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The Martyred Maternal Body in Pedro de Fuentes' Doña Francisca la Cautiva

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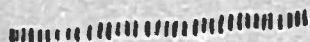
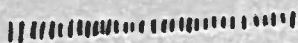
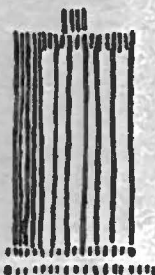
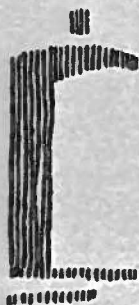
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**The Martyred Maternal Body in Pedro de Fuentes'
Doña Francisca la Cautiva**

Stacey L. Parker Aronson
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In *La Perfecta Casada* (1583) Fray Luis de León exhorts wives to redeem their fallen husbands through their exemplary behavior. Even infidelity must be endured as part of the perfect wife's duty to exert her good, Christian influence on her husband.

Y quanto a lo del marido, cierto es, lo primero, que el Apóstol dize, que muchas vezes la muger cristiana y fiel, al marido que es infiel le gana y haze su semejante. Y así no hay de pensar que pediries esta virtud es pediries lo que no pueden hazer, porque, si alguno puede con el marido, es la muger sola. Y si la caridad christiana obliga al bien del extraño, ¿cómo puede pensar la muger que no está obligada a ganar y a mejorar su marido? Pues la razón y la palabra de la muger discreta es más eficaz que otra ninguna en los oydos del hombre, porque su aviso es aviso dulce. (XVII 184)

In Pedro de Fuentes' nineteenth-century *romance* "Doña Francisca la cautiva," (1831) the Virgin likewise persuades a woman to use her Christian influences to redeem a fallen man, and her body becomes the instrument to bring about his redemption. On her way from Naples to Rome, Doña Francisca ("una noble señora de sangre calificada") and her three young children ("Ángeles en forma humana") are kidnapped by Turkish pirates and sold into slavery to El Renegado, a renegade Christian slave converted to Islam.

Pedro de Fuentes professes a decidedly Western point of view as it applies to the slave trade, in particular the trade of Christian slaves within the Ottoman Empire. This *romance* was composed during the *Tanzimat* period from the 1830s to the 1880s when Ottoman activists and writers, influenced by Western abolitionist ideals, led the call to abolish slavery within the Ottoman Empire. The empire responded to this perceived attack on its culture by closing ranks and by romanticizing the image of the harem.

The fact that the [Ottoman] elite refused to give up
kul/harem slavery and the West insisted on lumping

it with the other—and far more painful—types of slavery ensured that the one could not be abolished without abolishing the other. This inseparability of the different types of slavery only prolonged the suffering of domestic, mainly female, and agricultural slaves in the empire. (Toledano "Ottoman Concepts" 487)

Spain shared European fears related to the military threat posed by the expanding Ottoman Empire combined with Spain's concern over its own military security and vulnerability. Muslim corsairs based on the coasts of North Africa threatened Christian shipping interests with piracy and enslavement (Clark 105-129). In fact, by the end of the sixteenth century, more than 25,000 Christians were purportedly enslaved in the city of Algiers alone (Fernández 53; García Arenal 212). Slavery in the Ottoman Empire continued into the nineteenth century, during which time between 11,000 and 13,000 slaves entered the empire yearly (Toledano "Ottoman Concepts" 483). During the second half of the nineteenth century, only about 13% of the slaves imported per year were Caucasian, the remainder being African (Toledano "Slave Dealers" 53), thereby making white slaves all the more desirable. Spain itself did not have the military strength to execute full-scale invasions for the purpose of rescuing enslaved Christian Spanish citizens. Therefore, the problem of ransoming slaves was primarily left to the devices of individual families (Fernández 53-54) or to philanthropic Christian redemptionist organizations, such as the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians (Friedman 106-107) whose mission was to redeem as many captives as possible for those families lacking the economic wherewithal to secure their release (Clark 106-107; Fernández 53-54; Friedman 106-107).

Upon their homecoming, rescued Christian slaves were subjected to an Inquisitorial tribunal to determine the veracity of their claims and the sincerity of their reintegration into Christian society. At times this inquisition involved torture and thereby added to the already injurious situation of their enslavement and mistreatment.

Pero el cuerpo del cautivo no sólo era un pergamino sobre el que estaba inscrito su cautiverio. Si la declaración del cautivo y el testimonio de sus cicatrices no satisfacían a los jueces, su cuerpo pasaba a funcionar como último recurso de veracidad en la sala de torturas a la que se trasladaba el interrogatorio, ... (Fernández 57)

A more difficult and dangerous transition awaited the renegade, the Chris-

tion who had converted to Islam, particularly the male renegade. The bodily markings of male circumcision would make his repentance even more suspect.

Muslims under the rule of thirteenth-century Spanish king Alfonso X's law code *Las siete partidas*—known as *mudéjares*¹—received protections against forcible conversions to Christianity (Law II, 1438). However, a Christian who had voluntarily converted to Islam—known as a renegade—merited the forfeiture of his property and death as a heretic, "... guilty of very great wickedness and treason..." (Law IV, 1439-1440). Pedro Ordóñez de Ceballos in his 16th century work *Viaje del Mundo* addresses the character of the Christian converts to Islam within his own country.

Los renegados son gente por extremo mala, porque ni creen en Cristo ni en Mahoma; en lo público son moros y en lo secreto demonios; son blasfemos, jugadores, ladrones, inconstantes, amigos de mujeres, y fuera del pecado nefando, no hay vicio que no tengan en fin, como gente traidora a su Dios. (544-545; VII N.B.A.E., II, 286-b)

In addition to the psychologically demanding and at times physically torturous Inquisitorial proceedings, a repentent convert who renounced Islam and embraced his previous Christian faith must suffer life-long infamy as well.

... his testimony could never be taken, nor he hold office or any honorable position, nor make a will, nor be appointed an heir of others in any way whatsoever.... a penalty of this kind inflicted upon such a person is more severe than if he were put to death; for a dishonorable life will be worse to him than death itself, since he will not be able to make use of the honors and advantages which he sees others enjoy. (Law V, 1440)

The Christian perspective of Pedro de Fuentes' *romance* succeeds in vilifying *El Renegado*, one who should deserve sympathy due to his enslavement, because of his conversion to Islam. Why would a captured Christian slave like *El Renegado* of the *romance* convert to Islam? Historical evidence seeks to explain numerous reasons for which a captured Christian slave might convert to Islam and therefore become a "renegado" or a "turco de profesión." It has been estimated that one-quarter to one-third of captured Christian slaves actually did convert to Islam (García Arenal 244).

A Christian slave might convert to Islam out of fear or desperation (Bennassar 392-393), especially if he did not possess sufficient socio-economic standing or the economic wherewithal to be rescued. In fact, he might not be permitted to be ransomed at all (García Arenal 241) if he possessed a talent deemed to be particularly beneficial to his Muslims captors. He might convert under threat of violence, particularly if he were young (Bennassar 392-393). He might convert in order to integrate into Islamic society in exchange for freedom, economic advantage, or affection. Islam also provided a convenient refuge for criminals fleeing prosecution by civil or ecclesiastical authorities (García Arenal 241). He might convert because of the attractiveness of some of Islam's tenets, namely its sexual practices (García Arenal 249), such as polygamy (up to four wives) and concubinage; self-purification, thereby eliminating the need for confession; and salvation in Allah's paradise (Bennassar 392-393). He might convert willingly or be persuaded to do so in order to marry within Islam (Bennassar 392-393; García Arenal 249) or because he appeared to have the disposition to be a soldier or corsair (Clissold 4). In fact, for many Christian captives, their subsequent conversion to Islam provided them political and professional advantage as they became rulers or administrators of the Barbary States (Clissold 86-88). However, conversion to Islam did not necessarily guarantee freedom from slavery, but only from its most brutal manifestation: rowing on the galley ships (4). A woman slave might be encouraged or coerced to convert to be able to enter the harem (4). For example, Ellen Friedman recounts the situation of one young female slave who, like Doña Francisca of Pedro de Fuentes' romance, was severely abused by her master when she refused his offer to marry him and convert to Islam (Friedman 89). For a number of women, particularly white female slaves, domestic servitude and harem life served as the path for love, marriage, and social advancement because noblemen often chose their concubines and then later their wives from among the harem slaves (Toledano "Ottoman concepts" 493; "Slave Dealers" 53). As Ehud R. Toledano elaborates,

If such a concubine bore her master a child, the offspring was free, she could not be resold, and would become free after the death of her owner. In fact, a woman in that position, legally called *umm walad*, could not be resold from the moment her pregnancy became known. Not infrequently, masters would free an *umm walad* and marry her, especially if the baby was a boy. Thus, social mobility was at least a possibility for white slave-women, even if not all of them did actually realize their aspirations. Although there was no legal impediment in the way of non-

white slaves, this avenue of socio-economic betterment was not very real for them. ("Slave Dealers" 54)

Despite popular conceptions to the contrary, research has shown that North Africans did not usually encourage religious conversion on the part of their Christian slaves. Although Islamic law prohibited forced conversions to Islam (García Arenal 245), economic factors played a role as well, since religious conversion tended to decrease the slaves' monetary value. The fact that redemptionist organizations such as the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians refused to rescue renegades was a deterrent to conversion. In addition, as converted Muslims, slaves became exempt from certain labors, such as rowing in the galley ships (Friedman 90) so it was in the captors' interest that they not convert.

Although this Pedro de Fuentes *romance* is not technically a slave narrative, nor is it a martyrlogy, it shares characteristics with both of these forms of testimonial narrative. Slave narratives are first-person, eye-witness accounts of the brutalities of enslavement. Martyrlogies are exempla for potential Christian martyrs as to how they should behave in the face of adversity, suffering, and even torture and serve "to induce in the prospective martyr a willingness to undertake the experience, even though he knew it to be unpleasant" (Riddle 28) Enrique Fernández and Donald Riddle demonstrate a correlation between slave narratives and martyrlogies: slave narratives appear to adhere to what they term the "martyrlogical model."

According to the martyrlogical model, there are a series of recognizable steps. First, the Christian martyr is denounced to the authorities by a traitor from his own community. These authorities offer to pardon him in exchange for his conversion to Islam. The martyr rejects this offer and often mocks the authorities' Islamic faith. The martyr is necessarily tortured and in the midst of torture declares his faith. The martyr dies, and his body is secretly buried (Fernández 61; Riddle 108). The martyr's torture and resulting death are necessary for him to be considered a martyr in defense of the Christian faith.

Although not a true slave narrative or a martyrlogy, Pedro de Fuentes' *romance* follows closely this martyrlogical model, although with some striking differences, based on the fact that Doña Francisca is a mother, a maternal martyr. Doña Francisca is denounced by El Renegado. As a previous Christian, he is, therefore, a traitor to his own faith-based community of Christians. El Renegado offers her love, wealth, and marriage if she converts to Islam, but she, as likely did the reading public, doubts the sincerity of his affections towards her. She resists his offer and denounces his Islamic faith. She and her children are subsequently tortured. It is at

this point in the *romance* that Doña Francisca's poetic story differs substantially from traditional martyriological models as evidenced in many of the slave narratives. Although Doña Francisca initially declares her Christian faith, she does appear ready to renounce it and embrace Islam for the purpose of saving her children.

What was the purpose of this *romance* for the reading public of the time? It was likely intended to be read by Spanish Christians for the purpose of inspiring those individuals whose family members had been enslaved and for whom rescue was not imminent, as well as for those future slave martyrs who might find themselves in a similar situation. It might have served to encourage them to remain steadfast in their Christian faith and to not succumb to the temptation to renounce their faith. It might have also functioned to entice good Christians to support local efforts at fundraising for the purpose of ransoming Christian slaves. Perhaps most strikingly, it also served to exemplify the belief that all, even renegades, were redeemable through God. A consideration of its purpose necessitates a consideration of the purpose of martyriologies. In his sociological study of early Christian martyrs and of the narratives documenting their martyrdom, Donald Riddle notes that martyriologies were an important in the control of the early Christians by inducing in them a fervor for their own torture: "The willingness to undergo suffering is a social attitude which was present as the result of control" (2).

For the martyrs, as the unfortunate victims of persecution, were involved in a situation in which one of the essential elements was the task of control. Indeed it may be stated that any situation of persecution involves as its two primary aspects conflict and control. The persecuting group (i.e. the Roman state) attempts to enforce its demands upon the persecuted (Christians); while the persecuted, unless, as sometimes happens, they submit to the demands of the persecutors, are under the necessity of controlling those of their number who are faced with the personal decision of the matters at issue. The persecutors attempt to control the persecuted, while the persecuted must control those who are or may become the victims of untoward activity. (Riddle 2)

While not actively encouraging Christians to voluntarily assume the yoke of slavery, slave narratives have much in common with martyriologies in that they also stipulate modes of behavior. Antonio de Sosa's *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel*, for example, documents in agonizingly bloody detail

the sufferings and executions of thirty individuals in Northern Africa between 1529-1580.

A derivative of martyrologies and slave narratives is what John Beverly has defined as Latin American testimonial literature. Even though this *romance* "Doña Francisca la Cautiva" does not fit the category of traditional testimonial literature as defined by John Beverly², Beverly himself admits that "because testimonial is by nature a protean and demotic form not yet subject to legislation by a normative literary establishment, any attempt to specify a generic definition for it, as I do here, should be considered at best provisional, at worst repressive" (25). Unlike the traditional slave narratives and martyrologies, the *romance* cannot provide eyewitness testimony of the abuses suffered by Christian slaves at the hands of their captors because it is not narrated in the first person, nor is it recounted by someone who witnessed the incidents described therein. It is narrated by an omnipresent poetic voice for whom the Virgin serves as both inspirational muse and literary device, a *deus ex machina* to extricate the protagonist from her fate and provide a happy, albeit artificially contrived, ending³.

What this *romance* does have in common with much testimonial literature is the manner in which it evokes both personal and collective elements. In his study of tortured bodies as evidenced in slave narratives and Inquisitorial proceedings, Enrique Fernández notes that testimonial texts, like slave narratives and martyrologies, contain both personal and collective components (51). The personal is evoked by way of the pathos of the story of a mother who witnesses the brutal torture of her children and murder of her infant son. Pathos is coupled with and augmented by a miraculous subtext of divine intervention as Doña Francisca's murdered infant is restored to life, her children are spirited away to safety, and she herself survives multiple execution attempts, all through the intervention of the Virgin.

The collective nature of this *romance* is achieved through its similarity to other martyrologies and slave narratives. Memoirs of Christian enslavement provide corroborating, albeit propagandistic evidence of Muslim brutality⁴. Octavio Sapiencia, enslaved in Turkey for five years, describes a heart-wrenching scene in a slave market in which a pregnant mother of three watches in agony as her husband and two oldest children are sold away from her, in what was apparently a common practice (García Arenal 224).

... entre los cuales había marido y mujer, que estaba preñada, y con tres hijos de hasta diez años el mayor. Compró un turco al marido, el cual al dividirse de su mujer y hijos, quebraba el corazón de una pena. Ya dividido, llegó otro Turco que compró el hijo

mayor, el cual abrazado de su madre, y la madre de él, enternecian la dureza de los mismos Turcos presentes a aquella crueldad, que efectuaria, llegó un Moro, y compró al hijo Segundo, que con gritos esforcaba los clamores de la infeliz madre, que se enlazó con su hijo tan estrechamente, que hasta con los dientes le aprehendía, para resistir que se le quitasse la violencia del comprador. En fin cruelmente se le quitaron. Últimamente la miserable con el más tierno niño fue comprada a poder de otro Moro, quedando los circunstantes como absortos de tan lastimosos trances. Yo lo quedé de manera que todo aquel tiempo olvidé mi cautiverio, sintiendo la fereza con que el barbarismo trató aquellos desdichados. (Chapter I, 2)

In another example, sixteenth-century German Johannes Brenz chronicles the story of a woman who resorts to killing her own children.

... I will not relate the vile deeds committed by the diabolical [Turkish] people, involving all kinds of unchastity. At Rhodes there was an honorable woman who had two sons; when she saw that the city was about to be conquered by the Turks, she stabbed the two boys to death, so that they would not fall into Turkish hands; ... let everyone consider what reason there must be for a mother to perpetrate such a terrible deed against her own flesh and blood. She must have known how the Turks abuse the young [Christian captives]. Therefore all honorable men, to preserve their families from shame, should risk body and life in resisting the murderous Turk. (Bohnstedt 47)

In the Pedro de Fuentes *romance*, Doña Francisca's children are not sold away from her, nor does she murder them herself to save them from their fate. Yet, the brutality of her and their treatment at the hands of their captor, shocking though it would have been, would not have surprised a reader familiar with martyrologies and the slave narratives of the time.

When El Renegado tries to persuade Doña Francisca to renounce her Christianity and marry him, she refuses, even under torture. Doña Francisca is subjected to a type of martyrological and Inquisitorial torture during which she must declare her faith unconditionally. Unbeknownst to Doña

Francisca, the Virgin, along with the poetic voice and the reader, witnesses her torture at the hands of El Renegado.

... Renegar de Dios no quiero,
 que Mahoma es un canalla,
 que metido en los infiernos,
 tiene millones de almas,
 y yo creo en Jesucristo,
 en su Madre Soberana,
 y en el divino Misterio
 de la Trinidad Sagrada,
 un Dios solo, y tres personas,
 que así la Iglesia lo canta:
 no mas de una vida tengo,
 y la doy de buena gana,
 solo por no quebrantar
 lo que la Iglesia me manda.

It is only when her children are brutally beaten that she renounces her Christian faith.

Reniego de Jesucristo,
 también de la Virgen Santa,
 y del Divino Misterio
 de la Trinidad Sagrada.

It is at that moment when the Virgin intercedes indirectly: Doña Francisca's ten-month-old baby miraculously assumes the power of speech and persuades her that it is better to die rather than convert to Islam.

Madre, qué es eso que dices?
 Mira bien lo que te hablas,
 que aunque eso es de cumplimiento
 mucho le daña a tu alma,
 que para morir por Dios,
 no se han de tapar la cara.
 Vivan los Santos Misterios
 de nuestra Iglesia Romana,
 que mis hermanos y yo
 morimos de buena gana,
 solo porque nos defendas
 con la vida, y con el alma.

In a scene reminiscent of the Ovidian myth of Philomel and Procne, El Renegado murders the infant and threatens to cook him and serve him to his mother: "Yo os lo freiré en aceite, / y os lo comeréis mañana." He also plans to execute her the following day.

Dofia Francisca, contemplating her fate, commends her children to the Virgin. Her children respond by reminding her that the Virgin will not forget them: "Madre mía de mi alma, / no desconfies, Señora; / que la Virgen nos ampara." After they pray for her divine intercession, the Virgin del Carmen restores the dead baby to life and spirits the other children to safety. The Virgin calls upon Dofia Francisca to become the instrument of El Renegado's redemption.

Has de saber que este hombre,
que tanto a ti te maltrata
era muy devoto mío,
y no quiero, que su alma
se pierda, y de su rescate
tú sola has de ser la causa. (My emphasis)

Incensed at her explanation for the children's disappearance, El Renegado beats her and tries to execute her in increasingly more torturous ways by burning, hanging, and dragging her through the streets. However, once he realizes that Dofia Francisca's faith is so strong that he is unable to carry out his heinous plan, he predictably sees the error of his ways and embraces his former Christianity. He escapes with forty other Turks and eighty-seven Christian slaves.

Initially, Dofia Francisca's body is not sexualized. She is presented as having no husband, and, therefore, it can be assumed that she is a widow. While literary references to a woman's breasts in *romances* are often coded to imply sexual violence, exposed breasts being a euphemism for rape, for example, references to Dofia Francisca's breasts highlight their maternal and nutritive, and therefore non-sexual, function in the care of her infant son.

... á sus pechos lo criaba, ...

... al pecho se lo arrimaba.

... al pecho estaba, ...

It is only when her children are safely absent that Dofia Francisca's body becomes sexualized as a literary device to emphasize her shame and her vulnerability to being raped.

... su ropa le desandaban,
y dándole rectos golpes
á la vergüenza la sacan, ...

But, is Doña Francisca raped? In a real, extra-textual scenario, Doña Francisca would most certainly have been raped and likely forced to convert to Islam. Riddle reminds us that in the situation of female martyrs "the persecution of women often involved shameful treatment, ranging from indecent exposure to enforced prostitution, suggest[ing] the relation of the sexual feature" (Riddle 69). Naturally, the treatment of enslaved Christian captives of the state or of individuals varied greatly depending upon the temperament of masters and the work the slaves were obliged to do (Friedman 59). However, popular conceptions about Muslims and an already active European imagination intensified fear of sexual abuse and rape by Muslim captors: "... for women and young children there would be sexual abused, ..." (Friedman 55), and rape certainly would have figured within the realm of reasonable possibility. As the English slave Joseph Pitts observed in a slave market in Cairo, Egypt,

... although the women and maidens are veiled, yet the chapmen have liberty to view their faces, and to put their fingers into their mouths to feel their teeth; and also to feel their breasts. And further, as I have been informed, they are sometimes permitted by the sellers (in a modest way) to be searched whether they are Virgins or no. (Pitts 73; Clissold 40)

Octavio Sapiencia describes an even more horrific incident he purportedly witnessed in which a husband chose to stab his own wife to death rather than see her enslaved and raped by the marauding Turkish pirates, so palpable is the threat of sexual violence.

Y va en mi barca un hombre casado, y su mujer honesta en extremo, como en extremo hermosa. El marido reconocido el basal contrario que era de Turcos, y que la defensa como la huida era imposible: vuelto a su mujer le dijo con suma determinación que pidiese a Dios misericordia de sus pecados, porque tenía por menos terrible quitarle la vida, que verla con manifiesto peligro del honor en poder de bárbaros tan fieros. Inmediatamente le dio una puñalada en el corazón, de que la infeliz hermosa

espiró al mismo punto lastimosamente, y al mismo tiempo fue preciso echarla a la mar. (I, 1-2)

Las Siete Partidas attempted to legislate against sexual violence or even miscegenation by prescribing the punishment of execution for any Muslim who has sexual relations with a Christian virgin: "If a Moor has sexual intercourse with a Christian virgin, we order that he shall be stoned, ..." (Law X, 1441). Naturally, such legislation could only be enforced on the Iberian Peninsula in Christian controlled territories, and not in Muslim controlled territories or in Muslim countries. Its framers were obviously conscious of the intermittent contact between both Christians and Muslims within Spain itself and of the trafficking of both Christian and Muslim slaves due to the battles of the Reconquest (García Arenal 218). Not surprisingly, a Muslim could expect a more serious penalty than that imposed against a Christian guilty of a similar offense. Penalties for the raping of virgins by Christians generally ran the gamut from monetary compensation to public flogging to imprisonment to castration to execution. In some cases, marriage to one's rapist was offered and even solicited as a means by which to restore familial honor, particularly if victim and rapist belonged to the same socio-economic class. A Muslim, however, regardless of socio-economic status, could expect only death. Naturally, it might have been in a woman's best interest to frame even consensual sexual relations as rape to avoid accusations of complicity. Complicity could result in the forfeiture of one half of her property if it were a first offense and all of her property as well as her own execution if it were a second offense (Amt 70). In Islamic countries more severe penalties awaited a Christian man who had sexual intercourse—either forced or consensual—with a Muslim woman. The man faced being either beheaded or burned to death, and the woman, drowned in the sea after having been sewn up inside of a sack (Clissold 44).

Because Doña Francisca is presented as the Virgin's instrument on earth to redeem a fallen Christian, she must necessarily be asexual and sexually inviolate and therefore escape the inevitable sexual assault that awaited most female slaves. Like the Virgin mother of Christ, born without benefit of an earthly father, Doña Francisca is mother to a veritable trinity of fatherless children. Although El Renegado does not actually rape her, the threat is omnipresent. Once her children are safe, she is able to withstand torture and repeated murder attempts while serving as his *exemplum*. She is idealized as an exemplary Christian woman. As if to highlight her vulnerability while evoking a type of female solidarity, female divine intercession on the part of the Virgen del Carmen saves not only Doña Francisca and her children but El Renegado as well.

Pedro de Fuentes' *romance*, a fictitious slave narrative rendered poetically, functions doubly as martyrology and testimonial. It exemplifies not

only the Christian preference for martyrdom as a means to display the faith but the torment endured by Christian slaves as well. It cannot be overlooked, however, that the male poet utilizes the body (of Doña Francisca and that of her children), more specifically the female maternal body, as the site for woman's inevitable sacrifice and, ultimately, man's redemption.

Notes

- ¹ On the Iberian Peninsula (Spain), Muslims living in Christian controlled territories were referred to as *mudéjares*. Christians living in Muslim controlled territories were referred to as *mozárabes*. Muslim converts to Christianity were referred to as *moriscos*. There is no term of which I am familiar other than the pejorative *renegade* to designate Christian converts to Islam.
- ² By *testimonio* I mean a novel or novella-length narrative in book or pamphlet (that is, printed as opposed to acoustic) form, told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events he or she recounts, and whose unit of narration is usually a 'life' or a significant life experience. *Testimonio* may include, but is not subsumed under, any of the following textual categories, some of which are conventionally considered literature, others not: autobiography, autobiographical novel, oral history, memoir, confession, diary, interview, eyewitness report, life history, novela-testimonio, nonfiction novel, or "factographic literature." (24-25)
- ³ Stephen Clissold recounts experiences of captive Christians who claimed to have "... seen a dazzling light and heard the saint's (St. Domingo's) voice, ..." as it exhorted them to escape their Muslim captors by way of St. Domingo's divine guidance and intercession (12).
- ⁴ For accounts of slave narratives, see Auberti, Díaz, Galán, Garí y Shumell, Gómez de Losada, Gracián, Olave, Sapiencia, Solá and Torres Lanzas.

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