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Between Fact and Fiction in the Mediterranean: Revisiting the History, Legend and Legacy of Barbarossa

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Μεταξύ πραγματικότητας και μυθοπλασίας στη Μεσόγειο: Επανεξετάζοντας την ιστορία, τον θρύλο και την παρακαταθήκη του Barbarossa

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Keywords: Piracy, pirate, corsair, Hayrettin Barbarossa, Barbarossa Brothers, Mediterranean, hybridity, legend

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to shed light on the history and legacy of pirate Barbarossa, as key contributing factor to Mediterranean cultural history. The Barbarossa ("red beard" in Italian) brothers (Uruj or Oruc and Hizr or Hayrettin), were historical figures, notorious pirates in the Mediterranean of the late 15th- early 16th centuries. Especially Hizr (or just Barbarossa), who eventually became High Admiral of the Ottoman Navy and helped the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, has acquired legendary proportions, through folk oral tradition (of which the Greek branch is examined here), having become part of an ongoing Turkish imperialist discourse and a commodity product of contemporary Western civilization. More importantly though, as recent studies on piracy have illustrated, Barbarossa has contributed to the main characteristic of the Mediterranean world: the creation of unity through diversity, or, in other words, through a mosaic of civilizations, cultures and identities that were brought into contact by piracy.

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Σημαντικοί όροι: πειρατεία, πειρατής, κουρσάρος, Hayrettin Barbarossa, αδελφοί Barbarossa, Μεσόγειος, υβριδικότητα, θρύλος

Περίληψη

Σκοπός της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να φωτίσει την ιστορία και την πολιτισμική παρακαταθήκη του πειρατή Barbarossa, ο οποίος συνέβαλε καίρια στη διαμόρφωση του Μεσογειακού πολιτισμού. Οι αδελφοί Barbarossa (η λέξη σημαίνει «κοκκινογένης» στα Ιταλικά), ο Uruj (ή Oruc) και ο Hizr (ή Hayrettin), υπήρξαν ιστορικά πρόσωπα, διαβόητοι πειρατές στη Μεσόγειο στα τέλη του 15^{ου} – αρχές του 16^{ου} αιώνα. Ιδιαίτερα ο Hizr (ή απλώς Barbarossa), ο οποίος έγινε ναύαρχος του Οθωμανικού στόλου και συμμετείχε στην επέκταση της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας, έχει αποκτήσει θρυλικές διαστάσεις δια μέσου της προφορικής λαϊκής παράδοσης (η ελληνική πτυχή της οποίας εξετάζεται εδώ). Επιπλέον, έχει μετατραπεί σε όχημα του ιμπεριαλιστικού λόγου της Τουρκίας και σε καταναλωτικό προϊόν του σύγχρονου δυτικού πολιτισμού. Κυρίως όμως, σύμφωνα με τις πρόσφατες μελέτες που αναφέρονται στην πειρατεία, ο Barbarossa έχει συμβάλει στη διαμόρφωση του βασικού χαρακτηριστικού του Μεσογειακού κόσμου: τη δημιουργία ενότητας μέσα από την ποικιλομορφία, ή, με άλλα λόγια, μέσα από ένα ψηφιδωτό πολιτισμών και ταυτοτήτων που η πειρατεία έφερε σε επαφή.

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i. Introduction

The Mediterranean is a vast, fascinating area of research, and, as Fernand Braudel has claimed, it "speaks with many voices; it is a sum of individual histories" (*Vol. I*, p. 14). The focus of this study is the individual histories of Barbarossa brothers (Uruj or Oruc and Hizr or Hayrettin) and especially of Hizr, who became an ongoing legend of the Mediterranean world through his strong personality, by blending myth and history in a fascinating way. The weakness of the naval powers of late Medieval times enabled him to dominate in the turbulent Mediterranean sea, both as pirate and corsair (the latter means being in the service of the sultan, as we shall see), contributing to the creation of an ongoing legacy since the late 15th century. The absolute control of Barbarossa in the Mediterranean in the early 16th century denoted the dominance of the Ottoman Empire in the area. Thus, the name "Barbarossa" (which nowadays refers mainly to Hayrettin) and the concept of "piracy" have become synonymous to legendary fear and appeal and are connected to many misconceptions. Filtered though centuries of folk culture and literature, the name's ongoing fame still appeals to people in the Mediterranean basin (and beyond); it appears on military and touristic boats, in festivals and treasure hunting interactive games, being turned into, as we shall see, a Disneyland-like hyperreality[1] of consumerist culture. Most importantly, though, the name appears in fascinating contemporary scientific studies of the cultural history of the area, such as in Abulafia's *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*. There, the reevaluation of piracy takes place; the pirates of popular culture are placed back in their historical context, as vectors of civilization in the Mediterranean basin. Accordingly, in this study piracy is perceived as a significant process of cultural exchange in the Mediterranean Sea and shores, which has contributed to the unique hybrid identity of the Mediterranean world, in-between fact and fiction, history and imagination. As Michel Foucault maintains:

> for our civilization, from the sixteenth century up to our time, the ship has been at the same time not only the greatest instrument of economic development […] but the greatest reservoir of imagination. The sailing vessel is the heterotopia par excellence. In civilizations without ships the dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police that of the corsairs (1998, p. 185).

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[1] I borrow the term from the title of Umberto Eco's article "Travels in Hyperreality".

Foucault here highlights the fact that the ship constitutes the perfect heterotopia, a floating space, a repository of imagination. Just like his galleys, Barbarossa is a multidimensional repository of imagination, constituting a palimpsest of narratives, always in the process of becoming (see fig. n.1, p. 36 and n. 2, p. 37). Thus, the purpose of this study is to shed light on the re-interpretation of the legacy of Barbarossa, not as mere product of consumerist culture, but as key agent of Mediterranean cultural history.

ii. The Origins of Piracy in the Mediterranean

A survey in the ancient Greek texts for the word pirate reveals that "[a]ncient Greek has two common words which can be translated as pirate, ληστής (*leistes*) and πειρατής (*peirates*)" (De Souza, 2002, p. 3).[2] The word ληστής (leistes), quite common in the texts of Homer,[3] "derives from the root ληίς (*leis*)" and has the meaning of "booty or plunder" and more specifically "armed robber" which denotes a "bandit or pirate" (De Souza, 2002, p.3). The word πειρατής (*peirates*) is not mentioned in Homer's poems or in texts of the Greek classical period of the 5th century BC.[4] As for its origin, the word piracy derives from the Medieval Latin word *piratia*, which comes from the Latin *pirata* and means "sailor, corsair, sea robber", according to the *Online Etymology Dictionary*. The Romans borrowed *pirata* from the Greek word πειρατής (*peirates*), somebody who attacks, a noun that comes from the word πείρα *(peira),* a trial, attempt or attack. According to De Souza the word *peirates "*first attested in the third century BC and is apparently common word in Greek world by the end of the century" (2002, p. 9). Moreover, scenes with pirates exist on many ancient Greek artifacts. For example, the myth of Dionysus being captured by Etruscan pirates is depicted on a late sixth-century BC wine cup by the Athenian artist Exekias (around 540-510 BC, see fig. n. 3, p. 37).

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[2] The line between "pirate" (who operates independently) and "corsair" (who serves a government or a higher political authority) is usually blurred. Although nowadays scholars use the terms almost interchangeably, in the 16th century Mediterranean, according to Malcolm, the word *corsair* (from the Italian "corso", meaning "raid") was more commonly used than the word *pirate* because in "Ottoman Turkish *korsan* (adapted from 'corsaro') could mean either type" (2015, pp. 78-79).

[3] Scientists can't specify the exact time of the creation of the Homeric texts. Nevertheless, according to Joachim Latacz "it was in all likelihood in the second half of the eighth century B.C." (1996, p. 15).

[4] Nevertheless, in the Homeric hymn 2 (7th century BC) dedicated to Demeter, the goddess talks about her own unfortunate luck to be caught by pirates, calling herself Doso (Δωσώ, which means giver): "Doso is my name, for my stately mother gave it me. And now I am come from Crete over the sea's wide back, — not willingly; but against my liking, by force of strength, pirates [ληστήρες] brought me thence." This translation is from *Perseus Project,* but originally from *Hesiod* (*Hymn 2 to Demeter* [Online]).

Later on, during the classical period, there is a story about Plato being captured by pirates during his return trip from Cicely to Athens and the danger to be sold as slave in the slavery market on the island of Aegina. Contrary to what happened in later antiquity or in late medieval period, piracy in the ancient world didn't have an organized form; it existed as a common practice for personal profit and survival reasons. According to Thucydides: *"For in early times the Hellenes and the barbarians of the coast and islands, as communication by sea became more common, were tempted to turn pirates, under the conduct of their most powerful men; the motives being to serve their own cupidity and to support the needy"* (Strassler, 1998, p. 6).[5] Thucydides also mentions the first organized attempt by King Minos of Crete to counter the plague of piracy in the waters of his territory – the Aegean sea and the sea of Cyclades islands – so as to offer secure nautical routes for his traders, which would subsequently increase his own income (Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War, Book A, 4,* quoted in Strassler, 1998, p.4).

It was many centuries later, in the mid of the 1st century B.C, when the Roman Empire managed to exterminate the notorious pirates of eastern Mediterranean: the Carians and the Cilicians whose "demonization […] as lawless pirates […] legitimized the destruction of the Roman Republic and the concession of extraordinary powers in the hands of the Emperor" (Policante, 2015, p. 26). After a number of failed attempts to minimize the thorn of piracy in their *mare* during the first quarter of the 1st century BC, the Romans decided to take serious action against it, when it became a real threat for the capital of the Empire (and mainly for the growing class of merchants[6]) and also when the pirates became alliances with the king of Pontus Mithridates VI against the Roman state, at the beginning of the 1st century BC.[7] It was the time for *Pompeious Magnus* (Pompey the Great) to establish the Roman *Imperium* at sea. An important source for Pompey's life and action against piracy in the Mediterranean is the work of

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[5] In the Greek text the expression "to turn pirates" is given as "ἐτράποντο πρὸς λῃστείαν": "οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνες τὸ πάλαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἵ τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ ἤρξαντο μᾶλλον περαιοῦσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους, ἐτράποντο πρὸς λῃστείαν, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς" (Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, *Book A,5,* quoted in Arnold, 1840, p. 7)

[6] As Policante states "[t]he growing importance of commerce, and of maritime in general, rapidly augmented the political power of the merchant class, and elevated the effective control of circulation in the Mediterranean Sea into political issue of vital significant" (2015, p. 6).

[7] A serious threat against Rome, under the orders of Mithridates VI of Pontus, took the form of three wars (Mithridatic wars 88-84 BC/83-81 BC/75-63 BC) which ended with the death of Mithridates and the proclamation of his area as a Roman colony under the name of "Anatolia".

Plutarch, a Greek historian and biographer of the late 1st century AD, nearly a century after Pompey's time. According to the historian, the pirates from Cilicia[8] dominated in the Mediterranean Sea for three main reasons: due to lack of Roman guards in the wider Mediterranean nautical area, due to civil wars that took place among the Roman nation, and due to the fact that Cilician pirates offered their power to the worst enemy of that time of Rome: Mithridates VI. Plutarch's narration is very detailed when he describes the situation that gave Pompey – "the only man capable to control them" (Policante, 2015, p. 26) – in 67 BC the absolute authority[9] to eliminate the systematic practice of piracy. The huge piracy phenomenon of the time, as Plutarch presents it (more than a thousand ships and about four hundred occupied cities), can justify the "absolute Imperial power and the enormous recourses" against piracy provided to Pompey by the Roman authorities[10] (Policante, 2015, p. 25). This is how the situation is described by Plutarch:

> This power [of pirates] extended its operations over the whole of our Mediterranean Sea, making it *unnavigable and closed to all commerce* (emphasis added). This was what most of all inclined the Romans, who were hard put to it to get provisions and expected a great scarcity, to send out Pompey with a commission to take the sea away from the pirates. (*Plutarch's Lives, Vol. V,* p. 177).

Pompey managed to give the Mediterranean Sea back to safety and stability in trade and communications in only three months' time – a very impressive, almost unbelievable achievement. Backman explains how this must have happened:

> Pompey must have simply bought off the pirates – by offering them lands, estates, properties, annuities, and perhaps even businesses and offices that he had confiscated while in the pursuit of his well-publicized mission to make the sea safe for commerce. Piracy, in other words, was a way to enter the highly-competitive Mediterranean

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[8] According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Cilicia is an "ancient district of southern Anatolia, bounded on the north and west by the Taurus Mountain Range, on the east by the Anti-Taurus, and on the south by the Mediterranean Sea*"* [*Cilicia* (Online)].

[9] As Policante informs us, the authority was given to Pompey under "[t]he *lex de pirates persequendis,* also known as *lex de uno imperatore contra praedones istituendo* (law constituting one single emperor against the pirates)" (2015, p . 25).

[10] Among all the Roman senators only Julius Caesar voted for giving money and power to Pompey so as to eliminate piracy. It seems that the Roman politician supported Pompey, because, according to Plutarch, he had had a personal experience of being captured by a group of Cilician pirates near the Minor Asia coasts few years earlier –about 75 BC – and he was released when a great amount of ransom was paid to them (in Plutarch's Lives , Vol. VII, p. 445).

commerce, and if one was fortunate enough to pose a significant disruption to that trade one could secure a guaranteed share of it via a government buyout (2014, p. 171).

Later on, the beneficial results of the famous *Pax Romana* ("Roman Peace" that lasted approximately 200 years) in the Mediterranean offered to commercial trade fairly safe nautical routes for more than three centuries, until the end of the late Roman period and the collapse of the Roman State in the second century AD; nevertleless, travelling and trading at sea or land always entailed the risk of the loss of merchants' lives. The appearance of organized piracy crime, updated with new marine techniques applied to old practices, will appear again, at the end of medieval period, epitomized in the name "Barbarossa" – as we shall see in subsequent chapters – across the Mediterranean Sea, which is a key area for piracy, due to its unique geographical position.

iii. Why in the Mediterranean

The Mediterranean area as its name indicates – "sea in the middle of earth" – has been central in the world since antiquity in many respects, geographical and sociological, cultural, etc. Fernand Braudel, the pioneer of the Annales School of historiography, in his study *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (translated as *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*) as early as 1949 highlighted the importance of the Mediterranean Sea and its shores in the creation of culture along the trade routes that connected the crossroad of three continents: Asia, Europe, Africa. According to Braudel the Mediterranean is a world of space-movement where everything is transformed through mobility:

> [t]he whole Mediterranean consists of movement in space. Anything entering it – wars, shadows of war, fashions, techniques, epidemics, merchandise light or heavy, precious or commonplace – may be caught up in the flow of its life blood, ferried over great distances, washed ashore to be taken up again and passed on endlessly, maybe even carried beyond its shores (1995, *Vol. I*, p. 277).

The topography of the Mediterranean area, from the gates of Gibraltar to the entrance of Black Sea and from the north shores of Tyrrhenian Sea to the Isthmus of Suez, contains a plethora of minor – but equally important – seas and microcosms of island complexes like the Archipelago of the Aegean or the Balearides islands. These seas do not always communicate, because major or minor peninsulas – Italian, Balkan, Minor Asia and Tunisian – invade the water. Moreover,

islands such as Cyprus, Crete, Cicely, Corsica, together with other minor islands are also important due to their location close to rocky coasts – a basic element of the Mediterranean topography. Since antiquity these islands have functioned as stations on nautical routes which "cut" the sea in many directions, and keep multiplying supported by the progress of technology.

Trade routes – land or nautical – have carved the physiognomy of the Mediterranean World since antiquity. Especially the sea routes offered to Mediterranean people both legal and illegal prosperity: the former via the trading of goods and the latter via piracy (although it was often an acceptable practice by some nations). The ancient Phoenicians and Greeks and the plethora of the colonies founded around the Mediterranean basin[11] have created a gigantic junction of sea itineraries in order to support communication among the colonies and their metropolitan links. The rough high sea routes were rarely used as they were extremely dangerous; the lack of technology necessitated the use of more protected sea routes close to the coasts, the so-called "plains of the sea" – to use the term borrowed by Braudel (*Vol. I*, 1995, p. 103). Navigation took place during daylight, near the coasts for additional practical reasons: resting of the rowers, finding supplies (fresh water, food, etc) and travelling securely for the crew, the cargo and the ship when the weather changed abruptly or when the appearance of a hostile ship could cause troubles. Moreover, travellers and merchants stopped in many ports to trade their products with the locals, who were "thirsty" for anything new, bizarre and foreign. Not only did these arrivals in the Mediterranean harbors feed local curiosity, but they also contributed to cultural syncretism among nations, and planted ideas for looting. The Mediterranean islands – smaller or greater – could not provide the necessities for living for a long period, which led the poorest of the locals to piracy, mainly for survival reasons. Braudel vividly describes the urgent conditions that drove people to piracy and looting: "None of the islands was assured of the future. The great problem of all of them, never or only partly solved, was how to live of their own recourses […] and if that was not possible, to look outwards. All the islands with a few exceptions (Sicily in particular) were lands of hunger" (*Vol. I*, 1995, p. 152).

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[11] The first Hellenic colonization wave took place in the 11th-9th century BC, but it was the second wave in the 8th century BC that created the Hellenic World in a region around the Mediterranean coasts reaching as far as the shores of the Black Sea and the number of 500 colonies.

Ellen Churchill Semple in her 1916 article "Pirate Coasts of the Mediterranean Sea" considers the Mediterranean anaglyph (especially the coasts and the peninsulas around the Sea) as the major cause of the unremitting presence of piracy: "Thus geographic conditions made the Mediterranean basin a good hunting ground for the pirate […] All these districts, whether on islands, peninsulas, or continental shores, have in common certain geographic conditions which combined to force or lure the inhabitants into a piratical mode of life" (pp. 138-39). Indeed, this marine labyrinth in the Archipelago of the Aegean islands and of the neighbor coasts of Minor Asia, as well as the rugged coasts of Lycia, Pampfylia, Cilicia and the Illyrian and Dalmatian coasts of the Adriatic Sea, offered the perfect scenery where piracy took place for nearly four millennia. The famous rich cities surrounding the Sea were a tremendous temptation for pirates. However, the most alluring aspect of merchants routes for pirates, from antiquity onwards, was the possibility for exercising slavery;[12] as Rotman explains, "[o]ver three millennia slavery was an inextricable part of Mediterranean social and economic life" (2014, p. 275). From eastern of Levant, central Mesopotamia, North Africa, Ethiopia and Abyssinia, people had been captured and sent to slavery markets of the Mediterranean coasts or islands, such as Delos in the center of the Hellenic Archipelago. According to Rotman:

> This supplied slaves from pagan populations in Africa and eastern Europe to the southern and the eastern Mediterranean basin as well as to rich Abbasid Iraq, where the demand for slaves was high, and the financial means of acquiring them was available. The trade routes of African slaves ran from the sub-Sahara and east Africa to the Mediterranean south (trans-Saharan routes) and Near East (via the Persian Gulf), and of European slaves from northeastern Europe to the Byzantine-Arab Mediterranean (2014, p. 269).

Pirates were only a link in this long chain of trading of human lives. As long as the demand for slaves was high, piracy kept serving it.

In all, the word "piracy" describes an aggressive activity that took place in the vital geographic area of the Mediterranean Sea and its coasts. This sea provided the people around it a great terrain for trade actions and naval battles, and its variety of coasts offered them an ideal

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[12] Slavery was an important element of society in ancient times. Looking back at ancient Egypt or the Persian Empire, one can easily make out that slaves were an integral part of the social pyramid, constituting its bottom. Even more advanced societies, such as the Athenian of the 5th century BC, used slaves for household chores or for private business. This practice continued, no matter whether the dominant power was Roman polytheist, Byzantine Christian, Venetian, Genoese Catholic or Ottoman Muslim. As Rotman contends: "cultures found reasons to justify the inferiority of slaves, the existence of slavery and its perpetuation" (2014, p. 276).

spot to established their cities and develop their civilizations. Thus, from the early period of human habitation, the Mediterranean people created a net of nautical routes in order to communicate and trade between them; as Abulafia states: "from Palaeolithic times to the present day […] the Mediterranean was a space in which not just goods but identities were traded, processed, and repackaged" (2011a, p. 221). The basin of the Mediterranean has always been the epicenter of human actions, mainly through trade and travel. The Mediterranean area has always been a hybrid[13] area of exchange of ideas and beliefs, a mosaic of civilizations. This seems to have been its power and enchantment.

The Mediterranean Sea was according to Backman a "commercial bazaar" and a "natural zone for piracy" (2014, p. 181). Its trade enterprises were a huge field which could provide those early pirates with a stable income – though an illegal one. Coasts and islands of the Mediterranean offered them a major benefit of protection from capture. Areas such as the island of Crete and the Algiers or the complex of the Dodecanese islands in the Aegean Sea and the craggy, well-hidden Cilician coasts became synonymous to piracy and invoked fear (that derived from attacks). Another important factor that contributed to the development of piracy in eastern Mediterranean, is the political one. There are many historical cases whereby legal authorities allied with pirates (who became corsairs) in order to empower their own army, with "*quid pro quo*" ("something for something" in Latin) sometimes offered to pirates legitimizing their actions and providing license for looting the enemy ships in case of victory.[14]

Having the habit to live with danger, pirates, those marine "vultures", could appear anywhere there was a chance for looting. Piracy, according to Backman "appealed to all ethnicities and all faiths and it provided a venue for their controlled interaction" (2014, p. 182). But pirates themselves led picaresque lives and had no country. Instead, their country was the open sea, with its risks, discomforts, and wild adventures. As time passed by, the inability of the authorities of the time to strike the plague of piracy effectively was growing parallel to the fear in people's hearts. Thus, it is not strange that many stories about terrible piracy actions have acquired huge proportions, turning into legends that still excite the imagination. Often, the

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[13] Deriving from the work of Homi K. Bhabha, the term *hybridity* is here used to denote the intermingling of cultures "in expressions of syncreticity, cultural *synergy* and *transculturation*" (Ashcroft et all, 2000, p. 109, emphasis in original)

[14] There are many examples of alliance between pirates and politicians, according to Semple (1916, p. 150): the pirates from Cilicia, Pamphylia and Lycia allied with Xerxes the A - the Persian King - in 5th century BC during his attack against Greeks; or the participation of pirates in the notorious Mithradatic Wars against Roman empire at the first quarter of 1st century B.C., as we have already seen.

corsairs from the Barbary coasts[15] or the Tyrrhenian Sea were represented in people's mind as monsters and daemons; rumors for their brutal practices gave them fame that lived long after their death – and is still alive in oral Mediterranean tradition, as we shall see in the next chapter.

iv. Piracy in the Mediterranean Sea in the Late 15th Century: All against All

The fall of Constantinople to Ottoman hands in 1453 is a landmark in global history, mainly due to the reshuffling of power in the area of east Mediterranean. The appearance in the territory of Ottoman hordes from Anatolia in the late 14th century demolished the last remains of the Byzantine state and pushed Venetians and (at minor scale) Genovese – two nautical states which used to control the important trading routes of the Aegean sea and the Balkan peninsula – to the west Mediterranean area. A number of wars between the Ottomans and the Venetians, that went on for almost three centuries (early 15th – early 18th cent.), over the remains of the Roman-Byzantine empire, reveals the weakness of the Venetians to keep their presence alive in all the important places in the eastern Mediterranean basin. This long conflict also reveals the inability of the Ottomans to dominate in the Sea the way they had managed to dominate in land. It also reveals the Ottoman inability to overpower Venice,[16] an eminently nautical power of the time, the reason being the lack of past Ottoman nautical experience, which ranged from the absence of shipping yards to the deficiency of navigation or fleet manipulation methods. In order to overcome this lack, the Ottoman sultans cleverly hired (and promised great profits) to people who lived near the coasts and knew navigational and fighting techniques. The ideal agents for this work were the pirates of the Aegean Sea who, as we have seen, had had continuous presence in the area since antiquity. Hence, until the historical defeat of the Ottoman fleet in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571,[17] where the "spell of Turkish supremacy had been broken" according to

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[15] The term "Barbary Coast" denotes the coastal regions of North Africa – what is now Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya – which was a centre of slave trade during Middle Ages. The pirates operating the trade there were called Barbary pirates/corsairs. The Barbary Coast acquired remarkable influence in the 15th century, when the Ottoman Empire took over as rulers of the area (See fig. n. 4, p. 38).

[16] As Jamieson puts it: "The Ottomans were primarily a land power, but after their conquest of Constantinople (now Istanbul), the last remnant of the Christian Byzantine Empire, in 1453, their rulers saw an increasing need to develop naval forces as well. Their main initial target was the republic of Venice which had a number of colonies in the eastern Mediterranean" (2012, p.28).

[17] In the Battle of Lepanto, one of the most important naval battles in human history, a fleet of the Holy League (an alliance of European states, see footnote n. 36) led by Spanish admiral Don Juan of Austria defeated the fleet of the Ottoman Empire on the northern edge of the Gulf of Corinth.

Braudel (*Vol. II*, p. 1088), the Ottomans used the dominance of rebel pirates in the Aegean waters (and later in the Barbary Coast) as their main pressure weapon against the Western allies. At least six sultans didn't avoid the challenge to employ pirates (sometimes as mercenaries, other times by blackmailing them with the use of force) in order to blow a strike to the enemy and thus extend their Kingdom as far as the west edge of the Mediterranean basin. Thus, the Sublime Porte had depended its marine power and presence in the Mediterranean Sea on the dominance and notoriety of the pirates.

As Alexandra Krantonelle states, a plethora of piratical groups and other fleets took action at the time in what is now a Greek sea: Muslim pirates and corsairs, the Order of the Knights of Rhodes and their fleet,[18] Christian pirates from Catalonia, Sicily, Genoa, Italians, French, the fleet of the Genovese admiral Andrea Doria, the Turkish fleet and the Venetian fleet (Krantonelle 2014, p.43). Additionally, as John Pryor notes, in the 16th century only few merchants travelled unarmed because of the dread of a piratical attack so "[t]here was no sharp distinction between the peaceful merchantman and the pirate on the one hand and the man of war and the corsair on the other" (1992, p. 154). Pryor provides evidence that "[p]iracy and privateering were business for investment, and in fact formed an integral part of the economic system" (1992, p. 154).[19] According to historians who reevaluate the role of human beings in the creation of the Mediterranean cultural profile – a role which is thought to be "the missing elements in the Braudelian Mediterranean" (Abulafia, 2005, p. 67) – "piracy reveals some of the most extraordinary cases of mixed identity" (Abulafia, 2011a, p. 228). The forced movement of human souls across the shores of North and South Mediterranean basin had a transforming impact on the receiving societies "introducing something of the culture of one continent into the outer edges, at least, of another" (Abulafia, 2011a, p. 228). The moving population – peasant villagers, captured merchants, enslaved nuns etc. – brought to the new place of settlement their habits, religions, traditions, flavors, thus becoming "vectors of the transmission of ideas", a piece

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[18] Driven out of Jerusalem, the Order of the Knights of St. John appeared in Rhodes in 1309 and occupied a plethora other islands in the Dodecanese. Having Rhodes as their basis, they managed to extend their presence at the opposite coast near the ancient city of Halicarnassus (an area which is now called Bodrum). They constituted a countable force of Christian pirates, which gave ideological meaning to their actions, counterbalancing the presence of the Muslim/Turkish pirates in the same area (Krantonelle, 2014, p. 136). After the 1522 occupation of Rhodes by the Turks, the Knights established a base on the island of Malta, continuing the same piratical actions (Krantonelle, 2014, p.43).

[19] Sofia Mergiali-Sacha also focuses on the blending of trade and piracy as central part of the economy of that time (2010, p. 222-23)

on the Mediterranean jigsaw of unity, which is founded on diversity, on "the diasporas of merchants and exiles" (Abulafia, 2011a, p. 226, 228).

It is not hard to think how risky it was for any traveller, pilgrim, or merchant to cross the Seas of Mediterranean those days. As navigation was the only option for travel, and the only safe routes were located near the coastline, the chance to avoid a risky crossing with a piratical *Fousta* or *Brigantine*[20] was quite rare. The brutal actions of the Ottoman hordes were well-known to the inhabitants of the Mediterranean area. This notoriety was now matched by the infamy of the pirates, whose hideous actions had spread fear at the coasts and islands of the Great Sea. If Ottomans were a novel power in these places, pirates had managed to build a horrible reputation since antiquity. It is easy to imagine how terrified the locals must have felt when they saw piratical ships under an Ottoman flag travelling among islands and coasts, or looting their properties. Backman provides us with a vivid description of the consequences for the locals:

> The Barbary pirates […] plundered the coastlines of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic seaboard continually in search of victims, and by the end of their heyday they had captured and enslaved as many as 1.000.000 European Christians; most of the men they captured were condemned to life as galley slaves, while the women and children were shipped variously to the Ottoman territories to restock the nobles' harems and the barracks of the Janissaries (2014. p. 178).

For the people of the islands of the Aegean Archipelago the situation was particularly horrible, as their homeland was on the main nautical routes of the eastern Mediterranean Sea; subsequently, their lives and property (animals, ships, harvest, etc) was the main target of the pirates. Krantonelle cites innumerable piratical attacks on the islands and coasts of the Aegean Sea, which had grave consequences for the inhabitants and for the local or foreign cargo boats and their crews, causing remarkable changes to the life of the islanders and those near the coasts (2014, p. 391-449). Oral tradition in Greece has registered many instances of the panic caused to people even by the rumor of an appearance of pirates. For example, the folklorist Nikolaos Politis in his 1904 [1994] collection *Paradoseis (Legents)* includes a legend (*paradosi* in Greek) from Thassos island (in North Aegean Sea) of a woman who asked God to turn her into marble

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[20] *Fousta and Brigantine*: both were types of typical piratical vessels. Konstam explains that *Fousta* was the ideal raiding vessel and *Brigantine* a slim fast but smaller in size vessel, great in marine manoeuvres (2002, p. 20).

in order to avoid being captured by pirates; according to the legend, the marble woman with her child in her lap can be found in a place in Thassos called "Woman" (p. 114).[21] People's fear has also been registered in Greek *dimotika tragoudia*, the folk oral tradition consisting of poems, songs, narrations, etc.[22] Especially the subcategory of folk songs known as "historical" (istorika asmata) vividly reflects people's fear to be carried off by pirates and sold as slaves; a typical example is the song entitled "Barbary Pirate" ("O Barbaressos"), a variation of which was first collected by Jeannarakis (1876, p. 172) and then by Kriaris (1901, p. 185). Politis (1914, p. 6) provides us with a third version that seems to be a combination the previous two, and cites both previous collected versions (which have differences in punctuation and vocabulary) in his bibliography. Moreover, in a footnote he verifies that the song's reference to "Barbaresso" denotes the notorious Barbary pirates.[23] The song is a *thrinos* (dirge, a sober song expressing grief) whereby the speaker asks the sun not to rise in the Barbary Pirates' yards, as they are packed by weeping slaves whose tears might moisten its beams.[24]

No piratical group managed to dominate for a long period of time. For a period more than a century (1420-1538) nobody managed to take under control the whole area of the east Mediterranean Sea or even the Aegean Archipelago. Piratical practice remained live and vital basically thanks to the absence of any tactical navy (from the Christian or Muslim world) in the Mediterranean waters. Due to the Sultan's tolerance and protection, the pirates could control a specific marine area on condition that their actions wouldn't harm the Sublime's Port interests. In fact, the Sultan was against pirates only when they were driven by excessive personal profit.

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[21] The legend is also mentioned by Vasdravellis (p. 327), who cites Conze's 1860 German book *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres*, as his source. Actually, Conze's book contains an extensive narration of his visit to Thassos in the summer of 1858 where he found a broken grave relief ["zerbrochene Grabrelief" (p.4)], depicting a woman with her child, who, according to Conte is the actual marble woman of the legend.

[22] According to Beaton "[t]he most widely known and studied of these traditions is undoubtedly that of oral song, conventionally known in Greek as dimotiká tragoúdia, and variously rendered by outsiders literally as 'demotic songs,' 'folk poetry' or 'folk song'" (1986, p. 110).

[23] Politis's version, entitled "I sklavi ton Barbaresson" ["The Barbary Pirates's Slaves"] can also be found in the 1962 Academy of Athens folk song collection, although Jeannarakis's book is wrongly cited as the Academy's source in page 132.

[24] This is Jeannarakis's version of the folk song in Greek entitled «Ὁ Μπαρμπαρέσσος»:

Ήλιε που βγαίνεις το ταχύ 'ς ούλον τον κόσμο δούδεις,
'Σ ούλον τον κόσμ' ανάτειλε 'ς ούλον την οικουμένη,
'Σ τω Μπαρμπαρέσσω τοις αυλαίς ήλιε μην ανατείλης
Γιατ' έχουν σκλάβους όμορφους, πολλά παραπονιάρους,
Και θα γραθού η γι αχτίδες σου που τω σκλαβώ τα δάκρυα (1876, p. 172).

Pirates were valuable to Ottomans as long as they could cause troubles to the Christians and carry the Ottoman flag in the Mediterranean as an indirect indication of the Sultan's presence.[25]

The moment the "pirates" acted under the Sultan's protection and served the Ottoman authority they became "corsairs", legitimized to perform a kind of official looting. Corsairs gained monthly salary and could travel to the Greek seas under the license of the Sublime Porte known as *Salvocondutto,* which denotes an official license to attack (Krantonelle, 2014, p 84). Nevertheless, as already mentioned in this study (see footnote n. 2), the line between "pirate" and "corsair" has always been blurred. Among the notorious pirates (or corsairs) there were Christian renegades who realized that the tactic of changing side was the only way to secure their personal survival or even to rise to success within the official Ottoman navy. Thus, piracy would become the most crucial lever towards triumph in the Mediterranean Sea at the major part of the 16th century. The third decade of 16th century is the time when two great personalities from the Turkish pantheon meet. When Süleyman the Magnificent (also called Süleyman the First, the longest-reigning Great Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, from 1520 to his death in 1566) decided to make Hizr the general ruler of the Ottoman fleet, Barbarossa received unprecedented official recognition for his great abilities in battleships. The Ottoman fleet would now be under the commands of the greatest of all pirates in the Mediterranean. Later on, as we shall see, Hizr would become the most emblematic figure of all ages not only for the Ottomans but also for modern Turkish navy.

v. The Barbarossa Brothers' Sway: Between Myth and History

Through the ages, as we have seen, many nautical powers dominated the Mediterranean Sea: the Greeks, the Romans and later the Venetians and the Genoese. Waves carried Greek triremes, Phoenician trade ships, and Roman galleys; also, the fear of piracy attack was spread all over the Mediterranean. Later, from the end of the 15th century onwards, the term "pirate" brought to mind the name "Barbarossa". This name dominated people's souls, due to fear, pride and amazement. It is a common contemporary misconception that the name "Barbarossa" refers to one pirate. As Agnus Konstam, among other critics, informs us, there were two Barbarossa

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[25] Krantonelle cites the names of the notorious pirates in late 15th and early 16th century: "Kemal Reis, Gambasat Enrichi or Ricci or Errichi, Karacassan, Kourtoglou brothers, Karamameth, Moro, Sinan Reis and of course the brothers Barbarossa" (2014, p.84, my translation).

brothers that marked the concept of piracy in the 16th century: "Aruj and Hizr",[26] who were born on the North Aegean island of Lesbos in the 1470s (2008, p. 80). The origins of the name Barbarossa, Jamieson contends, "have been disputed. At its simplest it may just be that both brothers had red beards, and Aruj received the name first because he was the eldest and the leader. Others have claimed the name came from a corruption of Baba Aruj, 'Father Aruj', a Muslim nickname for the older brother" (2012, pp. 37-38).

Thus, the starting point for the endless achievements and actions of glory of Barbarossa is located on the island of Lesbos, the largest among the North Aegean islands; rich in history, it is a prosperous place with a large variety of agriculture and marine products, in a key geographical position between two continents. Its position, at the entrance of the Dardanelles strait, functioned as a forward base of defense for the rulers of the Byzantine Constantinople. The island itself had a long history of occupation by external powers such as the Romans, Avars, Scythians, while for a long period it had remained part of the Byzantine Empire. After the fall of Constantinople in the hands of the soldiers of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the island of Lesbos remained under the occupation of the Venetians and the Genovese, suffering from their dispute over its occupation, as the two rivals (and traders of goods between East and West) saw Lesbos as a forward commercial base for their trading plans in the East Mediterranean Sea. Later on, in 1462, nine years after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, Mitylene – the capital and main harbor of Lesbos – as well as the whole island, became part of the Ottoman Empire.

Lesbos had the fame of being a pirate island, offering moorages and shelters to galleys mainly at the large gulf/lagoon of Kalloni and the gulf of Gera, which catered for ongoing operations of pirates, situated near the west coasts of Asia. As E. Bradford states "Mitylene itself was one of the most notorious havens for Catalan, Italian, and Sicilian pirates, who raided the other islands and swarmed around the mouth of the Dardanelles preying on Turkish shipping" (1968, p.15). The geography of Lesbos island was the catalytic scenery for the parents of the Barbarossa brothers, the Turk Yakup Aga and his Greek wife Catalina (or Katerina according to scholars), a supposed widow of a Greek priest (Bradford, 1968, p. 18). Yakup was an ex-

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[26] According to other scholars, such as Abulafia, the names are Uruj (or Oruc) and Hizr (2011b, p.415). In this essay all references to these names by the author, follow Abulafia's choice: Uruj and Hizr.

janissary[27] soldier and spahi (Ottoman cavarlyman) who, according to Jamieson, "had participated in the conquest of Lesbos in 1462 when it was taken from the Genoese" (2012, p. 34). The couple managed to create "a model family" (Bradford, 1968, p. 19) of four boys and two girls. The retired janissary had turned to pottery for surviving reasons; "he traded in ceramics all round the Aegean, as far north as Constantinople itself, and often took his sons along with him" (Abulafia, 2011b, pp.415-16). It seems that Yacup and Katerina, within a harsh environment of piracy, had managed to raise their children by providing them the paradigm of self-support.

The story of the Barbarossa brothers – the oldest and the youngest sons among four boys of the pottery man and Greek woman – in the Mediterranean is remarkable. They started their piratical career at about 1500, on the island of Lesbos, their homeland, as Krantonelle indicates (2014, pp. 93-94). A plethora of stories exist about the brothers and "it is not always clear what is fable" (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 415). It seems difficult to evaluate the authenticity of the stories of the early years of the brothers' life. According to Bradford "[t]he first authentic story we hear of the early career of Aruj concerns a disastrous encounter with a galley of the Knights of St. John" (1968, p. 20). In this fight Isaac, one of the Barbarossa brothers, who had also companied Uruj in his operations, was killed, while Uruj himself "was captured and sent to toil as a galley slave" (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 416).[28] It is not clear how many years Uruj spent in slavery or how he re-gained his freedom. According to most scholars he was ransomed by his father "or by Turkish merchants who had invested in his galleot" (Bradford, 1968, p. 22).

This capture-and-escape story is a cornerstone for the fame of the Barbarossa brothers, as "a story of heroic escape began to be told" (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 416) setting the foundations for the subsequent epoch of legendary glory. There also exist many different versions about what happened to Uruj after his liberation. Some scholars claim that Uruj returned to Lesbos, trying to take his brother along to his crew, while some others claim that he went to Alexandria of Egypt. From there Uruj went to the coasts of south Turkey in Antalya – which was then a well-known nest for corsairs that had acquired legendary proportions in people's minds – where he became a corsair (Konstam, 2008, pp. 80-81). This was a time when "the Ocean had been perceived as a

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[27] According to Bradford "janissaries were the sons of Christians, forcibly abducted from their parents, converted to the Moslem faith in early childhood, and then trained to be the most formidable warrior of the Grand Turk" (1968, p. 16)

[28] Krantonelle suggest that the youngest brother Hizr was also captured during this operation; he was enslaved in Rhodes and managed to escape in 1503 (2014, p. 94).

completely alien environment, a space of myth rather than a space integrated in the tale of human history" with the sea perceived as "a wilderness dominated by threatening monsters and wild pirates" (Policante, 20015, p. 78). Although there is a confusion and elusiveness of the concepts myth[29] and legend, the latter is usually understood as referring to a less distant past and "having, or appearing to have, some trace of historical basis" (Anderson, 2006, p. 77) by mentioning real – though exaggerated – people and events, which is how legend is understood in this study. Foucault's observation that in legend "there is a certain ambiguity between the fictional and the real" (1977, p. 162), perfectly fits, I think the case of the Barbarossa legend, which lies between myth and history.

The beginning of the 16th century finds the two brothers in Jerba, a naturally protected port at the gulf of Gabes, in Tunis, at the North African "Barbary coast" nest of pirates. Bradford justifies the brothers' choice to settle in the Tunisian coasts, as it offered them a well-protected shelter, opposite Spain and Italy, near the key the nautical routes of West and East Mediterranean (1968, p. 32). In fact, this settlement will be proven a permanent trouble both for Spain and Italy; "[i]t was the start of all the evils" that Spain suffered from the corsair's plague (Lopez de Gomara, cited in Crowley, 2009, p. 34). From there the Barbarossa brothers prowled the islands and the shores of the Mediterranean, especially in Spain, "evacuating Spanish Muslims across the straits and using their knowledge to raid Christian villages" (Crowley, 2009, p. 34). They also targeted commercial vessels carrying goods and human souls; the most profitable for them was the slave trade, as the demand for slaves remained undiminished. Thus, the brothers contributed to the configuration of the Mediterranean hybrid identity by initiating a tremendous movement of inhabitants away from the shores of the Mediterranean. As Vakalopoulos contends, for example, the Aegean (Kea, Ios, Antiparos, Amorgos, Aegina) suffered from the continuous presence of the Barbarossa fleet, which caused huge population movement (Vakalopoulos, 1968, pp. 150-51). Their terrifying reputation was growing as the islands between North and South Mediterranean "started to live in waking fear of these corsairs" (Crowley, 2009, p. 34). In 1504 the pirate duet achieved their first great feat against Pope Julius's II galleys and simultaneously, as Abulafia observes, enhanced "their reputation as heroes in Tunis and as fearsome enemies in

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[29] In *The Oxford English Dictionary* the word myth is defined as a "purely fictitious narrative usually involving supernatural persons, actions, or events, and embodying some popular idea concerning natural or historical phenomena". It is also explained that there is a secondary meaning in standard usage of "an untrue or popular tale, a rumour" (p. 177).

Rome" (2011b, p. 416). Hence, those successful attacks "gave the name to the oldest brother of the most valiant and enterprising commander" (Haedo cited in Konstam 2008, p. 81).

Legends started floating over shipwrecks. Also, narrations about inhumane acts and unheard of violence were initiated by those who were saved and enslaved in the bazaar of Algiers – a famous slave market of the time. Crowley reports that Hizr "claimed to have taken twenty-one merchant ships and 3,800 men, women and children" (2009, p. 34) in only one-month raids; this huge number of slaves is a mark of constant corsair presence and a "routine" of violations. The attempt to take control of the prosperous area of the Mediterranean basin strengthened the old religious and ideological differences (between West and East), which provided excuses for the use of violence and the lack of tolerance to difference. Uruj's temporary capture from the Knights of Rhodes initiated an endless revenge, a Barbarossa "holy war" against the Christians. As Abulafia puts it, this war was "[a] war of attrition between Muslim corsairs and their Christian foes" (2011b, p. 416) with a long future and many changes ahead regarding the marine control of the Mediterranean.

By the year 1510 Uruj was among the richest people the Mediterranean Sea (Bradford, 1968, p. 36). Both brothers owned a small fleet of eight galleots, which launched the official Ottoman appearance in the West Mediterranean, and had managed to receive "respect" for their atrocities; The brothers must have "felt themselves kings of the Mediterranean Sea" in the words of Bradford (1968, p. 36). Their achievements functioned as an open invitation for the fortune-hunter pirates of the East Mediterranean Sea (Krantonelle, 2014, p. 95), attracting those who wished for a similar glorious career, either by operating independently, or by co-operating with Barbarossa brothers in the same area, one of the many "wasp nests" of piracy (Bradford, 1968, p. 15).

The piratical presence was growing in the Maghrib [30] together with Uruj's notoriety. His personality spread controversial feelings of admiration and dread among the people. Crowley maintains that he "was an Islamic Robin Hood with talismanic powers of a sorcerer. It was whispered that his resources were limitless; […] that he had signed a pact with the Devil to make his ships invisible" and that he "was said to have ripped out the throat of a Christian with his

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[30] According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: "Maghrib, (Arabic: 'West'), also spelled Maghreb, region of North Africa bordering the Mediterranean Sea. The Africa Minor of the ancients, it at one time included Moorish Spain and now comprises essentially the Atlas Mountains and the coastal plain of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya."

teeth and eaten the tongue; killed fifty men with his scimitar" (2009, p. 35). In the words of Abulafia, Uruj had the "bloodthirsty reputation as the sort of man who would bite out a victim's windpipe like a mad mastiff" (2011b, p. 417). In Spain and Italy Uruj was a terrifying word and "people crossed themselves at his name" (Crowley, 2009, pp. 35-36); his dread had spread to South of Europe as print culture typography helped the distribution of scary pamphlets about him, while simultaneously "sums were offered to privateers for his capture, dead or alive" (Crowely, 2009, p. 36). Thus, the name "Barbarossa" escaped from the borders of reality and entered the realm of fiction: On the one hand there was the Christian narrative which equated piracy with evil, while on the other there was the Islamic story which gave the Barbarossa brothers the awe of "Knights", protectors of the crescent moon as the symbol of the Islamic faith. "The brothers consciously promoted these myths" (Crowely, 2009 p. 36) by using them as a vehicle – a galley in this case – for honorific entrances in friendly harbors as signs of domination in the Mediterranean. The Barbarossa brothers' notoriety justifies the forcible movement of the people of the time away from the coastal line of the Greek Archipelagos, towards new settlements in areas well-protected from dangerous sea entrances and the scourge of the pirates (Dimitropoulos, 2007, pp.122-123 and Krantonelle, 2014 p.407, 436).[31] The existence of a series of new fortified settlements or the renovation of the older and safer ones all over the Mediterranean – from the rock of Capri to the Eastern Aegean island of Chios and in Cyclades (Georgopoulou-D'Amico, 2008, p.18) – proves the people's panic and agony about their existence. Moreover, the conservation and propagation of watchtower systems in the islands and coasts of the Aegean, for purposes of surveillance against piracy, suggests that piracy was the top danger for the islanders (Dimitropoulos, 2007, p.123 and Krantonelle, 2014, p. 449).

The central and western islands of the Mediterranean (Sicily, Sardenia, Majorka) were the much promised goals for profit for the corsairs' fleet as they were near the rich and powerful states of south Europe: Spain, France, Italy. Nevertheless, the Algiers and the coasts of the Maghrib were the significant points which contributed to the Barbarossa legend, as many legendary naval battles between the Spanish armada and the famous piracy brigade took place there. In one of those battles, in 1518, Uruj was caught and killed by Spanish fighters, leaving to his younger – but equally capable – brother Hizr his bloodstained legend. This legend extended

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[31] Krantonelle refers especially to the island of Chios as a classic paradigm of adaptation of the village architecture to the needs of defense and protection against piracy (p. 407). Similar adaptation took place in the whole coastal area of the Mediterranean basin, such as in Spain, Italy, throughout the 16th century (Crowley, 2009, p. 59).

from the Pillars of Hercules and the Sea of Alboran to the Tyrrhenian Sea in Italy, the Gulf of Gabes in Tunis and the islands of the Greek Archipelago, blending indisputable facts and monstrous "mad mastiff" rumors that still dominate contemporary perceptions about piracy.

vi. Hayrettin Barbarossa as the Master of Mediterranean Sea: The Expansion of a Legend

Uruj "was, when he died, about forty-four years of age […] His hair and beard perfectly red; his eyes quick, sparkling and lively. […] He was a man excessively bold, resolute, daring, magnanimous, enterprizing" (Morgan, p. 257, cited in Lane-Poole p, 52). Hizr, "an equally valiant fighter" with Uruj (Cordingly and Falconer, 1992, p. 57), followed his brother's tracks and adopted the nickname Barbarossa (given to his brother, which means "red beard" in Italian) by dyeing his beard red and by attempting to gain an "even more fearsome reputation than Uruj" (Abulafia, 2011b, p.417). He definitely succeeded in this attempt and, as Gosse contends, became "no longer a solitary leader but the head of a group of fleets, having gathered round him the most formidable collection of master pirates yet known in the world" (2007, p.18). As Lane indicates, for his illegal actions Hizr cooperated with "Turgut (known to Europeans as Dragut), a Rhodes-born Muslim, a Jewish pirate from Smyrna; and Aydin (or "Drub-devil"), a renegade Christian and possibly a Spaniard" (1998, p. 15). Additionally, Lane argues that Hizr acted more as a governor than a pirate and "sought greater political legitimacy and firmer backing from the Ottoman sultan than his brother had preferred" (1998, p.15). It seems that Hizr followed his brother's track, who was "an astute politician, and utilized his reputation to achieve political ends" (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 417). However, Hizr "tempered his own military and political abilities with caution and patience" (Jamieson, 2012, p. 40). This involvement in the politics with the Sublime Porte of Istanbul offered him official recognition as Beylerbey (the Commander of Commanders) by Sultan Selim I, as well as military equipment (such as canons) and a couple of thousands of janissaries, in order for the rights of the Ottomans to be protected in Western Mediterranean.

Sultan Selim's successor, Süleyman the Magnificent, rose to the top of Ottoman hierarchy and ascended to the throne in 1520 with no less ambition than Hizr; his main aim was to extend his Empire to East and West. After the capture of the island of Rhodes in 1522, it was Algiers who became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1529 thanks to Barbarossa; "With his act,

Hizir acquired both political legitimacy and new recourses […] And it was Suleiman who conferred a new honorific name on the young corsair: Hayrettin – 'Goodness of the faith'" (Crowley, 2009, p. 39). The talismanic pirate became "Hayrettin"[32] – protector of the Islamic faith – a man-symbol of the Ottoman Empire, ready to extend it as far as the African coasts. This was the beginning of an alliance between the Sultan and the pirate which lasted for 15 years. Their common target was to remove from the Mediterranean basin all western powers – mainly Venice and Spain – and to establishment the Ottoman Empire. Hizr was a valuable alliance for Süleyman in the Mediterranean as the Ottoman attention was simultaneously turned to Persia and the Balkan Peninsula (Abulafia, 2011b, pp. 417-418); the capable pirate could keep the Sultan's presence alive in the Mediterranean without much cost for the Sublime Porte. As Braudel maintains, in the Mediterranean that had almost never before suffered from any Ottoman navy attack, "the sea lay open to the Turkish fleet" (*Vol. II*, p. 905).

During the decade of the 1530s Hayrettin became the overlord of the West *Akdeniz*, the West "White Sea"[33] as he was the advisor on strategy matters of the Ottoman Porte. At the same time the Mediterranean became a "theater" of battles and fights in front of strategic ports in North Africa and the Peloponnese, which was then part of the Ottoman Empire. The appearance on stage of Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor, 1519-1556) set new dimensions to the conflict between West and East as Andrea Doria – the Genoese Christian admiral[34] – took the order for a counter-attack against the Islamic presence in the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean basin became a gigantic chessboard, as two the Emperors and the two sea commanders starting fighting. Andrea Doria's successes against the Turkish navy urged Süleyman to send an invitation to the Beylerbey of Algiers, Hayrettin, to be presented in Istanbul, where he was given the office of "kapudan pasha" (captain general) "in charge of both the administration of the fleet and its operations against the Christians" (Jamieson, 2012, p. 41). At the same time a new Ottoman fleet was being constructed under Hayrettin's supervision in the dockyards of Istanbul during the winter of 1533; it had to be large enough to serve the ambitions both of the Sultan and

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[32]As Jamieson puts it: "The Ottoman sultan […] gave Khizr the honorific title Khair ad-Din ('best of the religion' [of Islam]), but it is as Barbarossa that he survives in the folk legends of Christian Mediterranean countries right up to the present day" (2012, p. 38). His full name thus became Hayrettin Pasha, though in the West he became known as Hayrettin Barbarossa.

[33] *Akdeniz* (White sea) is the name of the Mediterranean Sea for the Turks, as Abulafia explains (2011b, p. xxiii).

[34] Andrea Doria had a great family of admirals as predecessors, but according to Braudel he was "lured into the service of Charles V more by money than by principle", being a person "capable of all the treachery imputed to him" (*Vol. II*, p. 905).

of his "kapudan pasha". The new fleet underlined the Ottoman supremacy in the Mediterranean by departing from the Dardanelles strait and navigating was towards the coasts of Italy; while the fleet was en route towards Naples, a series of acts of violence took place, such as "burning villages, destroying ships, enslaving whole settlements" (Crowley, 2009, p. 58). Abulafia reports that Hayrettin got involved in a legendary story of the captivation as a present for the Sultan's harem of the beautiful widowed Countess Giulia Gonzaga in Fondi – a place near Rome at the Tyrrhenian Sea in the summer of 1534 (2011b, p. 418). She performed a legendary narrow escape riding a horse. Enraged at her escape, Barbarossa plundered and burned Fondi for four hours, something that has never been forgotten by its inhabitants (Lane-Poole, 1890, p. 85). The story quickly spread through Italy and, among other works of fiction, inspired the creation of the poem "La Ninfa Fugitiva" ("The Fugitive Nymph") by Muzio Giustinopolitano which narrates Gonzaga's escape and has kept the story alive through the centuries (quoted in Hare, 1912, p. 279-80). Barbarossa's fame dominated within the coasts of Maghreb and the south-west side of the Roman peninsula. The region of Tunis, the town of the Algiers and the concept of piracy acquired mythic proportions in the minds of peasants on the Mediterranean coasts. As merchants crossed the turbulent sea, they carried Hayrettin's legend along. Konstam offers us a vivid narration about Barbarossa's appearance in the entrance of the river Tiber and about the event's announcement to Rome (which was the heart of the Christian world at the time). His appearance incited so much fear in the hearts of the people in the Mediterranean (no matter if they lived on the coastline or in the mainland) that they started ringing the church bells (Konstam, 2008, p.85).

Reggio, Naples, Fonti, Cetraro had already met "the heart-stopping terror of Ottoman frontier raids" (Crowley, 2009, p. 58) as the Ottomans wished to mislead the Christians about their real target, Tunis, which would become the key scenery of conflict (Jamieson, 2012, p. 41). Barbarossa's capturing of Tunis initiated retaliation by the Roman Emperor Charles V. In the operation against Barbarossa, which took the form of a well-prepared crusade, Charles V "recaptured Tunis in 1535" (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 418) and his men looted and massacred the town. In this mouse-and-cat game between the Roman Emperor and the corsair, Barbarossa "proved himself as resilient as ever" (Jamieson, 2012, p. 43), preparing an attack to the Balearic Islands. A few months later "a flotilla slipped out of Algiers and headed for Minorca, where Barbarossa's men impudently raised Spanish flags on their masts and brazenly entered the massive natural harbour of Mahón" (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 418); Hayrettin "sacked the town,

carried off 1,800 people […] a glut of goods in the slave market of Algiers" (Crowley, 2009, p. 63). Barbarossa was practically unbeatable, harvesting the benefits of his notoriety among the Christendom, which couldn't yet establish an alliance against the Ottomans. The Mediterranean Sea "had become a major theatre of imperial conflict" (Crowley, 2009, p. 65) with two players – Andrea Doria and Barbarossa – as "executors of their masters' wars" (Crowley, 2009, p. 65). An official duel was settled then at the Ionian Sea between two similar personalities. Andrea Doria was very popular in the Christian world, despite his adventurous and turbulent life, he was "a mirror image of Hayrettin Barbarossa, combining a degree of independence with willingness to work for a cause" (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 419). Hence, the nautical area of the Peloponnese and the seven islands of the Ionian Sea were the battlefield for the naval dispute between the Christian and the Muslim World.

It was in the beginning of 1537 when Süleyman decided an invasion to Italy with French support; the island of Corfu, which belonged to the Venetians, was "a stepping-stone for invasion" (Crowley, 2009, p. 67). This is why Süleyman supported Barbarossa with 25.000 men in order to take Corfu and gain control of the vital trade routes on the Adriatic and Ionian Sea. Fortunately, the island's castles proved strong against Barbarossa's final attack on the 3rd of September 1537. Nevertheless, Barbarossa found in Corfu a great source of slaves and oarsmen and indeed caused tremendous catastrophes by plundering human lives and properties. In the words of Bradford, Barbarossa and his group of raiders "proved even more terrible than the earthquakes that regularly plague life" (1968, p. 152). Around this time, in 1537, Barbarossa visited the Cycladic complex aiming to minimize the Venetian presence in the Aegean islands and attacked Naxos, Amorgos, Andros and Paros. The violent siege of Paros by Barbarossa has been registered in a Greek *dimotiko tragoudi* (folk song) entitled "Tis katastrofis tis Parou" ("About the Destruction of Paros"), which can be found in the 1962 Academy of Athens folk song collection, belonging to the subcategory of "historical" songs (istorika asmata). The song is a *thrinos* (dirge, a sober song expressing grief) whereby the speaker informs us that many people weep for the ill fortune of Paros, but most of all Holy Mary. Then Mary's dirge is cited, who wonders why Barbarossa became enraged with this island of heaven.[35]

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[35] This is the folk song in Greek entitles «Της καταστροφής της Πάρου»:
    Όλα τα Δώδεκα νησά στέκουν αναπαμένα,
    κι' ή Πάρος ή βαριόμοιρη στέκεται αποκλεισμένη
    καί όσοι τήν ξεύρουν κλαίουν την καί όλοι τηνε λυπούνται

In order to defend their sovereignty in the vital area of the Adriatic Sea, the Christian world put all its hopes to Andrea Doria and the Holy League.[36] In spring of 1538, as a response to the formation of the Holy League, Barbarossa attacked again many Greek islands across the Aegean, which were under the Venetian control, together with Nafplion and Monemvasia on the Peloponnese (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 419). The two fleets met at the area of Preveza. As Abulafia puts it vividly "the massed forces of the Holy League – 36 papal galleys, 10 Hospitaller ships, 50 Portuguese ships, as many as 61 Genoese ships – met the Ottoman fleet, commanded by Hayrettin, at the battle of Preveza, off Corfu, on 28 September 1538" (2011b, p. 420). After a couple of days of alert, the battle took place with Barbarossa achieving a famous victory. Although outnumbered by nearly fifty ships, he had very few casualties. The damage for the League, too, wasn't that big as regards the number of sank ships – only twelve – but Doria had shown no will to fight because "[a]s a Genoese he had no great interest in protecting Venetian interests", his priority being the Western Mediterranean (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 420).

Barbarossa's success at Preveza confirmed his reputation as a great Ottoman naval hero. The political aftermath of the Preveza victory confirms that "Turkish naval supremacy in the Mediterranean would remain unchallenged for another three decades" as Konstam argues (2008, p.85).[37] It was "a momentous event" in the words of Braudel, which established the Turks "over almost the entire Mediterranean" (*Vol. II*, p. 905). The Christendom was on the losing side, "totally outmanoeuvred" (Crowley, 2009, p. 71). The following year Barbarossa gained one more victory against the Christendom as he occupied the fortress of Castelnuovo in the Dalmatian coasts (Bradford, 1968, p. 187) on August the 6th of 1539, taking over a dispute between Venetians and Spain for its control. This victory confirmed the fact that the

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καί 'σάν την κλαί' ή Δέσποινα κανείς δέν τηνε κλαίγει.
- «Πάρο, μηλιά μυριστική, μήλον του Παραδείσου,
Πάρο, καί τί σου ωργίσθηκεν αυτός ο Παρπαρούσης;»
Δευτέρα 'μέρα πρόβαλε τα κάτεργα στην Πάρο.
Άλλοι λέγουν Βενέτικα, άλλοι τ' Αντρέα [Ντόρια]. (Academy of Athens, 1962, p. 134)

[36] Pope III had managed to create in Nice a *Santa Lega* (Holy League) against the Ottomans, "a maritime crusade, whose ultimate objective was the capture of Istanbul" (Crowley, 2009, p. 68). The Holy League included almost all the major Catholic maritime states in the Mediterranean (the Papal States Naples and Sicily, the states of Spain, Venice, Genoa, Tuscany, Savoy, Parma and Urbino and the Knights of Malta) but was a fragile alliance that would not be able to meet even to the minimum its basic expectations, mainly due to controversial interests and suspiciousness among its members (*Historia tou hellenikou ethnous*, 1974, p. 301).

[37] The importance of this victory for the Turks is evident by the fact that they have named *Preveze* one of their contemporary submarines in Mediterranean Sea.

Mediterranean was his Sea, and that the Preveza victory was more due to his nautical skills and less due to Andrea Doria's early withdrawal from fight.

The Sultan Süleyman's consistent practice to relate to the West was established in 1453 with the form of decrees, which were later named Capitulations; The French King Francis I was the first who signed those decrees with Süleyman (Angell, 1901, p. 254). This Franco-Ottoman alliance created a new chapter in Mediterranean history in 1543 when Barbarossa took the Ottoman fleet into the western Mediterranean in order to align his operations with the French (Jamieson, 2012, p. 46). On the way to France, Barbarossa and his men passed the coasts of southern Italy "like fishermen dragging in a net, scooped up all the coastal traffic and all the men, women, and poor valuables of that impoverished land" (Bradford, 1968, p. 196). French and Ottoman forces sacked Nice (see fig. n. 5, p. 38), a city allied with the Holy League, burning it from end to end and carrying "the nuns of Antibes […] into slavery" (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 422). Then "Francis opened up Toulon to the Turkish ships, inviting Hayrettin's men to spend the winter there" (Abulafia, 2011b, p. 422). "Francis, who styled himself the Most Christian King" (Crowley, 2009, p. 74) saw Toulon's Cathedral to change in to Mosque, and also tolerated the creation of a slave market – for the victims of the neighboring villages – and generally allowed the Turks to behave as conquerors. Gosse maintains that during his stay in France, Hayrettin sporadically sent few of his ships against the King of Spain – as part of the alliance he made with the French King – but most of his time was spent by emptying the French coffers (2007, p. 29).

On May 1544 the greedy for supplies and gold corsair fleet departed satisfied[38] from the area. On the way back to his base Barbarossa showed again his greediness against the people of Talamone, near the coasts of Tuscan. Similarly, the Port of Ischia island, opposite Naples, didn't manage to escape Hayrettin's ravenous appearance. The people's decision not to pay him with money and human lives (slaves) caused the island's devastation (Abulafia, 2011b, p.422). Similar scenes took place on the Lipari Islands as Crowley states, where "[t]he caste, the cathedral, the tombs and houses were ransacked and burnt" (2009, p. 78). This was Hayrettin's last trip towards the satisfaction of his adventurous and greedy character. He returned to Istanbul as a living legend, as "king of the sea": people flocked on the shore to watch the glorious

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[38] According to Abulafia, Hayrettin persuaded Francis "to give him 800,000 gold *ecus*" so as to depart (2011b, p. 422).

entrance (Crowley, 2009, p. 78). There he spent peacefully the last years of his life, away from the seas where he had built his legend. Barbarossa passed away in 1546. Soon his mausoleum near Bosporus, in Istanbul, became the pilgrims' holy land. His lieutenants would continue his action in the Mediterranean Sea and his name would never be forgotten.

vii.   The Diverse Legacy of Barbarossa in Culture

Barbarossa's loss was a great misfortune for the world of Islam; he had become a legendary figure because he extended the limits of the Ottoman Empire in the Western part of the Mediterranean Sea, in an area that was earlier dominated from the Spanish armada. By the time of his death the Ottoman fleet in the Mediterranean was "both feared and respected" (Cordinger and Falconer, 1992, p. 57). Braudel vividly describes the fear invoked by the Ottoman forces: "As far as the Pillars of Hercules and even beyond them to the approaches of Seville with its rich American cargoes, the shipping of all Christian powers in the Mediterranean had to move in fear; unless, that is, they had come to terms with the Turk, as had his French allies in Marseilles, his Ragusan subjects, and the Venetian businessmen" (*Vol. II*, p. 906). Moreover, Abulafia contends that this was the time when "Muslim sea power had expanded outwards on a massive scale" (2011b, p. 424). This led to the establishment of a strong corsair state at Algiers that "would last for centuries and make the Barbary corsairs a legend in both Christian and Muslim worlds" (Jamieson, 2012, p. 47).

Thus, piracy assisted the extension of the limits of the Ottoman Empire, the establishment of which was confirmed with the capturing of the island of Chios (in 1566), of Cyprus (in 1571) and of Crete (in 1669). Hayrettin Barbarossa initiated an array of legends because he "assumed an awesome presence: invincible, frightening, brilliant. He projected himself as the manifestation of the will of God and the imperial authority of Suleiman" (Crowley, 2009, p. 43), as the "the king of evil" of the Spanish coasts (Crowley, 2009, p. 45). His violent actions lasted for over four decades, executed on the shores of North Mediterranean (France, Italy, the Dalmatian coasts) as well as on the islands and coasts of the Ionian and Aegean Sea. Barbarossa was ambitious and ruthless, which constitute vital traits of character that helped him overcome the machinations and intrigues of the Sublime Porte and become a necessary ally for to Sultan's plans for supremacy in the Mediterranean. His abilities were equally recognized by his friend and enemies, while he belonged to no land. The sea was his sole home, his precious kingdom.

Throughout the centuries Barbarossa's sway was kept alive through oral tradition as we have seen, and nowadays modern Turkey tries to get as much as possible from the past aura of Barbarossa's legendary dominance in the Mediterranean Sea; the name Barbarossa is given to streets and squares. In Istanbul Hayrettin's great tomb in one of the central areas of the city marks an attempt of propagating his glory for the purpose of boosting nationalist ideals. To this day the living legend of Barbarossa is being rekindled by his statue created by the sculptor Zühtü Müridoglu, placed (in 1946) in the square facing his tomb (see fig. n. 6, p. 39). On the back of the statue there are six verses written by the poet Yahya Kemal Beyatli (1884–1958):

> Whence on the sea's horizon comes that roar?
>
> Can it be Barbarossa now returning
>
> From Tunis or Algiers or from the Isles?
>
> Two hundred vessels ride upon the waves,
>
> Coming from lands the rising Crescent lights:
>
> O blessed ships, from what seas are ye come?" (qtd. in Sumner-Boyd, 2010, p, 430).

As early as 1910 the Ottoman Empire gave the name "Barbaros Hayreddin" to a battleship bought from German Imperial Navy, that was sank five years later by a British submarine. Moreover, at the end of the 20th century the so-called "Barbaros-class frigates" joined the Turkish Navy. Among them, the "Hayreddin Barbarossa" frigate commemorates the invincibility of the medieval admiral/corsair. Also, in 2011 Turkey made use of the name "Barbarossa" in order to dub a serious military presence in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean Sea. "Operation Barbarossa: Aegean Shield" was the name of the naval military strategy, allocated with frigates, submarines, naval helicopters, etc, and launched in order to establish "freedom of navigation in Eastern Mediterranean" (Ünver, 2011). Additionally, the recent appearance (2014) in the eastern Mediterranean of the Turkish seismographic research ship "Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa" in the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of Cyprus, without the permission of the Cypriot authorities, damaged the talks for finding a solution for the island's reunification, and confirmed that Turkey disputed "the EEZ [Exclusive Economic Zone] delimitation agreement between Cyprus and Egypt" (Antoniou, 2015); for many scholars and analysts, the appearance of "Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa" also meant that Turkey wanted to send a loud message for the status quo and dominance in the area (Hassapopoulos, 2014; Korlira, 2014). Thus, Barbarossa has never left the national psyche of the Turkish people, being a hero who rose

from a lower class. If the older brother Uruj was an "Islamic Robin Hood", as Crowley states (2009, p. 35), Hayrettin Barbarossa declared that he was a soldier of Islamic faith, "directed by prophetic dreams" (Crowley, 2009, p. 36).

Hayrettin's death wasn't an easy thing to be accepted by the people of his time, both by those who adored him and by those who feared and cursed him (Cosse, 2007, p. 29). Just after his death rumors spread that he was seen wandering around the streets near his tomb (Allen, 2015, p. 44). As years passed by, a "legend persisted he could leave his tomb and walk the earth with the undead" (Crowley, 2009, p. 79).[39] As superstitious horror reigned, facts started giving their place to fiction. Cordingly and Falconer insightfully maintain that "[a]s the real pirates vanished from the Caribbean and the Mediterranean the pirates of fiction took over" (1992, p. 11). In Western Europe the term piracy gradually acquired legendary proportions filtered through the lens of literature. *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *The Life, Adventures and Piracies of the Famous Captain Singleton* (1720) by the English novelist Daniel Defoe are two of the first novels to depict piracy. The first major literary work responsible for many ongoing conceptions and misconceptions about piracy is *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the most notorious Pyrates* by Captain Charles Johnson, published in Britain in 1724. It contains biographies of infamous pirates who are presented with specific characteristics that were gradually turned into stereotypes (such as wooden legs or missing eyes or the habit to keep treasures in chests) and greatly influenced subsequent novelists such as Robert Louis Stevenson. Piracy became a popular theme in literature during the 19th century, when authors transformed the figure of the pirate into a "paradigmatic romantic outlaw", a figure that feared nothing, an ultimate symbol of freedom against the confinements of culture (Policante, 2015, pp. 107, 108). Policante offers a succinct overview of the major 19th century literary works on piracy:

> Walter Scott's historical novel *The Pirate* (1821), Byron's epic poem *The Corsair* (1815), James Fenimore Cooper's tale *The Red Rover* (1827), Berlioz's overture *Le Corsaire* (1844), Verdi's opera *Il Corsaro* (1848), José de Espronceda's ode *Cancion del Pirata* (1835), Emilio Salgaris *I Pirati della Malesia* (1896) as well as Robert Louis Stevenson's

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[39] Apparently a Greek witch managed to bring peace to Barbarossa's body by burying a black dog beside it (Gosse, 2007, p. 29; Crowley, 2012, p. 79.; Bradford, 2007, p. 126).

Treasure Island (1883), are just a few of the most notorious nineteenth century works

expounding the Romantic pirate myth (2015, p. 108).

Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883), partly inspired by Johnson's *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the most notorious Pyrates*, has spawned many 20th century film and television adaptations. For example, the 1950 film *Treasure Island*, based on the homonymous novel, as well as the 1954 film *Long John Silver* are only two of the hundreds of films that have shaped modern perception of piracy, propagating many of the clichés about the appearance and behavior of pirates. Images of piracy in film and comics keep piling up in contemporary culture. Comics have played an important role on how pirates are perceived nowadays, as figures drawn out of their historical context. The Belgian *Barbe-Rouge* comic series, for example, was created by Jean-Michel Charlier and Victor Hubinon in 1959, in French, featuring the story of the pirate Redbeard, who is loosely based on Barbarossa (among other pirates). *Barbe-Rouge* is known for the parody of the series done in *Astérix le Gaulois* (entitled in English *The Adventures of Astérix*), the famous series of French comics by René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo, also originally published in French in 1959. There, a group of pirates-caricatures appear in nearly every story, and their ship is sunk by Asterix at almost every meeting.

As regards literary works more firmly based on Barbarossa, there is a 1754 theatrical play, by the English essayist John Brown, entitled *Barbarossa: A tragedy. As it is perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane*, which was very popular during the late 18th century. It features the adventures of the Barbary corsairs, and especially those of Uruj Barbarossa. Many other works of fiction, drama and poetry exist throughout the world. More recently in Malta in 2011 the State Opera and Ballet of Turkey presented "Barbarossa", a modern dance drama inspired by the life of Hayrettin Barbarossa. In Greece, the historical novel entitled *Barbarossa. O tromos tes Mesogeiou.* (*Barbarossa. The terror of the Mediterranean*) was published in 1998 by G. Leonardos (also translated in English in 2000 with the title *Barbarossa the Pirate*). There is also the long poem "O milichios tropos tou Barbarossa" ("The Mellow Behaviour of Barbarossa") by the Greek acclaimed poet Nikos Karouzos (in *Collected Poems*, Athens: Ikaros, 1993). In an excerpt here,

[…] Barbarossa had his own drama…

Reduced to nothing by age and full of ashen

terrors and hallucinations, the one-time trophy-bearer of blood […]"[40]

(Karouzos, N., [online]).

Although there is no direct reference to the name "Hayrettin", he is the one who reached an old age in Istanbul, where the poem's fictional Barbarossa lives in.

Nowadays, the name Barbarossa is mainly used as a means to achieve commercial and consumerist goals of profit throughout the world. In the Mediterranean area the fish restaurants, sea-side cafés, shops, travel agencies, hotels, clubs, etc., that are called "Barbarossa" are innumerable. It seems that many types of business which focus on the sea element (such as sea food, exotic vacation areas, etc) adopt the name. At the dawn of the 21st century, the name "Barbarossa" may be interpreted as a promise of freedom from a banal daily life, sprinkled with Disneyland stardust and Hollywood glamour. For example, *Pirates of the Caribbean* is a contemporary American series of fantasy films inspired by Disneyland's theme park of the same name, where many famous Hollywood stars (such as Johnny Depp and Orlando Bloom) appear. *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Men Tell No Tales* is the fifth installment in the series, expected to be released in 2017. *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* (2003) is the first film of the series, which, among other characters, features "Hector Barbossa", a role inspired by Hayrettin Barbarossa. Actually, "Hector Barbossa" appears throughout the *Pirates of the Caribbean* film series, and in 2006 was also added to the *Pirates of the Caribbean* theme park (which first appeared in 1967) at various Disneyland parks. In the famous essay "Travels in Hyperreality" Umberto Eco maintains that Disneyland creates a fictional reality that is often more detailed than the actual reality; that's how the term hyperreality emerges. In the essay Eco discusses the Disneyland *Pirates of the Caribbean* theme park where "the pirates moved, danced, slept, popped their eyes, sniggered, drank – really. You realize that they are robots but you remain dumbfounded by their verisimilitude" (1986, p. 45). Thus, the Disneyland pirates become consumerist vehicles disguised as "escapism" and "adventure", completely devoid of their historical past, but, instead, dressed with a fake garment of "reality" and "authenticity", while

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[40] This is how excerpt reads in Greek:
    Ο Βαρβαρόσσας όμως είχε το δράμα του…
    Τιποτένιος απ' το γήρασμα και γιομάτος από τεφρώδεις
    τρόμους και παραισθήσεις ο άλλοτε τροπαιούχος του αίματος.
    (Karouzos, N., [online])

Disneyland becomes "a disguised supermarket, where you buy obsessively, believing that you are still playing" (Eco, 1986, p. 43).

Besides piracy, the very name Barbarossa is also used for commercial purposes nowadays; it is given to private/touristic boats or to festivals that take place on the Greek islands, such the one on Paros, which is a kind of revival of the medieval local defense against Barbarossa's fleet. On the island a festival takes place on the 23rd of August every summer, in memory of Barbarossa's attack in 1537. A series of events take place, like singing and dancing, exhibitions and concerts, which overshadow the real historical events.[41] Lately, in the spirit of the epoch, the Japanese video game company Nintendo launched (in 2012) a video game named "Bravely Default" in which a minor character is named "Captain Barbarossa". Similarly, an interactive internet game of treasure hunting has appeared recently in Greece, which is a young student's idea from the island of Lesbos, Greece (Christidou, 2013).[42] Thus, the commercial contemporary copy steals the glamour from the medieval original; Barbarossa has acquired a second, constructed, glamorous, commercial life so as to attract tourists-consumers, which has greatly obscured his first real life and real contribution to Mediterranean cultural history.

viii.   Conclusion

As Policante insightfully maintains, the figure of the pirate is "blown into mass culture by contemporary cinema, with the result of appearing increasingly worn out and commercialized" (2015, p. 121). This is why one needs to go back to the social and cultural practice of history in order to re-evaluate the missing cultural context of piracy. Against the process of commercialization and commodification, in contemporary scientific studies of the history of the Mediterranean area, pirates are placed back in their historical context, as vectors of civilization in the Mediterranean basin. There piracy is perceived not as a commodity product, but as a significant process of cultural exchange in the Mediterranean Sea and shores, contributing to the unique hybrid identity of the Mediterranean world, in-between history and imagination. Piracy slaves changed countries and cities, and so did their habits and ideas; the new settlement for the sad captured souls contributed significantly to the creation of new civilizations of hybridity.

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[41] Moreover, on the island of Corfu, in Pentati village, which had a long exposure to piracy in the past, the "Pentati Pirate Trail" takes place, which is part of the game called "geocaching", an outdoor game in which participants are given the geographical coordinates of a box or "cache" of items which they have to find using a GPS device.
[42] Vlassis Kassapakis, a PhD student of Cultural Technology and Communication Department of the University of the Aegean created the game. The website of the game is http://barbarossarpg.com.

Thus, as this study attempted to show, Hayrettin became responsible for a systematic culture transportation and transformation of the areas in which his slaves were sold and his stories told. Filtered though centuries of folk oral tradition (of which the Greek branch was examined here) and literature, the Barbarossa legacy remains alive today, providing material for many different interpretations, as many as the stories about his death and (supposed) resurrection. Our world is as thirsty for narrative as Barbarossa was for profit and glory. Surely, many stories still remain hidden in Barbarossa's "chest", somewhere in the Mediterranean Sea. In the Mediterranean area, Abulafia contends

> [r]ather than searching for unity, we should note diversity: at the human level, this ethnic, linguistic, religious, and political diversity was constantly subject to external influences from across the sea, and therefore in a constant state of flux, while movements from the interior toward the sea ("barbarian invasions" and the like) introduced the cultures, languages, and political traditions of areas close and remote in the hinterland of Europe, western Asia, and North Africa. (2011a, p. 221)

The Mediterranean unity lies in the diversity which characterises all Mediterranean people; in the Mediterranean area civilizations intersect in a gigantic cultural "*cardo* and *decumanus*" crossroads. Ancient Romans used to build a new city from a center point where two main colonnaded roads, a *cardo* (North-South) and a *decumanus* (East-West) would intersect. Similar imaginary nautical cardo and decumanus (or fact and fiction) intersections are still navigated by Barbarossa's legendary piracy ship, facilitating the ongoing, fascinating interaction of cultures in the Mediterranean.

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Fig. n. 1. "Barbarossa after Capriolo, *Ritratti di cento capitani illustri,* Rome, 1596" (Braudel, *Vol. II*, 1995, p. 996).

Fig. n. 2. A Barbary galiot, c.1540 (Konstam, 2002, p. 27)

Fig. n. 3. Exekias's kylix: "Dionysus Crossing the Sea" interior of a kylix (shallow drinking cup) by Exekias, c. 535 BC; in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

Fig. n. 4. Map of the Mediterranean Sea during Medieval times, depicting key piracy spots on the North African coast (Barbary Coast) and the southern European coast (Photo by Culture Club/Getty Images)
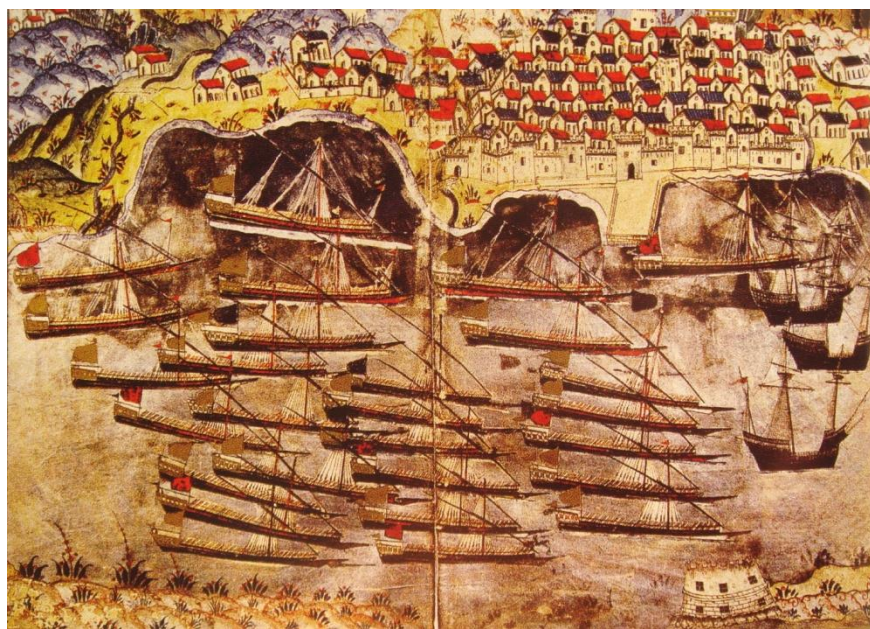

Fig. n. 5. Barbarossa's corsair fleet outside Nice. Miniature from the *Süleymanname,* an Ottoman illustrated manuscript, 1558. Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul (Information taken from Malcolm, 2015, p. ix)

Fig. n. 6. Hayrettin Barbarossa's statue, by the sculptor Zühtü Müridoglu, in Besictas, Istanbul, Turkey