in the second half of the seventeenth century, see Carpi, "L'attività della Cassa."

command the men responsible for this expedition to have this miserable girl freed, although her honour remains forever imprisoned.²³

Franco's supplication provides rare documentation of the sexual violence that formed an integral part of piracy and corsairing, but which is usually silenced in the historical records of the early modern Mediterranean. Corsairs frequently inflicted brutal violence, including rape, on the individuals they captured while still at sea.²⁴ Sexual abuse was often committed in the ship's interior spaces because, contrary to incidents of male-on-male violence, pirates' assaults on enslaved females were not widely celebrated as manifestations of masculinity. As soon as the captors unloaded their human cargo, their violence usually subsided, because the captives' survival and good health were instrumental for ensuring their eventual sale or redemption.²⁵

Since rape was perceived as dishonouring not only for any enslaved woman but also for her family and community of origin, survivors were unlikely to disclose their past experience of incidental rape.²⁶ Keeping the assault a secret was also in the rapist's best interest, because publicizing it would have lowered the survivor's commodified price and may have hindered the prospects of her redemption.²⁷ Regolino, however, had no intention of putting Vida up for

23. "Furono predati dal capitano Julianio Regolino e capitano Martini, armati qui in Livorno dal capitano Cardì, sopra una nave inglese che andava in Alessandria in Saloniche, 5 hebrei e fra essi un vecchio con sua moglie et una figlia fanciula chiamata Vida di anni 15 qualle fu dal medesimo Regolino violentata e levata l'honore, e nel spazo di mesi 18 che la tene presso di sé ne ebbe una bambina, e da alcuni cavaliere di Malta pure corsali gli fu grandemente biasimato simele tirania come cosa indegna, e però lassò questa disgraziata in Candia in casa a un mercante franzese con ordine di non dargli libertà, con intenzione di preseverare, e perciò in Candia ce viene scritto letere compassionevolli rapresendendo il fatto, e che si ricorra alla benignità del Serenissimo granducha aciochè comande a principali di questo armamento che sia questa poveretta liberata giachè il suo honore resta per sempre carcerato." ASFi, MP, 2432, fol. 300r (supplication of Moise Franco, sent to Ferdinando Bardi, 20 June 1659). The document was first noted in Frattarelli Fischer, "Prede di Mare," 163.

24. Thus, one of the infants abandoned at the Florentine foundling institution in 1451 is identified as the son of an enslaved mother and a sailor who raped and impregnated her on the ship that brought her to Florence (Zhang, "Rethinking 'Domestic Enemies,'" 412).

25. See Tucker, "She Would Rather Perish."

26. See Belhamissi, "Captifs musulmans et chrétiens," 59–60; Matar, *Mediterranean Captivity*, 83; Dursteler, "Slavery and Sexual Peril," 490.

27. Tucker, "She Would Rather Perish," 11–17. See also Matar, "Wives," 121. For Jewish rabbinic *responsa* mentioning this consideration, see Blidstein, "Personal Status," 42–44.

sale or ransom. His was no incidental rape confined only to the interior of the *Tripoline*; rather, he was intent on turning the girl into his sex slave and had no qualms about making his repeated rapes publicly known.

In addition to the French merchant who was instructed to keep Vida locked up when Regolino resumed his corsairing activities, others soon became aware of her sexual slavery.²⁸ Indeed, according to Moise Franco, his own supplication was based on written accounts that he received from Candia (present-day Heraklion), the capital city of the island of Crete, which at that time was still under Venetian rule—until its eventual conquest by the Ottomans in 1669, which ended the War of Candia.²⁹

As Sally McKee has shown, the impregnation of enslaved women by their Catholic slavers, who usually acknowledged their paternity, was quite common in Venetian Crete and reflected the anomalous nature of colonial society on this island.³⁰ Was this the reason Franco did not mention any disapproval of Regolino's continuous abuse on the part of the Catholic inhabitants of Candia, only the critique voiced by Maltese corsairs? The Knights Hospitaller regularly disembarked in Candia's port during the war years but did not permanently reside in the city.³¹ Be that as it may, Vida's own coreligionists, and not the Knights of Malta, must have been the ones who contacted the Jews of Livorno and asked for their help in bringing an end to Vida's suffering, leading Franco to send his supplication.³²

Like other Jewish communities in the Eastern Mediterranean, Jews in Candia had long been engaged in the efforts to ransom enslaved Jews who were brought to Crete.³³ During the War of Candia, Jews in the Cretan capital were in contact with their counterparts in other Jewish communities, including the one in Livorno.³⁴ In their attempts to terminate Vida's ordeal, the Jews of Candia

28. One of the major commercial centres of the Eastern Mediterranean, Candia attracted French merchants throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1659–60, French naval forces also arrived in the area to assist the Venetians in Candia. See Setton, *Venice*, 189–90; Greene, “Victims of Piracy?”; Dermitzaki, *Shrines*, 146–228.

29. Greene, *Shared World*, 17–18.

30. McKee, “Inherited Status and Slavery.”

31. See Setton, *Venice*, 114–16, 141–42, 164, 189–90.

32. On Jewish life in Candia under Venetian rule, see Arbel, “Jews and Christians”; Papadia-Lala, “Jews.”

33. Benayahu, *Relations*, 44–72.

34. Carpi, “L'attività della Cassa,” 129; Roth, *Anglo-Jewish Letters*, 76–78.

may have decided to turn to their Tuscan coreligionists rather than to the Jewish community in Venice, because Venetian authorities were less likely to oppose the sexual exploitation of a domestic slave in Crete, where slaveholders' impregnation of their enslaved servants was no novelty.³⁵

Whenever enslaved Jews were brought to a Mediterranean port city, the local Jewish community was tasked with helping them to regain their freedom. The efforts usually focused on raising the sums required for redeeming the Jews in question, with the assistance of other communities. For this purpose, early modern Jews created a broad transnational ransoming network, whose central hub was Livorno.³⁶ Ransoming slaves fell under the category of *pidyon shevuyim* (the redemption of captives), defined in Judaism as facilitating the liberation of Jews held prisoners by non-Jews. Classified in the Babylonian Talmud as *mitzvah rabbah*, one of the foremost religious commandments, it was traditionally considered one of the most important expressions of Jewish solidarity.³⁷ Structures for facilitating the redemption of captives were already institutionalized in Jewish communities of the pirate-ridden Mediterranean in the late sixteenth century and continued to grow in the early seventeenth century.³⁸ The high number of Jews who were captured during the Cossack–Polish War (1648–57) and sold in Mediterranean slave markets in the mid-seventeenth century tightened the ties connecting Jewish communities, whose members collaborated in fundraising endeavours for redeeming enslaved Jews.³⁹

As noted earlier, Regolino and Martini listed only two Jews in the account that they sent to Cardi shortly after the *Tripoline's* seizure, omitting the Jewish family whose plight is underscored in Franco's supplication.⁴⁰ As was common among ship captains involved in the business of Mediterranean piracy, the Livornese corsairs were eager to maximize their profits.⁴¹ They thus attempted to keep some of the enslaved individuals from Longland's vessel unreported so that they would not have to share all the gains expected from their sale or

35. See McKee, "Inherited Status and Slavery," 31–44.

36. Teller, *Rescue the Surviving Souls*, 116–17.

37. Bashan, *Captivity and Ransom*; Rozen, *Mediterranean*.

38. Rozen, "Redemption of Jewish Captives."

39. Teller, *Rescue the Surviving Souls*, 117–22.

40. ASFi, MP, 2431, fol. 218r; 2432, fol. 300r.

41. Cancila, "Corsa e pirateria"; Teller, *Rescue the Surviving Souls*, 116.

redemption with the man who funded their expedition.⁴² Like other experienced corsairs, Regolino and Martini were doubtlessly aware of the exorbitant sums that could be extracted from Jewish communities for the ransom of their coreligionists,⁴³ so when they arrived in Candia, they put Vida's parents up for ransom, while Regolino kept the girl to himself. Since Franco emphasizes Vida's imprisonment in a private residence, at Regolino's orders, it is unlikely that she was able to contact Jews in Candia herself. Her concerned parents may have done so, either before or after their own redemption.

Franco's letter indicates that Regolino persisted in refusing to agree to Vida's ransom for a year and a half. In this way, the corsair could continue to rape Vida as he pleased. His assaults led to her impregnation, and after she gave birth, Regolino also exploited her bodily capacities for breastfeeding the child. Thus, although the primary motivation for the sexual violence in this case was Regolino's lust, keeping the young Jew at his service also entailed other kinds of exploitation.⁴⁴

Franco concluded his letter with the hope that the Grand Duke of Tuscany ask Cardi to instruct Regolino, "and whoever else" is needed to make sure that the Livornese corsair complied with this order, to agree to the liberation of "this poor afflicted" girl.⁴⁵ Franco's assertion that even if this came to pass, Vida's honour would remain "forever imprisoned," alluded to the tragic fate

42. Jews may have been particularly vulnerable to attempts of fraud on the part of enslaving Italian captains; see Zazzu, *Sepharad Addio*, 130; Luzzati, "Ebrei schiavi," 707.

43. See Bashan, *Captivity and Ransom*, 215; Fontenay, "Il mercato maltese," 401; Herzig, "Slavery."

44. For women breastfeeding their enslaved children, whom they bore under slavery, see Arillotta, "Schiavi e schiavotte," 282–83. The exploitation of enslaved women's bodies for breastfeeding their slavers' offspring is also documented for late seventeenth-century Tuscany in Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede [hereafter ACDF], Stanza Storica, CC 1-a, fols. 82r–87v. For the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Gavitt, *Charity and Children*, 162–98; Stella, "Des esclaves"; McKee, "Domestic Slavery," 320. See also, on late medieval Iberia, Winer, "Enslaved Wet Nurse."

45. ASFi, MP, 2432, fol. 300r (supplication of Moise Franco, sent to Ferdinando Bardi, 20 June 1659): "Intendo che il mede[s]imo Cap[ita]no Cardi va costi, e che sia benissimo informato del fatto e per essere persona da bene e generoso tengho per certo che con il minimo cenno di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma comanderà al capitano Regolino e a chi più ocorra in modo talle che resti libera quella povera afflita" (I understand that the same Captain Cardi is going there, and that he is very well informed about this and for being an honest and generous person, I believe that with the smallest signal from Your Most Illustrious Lordship he will order Captain Regolino and whoever else needs [to be ordered] in such a way that this poor afflicted [girl] remains free).

awaiting formerly enslaved women who had been impregnated by their slavers. Studies have recognized rape under captivity, especially when resulting in pregnancies—which provided undeniable evidence for its occurrence—as a kind of “slow murder,” which maims survivors not only physically and emotionally but also socially by turning them into outcasts shunned by their own native communities and their families.⁴⁶

The Jews of Candia, as well as those in Livorno, were clearly aware that for Jewish girls and women known to have been raped under captivity, the chances of contracting a marriage were extremely low. As Adam Teller observes, in the seventeenth century, female Jewish survivors of rape under captivity were doomed to a life of destitution and loneliness.⁴⁷ In Vida’s case, she would have also been separated from her daughter upon her liberation, since the children born under slavery in Catholic Europe were baptized at birth, irrespective of the wishes of their mothers, so the girl was bound to remain at the household of her Catholic father.⁴⁸ Cognizant of this fact, not only local Jews but—at least according to Franco—also Hospitaller corsairs nonetheless assumed that Vida would be better off free and separated from her child, as this would bring an end to the sexual slavery to which Regolino was subjecting her. Franco’s mention of the Knights of Malta was meant to emphasize Regolino’s excessive cruelty, even according to the standards of professional Catholic slavers, which justified the Grand Duke’s intervention in securing Vida’s liberation.⁴⁹

No further documentation about Vida has come to light so far. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that Franco’s letter moved Ferdinando II to intervene in favour of a foreign Jewish woman. Catholic corsairs were allowed to enslave any non-Christian that they captured at sea, including Jews.⁵⁰ In premodern Tuscany, individuals who were legally enslaved were considered to be goods

46. Arrabal Ward, “Significance of Wartime Rape,” 206. See also Diken and Bagge Laustsen, “Becoming Abject,” 111–28; Lamb, *Our Bodies*, 9.

47. Teller, *Rescue the Surviving Souls*, 180–90, 290. See also Salmon-Mack, “Captive Jewish Women”; Benayahu, *Relations*, 41; Bashan, *Captivity and Ransom*, 141–42, 166.

48. Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery*, 95; Minnich, “Catholic Church,” 291; Poutrin, “La captation,” 52–59. In Venetian Crete, Regolino’s child would have also inherited the status of her free Catholic father (McKee, “Inherited Status and Slavery,” 31–44).

49. On perceptions of excessive violence towards enslaved individuals that was classified as abuse, see Epstein, “Late Medieval Lawyer,” 56; Toledano, *As If Silent*, 80–82; Herzig, “Slavery.”

50. See Frattarelli-Fischer, “Il bagno delle galere,” 78–87; Salzmann, “Migrants in Chains.”

that belonged to their enslavers, who could exploit their bodies as they saw fit.⁵¹ The only grounds for ordering Regolino's liberation of Vida would have been by declaring the illegality of the *Tripoline's* capture, which the Grand Duke persistently refrained from doing. Giovan Francesco Cardi was a long-standing Medici protegee who exercised considerable influence at the Tuscan court, so Ferdinando II was generally reluctant to intervene in matters involving the contested seizure of Longland's ship.⁵²

Longland repeatedly attempted to convince the Grand Duke to facilitate the compensation for his losses, as well as the liberation of all the captives that Regolino and Martini had seized in 1658.⁵³ The English merchant even got the Lord Protector of the English Commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell (r. 1653–58), to write to Ferdinando II on his behalf. Shortly before his death in September 1658, Cromwell sent two protests to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, asking for the restitution of Longland's possessions and the immediate release of all the captives caught on board the *Tripoline*. Cromwell's protests, too, were to no avail. Despite a lengthy litigation, first in Candia and then in Livorno, Longland was never fully compensated for the depredation of the *Tripoline*.⁵⁴ It is thus also improbable that the Jewish girl, whom Regolino captured on board this ship, was ever liberated.

“As a servant, a slave, and perhaps a prostitute”

As Vida's fate makes clear, even though enslavement was justified in the seventeenth century as a key element in Christianity's confrontation with Islam, adhering to the Jewish faith did not protect female Jews enslaved by Catholic

51. Angiolini, “Schiave,” 108–11; Stella, “Des esclaves”; Zhang, “Rethinking ‘Domestic Enemies,’” 413–15; Lowe, *Provenance and Possession*, 89–90, 196.

52. Villani, “Le lettere,” 713.

53. ASFi, MP, 2431, fol. 572 (letter of Charles Longland to Ferdinando Bardi, 4 September 1658): “Aspetto con gran desiderio qualche buona nuova della nave Tripolina predata dai vascelli del Capitano Cardi che compiacesse a S.A.S di comandare la restitutione e liberatione de' huomini” (I am eagerly awaiting some good news about the Tripolina ship, seized by the vessels of Captain Cardi, [and] that it should please His Most Serene Highness to order its restitution and the liberation of the men). See also ASFi, MP, 2431, fols. 463 (letter of Charles Longland to Ferdinando Bardi, 24 July 1658), 708 (letter of Charles Longland to Ferdinando Bardi, 20 November 1658).

54. Villani, “Le lettere,” 731–33, 762–65.

corsairs from severe sexual violence. Nor did it safeguard Catholic women who were captured by armed groups fighting in the name of the Venetian Republic during the War of Candia and then sold in Italian cities from sexual abuse. During the 1650s, enslaved female Christians from the Balkans, who were passed off as Muslims, were trafficked to Venice, Genoa, Livorno, Florence, Naples, Lecce, Bari, Trani, Messina, and Palermo.⁵⁵

The demand for young Slavic and Albanian women in the Italian peninsula and islands was high in the late Middle Ages, and the trade in enslaved females from the Balkans never entirely stopped.⁵⁶ During the War of Candia, the slaver Peppo di Gingi da Carnevale bought fourteen Christian girls from the Balkans, while the slave trader Andrea Cuccumlet purchased twelve of them.⁵⁷ Contemporaries assumed that at least some of these young women were trafficked for the purpose of forced sexual labour.⁵⁸ Thus, when in 1666 the heirs of Gabriele Vitale in Naples persisted in refusing to free the enslaved Christian Caterina Stieпов of Spič, the missionary Fra Donato Jelich (Jelić, d. c. 1676) assumed that this was because they wished to keep her “as a servant, a slave, and perhaps a prostitute.”⁵⁹ Fra Donato eventually succeeded in proving that he had baptized Caterina himself back in Spič, known in Italian as Spizza (now Sutomore, in Montenegro), prior to her enslavement. Caterina was eventually liberated, but only in 1670.⁶⁰

55. Jačov, “La vendita,” 258–61; Boccadamo, *Napoli e l’Islam*, 206–7; Bennassar, “L’esclavage des femmes,” 143–45.

56. For the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Verlinden, “Le recrutement des esclaves,” 174–78; Insabato, “La donna slava,” 184–85; Pinelli, “From Dubrovnik.” On the sixteenth century, see Tria, “La schiavitù in Liguria,” 235–36; Olgiati and Zappia, “Catalogo,” 150. For the seventeenth century, see Arillotta, “Schiavi e schiavotte,” 271, 277; Nappi, “Il commercio degli schiavi”; Oldrati, “Margarita *alias* Arabia”; Tarlo, “Brindisi,” 50–54; Loi, “Schiavi musulmani,” 72; and see below.

57. Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide [hereafter ASPF], Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 302, fols. 179r–180v (letter of Fra Donato Jelich to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, 14 June 1659).

58. On enslaved prostitution in premodern Italy, see Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery*, 95; Angiolini, “Schiave,” 109.

59. “per serva, schiava e forse per puttana.” Fra Donato Jelich, quoted in Boccadamo, *Napoli e l’Islam*, 208.

60. Boccadamo, *Napoli e l’Islam*, 209. Caterina, known as Cate, daughter of Nico Stieпов, is included in Fra Donato Jelich’s “Nota d’alcuni Christiani, nati delli Christiani, battezzati, pertinenti, chi alla

The slave merchant Captain Alonso, “the Spaniard” from Naples, owned three enslaved Christians from the Balkans, including Jehla from Ghuhidoo in Montenegro and her young child.⁶¹ In 1659, Captain Alonso decided to sell Jehla to “Donna Teresa Sosa, a whore (*meretrice*).”⁶² Tellingly, of the three enslaved individuals in Captain Alonso’s possession, Donna Teresa selected Jehla, who was described as a “beautiful young woman” (*una bella donzella*).⁶³ It is quite logical to assume that Donna Teresa, who is identified as a sex worker in a document recording her ownership of Jehla, purchased a woman of notable physical beauty in order to force her into prostitution. Female slaveholders in other slaving societies, such as the early modern Caribbean or the nineteenth-century American South, are known to have exploited the bodies of enslaved women for financial purposes.⁶⁴ Nothing else is known about Jehla, except that six years later, in 1665, she still languished in Palermo as Donna Teresa’s slave.⁶⁵

“He coerced her as if she were a Turk”

Women who were trafficked to the Italian peninsula during the War of Candia and were not coerced into enslaved prostitution suffered other forms of sexual violence. One case of enduring abuse and forced pregnancy involved Lucia, a

Romana, et chi alla Greca, presi, et portati in Regno per schiavi” (1665), in ASPF, Fondo di Vienna, vol. 5, fols. 269r–273v.

61. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 302, fol. 168r (letter of Fra Donato Jelich to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, 15 February 1659).

62. Fra Donato Jelich, “Nota d’alcuni Christiani,” in ASPF, Fondo di Vienna, vol. 5, fol. 269v: “Jela da Ghuhido, venduta dall’Capitano Alonzo Spagnuolo a Donna Teresa Sosa, meretrice, è a Palermo” (Jela of Ghuhido, sold by Captain Alonso the Spaniard to Donna Teresa Sosa, a whore, is in Palermo).

63. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 302, fol. 168r (letter of Fra Donato Jelich to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, 15 February 1659): “Alonzo Spagnuolo, in strada di Toledo, il quale n’ha 3 [...] essendo una bella donzella con un putto da Ghluhido di Monte Negro, et un mio parente da Spizza” (Alonso the Spaniard, in Toledo Street, who has three of them [...] namely a beautiful young woman with a child from Ghluhido of Montenegro, and a relative of mine from Spizza).

64. See Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 46–69; Jones-Rogers, “Rethinking Sexual Violence”; Bono, *Schiavi*, 144–45. For Mediterranean Europe, see also Bennassar, “L’esclavage des femmes,” 137.

65. Fra Donato Jelich, “Nota d’alcuni Christiani,” in ASPF, Fondo di Vienna, vol. 5, fols. 269r–273v. For human bondage in Palermo, see Franchina, “Un censimento di schiavi”; Giuffrida, “Schiavitù”; De Lucia, “Space”; Fiume, *Il Santo Moro*. On the presence of enslaved women from the Balkans in seventeenth-century Palermo, see Oldrati, “Margarita *alias* Arabia.”

young Bosnian woman who was captured by an armed group fighting in the service of the Venetian Republic and sold in Venice as a Muslim in the late 1650s. The Genoese artisan Agostino Bazzicalupo purchased Lucia “for seventy pieces of eight.”⁶⁶ Ignoring her claims that she was a Christian, he brought Lucia to Genoa, where he turned her into his sex slave.⁶⁷

The Genoese had played a leading role in the Mediterranean slave trade since the fourteenth century.⁶⁸ Hence, enslaved females from Eastern Europe, the Crimea, the Balkans, and other slaving regions were regularly present in late medieval Genoa, where domestic slavery formed an uncontested part of everyday life.⁶⁹ Historians have underscored the habitual sexual exploitation, which lay at the heart of Genoese slaving practices at the height of the Black Sea trade in enslaved women, during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.⁷⁰ Scholarship on human bondage in early modern Genoa is considerably less developed than that on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and has so far focused mostly on male galley slavery,⁷¹ which became the dominant form of bondage in this port city in the sixteenth century.⁷² Nonetheless, Paolo Fontana, Giustina Olgiati, and Andrea Zappia have recently noted the continuous presence of enslaved women in early modern Genoa.⁷³ The well-documented case of Bazzicalupo’s repeated raping of an enslaved woman attests to the persistence of late medieval patterns in the sexual violence inflicted by Genoese slaveholders well into the second half of the seventeenth century, and to their widespread social acceptability.

66. ASPF, Acta, vol. 34, fol. 46.

67. Lucia’s enslavement was first noted in Jačov, “La vendita,” 261 (a study based on documentation from the ASPF, but not from the ACDF).

68. Salonia, *Genoa’s Freedom*, 9–18; Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise*.

69. See Tria, “La schiavitù in Liguria”; Gioffrè, *Il mercato*; Olgiati, “‘La città.’”

70. Pistarino, “Tra liberi e schiave”; Balard, “La femme esclave”; Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery*, 64; Barker, “Risk of Birth.”

71. Ana Howie suggests that this may reflect the paucity of extant sources pertaining to Genoese enslavement in the early modern era (Howie, “Materializing the Global,” 619–22).

72. Lo Basso, *Uomini da remo*, 206–311; Zappia, *Mercanti di uomini*; “In the Sign”; Virga, *Vita e lavoro*.

73. Fontana, “Il maleficio”; “Cartari”; Zappia, *Il miraggio del Levante*, 85; Olgiati and Zappia, “Catalogo,” 149–50, 172–74, 177–78. The presence of enslaved women in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Genoa is also noted in Lisciandrelli, *Trattati e negoziazioni politiche*, 195; Tria, “La schiavitù in Liguria,” 222–24, 227–38, 240–42, 248–49, 253.

Like Giuliano Regolino in Candia, Bazzicalupo impregnated the enslaved woman that he owned and, after she delivered a baby, continued to hold her under close watch. As part of his efforts to keep her detained in his house, Bazzicalupo prevented Lucia even from going to church to receive the sacraments, as the owners of baptized slaves were required to do.⁷⁴ Despite her forced confinement, in 1659 two Observant Franciscan missionaries, Fra Marco from Bosna Srebrena (Bosna Argentina) and Fra Isacco “of Schiavonia” (a generic term for Slavic lands, usually used to designate the Western Balkans) managed to talk to her. The two, who were assigned to Genoa for the purpose of converting Muslims captured in the Balkans who resided in the city,⁷⁵ identified themselves as friars “of the same language” as Lucia.⁷⁶

Like other enslaved domestic servants in the early modern Mediterranean, especially women who were captured at a young age, Lucia would have had to have become at least partially fluent in the language of her enslaver shortly after he had acquired her.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, the two missionaries, who later described Lucia’s sexual slavery in a letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (hereafter “Propaganda Fide”), made it a point to affirm that they spoke her native tongue. This emphasis was, perhaps, meant to explain their commitment to helping a Christian compatriot. Indeed, when the Propaganda Fide forwarded their letter to the Congregation of the Holy Office, the missive that accompanied it identified Lucia as a woman who was “of the same nation” as the friars who came to her aid.⁷⁸ “Nations” (*nationes*) was how the officials of

74. ACDF, Decreta S.O. 123 (1665), fols. 43v–44r. On this obligation, see Minnich, “Catholic Church,” 293.

75. As Fra Marco noted in ASPE, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 306, fol. 79 (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, 15 May 1665).

76. ASPE, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fols. 117r–118v (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia and Fra Isacco “of Schiavonia” to the Propaganda Fide, 28 February 1661): “trovandosi qui in Genova noi 3 frati minori oss[ervan]ti del medemo linguaggio di d[et]ta Lucia” (finding ourselves here in Genoa we, three Minor Observant friars of the same language of the aforementioned Lucia). Although the letter refers to three friars, only Fra Marco and Fra Isacco signed it, so it is unclear whether a third missionary was actually involved in the attempts to assist Lucia. I consulted the original letter, which is also reproduced in Jačov, *Le missioni Cattoliche*, 2:180–81.

77. On the link between female enslavement and multilingualism in the early modern Mediterranean, see the illuminating discussion in Dursteler, “Language and Gender,” 12–16.

78. ASPE, Lettere, vol. 46, fol. 287: “Due Min[ori] Oss[ervan]ti Bosnesi con l[ett]era scritta da Genova hanno rappres[enta]to à questa S[acra] C[ongregazione] che [...] li sopradetti Religiosi delli quali, per

the Propaganda Fide designated the different peoples in need of evangelization in their various native tongues.⁷⁹

But the two missionaries' own mention of the common language that they and Lucia spoke also alludes to a situation in which she capitalized on her mastery of a non-Italian language as a means to find a way out of her imprisonment in her slaver's abode. Speaking in her native tongue, which neither Bazzicalupo nor other members of his household or his Genoese acquaintances understood, she was able to tell the two foreign friars that "she was constrained by her master" to have sexual relations with him,⁸⁰ that she gave birth to his child, and that Bazzicalupo hindered her fulfillment of her religious duties as a Catholic. The last piece of information was particularly important, because it concerned the salvation of a Christian woman's soul and thus justified the intervention of ecclesiastical authorities in Genoa.

Fra Marco and Fra Isacco therefore turned to the inquisitor, Agostino Cermelli (1593–1679), and to the archbishop's vicar in Genoa, asking them to have Lucia's background investigated so that she could be recognized as a native Catholic.⁸¹ They approached the inquisitor five times and the archiepiscopal vicar twice, but the two persisted in refusing to look into the spiritual matter of Lucia's confessional affiliation prior to her enslavement.⁸² In February 1661, Fra Isacco and Fra Marco therefore sent a letter recounting these events to the Propaganda Fide.⁸³ The friars insisted that Lucia's owner, because "he coerced her as if she were a Turk" to have sexual relations with him, "deserves to be punished, since she is a Christian, he has to grant her freedom as well as her dowry for having given birth, and she confesses that it is the son of the aforementioned Signore Agostino Bazzicalupo, and the said Signore Agostino

quanto si raccoglie dalla l[ette]ra è la detta Donna nazionale" (two Minor Observant Bosnian friars, with a letter written from Genoa, informed this Sacred Congregation that [...] the aforementioned friars of whom, as is gathered from the letter, the said woman is of the same nation).

79. Pizzorusso, *Propaganda Fide*, 54–55, 69–70.

80. "che fusse sforzata dal suo Padrone." ASPE, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 118v.

81. Cermelli filled the office of inquisitor in Genoa in 1652–61 (Zappia, *Il miraggio del Levante*, 63n81).

82. ASPE, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fols. 117r–118v (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia and Fra Isacco "of Schiavonia" to the Propaganda Fide, 28 February 1661).

83. On the operation of this post-Tridentine institution, see Pizzorusso, *Propaganda Fide*.

also confessed to us that he knew she was a Christian, and he confessed that he had gotten her pregnant with the child.”⁸⁴

The problem was not that the Genoese artisan impregnated an enslaved woman. Since he had legally purchased Lucia as a slave, she became his property. Like Regolino, Bazzicalupo could not be punished for either raping his enslaved woman or getting her pregnant. In Genoa, just as in Candia, the increase in the number of enslaved women in the last centuries of the Middle Ages was accompanied by the rising number of “natural” children fathered by local slaveholders.⁸⁵ In 1375, Genoa’s civil and criminal statutes stipulated the punishments to be meted on men other than an enslaved woman’s owner for having raped her. Yet the sexual exploitation of enslaved women aroused concerns only when offenders did not have the owner’s consent to rape, which could cause the health hazards associated with pregnancy and childbirth, so was considered a harm to an enslaver’s human property. Tellingly, the Genoese statutes, which were reaffirmed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, made no mention of the sexual coercion of enslaved females by their legally acknowledged owners. Neither rape nor impregnation by a woman’s enslaver was designated as a punishable crime in early modern Genoa.⁸⁶

As Hannah Barker has demonstrated, impregnation by slaveholders was regarded in Genoa as a legitimate way of securing the existence of a male heir. While Genoese men valued the reproductive labour of enslaved women as a contribution to their patriarchal lineages, they also wished to safeguard what they saw as their private property. Hence, in the fifteenth century they developed the use of life insurance for enslaved females to balance the economic loss in the case of death as a result of pregnancy or labour complications.⁸⁷ In light of these deep-rooted Genoese traditions, it is not surprising that when Lucia

84. “Lui per haverla sforzata come Turcha merita la pena, come Christiana le si deve dare la libertà e la sua dote per haver partorita: et confessa che sia il Bambino del d[et]to Sig[no]r Agostino Bazzica Lupo, et il d[et]to Sig[no]r Agostino ci è confessato anco, che conosceva che ella sia Christiana, et hà confessato che le habbia fatto il Bambino.” ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fols. 117r–118v (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia and Fra Isacco “of Schiavonia” to the Propaganda Fide, 28 February 1661).

85. McKee, “Inherited Status and Slavery,” 48–53.

86. Savelli, “Statuti e amministrazione,” 350–51, 369n25; Epstein, “Late Medieval Lawyer,” 56–58; *Speaking of Slavery*, 64, 106; Salvi, “Donne, schiave e concubine,” 200–201.

87. Barker, “Risk of Birth.” See also Balletto, “Stranieri e forestieri,” 274–75; Angiolini, “Schiave,” 108–11.

gave birth to a boy, Bazzicalupo acknowledged his paternity of the child—who could become his heir if he did not have other surviving male children at the time of his death—even though he continued to consider the enslaved mother as his property.

Despite their similarities, there was a major difference between Regolino's raping of Vida in the Venetian colony in Candia and Bazzicalupo's sexual violence against Lucia in Genoa. If the Bosnian woman was indeed a born Catholic, Bazzicalupo could not own her as a slave, because a Christian was not allowed to enslave another native Christian.⁸⁸ This meant that the Genoese artisan had not been raping his enslaved woman but a free Catholic, a crime for which he had to compensate his victim.⁸⁹ Hence, Fra Marco and Fra Isacco demanded that Bazzicalupo not only manumit Lucia but also pay for having deflowered her—as raping a virgin gravely impacted her marital prospects—by providing her with a dowry, which would somewhat offset what was commonly perceived as a severe damage to a maiden's honour.⁹⁰

The friars' affirmation that Bazzicalupo had coerced Lucia to have sex with him and then to give birth to his child, "as if she were a Turk," points to the prevalence of expropriating the bodies and reproductive capacities of enslaved Muslim women in Mediterranean Catholic Europe in the seventeenth century. Indeed, the phenomenon was so common that it usually goes unnoticed in extant documentation, except for the occasional mention of children who were born as a result of enslaved women's sexual exploitation in the testaments of their enslaving fathers.⁹¹ Thus, the Livornese Francesco Barbieri, who had participated in corsairing wars against the Ottoman Turks and kept some of the human spoils for himself, mentioned the children that two of the enslaved "Turkish" women in his possession bore him in the testament that he redacted in 1693.⁹²

88. Santus, *Il 'Turco' a Livorno*, 92–108; Polono, "Chiesa e schiavitù." On the partial implementation of this ideal in the late Middle Ages, see Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise*, 39–60. For Atlantic slavery, see Poutrin, "L'esclavage normalisé."

89. Salvi, "Donne, schiave e concubine," 200–201.

90. Cohen, "No Longer Virgins." See also Klapisch-Zuber, "Women Servants," 70–73.

91. On the prevalent sexual exploitation of enslaved female Muslims by their Christian slavers and the fears that it provoked in the early modern era, see Dursteler, "Slavery and Sexual Peril," 479–84.

92. Pera, *Curiosità*, 145–46; Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo*, 61.

Like Giuliano Regolino, Agostino Bazzicalupo was not an upper-class merchant, but he was well connected, and powerful men intervened in his favour.⁹³ With their assistance, the Genoese artisan succeeded in influencing both the inquisitor and the vicar of the archbishop in Genoa so that “they do not carry out justice, and he does not lose the money that he spent on the said Lucia.”⁹⁴ We see two main motivations for enslaved women’s exploitation at work here: not just an outlet for the slaver’s sexual drive but also his financial investment. After acquiring an enslaved woman, her owner could exploit her unpaid domestic service while also satisfying his sexual desire whenever he wished, at no cost and without incurring a punishment. Bazzicalupo had no intention of giving up the woman he had purchased as a slave, even after she gave birth to a boy who could become his own heir.

At the peak of the Christian–Muslim conflict of the seventeenth century, the highest Church officials in Genoa did not challenge Bazzicalupo’s rationale and did not heed to the missionaries’ requests to examine Lucia’s faith. This comportment was typical of both inquisitorial and archiepiscopal authorities in Genoa, who were known for their avoidance of discord with Genoese state representatives or prominent citizens. The archbishops of Genoa usually preferred to reside elsewhere, leaving their vicars in charge of handling local affairs, and these vicars were naturally reluctant to undertake measures that were bound to provoke the opposition of leading Genoese families. As for the inquisitors of Genoa, whenever their pursuits seemed to run counter to the interests of the Ligurian Republic or its powerful citizens, they were unceremoniously banished from the city.⁹⁵

In 1661, the Dominican friar Michele Pio Passi (d. 1686) replaced Agostino Cermelli as inquisitor of Genoa, but he continued to disregard the claims that Lucia was not really a Muslim and should thus be freed.⁹⁶ The Bosnian

93. Fra Marco mentions one of Bazzicalupo’s influential “friends” in ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 306, fol. 78 (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia to Cardinal Antonio Barberini, 3 May 1665).

94. “adesso ha subordinato Inquisitore et il Vicario del Arcivescovo che non faccino la giustitia; acciò lui non perda il denaro speso per la d[ett]a Lucia.” ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fols. 117r–118v (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia and Fra Isacco “of Schiavonia” to the Propaganda Fide, 28 February 1661).

95. Zunckel, “Tra Bodin e la Madonna,” 186–90.

96. Incidentally, Inquisitor Passi ultimately failed in his attempts not to provoke the discontent of republican authorities. In 1669, he was banished from Genoa following a scandalous conflict over

woman remained in the home of her rapist slaver for four more years, but Fra Marco did not desist from his efforts to get her out of there. On 24 February 1665, he re-sent a copy of the original letter about Lucia (from 1661) to the Propaganda Fide in the hope of getting the congregation to do something about her continuous maltreatment.⁹⁷ The cardinals of the Propaganda Fide decided to turn the matter of the Christian, who had been “sold as a slave, presumed to be a Turk” (read, Muslim), and then raped (*stuprata*) and impregnated, to the Congregation of the Holy Office.⁹⁸ Fra Marco’s letter was read to the cardinals of the Holy Office when they convened on 11 March 1665, and they decided to order Inquisitor Passi to examine Lucia.⁹⁹ After receiving these orders from Rome, Passi finally had to have Lucia’s religious background investigated.¹⁰⁰

On 7 May 1665 Lucia underwent an inquisitorial examination. She affirmed that she was a baptized Catholic and demonstrated sufficient knowledge of the tenets of the faith. Nonetheless, when the Congregation of the Holy Office discussed her case in its meeting of 3 June, it decided that a proof of her baptism back in her home parish was needed to determine that the “captive slave” (*serva captiva*) had, in fact, been a Christian prior to her enslavement.¹⁰¹ In his study of the enslavement of Orthodox Christians in Livorno, Cesare Santus has noted the gendered disadvantage that women enslaved in Eastern Europe and the Balkans faced in their attempts to convince inquisitorial authorities in Italy that they had been illegally captured. The uncircumcised bodies of adult men from the Ottoman Empire could reinforce their claims that they had not been Muslims before their enslavement. Women, in contrast, depended on the

jurisdictional matters (Zappia, *Il miraggio del Levante*, 72n117).

97. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 306, fol. 77 (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia to the Propaganda Fide, 26 February 1665).

98. ASPF, Acta, vol. 34, fol. 46: “essendo stata rubbata nei confini di Venetia una donna chiamata Lucia, è stata poi venduta per schiava come Turca ad Agostino Bazzicalupo Genovese, dal quale fù comprata in Venetia per 70 pezzi da otto, et havendola egli condotta à Genova, l’ha ivi stuprata, e ne hà havuto un figliolo” (a woman named Lucia, having been abducted at the borders of Venice, was later sold as a slave, presumed to be a Turk [read, Muslim] to the Genoese Agostino Bazzicalupo, by whom she was purchased in Venice for seventy pieces of eight, and having brought her to Genoa, he raped her there, and had a male child from her).

99. ACDF, Decreta S.O. 123 (1665), fols. 43v–44r.

100. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 306, fol. 78 (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia to the Propaganda Fide, 3 May 1665).

101. ACDF, Decreta S.O. 123 (1665), fol. 90r.

availability of supporting documents, such as baptism registers—that were often impossible to obtain from parishes rampaged in recent raids or conquered by Muslims—or on reliable witnesses who could confirm that they had always been Christian.¹⁰²

While the enslaved Jew Vida was helped by her coreligionists in Candia and Livorno, most of the Catholics who knew of Lucia's abuse in Genoa did not attempt to aid the foreign-born woman. The only Catholics to do so were friars who, like Lucia, hailed from the Western Balkans and spoke her language. As in the case of Caterina Stieпов from Spič who received assistance from her compatriot Fra Donato Jelich, Lucia was supported primarily by a Bosnian friar who felt solidarity with an enslaved woman from his native land. Fra Marco was so unrelenting in his efforts to free Lucia of her sexual slavery that, as he lamented in a letter to the Propaganda Fide, it eventually led to his reassignment to Brescia, at the instigation of one of Bazzicalupo's potent allies in Genoa.¹⁰³

In his letters to Rome, Fra Marco emphasized the religious motivation for assisting Lucia, citing "the miserable woman [who] cries out, saying only 'Fathers, help me, [help] my soul, I am a slave in my own faith and am not allowed to receive the most holy sacraments of the Holy Roman Church.'"¹⁰⁴ The spiritual, rather than physical, torments that the enslaver inflicted on the Bosnian woman were indeed what prompted the reaction of the Congregation of the Holy Office. In its two discussions of Lucia's enslavement, the sexual violence to which Bazzicalupo subjected her was completely silenced. The abuse of Lucia's body and the physical pain that she suffered did not interest the cardinals. What they worried about was the spiritual damage caused by her detainment in Bazzicalupo's home, which could endanger the salvation of her soul. They wanted to ascertain whether Lucia's enslavement was canonically licit and to ensure that if she had indeed been enslaved despite being a baptized Catholic, she would be able to receive the sacraments.¹⁰⁵

102. Santus, "Other Slaves of Livorno." See also Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam*, 218.

103. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 306, fols. 76r-78v (letters of Fra Marco of Bosnia to the Propaganda Fide, 3 May and 13 July 1665).

104. "La poverina non esclama altro, solo dicendo Padri aiutatemi la mia anima, io sono schiava nella mia fede et non mi lasciano exequir li S[antissi]mi Sacramenti di S[anta] Chiesa Romana." ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fols. 117r-118v (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia and Fra Isacco "of Schiavonia" to the Propaganda Fide, 28 February 1661).

105. ACDE, Decreta S.O. 123 (1665), fols. 43v-44r, 90r.

In August 1665, the Propaganda Fide sent two additional dispatches, one to Inquisitor Passi and the other to the archbishop of Genoa, Giambattista Spinola the Elder (1615–1704), asking them to provide a detailed report about the investigation of Lucia's baptism and inform the congregation about the final decision in her case.¹⁰⁶ Whether this was ever done remains uncertain. Most of the holdings of the Inquisition's tribunal in Genoa were lost following the fall of the Genoese Republic in 1797,¹⁰⁷ and I have not found subsequent mentions of the enslaved woman in the decrees of the Congregation of the Holy Office from 1666–70, or in the correspondence of the Propaganda Fide. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the Propaganda Fide refused to intervene in the matter of Fra Marco's assignment to Brescia, which he presented as an attempt to distance him from Genoa, thereby hindering his efforts to help Lucia.¹⁰⁸ The decision not to favour the Bosnian friar's request suggests that the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide were not willing to go any further in helping Fra Marco or the enslaved compatriot, whom he had struggled to free from sexual slavery. The Franciscan missionary previously affirmed that he had known Lucia's family back in Bosnia and confirmed that her parents were Catholic. With her main supporter now kept away from Genoa, and in light of her enslaver's formidable connections in this city, Lucia's liberation seems unlikely.¹⁰⁹

**“Keeping the supplicant confined, [he] married her off to a Black slave,
from whom she had three children”**

In 1667, another enslaved woman, named Anna de Paula, addressed a supplication to the pope, disclosing an additional form of sexual violence inflicted on enslaved females in the Italian peninsula.¹¹⁰ Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–67)

106. ASPE, Lettere, vol. 46, fols. 288v–289r (letters of the Propaganda Fide to the inquisitor of Genoa and the archbishop of Genoa, 22 August 1665).

107. Zappia, *Il miraggio del Levante*, 63–64.

108. ASPE, Acta, vol. 34, fol. 170.

109. Jačov, “La vendita,” 261, implies that Lucia was never liberated. As Cesare Santus has shown for seventeenth-century Livorno, women whose enslavers were socially vulnerable (notably Jews, converts, or Protestants) had a greater chance of convincing ecclesiastical authorities of their Christian background than those owned by established Catholic slavers (Santus, “Other Slaves of Livorno”).

110. On human bondage in early modern Naples, see Boccadamo, “Tra Croce e Mezzaluna”; *Napoli e l'Islam*; “A Napoli”; Mazur, “Combating ‘Mohammedan Indecency’”; Filioli Uranio and Sabatini,

passed the supplication on to Niccolò Albergati Ludovisi (1608–87), one of the four cardinals charged with the Propaganda Fide's missions in the Italian peninsula.¹¹¹ Albergati Ludovisi presented the supplication of Anna, who was also known as “Anna Ruthena,” in the congregation's meeting of 26 April 1667.¹¹² According to this supplication, Anna was a Catholic who had been captured in Poland.¹¹³ Her captors were Muslims of the Tatar Khanate, which was a semi-vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. During the Cossack–Polish War (or Ukrainian Cossack Uprising), these Muslim Tatars were allied with the Cossacks, who rebelled against the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.¹¹⁴

The Crimean Tatars, who regularly engaged in large-scale slave raids in the Christian regions of Eastern Europe, transported their human prey from the war to Turkish slave markets.¹¹⁵ The captors were particularly interested in beautiful young women, for whom demand in the Ottoman Empire was especially high. Like numerous other Christian and Jewish girls and women who were trafficked by the Tatars during the Cossack–Polish War, Anna was subsequently subject to repeated resales to slavers of different ethnoreligious backgrounds.¹¹⁶ In her supplication, which was drafted when Anna was in her thirties, she recounted how “years ago, she was enslaved by Tatars in the Kingdom of Poland and sold to some Jews from Smirne [Izmir], and by those to a captain of a Flemish vessel who sold her in Messina to Donna Flavia Stagna. When the latter found out that the supplicant had been born a Christian, she sold her to Giovan Battista De Cesare, a merchant in Naples.”¹¹⁷ After her arrival at the household of her fourth owner, De Cesare, “keeping the supplicant confined (*ristretta*), married

“Identità”; Bonazza, “Connecting the Mediterranean.” On male galley slavery, see also Vincent, “Les esclaves.”

111. Pizzorusso, *Propaganda Fide*, 103–4.

112. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153r–v; Acta, vol. 36, fol. 99v.

113. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153r (undated supplication of Anna Ruthena to Pope Alexander VII, sent in early 1667).

114. Glaser, “Introduction,” 8–9.

115. Kołodziejczyk, “Slave Hunting.”

116. Teller, *Rescue the Surviving Souls*, 96–115, 124–27; Santus, “Other Slaves of Livorno.”

117. “Essendo l'anni a dietro fatta schiava nel Regno di Polonia da Tartari, et venduta ad alcuni hebrei della Smirne, et da questi ad un capitano di vascello fiammengo il quale havendola venduta in Messina a Donna Flavia Stagna q[ues]ta havuto notitia che l'or[at]rice era nata Christiana la vendette a Gio[vanni]

her off to a Black slave, from whom she had three children.”¹¹⁸ Anna’s husband was a man named Antonio, a Muslim who had been baptized in Messina before De Cesare bought him. In Naples, both Anna and Antonio lived in De Cesare’s household, and their three children—Gratia, Andrea, and Francesco—were all born there and grew up as De Cesare’s slaves.¹¹⁹

Anna’s supplication mentioned De Cesare’s recent bankruptcy, which led him to seek refuge in a church to avoid imprisonment for unpaid debts.¹²⁰ Other Neapolitan slavers who encountered similar financial difficulties in those years resorted to selling the enslaved individuals in their possession to cover their debts.¹²¹ Knowing about De Cesare’s insolvency must have affected the timing of Anna’s supplication, for fear that he would attempt to sell her or her children and thus separate her from them.¹²²

The wording of Anna’s supplication indicates that her pairing with Antonio was not a voluntary one. Like Regolino and Bazzicalupo, De Cesare kept the enslaved woman that he owned detained at his home, under close supervision. While he did not rape Anna himself, he decided with whom she should have sexual relations; namely, with another baptized enslaved man that he owned and constrained her to marry.¹²³ In contrast with the protests that Moise Franco and Fra Marco of Bosnia drafted, in which they openly decried the sexual violence inflicted on Vida and Lucia, respectively, Anna’s supplication did not

Batt[ist]a di Cesare mercante in Napoli.” ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153r (undated supplication of Anna Ruthena to Pope Alexander VII, sent in early 1667).

118. “Et tenendo l’or[at]rice ristretta l’ha maritata con un schiavo negro del quale ha havuto tre figlioli.” ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153r (undated supplication of Anna Ruthena to Pope Alexander VII, sent in early 1667).

119. Boccadamo, *Napoli e l’Islam*, 226–27.

120. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153r (undated supplication of Anna Ruthena to Pope Alexander VII, sent in early 1667).

121. Thus, in 1670, the struggling wood merchant Domenico of Candia sold a Dalmatian girl that he owned and attempted to sell another enslaved man because of his pressing financial problems (Boccadamo, *Napoli e l’Islam*, 214–15).

122. Fearing separation from their children was a principal motivation driving enslaved women to actively challenge their enslavement, sometimes by resorting to desperate means (Landers, *Black Society*, 185–87).

123. Donna Flavia Stagna apparently sold Anna to Giovan Battista De Cesare as a baptized Catholic, although it is not clear whether the latter was aware of her Catholic background or was made to believe that, like Antonio, she had only been baptized in Messina.

mention it explicitly. Anna preferred referring to her coerced marriage at her slaver's instigation instead of accusing him of forcing her intercourse with an enslaved man. This may reflect her attempt to present herself as a respectable Catholic woman whose children were born in wedlock.

Church authorities required that all married Catholic couples live under the same roof.¹²⁴ Hence, the Catholic owners of baptized slaves usually opposed the marriage of the individuals in their possession to spouses who belonged to other slavers, as this would have meant that one of the owners (in whose household the married couple did not reside) would lose their property rights to their slave.¹²⁵ Yet getting two enslaved individuals belonging to the same slaver to wed—thereby facilitating the birth of their children—could entail considerable profits in the Kingdom of Naples, where the offspring born to an enslaved mother became her owner's property. Known in Southern Italy as *casanatizzi*, the children born under slavery remained in the possession of their mothers' enslavers, who could sell or gift them to others without their parents' consent.¹²⁶

The supplication's mention of the three children that Anna bore after De Cesare had her marry Antonio, and who were thus all legally enslaved, attests to her awareness of the slaver's expropriation of her reproductive capacities to "produce" new slaves for him. In other words, De Cesare engaged in "slave breeding"—a common form of sexual abuse that is amply documented for Atlantic slavery but was also practised in the Italian peninsula.¹²⁷ While historians have pointed to slavers' involvement in the attempts to "produce" new slaves in the courtly settings of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italy,¹²⁸ the scope and characteristics of this phenomenon in the seventeenth century still remain largely unexplored.

Through Anna's supplication, we get a sense of the sexual violence that was inflicted not only on this enslaved woman but also on Antonio, the man who was coerced into having sexual intercourse with her. Antonio is identified in

124. Minnich, "Catholic Church," 293.

125. Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves*, 130–47; Lowe, *Provenance and Possession*, 214–15.

126. Arillotta, "Schiavi e schiavotte," 268, 278, 284; Plaisant, "Un censimento," 411–20. On *casanatizzi*, see also Franchina, "Un censimento di schiavi"; Loi, "Schiavi musulmani," 71–74.

127. For the Atlantic world, see Morgan, *Laboring Women*; Warren, "'Cause of Her Grief'"; Berry, *Swing the Sickles*, 76–103; Smithers, *Slave Breeding*.

128. Lowe, "Isabella d'Este"; Cooley, *Perfection of Nature*, 73–104.

Anna's supplication as a Black slave (*schiavo negro*).¹²⁹ When Cardinal Albergati Ludovisi presented the supplication's contents to the other members of the Propaganda Fide, however, he referred to Antonio as a Moorish slave (*schiavo Moro*).¹³⁰ Whereas the term Moro (Moor) was used to indicate an individual's Muslim origins, the mention of a person's specific skin colour as "black" was meant to disclose their provenance from West Africa. As the early modern era progressed, the link separating the North African "Moors" from the West African "Blacks" solidified, and, at the same time, a person's Blackness became increasingly associated in the Italian peninsula and islands with enslaved status.¹³¹ Anna could obviously not dispute Antonio's paternity of her three children. While they were born to a West African father whose "Blackness" affected their skin tone, Anna insisted that it was her own religious background that should determine their status. "Having been born of a free Christian" mother, Anna exclaimed, her children should enjoy "the freedom they are entitled to according to the laws and customs of the Kingdom of Naples."¹³²

Unlike the documents concerning Vida and Lucia, Anna's supplication did not mention any coreligionist who assisted her in contesting her enslavement. Even though she probably received some advice, at least from the scribe who drafted her supplication, the document remains an impressive testimony of an enslaved woman's insistence on pursuing her own freedom as well as her children's manumission. The Propaganda Fide discussed Anna's request on 26 April 1667 and decided that she should be examined to determine if she was indeed a native Christian and, if so, see to her liberation "together with her children."¹³³

129. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153r (undated supplication of Anna Ruthena to Pope Alexander VII, sent in early 1667).

130. ASPF, Acta, vol. 36, fol. 99v; Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153v.

131. De Lucia, "Exceptional History"; "Space," 11–12; Lowe, "Isabella d'Este," 66. For the use of these terms in seventeenth-century Naples, see Boccadamo, "A Napoli," 143–44.

132. "essendo nati di Christiana libera devono goder la libertà secondo le leggi, et consuetudine del Regno di Napoli." ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153r (undated supplication of Anna Ruthena to Pope Alexander VII, sent in early 1667). For other cases of children of mixed ancestry who were born under slavery and the presentation of their enslaved mothers' marital status in official documents, see Wilbourne, *Voice, Slavery, and Race*, 27–29.

133. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153v: "di farla esaminare, e riconoscere, e che trovatala Christiana [...] farla porre in libertà assieme con i suoi figlioli" (to

The outcome of Anna's examination was favourable, and she was emancipated in the following year. In sharp contrast with the protracted handling of Lucia's case in Genoa, Church representatives in Naples responded favourably and swiftly to the request from Rome to look into Anna's background. In her case, it was enough to ascertain that she spoke Polish to prove the illegality of her enslavement, due to the ban on the possession of enslaved individuals hailing from Poland—all of whom were assumed to be Catholics captured by Tatars—in seventeenth-century Naples.¹³⁴ In 1628, the King of Poland himself asked Philip IV of Spain (r. 1621–65) to forbid the trade in enslaved Poles throughout his empire, which included the Kingdom of Naples.¹³⁵ The prohibition remained in force, so there was no need to obtain supporting documents attesting to Anna's baptism back in Poland.

Unlike the Jew Vida or the Bosnian Lucia, Anna was a Catholic who hailed from a land ruled by a Catholic sovereign. With the Cossack–Polish War over, ignoring the supplication of a Polish Catholic asking to be freed from her illegal enslavement in Naples could lead to diplomatic unpleasanties, which state and Church officials alike wished to avoid. Anna's troubles were still not over, though. Despite their recognition of the illegality of her own enslavement, Neapolitan authorities rejected her claim that her children, too, were entitled to their freedom “according to the laws and customs of the Kingdom of Naples.”¹³⁶ The notarial document that certified the Polish woman's emancipation referred to the children born to Anna and Antonio, a “Black Turk” (*turco negro*).¹³⁷ “Turk” (*Turco*), a term used interchangeably with “Moor,” referred to Antonio's Muslim background, whereas the mention of his “Blackness” served to justify the continuous enslavement of his and Anna's children, to whom he had transmitted his “Blackness.”¹³⁸ Although they were born to a native Catholic

have her examined and identified, and should she be found to be a Christian [...] have her liberated together with her children).

134. Monti, “Sulla schiavitù domestica,” 143; Bono, *Schiavi musulmani*, 43–45; Sarti, “Slaves,” 114.

135. Grimaldi, *Istoria delle leggi*, 427.

136. “Secondo le leggi, et consuetudine del Regno di Napoli.” ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 153r (undated supplication of Anna Ruthena to Pope Alexander VII, sent in early 1667).

137. Quoted in Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam*, 227.

138. Boccadamo, “A Napoli,” 143–44. See also De Lucia, “Exceptional History”; “Space,” 11–12.

mother and were baptized at birth, Gratia, Andrea, and Francesco retained the enslaved status of their father and remained in De Cesare's possession.

Interestingly, although Anna's supplication made it a point to note that she and Antonio were married, the notarial document that certified her emancipation referred to Antonio only as the father of her children, not as her husband. Furthermore, the notary designated the children's mother as "Anna de Paula" while calling their father "Antonio Gaeta," a surname with which he also identified Gratia, Andrea, and Francesco. These naming choices reinforced the children's association with Antonio, who retained his enslaved status, while separating the freed slave Anna from the Gaeta family, whose members remained enslaved.

Anna was manumitted alone, but De Cesare committed to keeping her children in his household for three more years without selling them. In return, Anna promised to toil as his unpaid domestic servant during those years.¹³⁹ Notwithstanding her manumission, Anna had to continue working for no salary in the service of her former slaver until 1671 to pay for her children's eventual liberation.¹⁴⁰

Conclusion

Wartime sexual violence was committed in the early modern era during raids on villages and towns and on the carts and ships that transported those captured in the attacks, usually leaving no documentary traces. Those female captives who were subsequently trafficked into the Italian peninsula often disappeared into the private homes of their slavers, where they endured different forms of prolonged sexual violence, including repeated rape by their owners, coerced sexual relations with enslaved men, forced pregnancies, and enslaved prostitution. This violence is rarely acknowledged in the historical record, because the rape of enslaved women by their slavers or at their slavers' instigation was not considered a crime and was consequently not prosecuted. In the case of enslaved females of Muslim background and those who had originally adhered to African religions, such sexual violence became invisible,

139. Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam*, 226–27.

140. For other mothers who worked as domestic servants after their manumission to pay for the liberation of their children, who remained enslaved, see Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam*, 212; Arillotta, "Schiavi e schiavotte," 282.

unless the rapist slavers mentioned the children born to enslaved women in acts of manumission or in testaments.

During the War of Candia, when the number of female Muslims trafficked into the Italian peninsula was particularly high, contemporaries were well aware of the sexual violence that many of them suffered. Although the abuse of these women occurred in the post-Tridentine era, insofar as attitudes towards the sexual exploitation of enslaved women were concerned, little had changed since the pre-Reformation period. In the mid-seventeenth century, just as in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, nobody decried the phenomenon of sexually exploiting enslaved females *per se*. What did occasionally lead to protests after the Council of Trent was the raping of an enslaved woman, who was not really of Muslim origins, “as if she were a Turk.”¹⁴¹ Still, even in cases of this kind, such concerns seldom made it to the documentation produced by the highest state or Church authorities. As demonstrated in this article, when these authorities debated the legality of enslaving females who claimed to be native Christians, their records silenced or sanitized allusions to their rapes.

Jurists and prelates categorized the sexual relations of unmarried Catholic men with enslaved females that they owned as concubinage—which, according to Archbishop Gabriele Paleotti (1522–97), could be regarded as a less dignified form of marriage.¹⁴² Such a view is echoed in recent scholarship, which characterizes the status of enslaved women impregnated by their slavers as concubinage, a “privileged position” that resembled and could sometimes lead to marriage.¹⁴³ The letters concerning Vida and Lucia, though, reveal contemporaries’ awareness of the lack of consent—on which the Tridentine Church insisted in cases of marriage—that was inherent to the sexual exploitation of

141. ASPF, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fols. 117r–118v (letter of Fra Marco of Bosnia and Fra Isacco “of Schiavonia” to the Propaganda Fide, 28 February 1661).

142. Salvi, “Donne, schiave e concubine,” 193–99.

143. See Salvi, “Donne, schiave e concubine,” 195: “La schiava che diventava concubina e partoriva un figlio del padrone acquistava una posizione in qualche modo privilegiata [...] poiché il fatto di essere la madre di un figlio del *dominus*, benché naturalmente si trattasse di un figlio illegittimo, la poneva in una condizione a metà tra le schiave e la moglie” (The slave who became a concubine and gave birth to a son of her master acquired a somewhat privileged position [...] as the fact of being the mother of a son of the master, although, naturally, the son in question was illegitimate, put her in a condition halfway between the slaves and the wife).

enslaved females in Mediterranean Catholic Europe.¹⁴⁴ These documents further attest to the enslaved women's desperate attempts to terminate the sexual violence perpetuated by their rapists.

The slaving activities of corsairs and armed groups fighting in the name of Catholic states, such as the Grand Duchy of Tuscany or the Republic of Venice, were justified in the seventeenth century as part of the religious and political conflict with Muslim powers. Focusing on gender-based violence, however, exposes additional forces that shaped human bondage in the early modern Mediterranean. First and foremost, it discloses the continuous importance of the sexual motivation for slaveholding. Thus, in the midst of armed conflicts between Catholic and Muslim powers over the Cretan capital of Candia, a Tuscan corsair brought a Jewish girl whom he captured to this city and kept her there as his sex slave. Despite the possibility of having Vida ransomed by her coreligionists, Regolino refused to let go of this enslaved Jew, who had given birth to his child.

Sexual gratification was also a key motivation for Bazzicalupo's enslavement and raping of Lucia in Genoa. Nonetheless, economic considerations, as well as familial ones—the wish to ensure the durability of his lineage—also played a role in his insistence on keeping the enslaved woman he had acquired, and who bore him a son, as an unpaid domestic servant. Although two friars vouched for Lucia's Christian origins, her sexual slavery was deemed legitimate by influential men in Genoa and reflected the widespread presumption, articulated in collections of legal opinions (*consilia*) published in post-Tridentine Italy, that men who purchased enslaved women were entitled to their sexual exploitation.¹⁴⁵ Church authorities could not openly condone the enslavement of a native Catholic, but they certainly did not make sufficient efforts to secure Lucia's liberation, nor did they go out of their way to back Fra Marco, her main supporter, in his attempts to help her.

144. On the exclusion of enslaved women from early modern notions of sexual consent, see Featherstone et al., *Limits of Consent*, 12–13.

145. Bartolomeo de Bosco's fifteenth-century collection of Genoese *consilia*, which was first published in 1620, discussed the case of a slaver who attempted to return an enslaved woman with whom he could not satisfy his lust (Epstein, "Late Medieval Lawyer"). On *consilia* written in post-Tridentine Italy that assumed the sexual exploitation of enslaved women by their slavers, see Salvi, "Donne, schiave e concubine," 193–99.

That economic motivations often overrode religious considerations becomes evident in the case of Donna Flavia Stagna of Messina, who hastened to sell—rather than liberate—the enslaved Anna once she realized that the woman was a baptized Christian. This also explains the refusal of the Vitale family in Naples to free Caterina Stieпов, despite indisputable evidence that she was a native Catholic. Like Donna Teresa Sosa of Palermo, the Neapolitan Giovan Battista De Cesare was interested primarily in the profits he could gain, and not in his own gratification, when he purchased and sexually abused an enslaved woman of Catholic background. De Cesare wanted to facilitate the birth of enslaved children, whom he could then sell or exploit for unpaid labour, through the sexual coercion not only of an enslaved woman but also of an enslaved man whom he owned, while the two of them also served him for free.

A few sympathetic coreligionists or compatriots decried the sexual slavery of non-Muslim women in the Catholic regions of the seventeenth-century Mediterranean. Many others, however, accepted the trade in humans of different religious and ethnic backgrounds as a given. As Fra Donato Jelich lamented in 1661, Italians of all walks of life obtained enslaved Christians “for the vainglory of having slaves, for not paying servants, or for other malicious ends.”¹⁴⁶ Fra Donato and his contemporaries doubtlessly realized that such malicious ends included various forms of sexual exploitation that were generally regarded as socially acceptable in the Italian peninsula and islands during the post-Tridentine era.

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146. “Per vanagloria d’haver schiavi, per non pagar servitori, e per altri mali fini.” ASPE, Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, vol. 351, fol. 100r (undated letter of Fra Donato Jelich to Pope Alexander VII, sent in 1661).

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