



Slavery on the frontier: the report of a French missionary on mid-seventeenth-century Tunis

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Slavery on the Frontier: The Report of a French Missionary on Mid-Seventeenth-Century Tunis

Abstract

At the end of January 1654, Jean Le Vacher—member of the Congregation of the Mission, vicar apostolic of the Holy See and acting French consul in Tunis—sent a report to the cardinals of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, in Rome, in which he described his missionary work in and around Tunis. Le Vacher's letter focuses on the life of the Christian slaves in the region and on his efforts to provide spiritual and material assistance to them. It offers insights into early modern slavery in North Africa, the efforts of the Catholic church to strengthen its presence in the area, and the culture and organisation of societies on the border between Islam and Christianity. This article includes the full text of Le Vacher's report in the original Italian and in English translation, together with an introduction, commentary, and editorial notes.

1. Tunis

As the papal body charged with supervising Catholic missionary activities worldwide from 1622, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide gathered a vast corpus of literature on which to base its decision making through the seventeenth century. Although rich in the minutiae of missionary activity, few of the letters and reports that crossed the desks of its secretaries have been published. Furthermore, scholars have drawn on their contents to complete studies of, for instance, missionary networks in the north Atlantic,¹ but rarely deal with the activity of Catholic missionaries in north Africa, which is generally understood to have taken place during what Fernand Braudel christened the 'northern invasion' of the Mediterranean.² This may be partly because this model of interpretation judges that religious confrontation became less important as the English, Dutch and French asserted their dominance in the Mediterranean through the control of trade during the seventeenth century. Yet, for the French at least, religion was deployed as a tool in support of commerce, so that the crown was animated by great missionary zeal even as it increasingly sought to strengthen its political and economic position in the region.

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¹ Luca Codignola, 'Competing Network: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-1658', *Canadian Historical Review*, 80, no.4 (December 1999): 539-85; Dominiue Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire: les missions françaises au XVII^e siècle* (Paris 2003).

² Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Sian Reynolds, 2 vols (New York 1972), i, 615-42.

In the 1600s, the French monarchy was the most active of European governments in the caravan trade, though this was highly contested by the English and the Dutch throughout the century.³ It also oversaw, theoretically at least, those who chose to operate under its flag: crown officers, missionaries, consuls, and French merchant communities in Ottoman ports, and was represented in the Ottoman regencies of Tunis and Algiers by consulates first established by King Charles IX. These French outposts were located in areas that Europeans regarded as ‘pirate republics’, but although the office of consul was in theory state-owned, it was, like many other offices in the crown’s gift, subject to purchase and farming-out. Consular income derived from fees such as those paid by Catholic merchant ships for anchorage in port (when relations between the ruling authorities and the French crown permitted it). The office was also secular. Yet, in 1648 it came into the possession of the Congregation of the Mission, a society of secular missionary priests established in 1625 to undertake missions to the rural poor and galley convicts.⁴ At the time still under the direction of its founder, Vincent de Paul, the Congregation owed the transfer to the generosity of one of its major patrons, Marie de Vignerod de Combelet, the duchess of Aiguillon, niece of the late Cardinal Richelieu. In granting the Congregation the office of consul and the right to appoint to it, Aiguillon presented de Paul’s congregation with the means to promote both French and Catholic ambitions in this region, thereby formally combining the public goals of the French crown with the missionary wishes of Catholic Reformation *Dévots*. Although de Paul and the missionaries that he sent to the region did not articulate their reasons for their congregation’s presence there in these terms, in practice they stepped in to minister to slaves, to prevent their contagion by North African and Islamic culture, and to repatriate those of them who were French Catholics.⁵

Except for the merchants and artisans who settled there or passed through for business purposes, the majority of the Christian population in Tunis and the other two Ottoman regencies on the Barbary Coast (Algiers and Tripoli) consisted, in the seventeenth century, of slaves.⁶ They came from all parts of Europe and were captured either at sea or on land by Moorish, Turkish, or renegade corsairs who lived off the booty provided by such raids. Some captives quickly escaped, were ransomed, or were freed for other reasons, but most of them spent long years in public prisons (*bagnos*) or in the households of their private masters, depending on whose property they ended up becoming. Even though some

³ In 1600, 1000 ships flew the French flag in the Mediterranean, while only forty flew the English: Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVII^e siècle* (Paris 1896), 31; A. C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London 1935), 23. See also Peter Earle, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary* (London, 1970), 3-22; Richard T. Rapp, ‘The Unmaking of the Mediterranean Trade Hegemony: International Trade Rivalry and the Commercial Revolution’, *The Journal of Economic History*, 35, no. 3 (September 1975): 499-525.

⁴ The contract of foundation is published in Jacqueline Kilar *et al* (eds), *Saint Vincent de Paul. Correspondence, Conferences, Documents* [hereafter *CCD*], 14 vols (New York 1985-2003), 13a, 213-17.

⁵ The crown normally channelled its funding of ransoms for the liberation of slaves through religious orders. In 1643, for example, Louis XIII granted 10,000 *livres* to the Congregation of the Mission for this purpose: Pierre Coste, *The Life and Works of Saint Vincent de Paul*, trans. Joseph Leonard, 3 vols (Westminster, Maryland 1952), ii, 340.

⁶ Most slaves were Catholic, and comprised 10-20% of the total population in the regency. See Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters. White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke 2003), 112.

slaves converted to Islam, most of them did not, or at least not immediately. As a result, the Christian slave population in Tunis was quite sizeable; witnesses (including Jean Le Vacher) and historians estimate it between 1600 and 6000 persons.⁷ Tunis and the other Barbary regencies practised a kind of religious toleration similar to that observed in the Ottoman Empire proper, in observance of the general tenets of the Pact of Umar—a legal document of disputed historical origins that regulated the status of Jews and Christians under Muslim rule and which had already become an integral part of Islamic legal tradition by the ninth century. Despite the ‘psychological distance’ between religious communities, occasional pressures to convert to Islam, and a number of legal and fiscal disadvantages (for instance, non-Muslims had to pay a head tax and their witness accounts were not accepted in legal cases that could have led to the punishment of Muslims) Christians and Jews were allowed to privately exercise their religion and independently manage all the practical aspects related to it.⁸ This autonomy extended to slaves as well: in their *bagnos*, they could set up chapels ministered by slave priests, they could be visited by missionaries, and they could follow the main rituals of their faith. It was first and foremost to respond to their needs, rather than any organized attempt at converting local non-Christians, that justified the Catholic missionary presence on the Barbary Coast.⁹

2. Jean Le Vacher and the Congregation of the Mission

The author of the letter which follows was Jean Le Vacher, a Congregation priest who was just twenty-eight years old and newly ordained when de Paul sent him to Tunis in late 1647. Until then he had gained pastoral experience only while participating in the missions that his

⁷ For Le Vacher’s account, see Archives of Congregation de Propaganda Fide, SOCG, 254, fol. 65, Jean Le Vacher to Propaganda Fide, 13th March 1664. Francisco di San Lorenzo recorded in 1654, the year in which Le Vacher sent the letter that is published here, that there were 8000 slaves in Tunis and Tripoli: Francisco di San Lorenzo, *Breve relatione, del calamitoso stato, crudeltà, e bestiali attioni, con le quail son trattati da’ barbari li critiani fatti schiavi, e tutto quello, ch’è passato nel viaggio della redentione de’ feleli di Christo nella città di Tunisi l’anno 1653* (Rome 1654), 12. Algiers, however, had a much larger Christian slave population, which rose above 20,000 in most decades of the seventeenth century. For a discussion of these estimates, see Davis, *Christian Slaves*, 13-15. As with all missionary reports, caution is advised regarding the meaning of ‘Christian’—many times it meant, in fact, ‘Catholic’, leaving aside Orthodox Christians and Protestants: Davis, *Christian Slaves*, 13.

⁸ For a historical overview of the mixture of tolerance and intolerance experienced by the ‘Peoples of the Book’ in Ottoman Arab territories, see Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge 2001), especially 16-40. A similarly mixed picture emerges from Benjamin Kaplan’s study of early modern European practices in religiously diverse territories: Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided By Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Harvard University Press 2007). The ‘ambiguities of inter-confessional relations’ (Masters, *Christians and Jews*, 26) that seemed to be present in Europe as well as Ottoman behaviour advise caution against simplistic labeling of either Christian or Muslim solutions to religious diversity.

⁹ An indication of the main purpose of missionary activity on the Barbary Coast, namely to ‘care for the poor slaves and the free merchants who live, come, and go in the said cities [Tunis and Algiers]’, is given by the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide in a letter sent to the Nuncio of France in December 1647: Archives of Congregation de Propaganda Fide, Lettere, 25, fol. 138r-v, 14 December 1647. For an overview of the many categories of slaves and their status in the Ottoman Empire, see Y Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800-1909* (London, 1996), 1-42. For details on the Barbary regencies, see Earle, *Corsairs*, 23-46.

Congregation carried out in rural parishes throughout France after he entered its ranks in 1643.¹⁰ On his arrival in Tunis on 22nd November 1647, Le Vacher found himself alone in unfamiliar circumstances, for although another Congregation priest and a brother were resident in Tunis on his arrival, they died of plague within months. Thereafter, with the exception of four years (1653-7), he spent the majority of his tenure solitarily, until he returned to France in 1666. Subsequently, he ministered in Algiers until he was executed by the local authorities in 1683.¹¹ There were, of course, other clergy in Tunis while Le Vacher served there; in addition to some slave priests, three religious orders, the Trinitarians, Mercedarians and Recollects, specialised in the redemption of slaves, and periodically sent small numbers of personnel to Tunis for this purpose.¹²

The arrangements that resulted in Le Vacher's presence in Tunis formed a specific manifestation of the broader phenomenon of clerical-lay collaboration which defined the Catholic Reformation in France. The Congregation of the Mission attracted a formidable range of wealthy patrons, keen to demonstrate their credentials of piety and to procure their salvation through works of merit. Aiguillon made three major donations to the association in regard to the establishment of its missionary presence in Tunis; in 1643, she and de Paul agreed that a portion of her donation of 14,000*l* would be used to send missionaries to Barbary to 'console' the Christian slaves and to 'instruct' them 'in the faith, love, and fear of God.' She provided further financial resources in 1647 by assigning to the Congregation revenues from a number of *coches* routes in France.¹³ Two other wealthy benefactors followed her example; an anonymous 'bourgeois de Paris' gave the Congregation the annual revenues from tax farms worth 30,000*l* in 1655, while a long-time supporter of de Paul's charitable works, Madame Marie Fouquet, the widowed mother of superintendant of finances Nicolas Fouquet, donated *rentes* of 2800*l* in 1657.¹⁴ These donations were purely to support the missionaries' pastoral functions. When Aiguillon purchased the office of consul for the Congregation, however, this granted an overtly secular dimension to its presence in Tunis. Indeed, church protocol forbade priests to act as consuls, which begs the question why de Paul accepted her gift. He did so because he shared the duchess's conviction that possession of the office was the only way in which the Congregation could prevent its powers and influence being used to its detriment, for a secular consul would be 'governed by principles other than those of charity and public welfare,' namely personal profit.¹⁵ To circumvent the papal proscription on a priest holding the office, de Paul officially appointed a layman (Martin

¹⁰ Raymond Gleizes, *Jean Le Vacher, Vicaire apostolique et consul de France à Tunis et à Alger, 1619-1683 d'après les documents contemporains* (Paris 1914), 1-13.

¹¹ Gleizes, *Jean Le Vacher*, passim.

¹² Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs. France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford, CA 2011), 12, 46. Weiss estimates that Trinitarians and Mercedarians freed over 500 French slaves in Barbary between 1647 and 1657.

¹³ *CCD*, 13a, 335-7; Archives Nationales [hereafter AN], M213 (27th May 1647): The *coches* routes were those for Orléans, Bourges and Tours. Aiguillon's donation amounted to *rentes* of 40500*l*, the income from which was to be divided between Tunis and Algiers. In 1656, de Paul recorded that Tunis' annual share amounted to 1500*l* annually: *CCD*, 6, 54, Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get, 28th July 1656.

¹⁴ AN, MM536, fo 105 (20th December 1655); Y194, fo 438r, and S6685 (7th November 1657).

¹⁵ *CCD*, 6, 338, 8th June 1657, Vincent de Paul to Firmin Get.

Husson) to the post for a short time, but even during this period Le Vacher took charge and continued to act as consul *en fait* when Husson left Tunis in 1653.¹⁶ The duality of his functions in Tunis was reflected in the fact that, while Le Vacher acted as consul, he was a papally approved apostolic missionary, and from 1650 vicar apostolic for the archbishop of Carthage, with jurisdiction over all Catholics within the bounds of Tunis.¹⁷

3. The Text

Le Vacher's 1654 letter to Propaganda Fide is one of the few relics of his sojourn in Tunis; although he was obliged to report regularly to de Paul on his activities, only a tiny number of their letters survive.¹⁸ His letter to the cardinals was not intended for public consumption, unlike many of the *relatios* that missionaries sent to their authorities or compiled in book form. The Trinitarians and Mercedarians frequently used these firsthand accounts to advertise their work and to encourage their readers to contribute, in prayers and donations, to their ministry.¹⁹ Despite the fact that its readership was limited to a set of influential cardinals, however, Le Vacher's letter shared features characteristic of their reports. Its author interspersed his detailed descriptions of his ministry and the agonies of enslavement with pleas for material and organisational support from the papacy. Particularly striking is the absence of any reference to the political or commercial aspects of his activities in Tunis, or to the fact that the French crown had an interest in exploiting or dominating trade in the region through its consulate. Le Vacher's narrow elaboration of his work may reflect his superior general's teaching, for de Paul insisted that the Congregation's interest in the consulate lay exclusively in promoting charity and public welfare, which were explicitly socio-religious motivations. However, his silence was more likely to have been strategic. He was interested only in giving an account of his religious duties and the requirements of the mission. Therefore, Le Vacher presented the arrangement of the Congregation's presence in Tunis purely in ecclesiastical terms, which would not lead the cardinals to suspect that he had any worldly motives, such as advantaging the French crown economically or militarily, in making such requests. For example, he suggested that the pope should appoint a bishop to serve in the area, probably on the basis that it would free him of some of the ministerial obligations which fell to him as vicar apostolic and which he described in his letter. It is just as likely that secular consular duties contributed to the heavy burden of work that he carried, but he chose not to mention these at all.

¹⁶ As directed by de Paul: *CCD*, 13a, 401.

¹⁷ AN, S6707, 'Barbarie', 14; Louis Abelly, *La Vie du venerable servant de Dieu Vincent de Paul* (Paris 1664), bk. ii, 99.

¹⁸ See the letter that Le Vacher wrote to de Paul in May 1654 (three months before he composed the letter published here), which is a brief resume of his ministerial activities during Lent that year: *CCD*, 5, 130-2, Jean Le Vacher to Vincent de Paul, 6th May 1654.

¹⁹ See, for instance, the Trinitarian Pierre Dan's firsthand account of conditions in Barbary, *Histoire de la Barbarie et ses Corsaires* (Paris 1649), and François Favre's (a priest of the Ordre de Notre-Dame de la Mercy) *Le Veritable recit de la redemption faite en Alger l'année passée 1644, par les Religieux de l'Ordre de Notre Dame de la Mercy, & Redemption des Captifs* (Paris 1645).

It was only towards the close of his letter that Le Vacher appealed directly for the cardinals' favour. He played on both the cardinals' sense of congregational responsibility and their personal virtues. He reminded them of their duty to protect the 'poor church' of Tunis and to remember its 'temporal and spiritual needs'. He also emphasised their obligations, as free Catholics, to show charity to those afflicted in captivity 'in the name of Jesus Christ.' While charity was a virtue prized highly throughout the Catholic church, it held special resonance for a priest of the Congregation of the Mission. De Paul had emphasised it in the regulations that he wrote for Le Vacher's mission, which he characterised 'as one of the most charitable' that he could undertake.²⁰ While living in the Congregation's motherhouse, Le Vacher had, no doubt, also heard de Paul stress repeatedly in spiritual conferences that the association was 'a state of charity' (that is, of effective love), comprising a membership who acted as God's instruments when they demonstrated their love of God through their evangelising missions.²¹ It is quite understandable, as a result, that Le Vacher turned to charity to inspire the cardinals to express their own love of God in supporting his ministry.

Le Vacher adopted a further tactic to attempt to convince the cardinals that his work was worthy of their backing. The 'misfortunes' that he had witnessed were difficult to describe, he admitted, but he knew that he needed to do so in order to advocate for and encourage their positive response. Le Vacher's vivid portrayals of his own life and those of the miserable slaves amongst whom he worked were designed, consequently, to stir both affective and effective emotions in his readership; affective because they aimed to stir the cardinals' to compassion for their afflicted fellow Catholics in a heathen land, and effective because they implicitly implored the cardinals to take actions which would prevent the slaves from '[perishing] in body and soul.' Although he did not explicitly draw attention to his own sufferings in his quest to assist the captives, his outline of the manifold calls on his pastoral energy was clearly designed to evoke pity for his position, in the hope that it would be translated into concrete measures to alleviate the demands of his work. Thus, in describing his regular visits to minister to 'poor Christians' detained in the countryside around the port, he listed the tiresome negotiations necessary to enable him to make his way to their residences, in tandem with the financial outlay required (he was obliged to make payments to a local escort and to the slave supervisors, and to provide alms in the form of clothes and shoes for the slaves themselves), before revealing that he did 'not have enough means to be able to help.'

The factual accuracy of Le Vacher's account stands up well to scrutiny. By 1654, he was intimately acquainted with the conditions and organisation of slave life in Tunis, and he adeptly intermingled descriptions of the daily routine of slaves in the port and countryside with his ministry to them. But while depicting the slaves' backbreaking work and shocking living quarters was a means of pricking the cardinals' consciences, Le Vacher was most eager to concentrate on the extraordinary pressure on him to prevent the corruption of Catholics by Islamic believers, and on the structure of the mission in these circumstances. 'Taking the turban' was the common term amongst Europeans for conversion to Islam, and the renegades who did so were decried as abominable traitors to the true faith and to Christian culture. Despite this,

²⁰ CCD, 13a, 401.

²¹ CCD, 12, 214, 'Charity', 30th May 1659.

many did convert.²² These were particularly important targets for Le Vacher, for to save a renegade was as great a victory for a Catholic missionary as his conversion to Islam had been to a Muslim cleric. Moreover, Le Vacher recounted that youths were often forcibly converted, and predictably illustrated their resistance to such attempts as a litany of sufferings that comprised living martyrdom.²³ In seeking to convert renegades, Le Vacher took a grave risk, since the Turkish authorities frowned heavily upon proselytising.²⁴ But it evidently fitted into the type of pastoral outreach that Le Vacher felt that he should practise. Indeed, he did not restrain his efforts to renegades, for he disclosed that he had baptised two Muslims as well.

Le Vacher regarded Protestants as suitable subjects for conversion too, although he does not appear to have discriminated against them in providing alms. Like many others dedicated to assisting slaves or reintegrating them into European Christian society, he thought that it was not possible to be both European and Muslim, and did not consider that it was possible to straddle the two cultures (as renegades did).²⁵ For this reason, he opted to foster Christian congregations in Tunis port, which mirrored the parishes of Europe as much as possible. However, although Le Vacher did not expressly acknowledge it, the hybridity of the renegade status was a common fact of life in this environment, for he revealed that many renegades secretly contributed to the upkeep of the chapels, despite their public status as Muslims.

Each of the fourteen bagnos in Tunis had its own chapel, funded by the slaves and Christian households in Tunis. They were administered by slaves who were ‘the two most important and best Christians’, a sacristan and a priest (also slaves), under Le Vacher’s direction. The chapels were, he claimed, better kept than many parish churches in the Christian world, with daily masses and regular sermons. The latter were probably the principal means by which catechesis was carried out, although the chapels also hosted confraternities of the Holy Sacrament which, as in parish churches throughout the Catholic Reformation era, were a means to perpetuate piety through collective devotional focus on a fundamental doctrine.

The organisations and upkeep of the chapels, and the forms of ceremony and piety practised within them indicate that Le Vacher encouraged the slaves to engage actively in their religion and to assert their religious identity, despite the confined conditions of their lives.

²² According to Weiss, as many as 20% of the slave population converted in Algiers: Weiss, *Captives*, 23. Davis suggests much lower numbers, especially for the late 1600s, when he estimates that only 4% of slaves converted to Islam. He attributes the decrease in the number of new conversions to the stronger missionary presence in the region: Davis, *Christian Slaves*, 22. For details on the conversion process, as well as the motives of renegades and their masters, see Davis, *Christian Slaves*, 21-23; and Bartolomé Benassar, ‘Conversion ou reniement? Modalités d’une adhésion ambiguë des chrétiens à l’Islam (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)’, *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 43, no. 6 (1988): 1349-66.

²³ Le Vacher claimed that the Turks tried to incite these boys to commit ‘enormous sins’, but did not state what these were. It is possible that he meant homosexual acts, a common inference by missionaries; it is unclear how widespread the practice was, as missionaries may have used the ‘sin’ of ‘unnatural’ homosexual acts to symbolise the debauchery of the Islamic faith: Davis, *Christian Slaves*, 125-6.

²⁴ Davis, *Christian Slaves*, 112.

²⁵ Weiss, *Captives*, 25.

Their chapels provided locations within a repressive environment in which they could demonstrate their mastery of their souls, and were protective physical spaces that could both cultivate and represent their interior liberty. Le Vacher related how four young slaves sneaked to the nearest chapel when their owner went to pray in the mosque, a juxtapositioning of Catholic and Muslim, slave and master, resistance and submission. The chapels and the religious routines that Le Vacher used in his ministry constituted a parallel structure of authority in Tunis' regime of slavery, in which the slaves could assert their spiritual freedom against their physical captivity. Simultaneously, Le Vacher presided over a parallel hierarchy of control, through which he hoped to retain their loyalty for the Catholic church.

Historical Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (Archivio Storico 'de Propaganda Fide'), Rome, Italy
Collection: SOCG ('Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali')
Volume: 248; Folios: 273r-280r, 286v

Editorial notes:

- A French translation of the letter was published in 1924, with no mention of the translator's name or of the location of the original letter in the archives of Propaganda Fide.²⁶ The English translation offered here follows directly and quite closely the original Italian text and it adopts a conservative approach regarding illegible or damaged portions of the document (i.e., we only venture guesses in what we consider obvious cases). The French version is generally looser and does not include the end and margin notes found in the original document. In the final stage of the translation, we compared the two versions and chose to fill a few gaps in with suggestions from the French text. Those spots are clearly indicated below.
- The report itself, the margin notes, and the address are written in the same regular hand that appears on many petitions submitted to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (hereafter SCPF) in the same year, which suggests that this is a contemporaneous copy made by SCPF clerks at the time of receipt. The notes on fol. 286v are written in two different hands.
- In the texts below, illegible words are indicated by "...", and hardly legible ones by "(?)"; spots where the original paper was torn or otherwise damaged are noted; words between square brackets are added by the translator to facilitate comprehension; italics indicate editorial notes that offer further details on the appearance and structure of the document. Strikethroughs in the original text were left as such.

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²⁶ "Rapport de Jean Le Vacher, Prêtre de la Mission, à la Propagande sur la Mission de Tunis (1)," *Revue d'histoire des missions*, 1 (1924): 232-42. Hereafter: French version.

<p>Dice che questo/ sia il Duplicato</p>	<p>Emin'mi e Reu'mi Sig'ri P'roni Col'mi</p> <p>Hauendo inteso essersi perso in mare un Vascello, che andaua/ da questa Città à Liorno con occasione del quale dauo qualche/ ragguaglio all'E.E. V.V. di quel' che passa in questi luoghi della/ mia missione. Vengo con la presente à ripetere quel che all'hora/ scrissi, acciò siano informate dello stato di questa pouera Chiesa,/ alla cura della quale si sono degnate applicarmi.</p>	<p>He says that this is a duplicate</p>	<p>Dearest, most eminent and revered sirs and patrons,</p> <p>Having heard that a ship had been lost to sea, which was going from this city to Livorno, and with which I had sent Your Eminencies a report about what was going on in these areas of my mission, I am now going to repeat what I wrote then, so that you may be informed of the state of this poor church, to the care of which you deigned [to] assign me.</p>
<p>Li Schiaui/ sono(?) angariati</p>	<p>Quanto patiscono i poueri Christiani fatti Schiaui da questi Barbari, si p[er]/ obligar' gl'uni à rinegar la n'ra S. fede come p[er] cauar' denari/ dagl'altri, credo che sia noto all'E.E. V.V. et à tutta la Christianità/ Subito che hanno preso ò Vascello, ò Barca, leuano ai poueri Christiani/ tutto quelche hanno, non lasciando loro ben' spesso con che coprir/si, e mettendoli poi alla Catena. E se sopra d'e Naui si ritroua/ qualche giouane, come è solito, quello è il p'mo ad esser bastonato, p[er]/ cauar' da lui con questo mezzo; chi trà quelli, che stanno nelle Naue/ hà denari, ò in che luogo gl'habbian' riposti, e di qual' nascita, ò/ beni temporali sin ogn'uno de fatti schiaui p[er] poterne così erigere/ maggior' riscatti. Giunti al Porto li conducono ai Bagni, che sono/ gran' Carceri destinati à quest'effetto, ò uero alle case priuate de/ Turchi, de quali era la Naue, che li hà</p>	<p>The slaves are oppressed</p>	<p>I believe Your Eminencies and the entire Christendom are well aware how much the poor Christians enslaved by these barbarians have to endure, as some are forced to deny our holy faith and others to relinquish their money. As soon as they capture a ship or a boat, they take from the poor Christians everything they have, often leaving them with nothing to cover themselves, and then they put them in chains. And if there is a youngster on the ship, as is often the case, he is the first to be beaten, in order that they may find out from him who on that boat has money and where they stored it, and of what birth and station they are, with the purpose of extracting, in this fashion, higher ransoms. Once arrived in port, they take them to the 'Baths'—which are big prisons intended for this purpose—or to the private homes of the Turks who own the ship that</p>
<p>Seguitano le angarie</p>	<p>Quanto patiscono i poueri Christiani fatti Schiaui da questi Barbari, si p[er]/ obligar' gl'uni à rinegar la n'ra S. fede come p[er] cauar' denari/ dagl'altri, credo che sia noto all'E.E. V.V. et à tutta la Christianità/ Subito che hanno preso ò Vascello, ò Barca, leuano ai poueri Christiani/ tutto quelche hanno, non lasciando loro ben' spesso con che coprir/si, e mettendoli poi alla Catena. E se sopra d'e Naui si ritroua/ qualche giouane, come è solito, quello è il p'mo ad esser bastonato, p[er]/ cauar' da lui con questo mezzo; chi trà quelli, che stanno nelle Naue/ hà denari, ò in che luogo gl'habbian' riposti, e di qual' nascita, ò/ beni temporali sin ogn'uno de fatti schiaui p[er] poterne così erigere/ maggior' riscatti. Giunti al Porto li conducono ai Bagni, che sono/ gran' Carceri destinati à quest'effetto, ò uero alle case priuate de/ Turchi, de quali era la Naue, che li hà</p>	<p>Their torments are enumerated</p>	<p>I believe Your Eminencies and the entire Christendom are well aware how much the poor Christians enslaved by these barbarians have to endure, as some are forced to deny our holy faith and others to relinquish their money. As soon as they capture a ship or a boat, they take from the poor Christians everything they have, often leaving them with nothing to cover themselves, and then they put them in chains. And if there is a youngster on the ship, as is often the case, he is the first to be beaten, in order that they may find out from him who on that boat has money and where they stored it, and of what birth and station they are, with the purpose of extracting, in this fashion, higher ransoms. Once arrived in port, they take them to the 'Baths'—which are big prisons intended for this purpose—or to the private homes of the Turks who own the ship that</p>

<p>Per andare à lauo/rare li schiaui pa/gano tante al mese/ al Guardiano</p>	<p>presi in mare. Quelli, che/ sono nei Bagni hanno p[er] ciascheduno due pani il giorno, più/ <i>[notations on bottom of page]</i> Tunisi 1654. Barberia. Algieri</p> <p>fol. 273v semola che farina di 8. ò. 9. oncie l'uno, che con acqua sono di là/ innanzi la prouisione, che gli danno i loro P'roni. Due ò tre giorni/ doppo lo sbarco gli fanno radere i capelli, gli mandano tela p[er]/ farsi un'paro di camiscie, e due para di sottocalsoni, vn cap/potto, una come coperta di letto, et un'poco di Panno p[er] farsi un'/Tabarro</p> <p>Posti i poueri Christiani nelli soprad'e carceri, che sono come lunghi Ma/gazzini mal'fabricati, à però forti, e ben'serrati con tre buone/ Porte, e che non hanno aria ne lume se non p[er] sospiragli fatti in/ mezzo alla volta sono iui custoditi da Guardiani Turchi ò Rinegati,/ al capo de quali che chiamano Guardian' Bassi; chi uuol'hauer li/bertà d'andar à lauorare nella Città, ò far'altro senza esser accompa/gnato da altri Guardiani, si dà una pezza, e mezza da otto reali, ò/ due pezze p[er] ogni mese, et altrettanto p[er] redimersi dal lauoro quo/tidiano, che tutti deuono fare, senza altre corecte, che bisogna che/ tutti gli paghino.</p>	<p>In order to go to work, the slaves pay the guard a monthly fee</p>	<p>captured them. Those who are placed in the Baths receive two loaves of bread per day, more <i>[notations on bottom of page]</i> Tunis 1654. Barbary. Algiers</p> <p>fol. 273v bran than flour, weighing eight or nine ounces each, which, together with water, are from now on the [only] provision that they will receive from their masters. Two or three days after they get off the boat, their heads are shaven [and] they are given cloth for a pair of shirts and two pairs of underpants, a coat, a piece that serves as a blanket, and a little woollen cloth to make themselves a cloak.</p> <p>The prisons mentioned above look like some badly built long storehouses, yet they are strong and tightly locked with three good gates, and there would be neither air nor light if it were not for the cracks in the middle. Once there, the poor Christians are put under the supervision of Turkish or renegade guards, whose chiefs are called 'Bassi Guards'; whoever wants to have the freedom to work in the city or do anything without being supervised by guards, has to pay one piece of eight <i>reales</i> and a half,^v or two pieces every month, and the same amount to exempt themselves from the daily labour that</p>
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<p>Seguitano li anga/rie che si fanno/ à Schiaui</p>	<p>Quelli poi che non ponno redimersi da quell'obligo del lauoro, sono ogni/ mattina al far' del giorno chiamati dallo scriuano del Bagno, al/ quali hauendo d'o Guardian' Bassi fatto intendere l'ordine, che hà/ riceuuto dal padrone p[er] il lauoro de poueri Christiani in quel/ giorno, egli accenna à ciascheduno il luogo, oue hà da andare à/ lauorare, e quel che hà da fare, sparrendo p[er] lo più il lauoro, non/ secondo la ragione, mà secondo che è affetto uerso le persone, mand/dando ben' spesso i più deboli alle maggiori fatighe, se essi non gli/ fanno qualche regalo, ò non procurano p[er] qualche uia di rendersi/le amoreuole. Stanno nel tempo del lauoro, che dura sino alle/ 22 hore in circa sotto la guardia di qualche moro, ò Rinegato, ò pouero Turco, il quale osserua come si portino nel lauoro p[er] poi fol. 274r riferirlo al Guardian' Bassi. Ritornati al Bagno deuono parim'te/ ritrouaruisi nella med'ma hora quelli, che hanno licenza d'andar p[er]/ la Città, et all' hora gli si dà la loro prouisione, cioè le due Pagnotte/ soprad'e, una delle quali mangiano la sera, con quel poco, che hanno/ potuto portar' furtiuam'te dall'horto, e l'altra conseruano p[er]/ la mattina seguente, l'acqua fanno la carità quelli,</p>	<p>Description of the torments endured by the slaves</p>	<p>everybody has to do, notwithstanding the other dues that everybody has to pay.</p> <p>Those who cannot exempt themselves from their work duty are called up every morning at the break of dawn by the Bath scribe, to whom the Bassi Guard has [previously] communicated the master's orders regarding the poor Christians' tasks for the day, and he assigns to each of them the place where he has to work, and what he has to do, distributing chores not according to reason, but according to how he is disposed toward each person, often assigning the most exhausting tasks to the weakest, unless they give him some gift or manage to gain his benevolence in some other way. During their work time, which lasts until about ten in the evening, they are guarded by either a Moor, a renegade, or an impoverished Turk, who observes their behaviour at work, which he then</p> <p>fol. 274r reports to the Bassi Guard. Those who are free to go to town have to return to the Bath at the same time as the others, and that is when they are given their provisions, namely the two little loaves of bread mentioned above, one of which they eat in the evening, together with whatever little food they were able to sneak in from the outside, keeping the other loaf for the following morning;</p>
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<p>Li Bagni sono .../ in num'o di 14.</p> <p>Schiaui ammalati/ murono di fame</p>	<p>che non uanno/ à laorare di portarla p[er] gl'altri. Il Guardian' Bassi dopo insie/me con lo scriuano chiamano tutti con i loro nomi, e cognomi/ l'un' doppo l'altro p[er] uedere che non ne manchi alcuno, e poi/ serrano il Bagno sin alla mattina seguente. Così uiuono i po/ueri Christiani quando stanno nella Città perche quando uanno/ fuora le Galere sono una parte di loro mandati sopra di essi à/ uogare.</p> <p>In queste prigioni, d'e Bagni, che sono in numero di 14 qui in Tunisi/ non sono rinchiusi, come hò accennato, tutti i Schiaui, mà solo/ quelli, che appartengono alle persone più principali. Alcuni li mandano fuor della Città à laorare nelle montagne. Le per/sone piu ordinarie tengono i suoi nelle case proprie e tra/ questi ultimi quelli, che capitano in mano di Andalusi, di Rine/gati, di Greci, e di Turchi meno ricchi sono molto trauagliati,/ p[er]che gli danno meno prouisione, che non si dà ne Bagni, e uoglio/no più fatica da essi, volendo alcuni di loro, che ogni giorno/ fatti i seruitij, che hanno da far' in case, uadano à uender acqua/ p[er] la Città, egli portino ogni sera sette ò otto baiocchi di moneta/ Romana, e se non lo fanno, non gli mancano bastonate, altri/ non danno ne uitto, ne uestito à loro Schiaui, e non lasciano d'esi/gere da essi una Pezza da otto ogni mese. Cascando poi am'alati/ massime se sono</p>	<p>There are 14 Baths</p> <p>The slaves who fall ill starve to death</p>	<p>as for the water, those who do not go to work do the service of carrying it for the others. Afterwards, the Bassi Guard and the scribe call everybody's last and first name, one after the other, in order to make sure that nobody is missing, and then they lock the Bath until the following morning. That is how the poor Christians live when they stay in the city, because, when the galleys go out, some of them are sent to the ships to row.</p> <p>All the slaves are not housed in these prisons, called Baths, which amount to fourteen here in Tunis, but only those who belong to the most important people. Some [owners] send [their slaves] out of the city to work in the mountains. The common people keep their [slaves] in their own houses and, among them, the most tormented are those who are in the hands of Andalusians, renegades, Greeks, and less affluent Turks, because they give them fewer provisions than is the norm in the Baths, and they request more effort from them, some even demanding that [their slaves], after completing their daily household chores, go to town to sell water and bring back seven or eight Roman <i>baiocchi</i>^{vi} every evening, and if they fail to do so, there is no lack of beatings. Some other [owners] give no food and no clothes to their slaves, yet they do not relent in demanding from them one piece of eight</p>
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<p>Li Schiaui sono assis/titi da Sacerdoti cat/tolici p[er] i bisogni/ spirituali/</p> <p>Si sono fatti fare due/ spedali p[er] gl'Infermi</p> <p>Sono in Tunisi fra/ li Schiaui 12 Sa/cerdoti che assisto/no à gl'altri p[er] i/ bisogni sp'uali</p> <p>Li Sacerdoti sono/ riputati degl'altri</p>	<p>vecchi, li mettono nelle stalli de caualli, ò/</p> <p>fol. 274v in qualche cantone delle case loro, oue molti li lasciano morir di fame/ senza uoler dar' licenza che siano uisitati massime dal confessore,/ se bene gl'habbiamo p[er] gratia di Dio procurato p[er] l'adietro questo/ bene con dar' alcuni denari ai loro P'roni, e di quà inanzi saranno/ coll'aiuto del med'mo Sig're meglio assistiti e corporalm'te, e spiritualm'te/ p[er] che habbiamo fatto fare due Spedali p[er] riceuerli in q'to bisogno./</p> <p>Si ritrouano qui circa sei mila Christiani schiaui, e fra essi dodeci/ Sacerdoti, et altrettanti tra Diaconi, Suddiaconi, e Religiosi Laici,/ de quali tutti, se bene i trauagli sono molto grandi, tuttauia al/cuni patiscono meno degl'altri, come sono i spallieri delle/ Galere i Vogauanti, alcuni, che fanno l'Osteria ne Bagni,/ i Barberi, i Scriuani, e tutti quelli, che sanno qualche arte, ò/ hanno qualche altro mezzo di far' denari: i Preti anche sono p[er]/ misericordia del Sig're alquanto solleuati p[er] mezzo de laici, i quali/ se bene sono loro compagni nella schiauitud'e, li risguardano però/ come Padri, e portandogli gran' riuerenza, massimè quando ui/uono de buoni sacerdoti, li fanno liberare dal lauoro quotidiano,/ et anche ben spesso da quello della Galera,</p>	<p>Catholic priests help the slaves with their spiritual needs</p> <p>Two hospitals were built for the infirm</p> <p>There are 12 priests among the slaves in Tunis. They help the other [slaves] with their spiritual needs</p> <p>The priests are respected by the others</p>	<p>every month. When [the slaves] fall ill, especially if they are old, they put them in their horse stables or</p> <p>fol. 274v in some corner of their houses, where many are left to starve to death, without even being given permission to be seen by a confessor, even though we have procured this favour some time ago, by the grace of God, by giving a few <i>denari</i> to their masters, and from now on, with the help of the Lord, they will receive more bodily and spiritual assistance, because we erected two hospitals with the aim of receiving them in such time of need.</p> <p>There are approximately six thousand Christian slaves here, and among them twelve priests and just as many deacons, sub-deacons, and unordained ecclesiastics, and even though all of their torments are great, nevertheless some suffer less than others, such as the <i>spallieri</i> on the galleys, the front rowers, some of the Bath cooks, the barbers, the scribes, and all those who know a trade or have some other means to make money; the priests also, by the mercy of God, are somewhat relieved thanks to the laymen [around them], who, although they are their companions in slavery, see them as their fathers and have great respect for them, especially when they live like good priests, and they free them of their daily work, and often their galley duties as well, by</p>
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<p>Hanno qualche/ consolat'ne sp'uale</p>	<p>pagando p[er] essi un/ tanto al Padrone, e facendogli dar' pane migliore del solito, e/ dandogli la Cappella del Bagno ogni settimana mezza pezza/ da otto con obbligo solo di tre messe la Settimana, riceuendo/ poi ben' spesso retribuzione da particolari p[er] le altre che dicono,/ come anco quando assistono à qualche messa cantata p[er] morti.</p> <p>Non manca Iddio bened'o che è P're delle misericordie, e Dio d'ogni/ consolat'ne di consolare con la gratia sua quelli, che corporalm'te/ sono tanto afflitti, e ueramente è un'effetto grande della gr'a/ di Giesù Christo il zelo che dà in mezzo à tanti trauagli p[er] la/ sua S'ta fede, e p[er] le cose della Relig'ne à queste pouere et afflitte/ fol. 275r sue membra.</p> <p>Narrerò poi alcuni particolari patimenti sofferti p[er] la fede; al presente/ sono p[er] dire qualche si fa in commune da tutti.</p>	<p>They have some spiritual solace</p>	<p>paying a certain amount to the owner, and they give them better bread than usual, and offer them the Bath chapel every week [and] half a piece of eight, with the sole condition that they say Mass three times a week, and on top of that [the priests] often receive payment from private individuals for [any] additional masses they say, or when they help out with the service for the dead.</p> <p>The blessed Lord, who is the father of all mercy and God of all consolation, does not forget to comfort with his grace those who are so afflicted bodily. The zeal that Jesus Christ bestows on the poor and distressed members [of the Church], in return for so many hardships, through his holy faith and all matters of religion, is truly a great effect of his grace. fol. 275r</p> <p>Later I will narrate certain torments that have been suffered for the faith; [but] for the moment I am going to talk about what is done in common by all.</p>
<p>Ogni Bagno hà la sua Cappella</p>	<p>Hà ciascun Bagno la sua Cappella, la quale uien' mantenuta l'o con una/ cerca, che si fà una uolta la Settimana, andando in tutti i bagni,/ e nelle case della Città oue sono Christiani, dalla qual' cerca/ si cauarà circa d'un scudo p[er] cappella ogni</p>	<p>Every Bath has its own chapel</p>	<p>Each Bath has its own chapel, which is maintained, 1) by alms collected once a week from all the Baths and from the city households that are inhabited by Christians. When all the Christians are here [in the city], the handouts</p>

<p>Di che si mantenghi/no le Cappelle</p> <p>Si offitiano le Cap/pelle con ...</p>	<p>settimana quando tutti/ i Christiani sono qui, e molti Rinegati contribuiscono anch'essi/ nascostamente à questa limosina non meno di qualche fan'o/ i fedeli; 2'o quelli, che uendono uino, ò che ne hanno, si sono/ uolontariamente tassati estessi à dare due testoni p[er] botte di uino/ alla Cappella del loro Bagno; 3'o i Christiani, che muorono in/ queste parti con qualche poco denaro auanzato, fanno lassite à/ d'e Cappelle: Tutto questo è amministrato da due principali/ e migliori Christiani del Bagno, i quali ogn'anno rendono conto/ esene continuati in officio ò mutati, secondo che bene, ò male si/ sono in esso portati. Oltre al sacerdote mantengono d'e Cappelle/ ciascuna un' Sagrestano, e p[er] gratia de Dio sono si p[er] le festi/ Sacerdotali, come p[er] il restante, meglio tenute, che molte chiese/ anco Parochiali non sono in Christianità. Ogni giorno quando/ si sono Preti à bastanza in tutte si dice messa p'ma che si uada/ al lauoro: tutti i Sabbati, e Vigilie di feste doppo che e serrato/ il Bagno si canta il Vespro, e poi si dicono le litanie della Mad'na./ Ogni mese si fanno tre Prediche in tre Bagni diuersi, ne/ quali sono stabilite tre confraternità, et in quei giorni ui/ si canta Messa sebenne, ad una delle quali che e Confraternità del Santiss'mo Sacramento, s'espone e si fà poi la Processione/</p> <p>fol. 275v</p>	<p>About the upkeep of the chapels</p> <p>The chapels are serviced with . . .</p>	<p>amount every week to approximately one <i>scudo</i> per chapel, and many renegades secretly contribute to this charity, no less than the faithful; 2) those who sell or who own wine voluntarily tax themselves by two <i>testoni</i> per barrel of wine for the chapel of their respective Bath; 3) the Christians who die here with some savings make donations to the chapels. All of this is administered by the two most important and best Christians of each Bath. Their stay in office is decided every year according to how well or how badly they have behaved. Besides the chapel priest, there is a sacristan who takes care of each of the chapels mentioned above and, by the grace of God, these [chapels] are better kept than many parochial churches in Christendom, not only on the holy days, but also the rest of the time. Every day, when there are enough priests in all [of the chapels], Mass is said before the men go to work; every Saturday and on the Eve of feasts, after the Bath is locked, they sing the vespers and then they say the litanies of the Madonna. Every month, three sermons are preached in three different Baths where three confraternities have been established, and on those days Mass is sung there even though at one of the confraternities, which is called the Confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament, the said sacrament is displayed and then carried in procession</p> <p>fol. 275v</p>
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<p>Si frequentano/ assai le Confess'ni/ e com'unioni</p> <p>Gran' deuot'ne di/ alcuni poueri Chiaui</p>	<p>del med'mo Ss'mo Sacramento dentro al Bagno, e mentre l'Auuento, e/ la Quaresima ogni Venardi si fà un Sermone. Ne giorni delle feste/ de Padroni di ciascheduna Cappella ui si dice il 1' o e 2' o Vespro,/ si dicono due messe, una priuata, alla quale si comunicano/ molti di quelli, che hanno d'andar à lauorare, et una Cantata/ con la maggior solennità che è possibile.</p> <p>La maggior nostra consolat'ne è che se bene non tutti hanno la plenitu/dine dello Spirito del Christianesimo, come non l'hanno ne anche/ tutti quei che sono in Christianità, e benche uene siano alcuni/ pochi, che paiono non hauerne se non il nome, e l'habito, tuttauia/ non disperiamo della conuersione di questi e uene sono d'altri/ d'un' essemplio singolare, p[er]che non solo le Confessioni, e Commu/nioni sono molte più frequente in queste pouere Cappelle, che/ in molte grandi Chiese in Christianità, e non si contentano i/ poueri Schiaui di esporsi quelli uolontariamente ad essere basto/nati, che habitano in case particolari p[er] uenir à sentir messa/ ò confessarsi, e di sopportar pentite'tem'te, e senza lamentarsi/ i loro grauissimi trauagli, quali dicono hauer giustamente/ meritati p[er] i peccati, che commetteuano in Christianità; mà/ anche à d'i trauagli aggiungono penitenze uolontarie, come di/ digiunar' qualche giorno della Settimana, far' discipline/ fin'al Sangue la notte doppo esser</p>	<p>Confessions and communions are quite frequent</p> <p>The great devotion of some poor slaves</p>	<p>inside the Bath; and during Advent and Lent, a sermon is preached every Friday. On the days of the patron saints of each chapel, the first and second vespers are said, as well as two masses—one low, where many of those who have to go to work receive communion; and one sung as solemnly as possible.</p> <p>Our greatest consolation is that, although not everybody has the spirit of Christianity fully [within themselves], just like not everybody in Christendom has it, and even though there are a few who only seem to be Christian by name and habit, nevertheless we have not given up hope of converting them, and besides, there are others who give singular example, because confessions and communions are a lot more frequent in these poor chapels than in many great churches of the Christian world, and the poor slaves who live in private households are content to voluntarily expose themselves to being beaten for attending Mass or going to confession and are ready to bear their harshest torments patiently and without complaining, which they say they deserve for the sins they committed on Christian ground; [moreover,] to the torments mentioned above, they also add voluntary penances, such as fasting on certain days of the week, or flagellating themselves at night after they come back from</p>
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	<p>tornati da lauorare, et/ alcuni (e questi sono dei più poueri) hanno tanto amor' di/ Dio che non desiderano ne la libertà, ne che gli siano sminuite/ le fatighe, ne meno di non sentir' tanto l'acerbità de mali/ trattamenti, che gli uengono fatti, ma solo la gratia di passar'/ la uita loro senza più offender Dio, non hauendo maggiore/ fol. 276r afflittione, che di uederlo offender' degl'altri.</p>		<p>work, until they draw blood, and some of them (and those are the poorest) have such love of God that they desire neither liberty, nor that their exertions be diminished, nor even that they feel to a lesser extent the acerbity of their mistreatments, but only the grace to spend their lives without offending God any longer, having no greater fol. 276r sorrow than to see Him offended by others.</p>
<p>Sono alcuni pochi/ discoli</p>	<p>Come trà i Laici, così ancora trà i Sacerdoti uene sono qui de buoni, e de/ discoli, alcuni sono di grandissimo essemplio, altri quaerentes quae/ sua sunt, et non quae Jesu Christi, sono à scandalo, et è difficile/ ne con buone parole, ne con minaccie emendarli, se bene p[er] gratia/ di Dio questi sono pochi.</p>	<p>There are a few who are bad</p>	<p>Just like the laymen, the priests are divided between the good and the rotten; some [offer] greatest example, while others seek their own interest and not that of Jesus Christ, and they [give] scandal, and it is difficult to correct them either with good words or threats, although, by the grace of God, there are few like that.</p>
<p>Li Giouani sono mal/trattati piu degli'/altri</p>	<p>Frà la moltitud'e di tutti questi poueri Schiaui non hò ancora parlato de/ più afflitti, che sono i giouani, quali uolendo i Turchi indurre q'ndo/ à peccati enormi, e quando à negar' la n'ra S'ta fede, se à questo/ effetto non bastano promesse, e minaccie, ui aggiungono bastona/te, e tanti mali trattamenti che è marauiglia, che possino/ sostenerli, n'habbiamo hauto essemplij singolari di pazienza/ in due, che p[er] lo spatio di due Anni p[er] non uoler' rinegare, han'o/ sofferto grauissimi tormenti con una constanza ammira/bile: Vno di questi sarà prima dall'heresia</p>	<p>The young are more mistreated than the rest</p>	<p>Among the multitude of all these poor slaves, I have not yet discussed the most afflicted ones, the young, whom the Turks want to incite either to commit enormous sins or to renounce our holy faith, and if promises and threats are not enough, they add beatings and so many ill-treatments that it is wondrous that they can bear them. We have had extraordinary examples of patience from two [young slaves], who for two years refused to renounce their faith [and] suffered the most serious torments with admirable constancy. One of them will be converted from the Lutheran</p>
<p>Pazienza grande/ di alcuni</p>		<p>The great patience of some</p>	

<p>Progressi et effetti/ ... delle miss'ni</p>	<p>di Lutero con/uertito alla nostra Relig'ne, alla quale p... anche/ posposta la sua libertà, non hauendolo uoluto p[er] mezo degl'/ Inglesi, che lo uoleuano riscattare con conditione che tornasse alla/ setta loro. Abbiamo riceuto [sic] l'abiurat'ne di altri quattordecì trà/ Lutherani, e Caluinisti, e d'un'Greco, e batezzato cinq' persone,/ un Tartaro, che haueua 70. anni, un' giouane di 27. Anni figlio/lo d'una Mora, e tre fancinolle de Christiani.</p>	<p>Progress and results . . . of the missions</p>	<p>heresy to our religion, for which he even chose to postpone his liberty, refusing to regain it with the help of Englishmen, whose condition for ransoming him was that he return to their sect. We have received the abjurations of fourteen other Lutherans, Calvinists, and one Greek, and we baptized five persons: a 70-year old Tatar; a 27-year old youth, the son of a Moor woman; and three lads of Christian parents.</p>
<p>Edificat'ne grande/ ... d'alcuni Schiaui/ p[er] la .../ della S'ta fede.</p>	<p>Ci hanno anche dato un' edificat'ne indicibile quattro altri i quali p[er]/ non rinegar' la fede, hanno disprezzato offerte e patito tormenti/ sopra qualche si poteua aspettare dall'età loro, non hauen/do il piu uecchio di loro si non quattordecì anni, et uno sola/mente undeci. Pigliauano p[er] l'addietro l'eusione che il loro/ P'rone il giorno del Venerdì, come è l' solito, fosse andato/ fol. 276v ala Moschea, e se ne ueniuaano alla Cappella più uicina, ò p[er] con/fesarsi, ò p[er] raccomandarsi all' or'one(?) di qualche Sacerdote non/ hauendo tempo di sentir' la messa intiera; mà essendosi di ciò/ auerto il d'o loro P'rone gli e ne hà leuata la facoltà hauendoli/ poi fatto p[er] forza radere i capelli, e fatto pigliar' il Turbane/ e l'habito Turchesco il che ci uieta di potergli parlare con/ quella libertà, che faceuamo p[er] l'inanzi; ma Dio NS're sotto/ quell' habito Turchesco</p>	<p>Great edification . . . of certain slaves for the . . . of the holy faith</p>	<p>Great edification came from the example set by four others, who in defense of their faith refused offers and suffered torments above anything that can be expected at their age, the oldest of them being no older than fourteen, and one of them only eleven. They took advantage of the fact that their master had the habit of going to the mosque every Friday, fol. 276v and they went to the closest chapel, either to make confessions or to ask some priest to pray for them, since they did not have enough time to attend the entire Mass; but their master found out about this and forbade them to go, and he had their hair shaven, and he made them wear a turban and Turkish clothes, which now prevents us from talking to them as freely as we used to; but God our Lord knows that under that Turkish attire they have a truly Christian spirit: whenever possible,</p>

<p>Molti si fanno/ Turchi./ Proppone .../ ... che ui sia/ am'inistrato il Sacra/mento della Cresima</p>	<p>conosceua in loro un' spirito ueram'te/ Christiano; fanno mattina, e sera le loro orationi insieme quando/ gli è possibile, e dicono spesso al loro P'rone, che l'habito non fà/ il Christiano e che ne le bastonate, ne quanti tormenti potrà/ fargli sperimentare, ne la morte istessa non li separeranno/ già mai da Giesù Christo. Mà se questi, et altri si porrano ualoro/samente, altri molti anche cadono, e si fanno Turchi <u>p[er] il che non/ possono l'EE. VV. immaginarsi quanto sarebbe seruitio di Dio/ il procurare, ò con mandarci qualche Vescouo disoccupato, ò p[er]/ altro mezzo che s'amministrasse qui, e negl'altri luoghi di Bar/baria il Sacramento della S'ta Cresima</u>, col quale, essendo questi/ figliuoli di Christo honorati della dignità de suoi soldati re/sisterebano più animosamente ai persecutori della sua fede.</p>	<p>Many become Turks. He proposes . . . that the sacrament of Confirmation be administered there</p>	<p>they say their prayers together, mornings and evenings, and they often tell their master that the clothes do not make the Christian, and that neither beatings, nor any other punishment that he can give them, nor even death itself will ever separate them from Jesus Christ. But if these and others behave courageously, still many others fall and become Turks, <u>for which reason Your Eminences could not imagine how beneficial to the service of God it would be to provide or send some currently unassigned bishop, or by any other means [allow] the sacrament of the Holy Confirmation to be administered here and in other parts of Barbary</u>, such that these sons of Christ, being honored with the dignity of [being] Christ's soldiers, would more heartily resist the persecutors of their faith.</p>
<p>Li donne schiaue/ sono molto angariate/ p[er] farle rinegare.</p>	<p>Sono parimente molto mal trattate le Donne, e con bastonate o con farle/ molto lauorare e non dargli la metà di qualche è necessario p[er]/ sostentamento della uita, e tutto ciò ad effetto d'obligarle à ri/negare la nostra S'ta fede, se bene p[er] gratia del Sig're sono constantis/sime, e non sentano [tanto] i loro trauagli, quanto di non poter'/ assistere come uorebano al S'mo Sacrificio delle Messe, il che/ procurano quanto più possono, ancor si p[er] il far' non posso/no fare senza esser' poi bastonate. Vi ne sono trà di</p>	<p>The female slaves are much pressured to abjure their religion</p>	<p>They also treat the women very badly, with beatings and much work and with not giving them half of what is necessary for their sustenance, all of which is meant to make them renounce our holy faith, although, by the grace of the Lord, they are very constant and they suffer their exertions [with less difficulty than] not being able to attend the most holy sacrifice of the Mass as they would wish, which they do as often as they can, even though they cannot do so without being afterwards beaten. Among them [there] are some</p>

<p>[Margin notes illegible on this page]</p>	<p>esse, che/ fol. 277r non sono mai uscite dalle case de loro P'roni da 10. 20. 30. 35. e 40./ anni che sono Schiaue, uolendo li Turchi assuefarle all'usanza/ delle loro donne, le quale doppo esser maritate non escano piu, al/meno quelle delle persone più grandi; e qualche affligga più/ quelle pouere schiaue sie che nelle malatie loro gli uien'/ negata la consolat'ne di poter hauere un'Confessore, anzi i loro/ P'roni le fanno assitare da suoi Sacerdoti, che fanno ogni/ sforza p[er] peruertirle, perche credono, che facendo rinegar' un'/ Christiano il Paradiso non gli puol' mancare p[er] qualsiuoglia/ peccati che possono poi commettere, mà con tutto ciò s'intende/ di rado, che nessuna di d'e Donne rineghi.</p> <p>Oltre ai Schiaui soprad'i che stanno nella Città, molti, come accen/nai, ne tengono i Barbari nella Campagna in luoghi da loro chia/mati Masserie, oue li fanno continuamente stentare, ne gli/ permettono già mai di poter' uenire alla Città. Andai il mese/ d'ottobre ultimo ad una di d'e Masserie discosta di quà circa/ circa uenti miglie, nella quale Mustafa di Cardo Capitano/ degli Andalusi di queste parti tiene gran' quantità de</p>	<p>[Margin notes illegible on this page]</p>	<p>fol. 277r who have never been outside of their masters' houses for all the ten, twenty, thirty, thirty-five, and forty years that they have been enslaved, because the Turks want to accustom them to the habit of their own ladies, who stop going out after they get married—or at least [that is the case] for the most important persons; and what afflicts those poor women the most is that, in their time of sickness, they are denied the consolation of a confessor; on the contrary, their masters have them assisted by their own priests, who do everything they can to pervert them, because they believe that if they make a Christian renounce his or her faith, they cannot fail to get into heaven, regardless of the sins that they commit afterwards; yet even so, it is a rare occurrence to hear that one of the ladies mentioned above has abjured [her religion].</p> <p>Besides the slaves mentioned above, who live in the city, there are many others—as I indicated earlier—whom the barbarians keep in the countryside, in places called 'Masserie' [manor farms], where they keep them all the time, without ever allowing them to come to the city. Last October I went to one of these manor farms, located approximately twenty miles from here, where Mustafa di Cardo, captain of the</p>
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<p>Visita fruttuosa/ fatta dal Vic'rio Ap'lico</p> <p>Schiaui consolati/ e</p>	<p>Schiaui/ Christiani; difficile sarebbe il rappresentare le necessità sp'uali/ e temporali loro, hanno p[er] uitta un'solo pane il giorno, molto(?)/ nero, mezzo tosto, piccolo e fatto d'un grano marcio tale certo/ che molti cani non ne uorrebbono mangiare p[er] il forore: questo pane/ con vn cucchiaino p[er] giorno del med'mo grano marcio grossam'te maci/nato, e cotto in un'poco di acqua, e di sale, è tutto il loro sosten/tamento, sono senza altro uestimento ... alcuni pochi stracci/ p[er] coprirsi, sempre oppressi di fatighe dalla mattina sino/ alla sera esposti à tutte l'ingiurie di tempo, facendoli i lor' guar/diani straordinariam'te faticare specialmente mentre le piogge/ si p[er] farli più patire, come p[er] far' più abundantem'te l'acqua/</p> <p>fol. 277v nelle terre e giardini de lor' P'roni p[er] così renderli più fertili; uenuta/ poi la notte, il letto loro è la nuda terra rinchiusi in luogo oscuro./ Quanto alle s'puali non haueuano dal principio della loro schia/uitudine uisto alcun' Sacerdote. Si confessarono, e communicaro/no tutti mentre alcuni giorni, che io stato con loro molto consolati/ di questo beneficio, e d'hauer' sentito in quei giorni Messa, la quale/ molti di loro non haueuano inteso da trenta o trentacinq' anni./ Li regalai poi secondo la possibilità della pouertà mia, hauendo/ fatto comprare alcuni ..., e datigli</p>	<p>Fruitful visitation by the apostolic vicar</p>	<p>Andalusians in these parts, keeps a great number of Christian slaves. It would be difficult to accurately describe their spiritual and secular needs: for sustenance they only have one loaf of bread per day, very dark, half baked, small and made of rotten grain such that mad dogs would refuse to eat; this bread, together with a spoonful of the same rotten grain, coarsely milled and boiled in a little water with salt, is their entire nourishment for the day; they have no clothes besides a few shreds to cover themselves, [they are] constantly oppressed by exertions, from morning to evening, [and] exposed to the injuries of the weather, since their guards work them especially hard in the rain, with a view to increase their suffering, but also in order to use the water more thoroughly</p> <p>fol. 277v and thus make the lands and gardens of their masters more fertile; once the night comes, they are locked up in a dark place and the naked earth is their bed. As far as their spiritual [needs] are concerned, they had not seen one single priest since the beginning of their enslavement. In the space of the few days that I spent with them, they all made their confessions and took communion and were greatly consoled by this benefit and also for having heard Mass, which many of them had not heard in thirty or thirty-five years. I then fed them according to the possibilities of my poverty:</p>
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<p>regalati</p> <p>Rinegati p[er] timore/ de tormenti non/ⁱ</p> <p>Confessioni fatte/ de Schiaui delle/ Galere</p>	<p>con pane migliore di q'llo./ che gli dà il P'rone, della quale poca Elemosina furono anche par/tecipi uenti due renegati, compagni delle miserie di quei poueri/ Christiani, quali ritrattarano uolontieri l'abnegat'ne che sforza/tam'te hanno fatto de la nostra Religione, se non temessero i graui/ tormenti(?) ...ⁱⁱ p[er] ciò hauerebano indubitata^{te} à soffrire. Volsi quin/di passare ad un'altra Masseria, mà ne fui scongiato p[er] i grandi/ pericoli, che bisognerà passare p[er] arriuarsì, onde ritornato quà/ alla Città, e celebrateui le feste del Santiss'mo Natale, e due altri/ di Santi P'roni di due Bagni, nelle quali essendosi fatto l'offitio/ diuino, e cantata la S'ta messa solennemente si fecero più di sette/cento confessioni, e Communioni, come in diuersi Viaggi, che han'no/ fatto qui le Galere Turchesche, habbiamo anche hauto [sic] questa gr'a/ dal' Sig're di sentir le confessioni, e comunicare molti poueri/ Schiaui, i quali sono stati(?) 20. 25 e 30. anni senza poter' hauer'/ consolatione.</p> <p>Il ... seguente alla festa degl'Innocenti mi partij p[er] un' altra/ Masseria, lontana di quà circa diece miglia nella qual si ritro/uano duecento poueri Schiaui, che ui tiene Chelibi figliuolo/ dell'</p>	<p>The slaves were consoled and fed</p> <p>For fear of torment, the renegades do not . . .^{iv}</p> <p>Confessions given by galley slaves</p>	<p>I bought some sheep(?)²⁷ and gave them to them, together with better bread than what their master usually gave them, a small alms of which twenty-two renegades—companions in misery of those poor Christians—also availed themselves; [those renegades] would gladly revoke their abnegation of our religion if they did not fear the great torments . . .^{vii} which they undoubtedly would have to suffer. From there, I had intended to go to another Masseria, but I was dissuaded on account of the great perils I would have had to go through in order to get there. Once returned to the city and after having celebrated the festivities of Christmas and those of the patron saints of two Baths, where the divine service was celebrated and the Holy Mass was sung, more than seven hundred people made their confessions and took communion; and thanks to the various incursions made here by Turkish galleys, our Lord gave us the grace of hearing the confessions and giving communion to many poor slaves who had until then spent twenty, twenty-five, and thirty years without any consolation.</p> <p>The following [day], the Feast of the Innocents, I went to a different Masseria, located about ten miles from here, where there are two hundred poor slaves owned by Chelib, son of the recently</p>
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²⁷ French version, 238.

<p>[Margin notes illegible on this page]</p>	<p>ultimamente morto <i>daya</i> di questo Regno (il <i>Daya</i>/ fol. 278r e come Rè, e si fà p[er] elettione) d'o Chelibi, il quale è uno de princi/pali di questo Paese, padrone di quei tanto schiaui, li fà in d'a/ Masseria stare ordinariam'te sin' al tempo d'armarsi le Galere, nelle/ quali li manda à uogare, et al ritorno si ridoccono là, si che non ue/dono mai Sacerdote, non essendone nessuno(?) frà di loro. Per questo ha/ueuo desiderato un'tempo fà di andarci à uisitare, mà me n'impe/di la paura, che io haueuo, che la presenza del lor' p'rone, che ad/ occasione di alcuni edifitij, che ui fà fare, colà risiede, non mi/ leuarse la libertà, che m'era necessaria p[er] aiutarli, Inteso però,/ che egli era p[er] starui ancora lungo tempo, risolsi di andarci/ e portare meco alcuni regali da presentargli p[er] hauer libertà/ di poter trattar con i poueri Schiaui, de quali alcuni si tosto che/ m'habbero uisto lasciarono il lor' lauoro p[er] andarne à dar' auuiso/ agl'altri e mi uenni molti innanzi. Subitò arriuato andai dal/ lor' P'rone si p[er] preuenire qualche castigo di bastonate, che temeuo/ che l'hauer lasciato il lauoro non facesse dare à poueri Christia/ni come p[er] dirli la causa di quel mio uiaggio, e nel med'mo tempo/ gl'offerij qualche haueuo portato cioè un Barile di uin' rosso,/ un Barilotto di Alici, due Bicchieri, et una Cestarella di/ mele, che</p>	<p>[Margin notes illegible on this page]</p>	<p>deceased <i>daya</i> of this reign (the <i>daya</i> fol. 278r is like a king and is elected). Chelib, who is one of the main persons in this country and owner of those slaves, usually keeps them there until it is time to arm the galleys, whereupon he sends them to row, and on their return they go back [to the Masseria], such that they never see any priest, since there is none among themselves. That is the reason why I had been wanting to go there for a while, but I was held back by the fear that the presence of their owner, who resides there because of some construction work that he has ordered, would impede the freedom that I needed to help them. But when I heard that he intended to stay there for a long time, I resolved to go there and bring him some presents, in order to have liberty to treat with the poor slaves, some of whom, when they heard that I had been seen [in the area], left their work in order to let the others know, and many of them came to meet me. As soon as I arrived, I went to see their master in order to prevent the punishments that I feared he was going to give to the poor Christians who had left their work, but also to tell him about the reason for my visit. On that occasion, I gave him what I had brought [for him], namely a barrel of red wine, a small cask of anchovies, two goblets, and one basket of apples, which he received with</p>
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<p>Opere fruttuose/ fatte dal Vico Ap'co/ nel Bagno.</p>	<p>riceuette con demostrat'ne di grandiss'mo gusto, particolar/mente p[e]r il Barile di uin' rosso, e p[er] le mele, che stimò assai e/ le mandò il giorno seguente alla sua moglie in Tunisi, con/seruando il restante p[er] se, mostrandomi però procedere l'alle/grezza sua dalla Visita, che io li faceuo, et à suoi Schiaui, ap/presso in quali mi disse, che io usassi con ogni libertà non solo/ p[er] all' hora, mà ogni uolta che io uolessi andar' là, e che uoleua, che/ mentre tutto il tempo che mi parrebbe star' con loro, non piglias/si altro alloggiamento, che la sua propria casa, dalla quale fol. 278v</p> <p>hauessi da pigliare tutto quello, che mi fosse necessario e fui sfor/zato d' accettare di dormirui mentre il tempo che hebbi fortuna di/ stare con i poueri Schiaui. Lauorauano in luoghi diuersi, si che/ non li potei ueder tutti insieme se non la sera al Bagno: quiui/ doppo hauer cantato la litania della Mad'na Santiss'ma gli feci un'/ breue sermone al fine del quale hauendogli auuisato che la mat/tina p[er] tempo io con un'altro Sacerdote Schiauo che haueuo con/dotto meco, sarai stato al Bagno p[er] sentir' le loro confessioni, li/ lasciai p[er]che andasserò à riposarsi. Fù la mattina d'ord'e del/ P'rone molto più p[er] tempo del solito aperto il Bagno, nel quale/ hauendo amendue celebrato la S'ta Messa, impiegammo tutto/ quel giorno in ascoltare le loro Confessioni, eccettuatone un' quarto/ d' hora uerso l' hora del</p>	<p>Fruitful deeds done by the apostolic vicar in the Bath.</p>	<p>a show of great pleasure, particularly for the barrel of red wine and for the apples, which he highly appreciated and which he sent the next day to his wife in Tunis, keeping the rest for himself. He showed great joy at my visit, after which he told me that I should have all freedom, not only now, but whenever I wanted to go there again, and that he wanted me to take no other lodging than his own house, from which</p> <p>fol. 278v</p> <p>I was to take anything I needed, and I felt obliged to accept to sleep there the entire time that I was fortunate enough to spend with the poor slaves. They work in various places, which is why I could never see them all together, except in the Bath at night; there, after having sung the litany of the most holy Madonna, I gave them a brief sermon, at the end of which I announced that the following morning, another slave priest (whom I had brought with me) and I would stay in the Bath to hear their confessions, and after that I let them have their rest. In the morning, by order of the master, the Bath stayed open much longer than usual. We celebrated the Holy Mass there, and then we used that entire day to hear their confessions, except for the quarter hour we took at midday for a little lunch. Not seeing me, the</p>
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<p>Cortesia utile/ p[er] lo sp'ò fatta dal/ P'rone</p> <p>Com'unioni di molti/ reconciliat'ni e pace/ frà Schiaui</p> <p>[Margin notes illegible on this page]</p>	<p>mezzo giorno, mentre il quale facemmo/ un poco di collatione. Il med'mo loro P'rone non uedendomi chiede/ua loro doue io fussi, à cui non hauendo ardire di rispondere/ che io sentiuo le loro confessioni, diceuano che io stauo nel Bagno/ pregando p[er] tutti, et egli li mandaua p[er] che uenissero à pregar' meco/ di modo che in quel giorno me sentirono la maggior parte; fum'o/ ancora più sollecciti il dì seguente, et essendo ritornati al Ba'gno due hore doppo mezza notte fatte le preghiere finimmo/ di confessargli tutti, et alcuni altri uenuti da Giardini, e luoghi/ circonuicini, e riconciliar quegli, che s'erano Confessati il giorno/ precedente, io dissi messa nella quale si comunicorno da ottanta/ di loro, essendosi p'ma chiesti gl'uni agl'altri perdono publicamente/ e perdonatisi con copia di lacrime ad occasione d'inimicitie in/uecchiate ch'erano state tra di loro. Doppo la mia messa cele/brò l'altro Sacerdote, e comunicò alcuni, che s'erano confessati,/ e reconciliati mentre diceuo Messa, di maniera che tutti si confessarono/</p> <p>fol. 279r e comunicarono fuori di due, ò tre, i quali non potendolo all'hora,/ mi promisero di uenir à Casa nostra alla Città p[er] farlo. Diedi à ciascu/no una Corona p[er]che non n'haueuano, et hauendogli fatto comprare/ un bue, che ammazzarano e sparitirono fra di se, m'handai(?) da/ loro p[er]</p>	<p>A spiritually useful courtesy done by the master</p> <p>Communion [given] to many; reconciliations and peace among the slaves</p> <p>[Margin notes illegible on this page]</p>	<p>master asked where I was and they, not daring to say that I was hearing confessions, told him that I had stayed in the Bath to pray on their behalf, upon which he sent all of them back to pray with me, such that, on that day, most of them heard me. We were even busier the following day, and having returned to the Bath at two in the morning, we said our prayers and finished hearing the confessions of everybody there and some others besides who came from neighboring gardens and other places, and we reconciled those who had confessed the previous day, and then I said Mass, during which eighty of them received communion after having asked for forgiveness and tearfully forgiven one another for all the old enmities that they had among themselves. After my Mass, the other priest started another, [during which] he gave communion to those who had been confessing and reconciling during my service, such that [in the end] all of them made their confessions</p> <p>fol. 279r and received communion, except for two or three, who were not able at the time but promised to come to our house in the city and do it there. I gave each of them rosary beads because they did not have any and, after I bought them an ox, which they slaughtered and divided among</p>
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	<p>esser à casa il p' mo giorno dell' anno presente, nel quale do/ueuo dentro alla nostra pouera Cappella riceuere l'abiuratione/ d'un Caluinista, che però non la fece sin'al giorno dell'Epifania.</p> <p>Vi e ancora numero di queste Masserie doue haurei gran' desiderio di poter' / andar' à uisitar' i poueri Christiani, i qual priui della presenza/ d'un sacerdote uiuono più al modo de Mori, che conforme alle/ massime del Christianismo, mà p[er]che il paese non à libero p[er]/ i Christiani, e massime p[er] i Preti, e p[er] poter andare con sicurezza/ in Campagna bisogna pagare un' Turco che uenga in Compagnia,/ e fare altre spese in regolare quelli, sotto la cura de quali stanno/ i Schiaui, et à loro med'mi far' limosina, à chi d'un' Cappotto, à chi/ d'una Berretta, d'una Camiscia, d'un' paro di Scarpe, ò altra cosa/ simile, secondo che son' maggiori i loro bisogni, che altrimenti non/ u'è apparenza di potergli giouare, et io non hò tante facoltà,/ che possa souuenire à questo non posso se non(?) raccomandargli à/ Dio e rappresentare à chi p[er] gratia di Sua Diuina M'tà gode la/ liberta, et hà qualche carità p[er] Giesù Christo, quanto gli sarebbe/ grato che compassionasse le sue afflitte membre, e ueri fratelli/ non lasciandoli perire e nel corpo, e nell'anima, e uenendo pur' / troppo spesso che rineghino la fede p...si redono fuor' di</p>		<p>themselves, I left(?) them so that I could be home on the first day of the year, when I was supposed to receive the abjuration of a Calvinist, which actually did not happen until the day of the Epiphany.</p> <p>There are many of these Masserie where I greatly wish to go and visit the poor Christians, who, deprived of the presence of a priest, live their lives like Moors rather than according to the principles of Christianity, but since the country is not free for Christians and especially not for priests, and since, in order to travel safely to the countryside, it is necessary to pay a Turk to come along [as an escort], and make other expenses to treat those who supervise the slaves, and give alms to the slaves themselves, here a robe, there a cap, or a shirt, or a pair of shoes, or something similar, according to their needs, which they otherwise cannot fulfill, and [since] I do not have enough means to be able to help, I can but recommend them to God and show to those who, by the grace of His divine Majesty, enjoy their freedom and have some charity in the name of Jesus Christ, how appreciated they would be if they felt some compassion for the most afflicted members [of the Church] and their true brothers by not letting them perish in body and soul, <u>as they end up too often renouncing their faith . . . and are left without any hope for freedom or</u></p>
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<p>Tentatiui fatti da/ Schiaui p[er] hauer la/ libertà, mà però/ in uano</p>	<p><u>spe/ranza di libertà, e senza alcun' sollieuo:</u> Piaccia à S. d. M'tà/ di far ciò conoscer à quelli, che possono contribuire ad un'opera/ di carità si grande, e dargli gratia p[er] farlo.</p> <p>fol. 279v Con questa occasione conchiuderò questa l'ra già troppo lunga, con riferire/ alcuni tentatiui fatti da questi poueri p[er] procurari la liber/tà benche ciò di radò gli possa riuscire, che è ancora un'segno del/ molto che qui patiscono. Fecerò sedici, ò dicisette poueri Christiani/ due barchetti una di ... e l'altra di tela incerata, le quali hauendo/ tenute nascoste in un'magazzino, si espono poi in esse al mare,/ mà dopo due, ò tre miglia essendo il mare tempo cattiuo, et essen/dosi rotto un'grosso bastone, che haueuano preso p[er] seruir d'albero,/ furono costretti di ritornare al porto, doue i mori hauendoli presi,/ li ricondussero alla Città à loro P'roni, che non gli furono scorsi/ di bastonate. Lo stesso auenne à 30. ò 40. altri, che uolsero fug/gire con un Rinegato, il quale p[er] la parte sua hebbe 15. basto/nate, e poi fù posto nel Bagno con i Schiaui Christiani, e man/dato à lauorare con loro p[er] il tempo suo andar' in Galera, il che/ però non gli leuò il zelo, che conserua della sua p'ma Relig'ne, e/ la deuotione alla Mad'na Sant'ma, sentimento che hanno</p>	<p>Attempts made by the slaves to gain their liberty, but in vain</p>	<p><u>support</u>; may it please His divine Majesty to make this known to those who can contribute to such a great work of charity and grant them the grace to accomplish it.</p> <p>fol. 279v I will now conclude this already-too-long letter by referring to the attempts made by some of these poor people to regain their liberty, even though they can rarely be successful, which is another sign of how much they suffer here. Sixteen or seventeen poor Christians built two little boats, one made of leather(?)²⁸ and the other of waxed canvas, which they kept hidden in a storehouse until they took them to sea, but after two or three miles, as the sea weather turned bad and one of the sticks they used as a mast broke, they were forced to return to port, where the Moors, having caught them, dragged them back to their masters in the city, who did not spare them a flood of beatings. The same occurred to thirty or forty others, who wanted to run away together with a renegade, who, for his own part, received fifteen strikes and was put in the Bath, together with the Christian slaves, and made to work with them and sent to the galleys, which nevertheless did not diminish the zeal he held for his first religion and the devotion he had for the most holy Madonna, a</p>
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²⁸ Ibid., 241.

<p>Castigo asprissi/mo à quelli che/ tentano di fuggire</p>	<p>ancora/ molti altri rinegati.</p> <p>Quaranta, ò cinquanta altri Schiaui Christiani, che erano del Daya pre/sente non essendo ancora rinchiusi nel Bagno s'imbarcorno furti/uam'te in una faluua mà ben' tosto presi, hebbero come i precedenti/ gran' numero di bastonate, e furono tagliate l'orecchie agl'autori/ dell'impresa.</p>	<p>Severe punishments for those who attempt to run away</p>	<p>sentiment shared by many other renegades.</p> <p>Forty or fifty other Christian slaves of the current <i>daya</i>, not having yet been locked in the Bath, furtively embarked on a boat but were quickly captured; they received, like the others, a great number of beatings, and the instigators of the attempt had their ears cut.</p>
<p>Tormenti(?) aspriss'mi(?)/ dati ad alcuni/ poueri Schiaui</p>	<p>Volsero alcuni Schiaui dell'antico Bassà i quali si ritrouariano in Biserta/ fuggitti secondo si credessi ammazzarlo, e menar' uia la galera/ oue stauano, egli ne fece supplicare sei in diuersi modi, al p'mo/ fece rompere uiuo le membra, due ne fece squartare, e poscia stra/scinare p[er] la Città, il terzo posto ignudo in un' Sauo uolse, che fusse/ ocisso dai Christiani istessi nella galera con aghi, il quarto fece/</p> <p>fol. 280r con Tenaglie infocate morire, il quinto fù con la testa in giù buttato/ da una finestra, e poi bruciato, al sesto fu trapassato il corpo con/ un' ferro ardente, à quattro altri fece tagliare il naso, e l'orecchie./ et à quattordeci un' orecchio p[er] uno, le quali hauendo fatto cuocere./ glie le fece mangiare, et al restante della med'ma galera sua</p>	<p>Very harsh torments given to some poor slaves</p>	<p>A few of the former Bassa's slaves, who ran away to Bizerte, wanted, it is believed, to kill him²⁹ and sail away with their galley. [Having caught them,] the Bassa had six of them tortured in various ways: he had the limbs of the first one pulled off while still alive; the second was quartered and dragged through the city; the third was exposed naked and the Bassa ordered that the other Christian [slaves] from his galley kill him with needles; the fourth, he ordered</p> <p>fol. 280r killed with red-hot pincers; the fifth was hanged upside down from a window, then burned; the sixth was pierced with a heated iron; four others had their noses and both ears cut and fourteen only one ear each, which they then had to cook and eat; and the rest of the slaves on the same galley were given fifty or sixty strikes each.</p>

²⁹ According to the French translation, the slaves wanted to kill 'their guards' (French version, 241) but we believe that the verb 'to kill', used with a personal pronoun in the singular ('ammazzarlo'), actually refers to the Bassa himself.

<p>La Chiesa di Tripoli/ hà bisogno d'un' Missionario</p>	<p>fece/ dare 50. ò 60. bastonate p[er] uno.</p> <p>Ecco Em'mi Sig'ri lo stato, nel quale si ritroua questa pouera Chiesa, le cui/ miserie non è facile à far' intendere à chi non l'hà prouate, ò/ almeno uedute. Si degnino l'EE. VV. tener' sempre protettione/ di essa, e nelle occasioni ricordarsi de suoi bisogni temporali,/ e spirituali, et io p[er] fine prostrato à piedi dell'EE. VV. le bacio/ humil'te le Sacre uesti. Tunisi à di 29. di Gennaro 1654. Mi/ scordauo di rappresentare all'EE. VV. <u>Che la Chiesa di Tripoli/ haurebbe gran' bisogno d'un buon' Miss'rio Ap'lico p[er]che non ui è/ alcun' Prete che sia in libertà.</u></p> <p>Dell'EE. VV.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Deu'mo, et Vbidient'mo Seruitore Giuanni Le Vacher Sacerdote della Cong'ne della Missione Vicario Ap'lico in Tunisi</p> <p>fol. 286v</p> <p>[address] Alla Sacra Congreg'ne de/ Propaganda fide</p> <p>Per</p>	<p>The Church of Tripoli needs a missionary</p>	<p>This, eminent sirs, is the state of this poor church, whose misfortunes are hard to describe to those who have not experienced or at least seen them. May Your Eminencies always keep it under their protection and occasionally remember its temporal and spiritual needs. I end prostrate at Your Eminencies' feet, humbly kissing your holy vestments. Tunis, on the 29th of January 1654. I forgot to notify Your Eminencies <u>that the church of Tripoli would have great need of a good apostolic missionary, because there is not one single free priest there.</u></p> <p>Your Eminencies'</p> <p style="text-align: center;">most devoted and obedient servant Giovanni [Jean] Le Vacher, priest of the Congregation of the Mission apostolic vicar in Tunis</p> <p>fol. 286v</p> <p>[address] To the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith</p> <p>On behalf of</p>
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	<p>Giouanni Le Vacher Sacerdote della Congreg'ne della Missione e Vicario Ap'lico in Tunisi</p> <p><i>[SCPF notes, written in different hand]</i> <u>S. Card. d'Este</u></p> <p>Bisognerà leggerlo per extensu' con/tenendo molti capi.</p> <p><i>[in pencil, center of page, different hand]</i> Agat secretar.../ cu' Em'mu' S. Card'li/ Pan' ...ⁱⁱⁱ</p>		<p>Giovanni [Jean] Le Vacher, priest of the Congregation of the Mission and apostolic vicar in Tunis</p> <p><i>[SCPF notes, written in different hand]</i> <u>Cardinal d'Este</u></p> <p>This will have to be read in detail, as it has many points.</p> <p><i>[in pencil, center of page, different hand]</i> The secretary^{viii} should tend to this together with the most eminent Cardinal Pan...^{ix}</p>
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ⁱ Paper torn.

ⁱⁱ Paper torn.

ⁱⁱⁱ Undecipherable name (no similarity with cardinal names mentioned in ACTA records of that year).

^{iv} Paper torn.

^v 'One piece of eight', also known as the 'Spanish dollar', was a silver *peso* worth eight *reales*.

^{vi} One *baiocco* was one hundredth of a Papal *scudo*.

^{vii} Paper torn.

^{viii} Refers to Dionisio Massari, Secretary of the SCPF at that time.

^{ix} Undecipherable name (no similarity with cardinal names mentioned in ACTA records of that year).