



**2. TURGUT REİS VE TÜRK DENİZCİLİK TARİHİ
ULUSLARARASI SEMPOZYUMU
(1-4 KASIM 2013)**

**2ND INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM OF TURGUT REIS
AND TURKISH MARITIME HISTORY
(1-4 NOVEMBER 2013)**

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DRAGUT THROUGH THE SPANISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

Eloy Martín CORRALES *

Abstract:

Turgut Rais, known as Dragut in the spanish historiography, has deserved an unequal attention depending on the centuries and the different territorial domains of the hispanic monarchy. In the case of the Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands, it's undeniable the great impact of the character, who after the disappearance of the Barbarrosas, personified like no one else the ottoman threat for the spanish coasts and navigation. Serve as examples the sacks of Pineda in Cataluña, Cullera in Valencia and Pollença in the island of Majorca.

Hence the most important chronicles of the time such as Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, Francisco López de Gomara, Luis Mármol de Carvajal and Diego del Castillo, outstand the figure of Dragut as the great menace. Also, literates of the stature of Miguel de Cervantes, Góngora and Fernando de Herrera dedicated attention him. However, local sources, especially from Cataluña and the Balearic Islands devoted him little attention, because the sources of the time tended no to mention the name of the great corsairs, alluding only to turkish and berber attacks.

The figure of Dragut was rescued in the second half of the nineteenth century because of two factors that really had little to do with the Ottoman-Spanish relations. First, the African War of 1859-60 between Spain and Morocco. It was the opportunity to dig up old grievances against the muslim enemy, including corsair attacks against spanish coasts and navigation, with enslaved christians as aftermath. Second, the critic rereading of the period when the Habsburg dynasty dominated Spain. In combination with the double rescue of the confrontations in sixteenth century, were staged in some places the landings of Dragut (like in Pollença, in Majorca) and some poems were dedicated to the cited commander (those of Fernández Shaw and some other) and plays ("Dragut el pirata or Los malteses").

In the last years, the recovery of Dragut by the spanish historiography remains as a pending subject. It has been published a series of local monographs, more interested in describe the negative consequences of the attacks than on inform us of the attackers. It's not strange that, in addition of the attention that the turkish historiography dedicates him (with certain trend to hagiography), the best work about the character (remember that the italian coast was the great damnified of the Dragut attacks), the Anna Spissu.

Keywords : *Dragut, Spain, Maghreb, 16th century.*

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Eloy Martín CORRALES

The figure of Turgut Reis (1485/1490-1565), known in Spain as Dragut, was very taken into account by many of the Spanish chroniclers who were contemporaries or lived shortly after him, among them: Francisco López de Gomara (1511-1566),¹ Luis de Mármol Carvajal (1511-1566),² Fray Prudencio de Sandoval (1552-1620),³ Diego Suarez Montañés (1552-d.1623)⁴ y Diego de Fuentes.⁵ Also paid attention to him litterateurs of the size of Fernando de Herrera (1534-1597),⁶ Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616)⁷ and Luis de Góngora (1561-1627).⁸

By the contrary, the actual historiography has paid little attention to such

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¹ *Guerras de mar del Emperador Carlos V, Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000. Edición y estudio de M.A. de Bunes Ibarra y N.E. Jiménez.*

² *Descripción General de Africa, Granada, René Rabut, 1573.*

³ *Su Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V, Maximo, Fortissimo, Rey de España y de las Indias, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano, Valladolid, Sebastián de Cañas, 1604 (First Part) and 1606 (Second Part). I use the edition of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Madrid, 1955-1956. 3 vols., prepared by Carlos Seco Serrano.*

⁴ *Historia del Maestre último que fue de Montesa y de su hermano Don Felipe de Borja. La manera como gobernaron las plazas de Orán y Mazalquivir, reinos de Tremecén y Ténez, en África, siendo allí capitanes generales, uno en pos del otro, como aquí se narra, Valencia, Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2005. Edition and critical study of M. Á de Bunes Ibarra and Beatriz Alonso Acero. Previously, E. Guillén Robles had published the first part in Madrid, M. Tello, 1889.*

⁵ *Conquista de África, donde se hallan agora nuevamente recopiadas por Diego de Fuentes muchos y muy notables hazañas de particulares caballeros, Amberes, Philippo Nutio, [1570].*

⁶ *Relacion de la Guerra de Cipro y suceso de la batalla naval de Lepanto, Sevilla, Imp. Alonso Picardo, 1572. Edited in Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España (CODOIN), XXI, Madrid, Imp. Viuda de Calero, 1852, pp. 247-382.*

⁷ In the novel *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda. Novela setentrional*, Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1617. I use the facsimile edition of the Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1990, pp. 1575-157?

⁸ L. de Góngora, *Amarrado al duro banco de una galera turquesca*, 1583. I use the *Antología poética*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2009, prepared by Antonio Carreira, pp. 114-115.

outstanding corsair, excepting few monographs⁹ and references, more or less extensive, in divulgation works.¹⁰ Possibly, this fact has to do with the grabbing of researcher's attention by other corsair captains (especially Barbarossa and Uluj Ali¹¹).

Unable to deal in this paper the full complexity of the significance of Dragut for the Spanish imperial policy in the Mediterranean, I will focus primarily on the vision offered by some of the chroniclers cited above and a brief assessment about Dragut's attacks to the Spanish coasts. One of the earliest chroniclers who referred to Dragut was López de Gomara, who in a manuscript dated to 1560, discusses carefully about him. He described the corsair as it follows

Dragut was from Xarabalac, a village in the [A]natolia. He was the page of a corsair captain, from whom Haradin Barbarossa obtained him. After a long time, he was captain of a galleot, being already Barbarossa Baja, and became captain of the corsairs when he was captured in Giralat by Juanetín de Oria. He was imprisoned for over three years in the galleys of Andrea de Oria. Barbarossa rescued him in exchange of 3,000 ducats, when he was at Toulon, swearing not to attack in the whole riverside of Genoa.

Barbarossa gave him an Italian galley at Puerto Hércules, with which he captured a galley of Cigala near of the Gozo. And gradually he gathered the fleet with which he sacked Castelamar, with more than 50 oared ships, and became lord of Africa. The rich dowry obtained from the daughter Zaribat from Djerba, where he established his abode, helped him to rise so high. Süleyman appointed him as his sanjac and his corsair's captain.

He was a cruel man, daring and very diligent in his job since

⁹ E. Sola Castaño, "Barbarroja, Dragut y Ali Bajá, señores de la frontera mediterránea", en A. Sánchez Fernández (coor.), *II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Históricos : el Mediterráneo, un mar de piratas y corsarios*, Santa Pola, Ayuntamiento, 2002, pp.121-133. F. Serra de Gayeta, "L'atac del corsari Dragut a la vila de Pollença l'any 1550", *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul.liana*, 34 (1974), pp. 303-312. M. Bonet, "Datos sobre una invasión de mahometanos en Pollensa(1)", *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul.liana*, 18 (1885), pp. 3-6.

¹⁰ R. Feijoo, *Corsarios berberiscos. El reino corsario que provocó la Guerra más larga de la historia de España*, Barcelona, Belacqva/Carroggio, 2013, pp. 98-104.

¹¹ The divulgative bibliography is very abundant, so here I will offer only few references of interest. M. Á. de Bunes Ibarra, *Los Barbarroja : corsarios del Mediterráneo*, Madrid, Alderabán, 2004. And, "Cortés y los hermanos Barbarroja en los escritos de Francisco López de Gomara", *Revista de Indias*, 181 (1987), pp. 1901-1906. M. Á. de Bunes Ibarra and E. Sola, *La Vida, y historia de Hayradin, llamado Barbarroja, Gavazat-ı Hayreddin Pasa : la crónica del guerrero de la fe Hayreddin Barbarroja*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1997. E. Sola, *Uchalı : el Calabrés Tiñoso, o el mito del corsario muladí en la frontera*, Barcelona, Bellaterra, 2010.

he was imprisoned, and for 3 or 4 years he couldn't be seen neither by Andrea de Oria, nor don Berenguel, nor don García, nor the other captains who were looking for him.¹²

As it observes, in general, López de Gomara treats Dragut well. He included him into not a very bulky list of protagonists, or heroes, of the Mediterranean history of his time; characters who were forging the history of the *Mare Nostrum*: Barbarossa, Hugo de Moncada, the Constable of Bourbon, Dragut, Sinan, Andrea Doria, Pedro Navarro, Álvaro de Bazán, Charles V and others.¹³ He highlights three characteristics of the character, two positives (daring and diligence) and a negative one (cruelty), which exemplifies in several episodes.

The daring, which must be interpreted as bravery and cunning, is attributed him in the first occasion that Dragut is mentioned in the work because of the naval battle of Prevesa (1538). He reported that Hayreddin Barbarossa used him as the vanguard of his squad against the Christian one: “threw forward Dragut with 10 galleys and 6 galleots”, recognising “that fought strong”.¹⁴ The daring, combined with diligence and cunning, which also appear in the episode in which he managed to escape from the Andrea Doria's galleys, who had him besieged in Djerba in 1551.¹⁵

However, we should not forget that, for López de Gomara, Dragut was

¹² Dragut era de Xarabalac, una aldea en la [A]natolia. Anduvo paje de un capitán corsario, del cual lo hubo Haradin Barbarroja. A cabo de mucho tiempo fue capitán de una galeota, siendo ya Barbarroja Baja, y vino a ser capitán de los corsarios cuando lo prendió en Giralat Juanetín de Oria. Estuvo preso más de tres años en las galeras de Andrea de Oria. Rescatólo Barbarroja por 3.000 ducados, cuando estuvo en Tolón, con juramento que hizo de no hacer maleficio en toda la ribera de Génova.

Dióle Barbarroja una galera italiana en Puerto Hércules, con la cual tomó una galera de Cigala cerca del Gozo. Y poco a poco juntó la flota con que saqueó a Castelamar, y llegó a tener más de 50 navíos de remo y a ser señor de África. Ayúdole a subir a tanto el rico dote que le dio con una su hija Zaribat de los Gelves, donde hizo morada. Solimán le hizo su sanjac y su capitán de los corsarios.

Era hombre cruel, osado y diligentísimo en su oficio después de que fue preso, y así nunca en 3 o 4 años lo pudieron ver Andrea de Oria, ni don Berenguel, ni don García, ni otros capitanes que lo anduvieron buscando.

I've translated the description which can be find in F. Lopez de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 240. As can be seen, I'm including in this and in forthcoming footnotes, the original reference in Spanish, which has been translated in the text.

¹³ We should not forget the humanistic education of the author, so it's not strange his fascination for the protagonists of the history of the Mediterranean of his time, considered as true heroes. See the introduction of M. Á. de Bunes Ibarra, to the cited text of López de Gomara, esp. p. 26. For a whole vision, M. Á. de Bunes Ibarra, *La imagen de los musulmanes y del Norte de Africa en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid, CSIC, 1989.

¹⁴ “Echo delante a Dragut con 10 galeras y 6 galeotas”, recognizing “que combatía recio”. F. López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, pp. 196-197.

¹⁵ F. López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, pp. 248-249.

an enemy of his monarch. Hence he introduced nuances in some episodes in which he downgraded the corsair captain's assessment. In the case of the capture of the Turkish corsair by Joanetin Doria in 1540, he points out that Dragut was wrong in his strategy, so he ended up being captured "in the lower" of his galley, opened by a shot of Joanetin's one.¹⁶ In 1549, he shows that Dragut was afraid, so he "went back to Djerba fearing Andrea de Oria, who was looking for him with a big armada".¹⁷ In 1551, he failed on his attempt to impede that Charles V's troops conquered Mahdia (África for the Spanish).¹⁸ In 1552, he was about to be submitted by a galley of Spain with which he fought with his galley: "and our galley had already defeated the other, when came two French galleys that defeated ours".¹⁹

As regards to the cruelty, we should take into account that corsairs, whether they were simple galley soldiers or captains of these or of squadrons, they lived of seizing the goods and the freedom of the individuals they captured, losing their lives in the necessary struggle to capture them. Naturally, this precision is valid both for the Spanish corsairs, as for the Muslims. Definitely, cruelty was inherent to the corsair job, although not all corsairs were cruel in the same way.

López de Gomara points out in some episodes that Dragut showed himself cruel and vengeful. In 1550 in the conquest of Mahdia, his troops killed "all of those who defended their homes", although they were Muslims.²⁰ The same year, in the assault of Cullera, he abandoned their shores "threatening everyone he encountered".²¹ In 1552, in the island of Gozo, "Dragut cut all the trees and burnt the place in revenge of his brother, killed there years before, although someone said him it was for not taking part in the theft".²²

In other episodes, the author qualifies his actions more due to hypocrisy and betrayal, than to cunning. To obtain his liberation in 1543, he promised not to attack the Genoese riverside, but he didn't keep his word and sacked localities like Rapallo.²³ In 1550, after assuring the authorities of Mahdia he just wanted

¹⁶ "En el bajo". Adding that Dragut, "seeing himself with chain, promised 15,000 ducats, what counts, for his freedom" ("viéndose con cadena, prometió 15.000 ducados, a lo que cuenta, por su libertad"), F. López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, pp. 206-207.

¹⁷ "Se volvió a los Gelves por miedo de Andrea de Oria que lo buscaba con grande armada". F. López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 237.

¹⁸ F. López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, pp. 242-244.

¹⁹ "Y ya la nuestra tenía la otra vencida, cuando sobrevinieron dos galeras francesas que la vencieron". López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 255.

²⁰ "Cuantos se ponían a defender sus casas". López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 238.

²¹ "Amenazando al que le topase". López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 239.

²² "Dragut taló los arboles y quemó el lugar en venganza de un su hermano, que los años atrás le habían muerto allí, aunque algunos dijeron que por no haber tenido parte en el despojo". López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 252.

²³ López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 237.

to be his neighbour (as lord of Monastir and Sousse, previously conquered), he acted as if he would go to Sardinia, but he returned at night and, with local accomplices, went on the village with 500 men across some small windows, managing to seize it by violence.²⁴ In 1552, the French-Ottoman squad at the commanded by the prince of Salerno and Sinan, in which Dragut was integrated with his ships, accorded the surrender of Pantalanea in exchange of the freedom of his inhabitants and defenders. The accord was broken: “There was a pact, made by the prince, but Dragut broke it because of past things, and captured more than 1,000 people”.²⁵ Lastly, also labelled him as superstitious.²⁶

Naturally, the Turkish historiography presents Dragut as extremely brave, astute, diligent and humanitarian, especially with the defeated and, among them, the slaves.²⁷

The fact he was humanitarian with slaves cannot be demonstrated with the allusion to his worry for the treat gave to particular Spanish persons or Charles V’s subjects, converted into slaves. In fact, this attitude was due to other reasons, such as the good treatment to persons of a similar condition, as well as for being candidates of a large ransom. His offers to the slave oarsmen to participate in the booty, were due to strategic reasons: gain their collaboration. In 1552 we observe an episode that would go on this line. After the surrender of Calvi against the ottomans, an indeterminate number of Corsicans went with the fleet of Sinan and Dragut: “Neither Sinan nor Dragut didn’t carry more than the Corsicans who wanted to go with them, and the artillery and 4,000 ducats in cash, and hostages for the other 6,000”.²⁸

The vision of Dragut which appears in López de Gomara deteriorated in the following decades, although the cited chronicler didn’t stop to regret that Barbarossa got him rescued in 1543: “There were then 3,000 ducats for Dragut, which were a great damage of Christians”.²⁹ Years later, Luis de Góngora

²⁴ López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, pp. 238-239.

²⁵ “Hubo el lugar a partido, que se dio al príncipe, mas Dragut lo quebrantó por cosas pasadas, y cautivó más de 1.000 personas”. López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 256.

²⁶ See the following passage, in which the author introduces the corsair “disbelieving the Falandi, fates book, which, having shown prosperous journey, would happen something bad” (“descreyendo del Falandi, libro de suertes, que habiéndole mostrado próspero viaje, le sucediera malo”). López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 239.

²⁷ See the articles of E. Önalp, “¿Es cierta la imagen de Dragut reflejada en el Persiles?”, en A. Villar Lecumberri (coord.), *Peregrinamente peregrinos : actas del V Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, Lisboa, Fundación Calouste Gulbenkian. 2004, vol. I, pp. 753-766. And, “Dragut. Héroe o villano”, *Historia 16*, 354 (2005), pp. 48-61.

²⁸ “No llevó Sinán ni Dragut sino los corsos que se quisieron ir con él, y la artillería y 4.000 ducados en contado, y rehenes por los otros 6.000”. López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p.256.

²⁹ “Hubo entonces a Dragut por 3.000 ducados, que fueron gran daño de cristianos”. López de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 228.

concreted magnificently in a romance the significance of Dragut for those who had the misadventure of being captured by his men:

Tied to the hard bench
of a Turkish galley,
both hands on the oar
and both eyes on the land,
a forced of Dragut
in Marbella's beach
complained to the grunt sound
of the oar and the chain.³⁰

The disqualification of Dragut arrived at his climax with Fray Prudencio de Sandoval. Although he copied literally chapters and chapters of López de Gomara's text, which we've analyzed lines before, he introduced clearly disparaging commentaries about the Turkish corsair. It's enough to compare the following paragraph with the one that López de Gomara dedicated to explain who was Dragut

Was Dragut natural of the Natolia, thats in the minor Asia, of a little place called Charabalac, frontier of a city of three thousand neighbors, called Estrancoy, and from vile, filthy and poor parents. Being a child, he left his land sailing the sea at the service of a rais of his land, and came at the power of Barbarossa, who served of him in bad and clumsy jobs, and when he turned into a man, Barbarossa gave him a ship and patent of general captain, for that the Turkish corsairs, who armed themselves, obey him as he.³¹

³⁰ Amarrado al duro banco
de una galera turquesca,
ambas manos en el remo
y ambos ojos en la tierra,
un forzado de Dragut
en la playa de Marbella
se quejaba al ronco son
del remo y de la cadena

L. de Góngora, *Amarrado al duro banco*, pp. 114-115.

³¹ Fue Dragut natural de la Natolia, que es en la Asia Menor, de un pequeño lugar llamadado Charabalac, frontero de una ciudad de tres mil vecinos, llamada Estrancoy, y de parientes villanos, viles, soeces y pobres. Que de niño salió de su tierra navegando por el mar en

To discredit Dragut, in addition to emphasize his plebeian origins, Sandoval formulated “deep and dark sexual formulations”,³² as we observe in the following passage

Those were not bad thoughts for who had been born so down and being slave and vardage of another such.³³

Sandoval also highlighted how cruel and vengeful that Dragut was, pointing out he was “corsair Barbarossa’s creation, inheriting the job and malice of his maker”³⁴ and “his bad inclination, and in revenge of his past damages”.³⁵ Sandoval also considered Dragut as arrogant³⁶ and superstitious.³⁷

Although he recognized the corsair’s courage and cunning, Sandoval demonstrates it indirectly when he comments “the damages that this corsair made and the fear that the Christianity had him”,³⁸ and his behaviour when he was captured in 1540: “But Dragut and other captains, although they fought well, finally they were captured”.³⁹ He highlighted the courage of Dragut when this tried to break the christian siege to Mahdia

Dragut gave a great voice and threw his spear against the squadron and, doing the same, riders and pawns began with great shout to throw their spears and shoot their shotguns, arrows and stones with slings... As Dragut saw himself superior because of the lot of people he had, more than the squadron who fought with too much confidence.⁴⁰

servicio de un arráz de su tierra, y vino a poder de Barbarroja, que se sirvió de él en muy malos y torpes oficios, y cuando ya era hombre le dio una fusta y patente de capitán general, para que los corsarios turcos que armasen le obedeciesen como a él. P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida*, p. 344.

³² “Profundas y oscuras formulaciones sexuales”. That’s an interpretation of Sandoval’s complaint. E. Sola Castaño, “Barbarroja, Dragut”.

³³ No eran malos pensamientos para quien había nacido tan bajo y sido esclavo y vardage de otro tal. P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida*, p. 347.

³⁴ “Hechura del corsario Barbarroja, heredando el oficio y la malicia de su hacedor”. P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida*, p. 344.

³⁵ “Su mala inclinación, y en venganza de sus males pasados”. P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida*, p. 345.

³⁶ P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida*, p. 345.

³⁷ “He made his ulema to draw lots for who would be the lord of the mentioned city of Africa. He came out very satisfied” (“hizo a su alfaquí que echase suertes si sería señor de la ciudad de dicha Africa. Salióle muy a su gusto”). P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida*, p. 346-347.

³⁸ P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida*, p. 349.

³⁹ P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida*, p. 344.

⁴⁰ Dragut dio una gran voz y arrojó la lanza contra el escuadrón y haciendo lo mismo los de a caballo y peones, comenzaron con gran grito a arrojar lanzas y disparar sus escopetas, flechas y piedras con hondas... Como Dragut se vió superior por la mucha gente que tenía, más

How the Spanish image of Dragut deteriorated so much in the second half of the sixteenth century? The answer has to do with the role played by the cited character in the confrontation between the empires of Charles V and Süleyman. In the mid sixteenth century (when happened Hayreddin Barbarossa's death), all seems to indicate that the position of both parts had been consolidated in the Maghreb. The Ottoman capital controlled Algiers through the great corsair captains. In the meanwhile, the Spanish monarchy seemed to have consolidated two confederated states, and allies, in Tunis and Tlemecen, through the local dynasties.

Through the conquest of Monastir, Sousse and, especially, Mahdia, Dragut pretended to seize of the entire Tunisian kingdom. This blew into pieces the truce that Süleyman had with the emperor Charles V's brother and, by extension, with this last since 1547. Precisely, Dragut incarnated the contradictions that represented the arrangement of peace treaties or truces, while the free activity of the own corsairs was allowed. In addition, Dragut revived to the Spanish the worst memories of how the Barbarossas seized Algiers. These fears became reality when the Turkish corsair decided to put himself at the service of the Porte, because of what he was appointed governor of an Ottoman province and, later, Bey of Tripoli. Indeed, Dragut was Barbarossa's creation, and both delivered Algiers and Tunis to the Ottoman caliph.

The final fall of Mahdia and Tripoli into Ottoman hands, between 1551 and 1552, can be considered as the beginning of the end of the Spanish influence in Tunis. Although finally not arrived until 1574, with the Spanish loss of La Goleta. From that moment it began the half-century of the privateering apogee in the Mediterranean, a half-century in which the corsair scourge reached his maximum predatory capacity.

It mustn't surprise that for those military, politicians, religious and litterateurs contemporaries to the definitive loss of Tunis and of all North African littoral between Oran and Egypt, the figure of Dragut appeared as one of the maximum guilty of the Spanish failures in North Africa. Hence the rigor with what he was treated.

Dragut's bad reputation, against what might seem, was not due much to the raids of his galleys in the Spanish coast. Although is pending of study, it doesn't seem that his attacks to the Spanish populations and navigation provided him such an elevated number of people, ships and goods captured as which he obtained in the Italian coast and the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, Malta and Sicily. These last territories were those who suffered a true scourge from the galleys which had their bases in Djerba, Monastir, Sousse, Mahdia and Tripoli.⁴¹

que la escuadrón peleaba con demasiada confianza. P. de Sandoval, *Historia de la Vida*, p. 362.

⁴¹ For the Italian historiography, G. B. Comandé, *La Sicilia contro il corsaro Dragut : 1551-*

It's not casual that when Diego Suárez wrote his monumental work about the government of Oran in the second sixteenth century mid, Dragut was only mentioned two times, and both to refer to the capture of the seven galleys of the viceroy of Naples he made in waters of Lipari in 1561.⁴²

The first news about the presence of Dragut in the Spanish coasts dates from 1549. That year, commanding 5 galleys and 16 galleots, he patrolled the catalan coasts, where he captured "a galleon in sight of Barcelona". After that, he careened his ships in Ibiza.⁴³ In 1550, according to the sources, he appeared in the littoral of Majorca with 20 galleys that landed between 500 and 1,500 men near of Pollença, to attack the village. The local documentation speaks about 1,500 Turks landed, who thanks to their numerical superiority, managed to capture and kill nearly 130 inhabitants of the cited locality. However, they paid a high cost, because islanders killed more than 50 assailants and captured other three alive, at the time they conquered an attackers flag.⁴⁴ López de Gomara's work approximates quite well to the previous, with some remarkable differences, because he considers that the attackers were only 500. But he gives the same number of losses of one and another side, finishing his narration with the following assessment: "the Turks received damage from the islanders".⁴⁵ In any case, if the Dragut's attack results (130 Majorcans captured and killed) with of Barbarossa in Mahón in 1535 (nearly 800 captives) and of Piyale Pashá in Ciutadella in 1558 (nearly 4,000 captives) are compared, is evident that the memories about this two last attacks have been more important for the Balearic collective imagination.

From Majorca, Dragut went to Valencia, in whose littoral his men "took a lot of goods and provisions, especially rice, in a place without people". Later, he went to Cullera, where 300 Turks entered by surprise at night, captivating almost all the inhabitants and seizing their properties. Gaspar de Escolano, Valencian chronicler, gives account that "this day died eight or nine Christians; and twenty Turks, with many wounded". In respect to the captives, he only says that they were "many", and they were rescued on the shore in exchange of 6,000 Valencian pounds.⁴⁶ On the contrary, López de Gomara says the attack

1552, Palermo, DELF, 1956. A fictionalized version A. Spissu, *Il pirata e il condottiero. La storia vera del pirata Dragut e dell'Amiraglio Andrea Doria*, Genoa, Librodiscrivere, 2013, 2^{ed}. Other approximations J. Farrugia de Candia, "Monnaies frappées à Tripoli et à Gafsa, par Dragut", *Revue Tunisienne*, 25 (1936), pp. 85-92.

⁴² D. Suarez Montañés, *Historia del Maestre*, pp. 191, 327-328.

⁴³ "Un galeón a la vista de Barcelona". Lopez de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, p. 237.

⁴⁴ A. Campaner Fuertes, *Cronicón Mayoricense*, Palma de Mallorca, Ediciones Ayer, 1967, p. 263.

⁴⁵ "Recibieron daño los turcos de los isleños". Lopez de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, pp. 239-240. F. Serra de Gayeta, "L'atac del corsari". M. Bonet, "Datos sobre una invasion".

⁴⁶ "Tomaron mucha ropa y bastimento, especial de arroz, en un lugar sin gente". "Murieron en esta jornada ocho o nueve christianos; y veynte turcos, con muchos heridos". Fueron

was discovered and the assailants' outlet was cut off, so Dragut sent 200 men to help them. Graphically adds, "lots of Cullera who went captives returned with captives, the others received their estates", adding that Dragut "departed sad, threatening whoever he encountered". In the close beach of la Romana, he captured an Aragonese merchant ship with 100 men, of which he captivated the half, dying the rest after two days of combat, and losing Dragut 80 of his men.⁴⁷

As has been seen in the comparison between local sources and the court chroniclers, the differences are important in what refers to the damages caused by the attacks of Dragut's fleets. Independently from which reality was, all seems to indicate that, according to the local documentation, it doesn't seem that the cited episodes can be considered as Dragut's victories. In fact, the true scourge for the Spanish coasts and navigation was the Turk-Algerian privateering; whose most important successes were the taking of Mahón in 1535 (between 800-1,000 captives and dead) and Ciutadella in 1558 (1,000 or 2,000 dead and 4,000 captives).

There is more news about the attacks of this corsair captain, but we're not going to deal with them here. In any case, it has to be stressed that the local sources, closer to the events, dedicated him some attention, although not excessive. The vision of the Monarchy's Mediterranean policy by the local authors shouldn't be too wide, because their interest was focused in every concrete attack and how, as far as possible, prevent them. By contrary, the court chroniclers, or their surrounding, had a much more adjusted vision of the so negative paper that Dragut had played in the Hispanic-Ottoman struggle. Hence they paid him more attention.

We also must say something about the exaggerations on the privateering consequences, the number of slaves and other negative aspects of the corsair attacks. And especially about the bad image of Dragut, which was surely magnified in comparison with other Muslim corsairs. Miguel de Cervantes, a good connoisseur of those topics, criticized the exaggerations. In a passage of the last of his novels, published in 1616, he introduced a very illustrative episode about this. He situates Dragut in a locality nearby to Quintanar de la Orden, inside the Spanish peninsula. There "two young men, in suit of newly rescued captives, were declaring the figures of a painted canvas they had in soil; it seemed they had discharged from the heavy chains they had alongside, insignias and informers of their past adventure". One of the captives told

This vessel you here see reduced to small, because the paint requests it like this, is a galleot of twenty-two banks, whose owner

"muchos". G. Scolano, *Década primera de la historia de la ... ciudad y reyno de Valencia*, Valencia, Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610-1611. Reedited by the Universidad de Valencia in 1972.

⁴⁷ "Muchos de Cullera que iban cautivos volvieron con captivos, los demás cobraron sus haciendas". "Dragut se partió triste, amenazando al que topase". Lopez de Gomara, *Guerras de Mar*, pp. 239-240.

and captain is the Turk who goes standing on the amidships, with an arm in the hand, which he cut from that Christian you see there, to serve him as punishment and as scourge for the others who were moored to their banks, afraid of not reach that four galleys you see here, which are entering and chasing them. ... Listen, sirs, and stay tuned: maybe this plaintive tale's apprehension will take to your hearing the menacing and vituperating voices which has given this dog of Dragut, such was the name of the galleot's rais, a corsair as famous as cruel,... at least, it sounds to me now the rospeni, the manahora and the denimaniyoc, that, with a devilish courage, goes saying all those words and Turkish reasons, channeled to the wrong time and vituperative of the Christian captives; calling them jews, men of few value, of dark faith and vile thinking, and, for greater horror and scare, with dead arms you whip the living.⁴⁸

Without any doubts, the cited passage is a criticism against those who exaggerated, without much foundation, the reality of privateering and captivity, as well as about Dragut's cruelty. Hence that Cervantes put two young men, supposedly students, in the story and in a population of Spain's inland, very far from the dangerous sea.⁴⁹

The figure of Dragut was rescued in the second half of the nineteenth century due to two factors that actually didn't have connection with the Spanish-Ottoman relations. First, the African War of 1859-1860 between Spain and Morocco. It was the chance to unbury old torts against the Muslim enemy, among

⁴⁸ “Dos mancebos que, en traje de recién rescatados de cautivos, estaban declarando las figuras de un pintado lienzo que tenían tendido en el suelo; parecía que se habían descargado de las pesadas cadenas que tenían junto a sí, insignias y delatorias de su pasada aventura”.

Este bajel que aquí veis reducido a pequeño, porque lo pide así la pintura, es una galeota de veintidós barcos, cuyo dueño y capitán es el turco que en la crujía va en pie, con un brazo en la mano, que cortó a aquel cristiano que allí veis, para que le sirva de rebenque y azote a los demás cristianos que van amarrados a sus bancos, temeroso no le alcancen estas cuatro galeras que aquí veis, que le van entrando y dando caza. ... Escuchad, señores, y estad atentos : quizá la aprensión de este lastimero cuento os llevará a los oídos las amenazadoras y vituperosas voces que ha dado este perro de Dragut que así se llamaba el arráez de la galeota, corsario tan famoso como cruel,... a lo menos, a mi me suena ahora el rospeni, el manahora y el denimaniyoc, que, con coraje endiablado, va diciendo que todas estas palabras y razones turquescas, encaminadas a la deshora y vituperio de los cautivos cristianos; llamándolos judíos, hombres de poco valor, de fe negra y de pensamientos viles, y, para mayor horror espanto, con los brazos muertos azotas los cuerpos vivos.

M. Cervantes, *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, pp. 155-157.

⁴⁹ For the criticism, in general sense, M. B. Requejo Carrió, “De cómo se guisa una fábula : el episodio de los falsos cautivos en el Persiles (III, X)”, en A. Villar Lecumberri (coord.), *Peregrinamente peregrinos : actas del V Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, Lisboa, Fundación Calouste Gulbenkian, 2004, vol.I, pp. 861-878.

them corsair attacks against Spanish coasts and navigation, with the sequel of Christians converted into slaves. Second, the critic rereading about the period when the Habsburg dynasty dominated Spain. Combined with the double rescue of the confrontations of the sixteenth century, in some places were staged the landings of Dragut's corsairs (as in Pollença, Majorca) and dedicated him some plays.⁵⁰

Dragut reappeared in other tension moments with Morocco, like the vespers of the Melilla's 1909 war (the Barranco del Lobo's one). A manuscript poem occupies again about Dragut, to the front of the galleys, describing him as a brave and expert corsair captain: "The King of the Sea, indomitable", "The most expert corsair, and the most brave pirate", "whose illustrious exploits / for their splendour would be/ Barbarossa and Hasán Agá". Although, it brought out his cruelty: "Dragut, that to the weak Christian / pursues and plunders and kills".⁵¹

On the last years, in which only have been published the monographs cited at the beginning of this text, the recovery of Dragut by the Spanish historiography remains as an outstanding subject. The most remarkable is the recovery of the cited corsair's figure as a tourist claim, especially in Cullera, which was assaulted by him in 1550. There exists a Pirate Museum where the figure of Dragut is fundamental. The character also gives name to bars, restaurants, and nautical schools, like other diverse kinds of establishments. In this festive-touristic atmosphere, the city council of Cullera has edited a book, addressed to young people, about Dragut's Spanish adventures.⁵²

To conclude, in this text it has not been pretended neither give an exhaustive study about what meant Dragut for the Spanish empire, in his confrontation with the Ottoman in the sixteenth century. Nor has been pretended to offer a detailed study about the attacks by Dragut's fleet to the Spanish coast and their consequences. But we've unmarked us from the assessments, positive and negative, about the character. For this, the best is to situate him in the context of the Mediterranean political fights of his time. At least, that was the intention.

⁵⁰ A play opened in Aranjuez in May 1862, *Dragut el pirata o Los malteses [Manuscript] : Drama nuevo, original y en verso, dividio en tres actos.*

⁵¹ C. Fernández Shaw, *Las galeras de Dragut*, manuscript poem, en Archivo de Carlos Fernández Shaw [on line] Fundación Juan March, 2011. (consulted 25/9/2013) - Available in <http://www.march.es/bibliotecas/legados/cfs/>.

⁵² A. Fuertes Larrea, *Dragut. Aventures i corsaris en la Cullera del segle XVI*, Cullera, Bromera, 2003.

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