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**ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE OTTOMAN TURKS
IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
University of Durham, Department of History

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PhD abstract

**English literature on the Ottoman Turks
in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries**

Anders Ingram

University of Durham 2009

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century a large and complex English literature on the Ottoman Turks developed, characterised by its diversity in form, content, opinion and context. This was a literature in the sense of a large body of texts sharing a topic, written in a similar time and place and in similar context, but also in the sense of a discourse, sharing literary conventions, citing similar sources, recycling information, accepted ‘facts’, anecdotes and images and drawing upon the same authorities.

I examine this literature from its sixteenth-century roots, tracing its growth at the turn of the seventeenth century and its development into a complex literature, influenced by English religious and political contexts as well as growing Anglo-Ottoman trade and diplomacy, until the dramatic changes brought by diminishing Ottoman power in Europe at the close of that century. I draw these sources together as a ‘literature’, by examining trends, chronological developments and connections between them, while on the other hand I focus upon the contexts of individual works and a nuanced reading of their representations of the Ottomans. Through this I seek to bring a broader and more balanced perspective on both English literature on the Ottomans as a whole and the diversity and complexity of the works of which it was comprised.

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ABBREVIATED TITLES

- O.D.N.B.* *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com>].
- Arber, *Registers* (1894) Arber, Edward, and Charles Robert Rivington. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, A.D.* 5 vols. (London, 1894).
- Bodin, trs. Knolles, *Commonweale* (1606) Bodin, Jean, and trs. Richard Knolles. *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale*. (London, 1606: STC 3193).
- Bodin, trs. Knolles, ed. McRae *Commonweale* (1962) Bodin, Jean, Richard Knolles, and Kenneth D. McRae. *The Six Books of a Commonweale*. (Cambridge, 1962).
- Knolles, *History* (1603, 1610, 1621, 1631, 1638) Knolles, Richard. *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*. (London, 1603: STC 15051, 1610: STC 15052, 1621: STC 15053, 1631: STC 15054, 1638: STC 15055).
- Knolles, *History* (1687) Knolles, Richard, and Paul Rycaut. *The Turkish History*. (London, 1687: Wing K702).
- Rycaut, *Present State* (1668) Rycaut, Paul. *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. (London, 1668: Wing R2413).
- Rycaut, *Turkish Empire* (1680) Rycaut, Paul. *The History of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1680: Wing R2406).
- Rycaut, *Turkish History* (1700) Rycaut, Paul. *The History of the Turks* (London, 1700: Wing R2408).
- Sandys, *Relation* (1615) Sandys, George. *A Relation of a Iourney Begun An: Dom: 1610*. (London, 1615: STC 21726).
- STC *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*, compiled by A.W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, revised, revised and enlarged by W. A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer (3 vols., London, 1986-1991)

- Wing *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English books printed in other countries, 1641-1700*, compiled by Donald Wing, 2nd ed., revised and enlarged by John J. Morrison and Carolyn W. Nelson, Timothy J. Crist (4 vols., New York, 1998).
- ESTC *English Short Title Catalogue*, (London, 2009); [<http://www.estc.bl.uk>].

I declare that no portion of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other University.

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INTRODUCTION

THE glorious Empire of the Turkes, the present terrour of the world, hath amongst other things nothing in it more wonderfull or strange, than the poore beginning of itselfe ...

Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603)¹

The *Turke* is admired for nothing more, then his sodaine aduancement to so great an Empire ... which is become now a terrour to the whole world.

John Speed, *A Prospect of the most famous parts of the World* (1631)²

IT is neither agreed on by the best writers, nor well known to the *Turks* themselves, from whence the Empire of this barbarous Nation, the worlds present terrour, first took its small & obscure beginning.

Andrew Moore, *A Compendious history of the Turks* (1659)³

The above sentences all introduce seventeenth-century English accounts of the Ottoman Turks. All draw upon the same literary convention, describing the Ottomans as ‘the terrour of the world’. The first opens Knolles’ voluminous *History*, the first major

¹ Knolles, *History* (1603), p. 1.

² John Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1631: Wing S4882A), p. 35.

³ Andrew Moore, *A Compendious History of the Turks* (London, 1660: M2530), p. 1.

original English account of the Ottomans. The second introduces a brief two-page description of ‘the Turkish Empire’ in Speed’s *Prospect*, an atlas containing various maps with potted geographical and historical descriptions on the reverse. The last begins the main text of Moore’s *Compendious History*, a book largely cribbed from Knolles’ earlier work.⁴ While Speed and Moore’s use of this expression was directly drawn from Knolles, virtually repeating his sentence, by the mid-seventeenth century this phrase was in common usage. In particular, its use to describe the Ottoman Turks became ubiquitous to the point of cliché.

The spread of the ‘terror of the world’ as a literary convention has clear parallels to the emergence and proliferation of a substantial and diverse English literature on the Ottoman Turks at the turn of the seventeenth century. Firstly, this term had its roots in a continental chronicle tradition; likewise early English literature on the Ottomans drew heavily upon continental chronicles as both sources and texts for translation. Secondly, English usages of the ‘terror of the world’ often copied the meaning and context in which it was used by Knolles’ *History*, just as seventeenth-century English literature on the Ottomans increasingly drew upon English authorities, particularly Knolles, as opposed to continental ones. Finally, although the ‘terror of the world’ seems a narrowly pejorative term, examined closer it reveals an ambiguity in English attitudes to the Ottomans which is also reflected in the wider literature.

⁴ Moore claims a number of sources and does not mention Knolles explicitly. Moore does make one reference to ‘Turks History’ (see Moore, *A Compendious History of the Turks*, p. 1400), which is a reference to Knolles, *History* (1638), pp. 1361-64. However, vast sections of text are recognisable as clumsily edited from the *History*. Examples are too numerous to list. e.g. compare Moore, pp. 366-7, 735-6 to *History* (1638), pp. 337-8, 763-4.

While it is possible that Knolles was the first to apply this phrase to the Ottomans, he certainly did not coin it. Paulo Giovio's *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* (1571) says of Timur Khan (d. 1405), the famed founder of the Central Asian Timurid dynasty, that he was called 'orbis terror, et clades orientis' ('terror of the world, and scourge of the east').⁵ This phrase was often applied to Timur (Tammerlane or Tamburlaine in English accounts). John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1583) says 'Seb. Munsterus writing of this Tammerlanes recordeth that he ... was called terror orbis, the terror of the world'.⁶ Nor was this description limited to chroniclers such as Foxe, Münster or Giovio. The most famous uses of this phrase come in Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1590), where it occurs no less than eight times.⁷

However, after 1603 a large number of contemporary English authors followed Knolles' lead in applying the 'terror of the world' appellation to the Ottoman Turks. Texts include Thomas Fuller's *Historie of the Holie Warre* (1647), Francis Bacon's *Resuscitatio* (1657) and *The Union of Two Kingdoms* (1676), and English translations of Giovanni Botero's *Relations of the most famous Kingdomes and Commonwealths* (1630) and Boccalini Taiano's *I ragguadi di Parnusso, or advertisements from Parnassuss* (1656). Several texts apply the phrase specifically to Timur's opponent at the battle of Ankara, the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (1389-1402). These include Samuel Clarke's *Life of Tammerlane the Great* (1653) and *The lifes and deaths of those eminent persons who ... obtained the surnames of magni or the Great* (1675), Francis Fane's *The Sacrifice* (1687)

⁵ Paolo Giovio, *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* (Basel, 1571), p. 165, first published 1551.

⁶ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1583: STC 11225), vol. 1, p. 739.

⁷ Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great* (London, 1590: STC 17425), pp. 7, 31, 83, 83, 83, 123, 124, 125.

and William Temple's *Miscellanea* (1690). Thus, although the phrase 'terror of the world' was common parlance and could be applied across a number of contexts, in sixteenth and seventeenth century England it was most often applied to Timur or the Ottomans.

Why did the 'terror of the world' strike such a chord with contemporaries? The phrase itself is memorable and striking. It emphasises the power and extent of the Ottoman empire. It also conveys a foreboding sense of a menacing and foreign enemy massing at the borders of Christendom and threatening at any minute to overrun and engulf it. This imagery was certainly central to Knolles' rhetoric. He described the Ottoman empire

holding in subiection many great and mightie kingdomes in Asia, Europe, and Affricke, ... [by] the greatnesse whereof is swallowed vp both the name and Empire of the Sarasins, the glorious Empire of the Greekes, the renowned kingdomes of Macedonia, Peloponesus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Seruia, Bosna, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Ægipt, Iudea, Tunes, Argiers, Media, Mesopotamia, with a great part of Hungarie, as also of the Persian kingdome, and all those churches and places so much spoken of in holy Scripture (the Romanes onely excepted;) and in briefe, so much of Christendome as farre exceedeth that which is thereof at this day left.⁸

However, the 'terror of the world' did not merely denote objects of fear. This phrase had deep associations with power and majesty, particularly in relation to imperial power or

⁸ Knolles, *History*, sig. Aiv^v.

rapid conquest, and was frequently also applied to figures such as Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Xerxes and even on occasion France, England, God and Christ (see appendix one). To contemporaries this phrase bespoke a fascination with the military might, seemingly unstoppable expansion, size, wealth, power and imperial majesty of the Ottoman empire, as well as its fearful aspect. Therefore, although this phrase carries an undeniable air of opprobrium, when viewed in the context of seventeenth-century usage, its connotations include a significant element of ambiguity. Similarly, English literature on the Ottomans was seldom as simple as a straightforward rejection of the Ottomans and all they were judged to represent. Rather it was large, diverse and complex, reflecting factors such as the extensive Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic contact and trade.

It is important not to underestimate the size of the seventeenth-century English Levant trade and its importance as a context for English literature on the Ottomans. Trade blossomed following its formal inauguration with William Harborne's acquisition of trade capitulations from Murad III (1574-95) in 1580.⁹ By the 1620s it had grown to the point where England was 'Christian Europe's major trading partner with the Ottomans'.¹⁰ Wood estimated that by 1635 the Levant Company was exporting 24,000 to 30,000 pieces of cloth to the Levant annually. Ambassador Thomas Roe (1621-29) estimated the Company's trade to be worth £250,000 in exports with an almost equally valuable import

⁹ Arthur Leon Horniker, 'William Harborne and the beginning of Anglo-Turkish diplomatic and commercial relations,' *Journal of modern history* 14, no. 3 (1942), 289-316.

¹⁰ Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English writing and the Ottoman empire before 1800* (Basingstoke, 2007), p. 55.

trade.¹¹ The former currant importer and Levant Merchant, Lewes Roberts' widely read trade guide, the *Merchants Mappe* (1638), heaped praise on

the societie of *merchants trading into the levant Seas*, known by the name of the *Turkie Company*, which now wee finde to be growne to that height, that (without comparison) it is the most flourishing and most beneficiall *Company* to the Common-wealth of any in *England* of all other whatsoever...¹²

However, English interests in the Ottoman empire were not limited to the commercial sphere and a large and varied English literature on the Ottoman Turks developed in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries encompassing geography, politic discourse, history, biography, travel accounts, religious polemic, plays, broadside ballads and sermons and miscellaneous other items. This was not merely a substantial body of texts on the topic of the Ottomans, but something more: a *literature*. These texts shared contexts, conventions and characteristics. They were often cross referential, citing other works on the Ottomans explicitly, or recycling information, accounts or accepted 'facts' more implicitly.

There is a growing body of critical work treating English accounts of the Ottomans. However, most of this has focussed either upon specific figures or groups of sources, or upon broad concepts such as 'Christendom', 'the Turk' or even 'Europe', rather than approaching the broader context of the development of English writing on the Ottomans

¹¹ Alfred Cecil Wood, *A history of the Levant company* (London, 1935), p. 42.

¹² Lewes Roberts, *The merchants mappe of commerce* (London, 1638: STC 21094), p. 80.

as a literature.¹³ Again the ‘the terror of the world’ provides an interesting parallel, demonstrating the benefit of a broader view. This term has received a glut of scholarly attention. From the first significant survey of early modern English literature on Islam, Samuel Chew’s *The Crescent and the Rose* (1937), which contained a chapter introducing English accounts of the Ottoman Turks entitled ‘The present terrour of the world’,¹⁴ to Aslı Çırakman’s more recent *From the “terror of the world” to the “sick man of Europe”*,¹⁵ virtually every scholar studying such literature seems to have felt honour-bound to discuss this phrase. Matar, Vitkus, Dimmock and MacLean are amongst the most recent and well known.¹⁶ All of the above have treated Knolles’ use of this phrase in isolation from near contemporary usages, and as a result have viewed it in terms of a straightforward opposition between ‘Christendom’ and ‘the Turk’. However, as I have shown, the convention ‘the terror of the world’, might be deployed in a number of

¹³ On accounts of specific authors see Sonia P. Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey: Paul Rycout at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford, 1989); Jonathan Haynes, *The humanist as traveller: George Sandys’s Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610* (Rutherford, 1986); Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire 1580-1720* (Basingstoke, 2004); Vernon J. Parry, *Richard Knolles’ History of the Turks* (Istanbul, 2004). On ‘Turk plays’ see Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: drama and culture, 1640-1685* (Cambridge, 2007); Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes* (Aldershot, 2005); Daniel J. Vitkus ed., *Three Turk plays from early modern England: Selimus, a Christian Turned Turk, and the Renegado* (New York; Chichester, 2000). On Barbary piracy and captive accounts see Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, empire and the world, 1600-1850* (London, 2002); N. I. Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen* (New York; Chichester, 1999); N. I. Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville, 2005). On Christendom, Europe, the ‘Turk’ and ‘imperial envy’ see Franklin Le Van Baumer, ‘England, the Turk, and the common corps of Christendom’, *American Historical Review* 50, no. 1 (1944), 26-48; Denys Hay, *Europe: The emergence of an idea* (Edinburgh, 1957); M. E. Yapp, ‘Europe in the Turkish mirror’, *Past and Present*, no. 137 (1992), 134-155; Daniel J. Vitkus, ‘Early modern Orientalism: representations of Islam in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe’, in *Western views of Islam in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. M. Frassetto and D. Blanks (New York, 1999); MacLean, *Looking East*. Matar attempts a broad view, although as his topic is English representations of Islam, his accounts of English works on the Ottomans such as Knolles’ *History* are often cursory, see N. I. Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge, 1998).

¹⁴ Samuel C. Chew, *The crescent and the rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York, 1965), pp. 100-49.

¹⁵ Aslı Çırakman, *From the "Terror of the World" to the "Sick Man of Europe": European Images of Ottoman empire and society from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth* (New York, 2002).

¹⁶ Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 12; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, p. 201; Vitkus, ‘Early Modern Orientalism’, p. 210; Daniel J. Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English theater and the multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York, 2003), p. 50; MacLean, *Looking East*, p. 208.

contexts, not merely to depict the Ottomans but wider historical themes such as imperial might, conquest, divine punishment and hubris. Viewing ‘the terror of the world’ in this broader way adds an important degree of nuance to both our reading of this phrase and our understanding of Knolles’ *History* as a source for near contemporaries writing on the Ottomans.

‘English literature on the Ottoman Turks’ can also be described in terms of ‘discourse’. One aim of this thesis is to place the works of a number of English authors who wrote on the topic of the Ottoman Turks within a framework of contemporary or near contemporary discourse on the same, and to trace some of the changes and developments in the contexts which affected this discourse and these works. Here discourse is taken to follow Pocock’s definition of

A sequence of speech acts performed by agents within a context furnished by social practices and historical situations, but also – and in some ways more immediately – by the political languages by means of which the acts are to be performed.¹⁷

Within this definition Pocock intends ‘language’ (and it is a crucial point that a language or even a single text can involve several such ‘languages’) to mean ‘a linguistic device for selecting certain information, composed of facts and the normative consequences

¹⁷ J.G.A. Pocock, ‘The reconstruction of a discourse’ in J.G.A. Pocock, *Political thought and history* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 67.

which these facts are supposed to entail, and enjoining these upon a respondent'.¹⁸ One conceptual problem in applying such a definition to describe English writing on the Ottoman Turks arises from the relationship between it and wider continental writing on the same topic (and discourses from wider still contexts such as the Christian polemical tradition regarding Islam). English works on the Ottomans, particularly earlier ones, were often translations of continental authors, and even 'original' works such as Knolles' *History* drew heavily on continental sources. In Pocock's terms, the 'political languages' which English accounts of the Ottoman Turks deployed and modulated to conceive and depict their subject, were inextricably linked with a number of continental discourses which sought to account for the Ottoman Turks. However, this thesis will argue that if one is to examine the 'context furnished by social practices and historical situations' of a work such as Knolles' *History* or Rycaut's *Present State*, the most vivid contexts for these works are often the religious, political and economic contexts of early modern England.

The term 'literature' has been preferred to 'discourse' in this thesis to emphasise the nature of the sources upon which I shall focus, namely books. My topic is primarily printed works on the direct topic of the Ottomans, the authors, printers, patrons and publishers who were involved in their production, and the contexts, both intellectual and situational, from which these works emerged. The term 'literature' to my mind facilitates discussion of these in a clearer fashion than 'speech acts', 'statements' and 'discourse'. However, although books and their contexts form the main building blocks of my study, this is not to attribute an unquestioned unity to either the authors' intentions or the

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 71.

possible interpretations of individual texts. In Pocock's parlance, individual works may often be shown to 'have been written, in several idioms and on several levels of meaning at one and the same time'.¹⁹

Approaching English works on the Ottomans as a *literature* brings three key advantages over previous studies. Firstly, this approach allows us to delineate the general characteristics and chronological shape of this literature, by identifying key periods in its development, important long-term contexts such as the Levant trade, and short-term contexts such as Restoration politics. This broad view is also useful in identifying the relevant contexts in which to study specific texts. Secondly, 'literature' encourages a focus on these texts as *books*, beyond the usual attention to the author and general context, by including as relevant the circumstances of production, publishers, patrons, sources, contemporary works and the material form of the book itself. This allows for nuanced readings of these texts through specific investigation of the contexts in which individual texts were written and received. Thirdly, this approach allows us to explore links between works within this literature.²⁰ On a basic level this includes shared contexts, sources and conventions. Above all, this means tracing the influence of key writers on later authors through citation, appropriation and imitation, both within English literature on the Ottomans and wider discourses. While most previous critical treatments of English accounts of the Ottomans have regarded figures such as Knolles, Rycaut, Sandys and Purchas as important, none have focused upon the specifics of how the

¹⁹ Pocock, 'The reconstruction of a discourse', p. 80.

²⁰ Foucault's writing on discourse rejects the examination of exactly such exchanges and transmissions between authors in favour of establishing the 'rules' governing discursive formations, although he adds 'Not that I wish to deny their existence, or deny that they could ever be the object of a description'. Michel Foucault (trs. A.M. Sheridan Smith), *Archaeology of Knowledge* (London, 1974), pp. 160-161.

information and representations their works presented were drawn upon, responded to, or appropriated by near contemporary authors.

This thesis argues for the emergence of a large, diverse and sophisticated English literature in the late sixteenth century and traces its development throughout the seventeenth. This thesis is not an exhaustive survey of this literature, in the manner of Göllner's *Turcica* (1961), an impossible task in the space of a thesis.²¹ Rather, I will assert that this period represents a historical moment (to borrow Pocock and Skinner's term) during which a literature of English works specifically on the topic of the Ottomans emerged - one which began, for the first time, to be shaped by the English authorities on the Ottomans and English accounts of the Ottomans from trade and travel – and examine its development up to the dramatic shift in Ottoman power in Europe represented by the treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. Before the late sixteenth century, Englishmen had produced works on the Ottomans (largely translations of continental works), and written about 'Turks' in various contexts (such as religious polemic). However, in this 'moment' the number of works specifically on the Ottomans increased rapidly, and for the first time English authorities, and first-hand experience of lands under Ottoman domain, became an increasingly important part of the intellectual and situational contexts drawn on by those writing in English on the topic of the Ottomans.

The remainder of this introduction sets out the key concepts and assumptions of this thesis and relates these to current scholarly debates. The following sections assess current

²¹ Carl Göllner, *Turcica: Die Europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana* 23 (Bucharest, 1961).

scholarly approaches to English accounts of the Ottomans and present my own model. The first examines the suitability of 'Europe' as a frame of reference for understanding English representations of the Ottomans. The second analyses Said's 'Orientalism' thesis as a conceptual model for the early modern period. The third section discusses the anthropological model of 'the Other' as an alternative. In response to the limitations of these approaches I will suggest a more nuanced model. Rather than focus upon the broad frame of 'European identity' or 'the west', I will argue that early modern English accounts of the Ottoman Turks generally viewed 'the Turk' within the more specific frames set by the rubrics of religious, national, social, political or professional identities. Additionally I will argue that 'the Turkish Other' must be viewed alongside numerous other 'Others' present in English literature on the Ottomans, all of which served as cultural reference points for Englishmen.

I will then discuss two concepts central to this thesis. The first is 'commonplaces', or widely held beliefs and images associated with the Ottomans. The second is 'literature'. I will define what is meant here by 'literature', as opposed to genre, and consider how 'English' writing on the Ottoman Turks related to wider continental literature (or indeed literatures). Following these thematic sections I will define the limits of my field of study, justify these limitations, and review some of the key literature on this and related topics. Finally I shall present the main points of my argument in greater detail through a brief summary of the thesis chapters and their contents.

‘Europe’ and the contextual frame

It is a fundamental assumption of this thesis that English texts of this period can only be adequately understood through a nuanced understanding of the specific contexts in which they emerged and to which they referred. In contrast to this, several scholarly studies have taken an approach which might be characterised as ‘western’ or ‘European’ views of ‘Islam’, ‘the east’ or ‘the Turk’. Among such works stand the relatively recent treatments of Vitkus, Soykut and, perhaps most influentially, Yapp.²² The basic argument of Yapp’s widely quoted article ‘Europe in the Turkish mirror’ is that ‘European’ considerations of and encounters with ‘the Turk’ provided a key context for the development of the notion of ‘Europe’ as an idea and identity. In other words, contemplating the difference of the distinctly non-European Turks, the inhabitants of continental Europe began to define what it meant to be ‘European’; in ‘the Turkish mirror’ they saw what they were not.

Yapp’s article is an important contribution to a long and complex debate about the origins and genealogy of Europe as an identity, which began with Hay’s classic *Europe: the emergence of an idea* (1957). However, when the topic shifts from the emergence of ‘European identity’, and the role the Ottomans and representations of them played in this process, to representations of the Ottomans as a discreet topic a problem emerges. Are we to infer from Yapp’s argument that Englishmen writing on, or encountering, the Ottomans primarily conceived their cultural difference in terms of ‘Europe’? It is

²² Yapp, ‘Europe in the Turkish mirror’, pp. 134-55; Vitkus, ‘Early Modern Orientalism’, pp. 207-30; Mustafa Soykut, *Image of the ‘Turk’ in Italy: a history of the ‘Other’ in early modern Europe, 1453-1683* (Berlin, 2001).

certainly true that many continental accounts of the Ottomans did seek to contrast them as foreign and inimical to 'Christendom' or even 'Europe', and both concepts were important throughout the seventeenth century. However, their importance must not be allowed to eclipse the far more vivid contexts of national, racial, religious, social, economic and political identities. As Burke has argued, while one may indeed find antecedents to the notion of 'Europe' as an idea in the early modern period, most people most of the time historically, and indeed today, drew upon rather more concrete and localised models of identity; 'men identified themselves far more on local or regional terms than as members of a nation, let alone as Europeans'.²³ As we shall see, the Anglican tenth son of a Royalist family constructing a diplomatic career in the Levant had more pressing concerns than 'European identity' when writing on the Ottoman Turks, as did the hypothetical non-conformist merchant or the humanist-educated gentleman traveller.

Yapp's broad brush strokes are an appropriate approach to the necessarily wide and diffuse topic of 'Europe'. However, they also significantly oversimplify the contexts of specific accounts of the Ottomans and we are left with statements such as '[b]etween the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries Europeans created not one but two images of the Turk, one bad and the other good'.²⁴ As this thesis will demonstrate, the many hundreds of texts written on the specific topic of the Ottomans in seventeenth-century England alone, created not one, or even two, but a diverse and complex range of images of the Ottomans. One should be very cautious in using Yapp's general comments on 'the Turk'

²³ Peter Burke, 'Did Europe exist before 1700?', *History of European ideas 1: The rise and development of the idea of Europe* (1980), p. 27.

²⁴ Yapp, 'Europe in the Turkish mirror', p. 148.

and 'European identity' as a model for understanding specific English accounts of the Ottomans or 'the East'.

'Orientalism'

Edward Said's *Orientalism* has been a pivotal work in the wider field of western representations of 'the East'. However, despite the influence of Said's 'Orientalism' as a model through which to examine 'western' representations of 'the East', this model is deeply problematic when applied to the study of the early modern period, and particularly to perceptions of the Ottomans.

For Said, the term 'Orientalism' designates 'that collection of dreams, images and vocabularies available to anyone who has tried to talk about what lies east of the dividing line'.²⁵ Said talks of a 'created body of theory and practice',²⁶ which forms a network of representation and understanding, all predicated on a fundamental division and contrast between 'East' and 'West'. However, 'Orientalism' does not merely account for western representations of 'the east'. It constitutes a matrix of relationships of western dominance, which creates these representations and is sustained by them: 'Orientalism is fundamentally a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West, which elided the Orient's difference with its weakness'.²⁷ Said presents this as a process developing from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. However, this

²⁵ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978), p. 73.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

timeframe is far from equivocal as he also claims classical and medieval precedents, such as the Athenian plays *The Persians* and *The Bacchae*, for ‘western’ representations of ‘the east’.

The fundamental problem with this from an early modern perspective is that if ‘Orientalism’ is fundamentally a network of interdependent power relationships, representations and understandings which allowed and in some sense constituted western dominance of ‘the east’, how can this structure be applied to a context where such relationships of colonial dominance did not exist? Western Europeans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could in no sense be described as being in a position of power over ‘the east’, particularly the Ottoman state or lands or peoples under its jurisdiction.

Said chooses more or less to ignore European representations of the Ottoman empire at the peak of its powers and territorial extent, commenting only that

[u]ntil the end of the seventeenth century the “Ottoman peril” lurked alongside Europe to represent for the whole of Christian civilization a constant danger, and in time European civilization incorporated that peril and its lore, its great events, figures, virtues and vices as something woven into the fabric of life ... The point is that what remained current about Islam was some necessarily diminished version of those great dangerous forces that it symbolised for Europe. Like Walter

Scott's Saracens, the European representation of the Muslim, Ottoman, or Arab was always a way of controlling the redoubtable orient...²⁸

There are many things wrong with this characterisation. One might well ruefully note that the 'Ottoman peril' did not so much 'lurk alongside Europe' as loiter at the gates of Vienna; the Ottomans were a key power in central Europe rather than a peripheral threat to it. Just as fundamentally, Said elides 'Christian civilisation' with 'Europe'. This completely disregards the large Christian populations throughout the Ottoman empire, and the several established churches of the East. Furthermore, as the debates of Hay *et al* concerning 'Europe' have clearly demonstrated, 'Christendom' never quite meant the same thing as 'Europe' either in terms of identity or geography. However, the most revealing part of this passage equates European representations of the Ottoman empire in its heyday with Walter Scott's nineteenth-century 'Saracens'. It is telling that Said fails to differentiate between nineteenth-century 'Orientalism', with its connection to colonial dominance, and accounts of the Ottomans from the early modern period, when the Ottomans dominated large swathes of Europe. Ultimately, the teleology at the heart of Said's assumption that the stereotypes the 'west' perpetuated of the 'east' are based upon western dominance of that east, leads him to ignore whole contexts and periods which do not fit into this model.

The above short critique is hardly new ground and for the most part scholars no longer try to import 'Orientalism' wholesale into the early modern period.²⁹ Nonetheless it ought to

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 59-60.

²⁹ Exceptions are Vitkus, 'Early Modern Orientalism'; Soykut, *Image of the 'Turk' in Italy*.

be acknowledged that Said's critical approach to providing an account of the discourse of ideas, images, language and mentality through which 'the west' represented 'the east' has been drawn on, or at least engaged with, by most subsequent writers in this field.

The Turkish 'Other'

One model central to most current appraisals of early modern English literature on the Ottoman Turks is the concept of 'the Other' or the 'non-European Other'. Among those to deploy some version of this concept are Yapp, Matar, Vitkus, MacLean, Dimmock and Birchwood. The central dynamic of this idea is that WE/THEY are related and mutually reliant concepts. The boundary of one (WE) defines the boundary of 'the Other' (THEY or non-WE).³⁰

In its application to early modern English literature on the Ottomans this has had two major limitations. Firstly, as with Yapp, this line of argument emerged from a debate on the origins of 'European' identity, particularly in relation to the voyages of discovery. The emphasis on a 'non-European Other' has privileged 'European' as the identity (WE) being defined in contrast to the 'Turkish Other' (THEY). In the case of many early modern English accounts of the Ottomans this constitutes a severe distortion of the context and perspective from which these texts emerged. Secondly, the term 'Other' is

³⁰ I have borrowed the WE/THEY terminology from Jonathan Z. Smith, 'Differential Equations: On Constructing the Other', in *Relating Religion*, ed. Jonathan Z. Smith (Chicago, 2004). However, 'the other' has a long pedigree particularly in cultural studies, anthropology, psychoanalysis, linguistics and philosophy.

binary; it ‘means, literally, “other of two”’.³¹ However, as soon as one begins to read early modern English accounts of the Levant and the eastern Mediterranean it becomes abundantly clear that ‘Turks’ were not the only ‘Other’ the intrepid Englishman might encounter in these waters. Other ‘Others’ might include Spanish, French, Jews, Greeks and Armenians, but above all Catholics.³² Indeed ‘the Turk’ was not necessarily the most demonised figure in English accounts of the Levant, a role often allotted to the ‘Papist’.

However, the concept of ‘Otherness’ can be refined elegantly and constructively by replacing it with a ‘language of difference’. Smith argues that the binary opposition of WE/THEY does a serious injustice to the complexity of identity. Instead he has introduced a qualifying vocabulary into the debate on ‘Otherness’ by identifying a ‘proximate Other’ and a ‘remote Other’. This might be helpfully demonstrated by the example of the Scots and the English. The hypothetical and stereotypical bigoted Scot hates the English. However, he does not hate the French or indeed the Ethiopians. One explanation for this is that the Scots and the English are actually rather similar. The Scot might well be mistaken for an Englishman. Indeed, the Englishman might well mistake the Scot for as English (or British, which may amount to the same thing). The boundary between ‘Scot’ and ‘English’ is a potentially threatening one for the Scot, one that may swallow his difference, and thus his culture, if he is not careful. The cultural border

³¹ Ibid., p. 241.

³² It would be advantageous to examine English representations of ‘Turks’ alongside representations of the many non-Christian, non-European or exotic ‘others’ whom early modern Englishmen encountered in travel, text, or indeed England, notably Persians, Amerindians, Indians, Chinese and Russians. However, this is a task of enormous proportions and beyond the scope of this thesis. See Michael T. Ryan, ‘Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, *Comparative studies in society and history* 23, no. 4 (1981), 519-538; Joan-Pau Rubies, *Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European eyes, 1250-1625* (Cambridge, 2000); Andrew Hadfield, *Amazons, savages, and Machiavels: travel and colonial writing in English, 1550-1630: an anthology* (Oxford, 2001).

between 'Scot' and 'English' is therefore very carefully culturally policed by the Scots, but interestingly not by the English, who being the dominant nation in terms of size and history, do not feel threatened by the Scots. However, the Scot is simply different (and indifferent) to the Frenchman. In Smith's language, to the Scot the Frenchman is the relatively comfortable 'remote Other' while the Englishman is the infinitely more threatening and problematic 'proximate Other'.

Rather than the remote 'other' being perceived as problematic and/or dangerous, it is the proximate 'other', the near neighbour, who is most troublesome. That is to say, while difference or 'otherness' may be perceived as being either LIKE-US or NOT-LIKE-US, it becomes most problematic when it is TOO-MUCH-LIKE-US or when it claims to BE-US. It is here that the real urgency of theories of the 'other' emerges, called forth not so much by a requirement to place difference, but rather an effort to situate ourselves. This, then, is not a matter of the 'far' but pre-eminently of the 'near'. The deepest intellectual issues are not based upon perceptions of alterity, but rather of similarity, even, of identity.³³

Applying this 'language of difference' to English accounts of the Ottomans adds useful nuance to our understanding of the Turkish 'Other'. Clearly the 'Turk' seldom played the role of the 'proximate Other' for early modern Englishmen; a role more often reserved for the Spanish, French or Catholics. Rather, Smith's model encourages us to see the Turkish 'remote Other' of early modern English literature, and accounts of the Levant, as just one among many 'Others' in this literature. The process of marking distinctions

³³ Smith, 'Differential Equations', p. 245.

between these figures and relativizing those same distinctions is what gives these figures meaning. Thus, the relationship between them is graduated and relational, and, ideally, they should not be examined in isolation from each other. The ‘Papist’, ‘Turk’, ‘Jew’, ‘eastern Christian’ and even the ‘Frenchman’ or ‘Spaniard’ all provided cultural reference points, the negotiation of whose difference provided a key ground in the establishment of English identities and perceptions of the Levant and its inhabitants.

This approach has several advantages. Viewing the ‘Turk’ as one of many relational ‘Others’ emphasises the importance of these other ‘Others’ to understanding English accounts of the Ottomans. Further, applying nuance to the THEY under examination (i.e. the ‘Turk’ as one of many ‘Others’) leads us to a more localised and specific understanding of the WE it helped define. In other words, rather than contrast a Turkish ‘Other’ to ‘European identity’, or indeed even a single stable ‘English identity’, this approach leads us to a detailed consideration of to exactly *what* the Turkish ‘Other’ was being contrasted. Thus in chapter one, we shall examine the importance of Reformation debates and religious divisions as a context for English representations of the ‘Turk’ in the 1540s and in particular focus upon the role of evangelicals in early English publishing on the Ottomans. In chapter four, we shall see how Rycaut’s descriptions of the Ottoman state and religious practice are modelled on and shaped by his attitudes to the ‘puritans’ and ‘fanatiks’ he blames for the civil war and interregnum, which in turn relate to his royalist family background and position as secretary to ambassador Winchelsea.

This approach can be used to critique previous accounts, such as Dimmock's work upon the role of 'the Turk' as an image in early modern English theatre. Smith's 'language of difference' suggests that Dimmock's approach is problematic. Dimmock's argument places the development of 'the Turk' as an image in the context of early Protestant religious polemic. Following the Reformation, the previously unifying notion of Christendom, 'a system of alliance based firmly upon the fictional unity of the universal "Catholique" church',³⁴ was placed under intolerable strain. Thus this period sees a renegotiation of English identities in relation to new polarities. In this context Dimmock's literary 'Turke' [sic] 'functions primarily as a marker of falsehood and difference'³⁵ or 'an exemplar of [the] threatening non-Christian' (i.e. the Turkish 'Other').³⁶ This 'abstraction representing infidelity and "otherness"' was deployed by Englishmen to attack continental Catholicism, the papacy, and above all English opponents in religious debate.

The problem is that Dimmock's binary (WE/THEY) view of 'Otherness' creates the need for an explanation of the varied, multiple and highly ambiguous images of the 'Turke' which form his central topic. He argues that before the break with Rome, English views of 'the Turk' were policed by the church. However, Elizabeth's anti-Spanish (and consequently pro-Ottoman) policies left room for ambiguity and thus prevented the development of a 'dominant trope' regarding the Ottomans, in Elizabeth's reign, leading to a more diverse literature.³⁷

³⁴ Dimmock, *New Turkes*, p. 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

The variety of approaches these [Elizabethan] writers produced emphasises the lack of a dominant, defining narrative that the rituals and doctrines of the universal church had upheld, and which would later be provided by the well publicised politics of James I.³⁸

Dimmock suggests that this period of ambiguity and nuance ends with the reign of the famously anti-Ottoman James I, when representations of the Ottomans became altogether more straightforward, a view based upon close readings of representations of ‘Turks’ in Jacobean court plays. However, I have found no evidence in the broader literature that English representations of the Ottoman Turk become less nuanced as a result of James’ accession. Indeed if anything the massive increase in the Levant trade during his reign had the opposite effect. Rather, I would suggest that Dimmock’s expectation of a single ‘dominant trope’ of ‘the Turk’ stems primarily from a binary view of ‘the Turkish Other’ vs. ‘Christendom’. This creates the need to view Elizabeth’s reign as exceptional, which in turn distorts his understanding of wider English literature on the Ottomans. If one instead follows Smith’s language of difference, we can view ‘the Turkish Other’ as one of a series of ‘Others’ (the most proximate being the Catholic ‘Other’) whose graduated difference served as cultural reference points through which English identities might be negotiated. This approach helps to explain the diversity of English literature on the Ottomans throughout the seventeenth century. Furthermore, this is a model of sufficient nuance and flexibility to be applied across the extraordinary breadth of contexts in which early modern Englishmen wrote upon the Ottomans.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 207.

Commonplaces of 'the Turk'

Although the Turk was a figure of opprobrium and threat in early modern England, he never assumed the proportions of the much closer threats (both in geographic and cultural terms) of the 'Black Legend' Spaniard or the 'Papist'. The 'threat' that the 'Turk' presented to the Englishman was always manageable through a deeply rooted vocabulary of 'commonplaces'.

'Commonplace' here means something similar to the OED definition of 'stereotype' as 'a preconceived and oversimplified idea of the characteristics which typify a person, situation, group etc' with 'a tendency for a given belief to be widespread in a society' and 'to be oversimplified in content and unresponsive to objective facts'. All these features fit English images of the 'Turk'. The term stereotype is also used by psychologists to designate (amongst other things) 'collections of beliefs about characteristics of social groups',³⁹ as well as 'mental associations between category labels and trait terms'.⁴⁰ This model might well be applied to beliefs that Turks were 'dull', 'rude', 'servile' or 'barbarous' and the association of these various traits with terms or images such as the 'Terrible Turk' or the despotic sultan beloved of the early modern stage. However, the term stereotype also carries an association with the mass media and an implication of something repeated often without significant change, both meanings deriving from its origins as a term in print manufacture. The implication of mass media or indeed the perpetuation of a true stereotype in early modern England before mass media seems

³⁹ Neil McRae, Charles Stagner, and Miles Hewson, *Stereotypes and stereotyping* (London, 1996), p. 7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

difficult to conceive. Although beliefs might be widely held and current in society, the homogeneity implied by stereotype seems ill fitted to the early modern world and its channels of cultural distribution such as rumour, news, sermon, ballad, play, print, letter, and so on. For these reasons the vaguer term 'commonplace' which bears no suggestion of perpetuation by the mass media has been preferred.

This large and nebulous vocabulary of images, character traits and associations applied to 'the Turk' at the level of common knowledge formed a constant backdrop to English accounts of the Ottomans. This included images with roots in specific discourses whose usage spread and became generally accepted. The 'terror of the world' is one such image. However, it is not the only one. Amongst those we shall examine in the coming chapters is the 'Flagellum Dei', or 'scourge of God', a concept that was applied to the Turks in humanist discourse and appropriated by early Reformation polemic. Likewise the association of the 'Turk' and Pope as two heads of the Antichrist had its roots in Protestant polemic. Similarly, the identification of the Ottomans as the axiom of tyranny had its roots in politic discourse but became so widely accepted that it can be labelled a commonplace. However, by 'commonplaces' I mean above all the long list of, generally negative, character traits and behaviour ascribed to 'the Turks'. A good example comes from Speed's *Prospect*

The multitude, I meane the Borne-*Turkes* savour still of their barbarous ancestors, and carry the markes in their foreheads, and limmes of *Scythians* and *Tartars*.

They are for the most part broad-faced, strong-boned, well proportioned, dull and

heaue headed, of grosse vnderstanding, idley disposed, and yet greedie of wealth, luxurious in their diet, and beastly in their lustfull affections, without distinction of kindred or sexe, base minded, slaues to themselves, and their superiours in their owne Country: yet ignorantly proud, and contemptuous of other Nations, which they take in foule scorne...⁴¹

The practice of providing a summary of a nation's 'character' was common practice in contemporary geographies, travel accounts. Hodgen links these character summaries to medieval encyclopaedists such as Münster and Boemus, but they must clearly be seen in a wider context of both geographical and indeed more popular and ephemeral literature (such as plays and ballads).⁴² Although 'the Turks' were not alone in having a long list of pejorative negative characteristics attributed to them, Speed's list includes many features commonly ascribed to the 'Turks'. They are described as lazy, greedy, lustful, stupid, ignorant, inclined to sexual perversion (particularly sodomy), servile to their superiors and yet haughty, strong and martial towards other nations. Although the Turks' supposed 'Syctian' genealogy also plays its part, many of these characteristics were frequently applied to those from hot climes, such as Italians. This is particularly true of laziness, pride, lustfulness, gluttony, cruelty and quick temperedness. For example, see Speed's description of the Spanish:

They are extreamey proud, and the silliest of them pretend to a great portion of wisdom, which they would seeme to expresse in a kinde of reserued state, and

⁴¹ Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, p. 35.

⁴² M. T. Hodgen, *Early anthropology in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Philadelphia, 1964), pp. 117-81; Haynes, *The humanist as traveler*, p. 78.

silent grauitie, when perhaps their wit will scarce serue them to speake sense. But if once their mouthes be got too open, they esteeme their breath too precious to be spent vpon any other subject than their owne glorious actions. They are most vnjust neglectors of other Nations, and impudent vaine flatterers of themselues. Superstitious beyond any other people: which indeede commonly attends those which affect to be accounted religious, rather than to be so. For how can heartie deuotion stand with crueltie, lechery, pride, Idolatrie, and those other Gothish, Moorish, Iewish, Heathenish, conditions of which they still savour.⁴³

Similarly to the Turks, the Spanish are accounted cruel, lecherous and proud, traits ascribed to their 'Heathenish' genealogy as well as climate. As the above example shows, although the character ascribed to 'the Turk' may seem, to modern eyes, almost overwhelmingly negative, it should not be viewed in isolation from the comparable traits ascribed to various 'Others' such as the Spanish who also served as reference points of cultural difference to early modern Englishmen.

English and continental literatures on the Ottoman Turks

The basic contention of this thesis is that in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there emerged a distinct, large, sophisticated and diverse English literature on the Ottoman Turks. 'Literature' carries the broad sense of the body of books that treat of a particular subject, but also a 'discourse' in Pocock's sense of 'speech acts' performed

⁴³ Speed, *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, p. 23.

within contexts and through certain ‘languages’. By literature I mean books on a certain topic which are the product of a particular period or place, share contexts and conventions, and in this case are highly cross referential.

Many English works on the Ottomans of this period shared contexts in terms of the circumstances in which they were produced and the figures involved in their production. The Levant trade is an important context for a great many English authors writing on the Ottomans, and came to play an increasingly formative role for this literature throughout the seventeenth century. Many such works were contemporaneously written in response to major events or conflicts involving the Ottomans, such as the so-called Long War of 1593-1606 or the second siege of Vienna in 1683. In addition to such shared contexts the seventeenth century saw an accumulation of English works written on the Ottomans. One symptom of this was that alongside the standard sixteenth-century continental authorities such as Busbecq, Georgeowitz and Giovio, the seventeenth century saw a number of English authors emerge as authorities, in particular Knolles, Sandys and Rycaut. This was a new development; it was not until the early seventeenth century that an Englishman curious to know of the Ottomans, or indeed an English author writing on them, might turn to English authorities on the topic. It is not my intention to disguise or deny that Englishmen before this ‘moment’ (the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) engaged in discourses which involved the ‘Turks’, for example the English Reformation writing of figures such as Simon Fish, Thomas More, John Rastell and William Tyndale, examined extensively by Dimmock.⁴⁴ Rather, my term ‘English literature on the Ottoman Turks’ seeks to emphasise the emergence of a body of works which took the Ottomans as its

⁴⁴ Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 25-41.

specific topic (rather than discussing them primarily in other contexts, such as English religious debates) and to trace the increasing importance to this literature of English authorities on the Ottomans and English accounts of lands under Ottoman dominion.

I am not using the term ‘literature’ to indicate ‘high literature’ or ‘fiction’ exclusively and include within this rubric texts of many formats including ephemera such as broadside ballads alongside geography, history and politic writing. Furthermore my identification of an ‘English literature on the Ottomans’ should not be confused with the canon of ‘English literature’ in the sense of ‘great books by great English men’.⁴⁵ The literature which I refer to is considerably broader in scope, containing many works which neither their own times nor posterity has judged to be ‘great’. Nonetheless, MacLean’s identification of the development of a ‘critical vocabulary’ from the 1660s onwards, to identify and aggrandize ‘great’ works in the English vernacular as a ‘national literature’ (‘English Literature’), is clearly an important context for the grander works I have examined.⁴⁶ The identification of an established English literature on the Ottomans and particularly of English authorities such as Knolles, Sandys and Rycaut certainly ought to be viewed to some extent within the broader context of the identification of a ‘great’ national vernacular literature in the later seventeenth century.

By identifying an English literature on the Ottoman Turks, I am not seeking to imply that there existed a single *genre* of ‘English literature on the Ottoman Turks’. On the contrary, this literature was characterised by its extreme diversity in content, form and opinion and

⁴⁵ Gerald M. MacLean, *Culture and society in the Stuart Restoration: literature, drama, history* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

thus does not share many of the features generally attributed to genres. Most importantly, English authors writing on the Ottoman Turks viewed themselves as writing within specific categories, be they chronicle, history, geography, sermon, travel account or indeed broadside ballad. Their treatments of the Ottomans were therefore informed not only by their context but also by the stylistic conventions of their chosen form (in Pocock's terms by several 'languages', 'rhetorics' or 'idioms'). It is emphatically not enough simply to examine these texts within the context of other English accounts of the Ottomans, or indeed 'European/Western accounts of the Turk/East'. Rather, while contemporary accounts of the Ottomans are indeed a relevant context, we must also attempt to situate such accounts as far as possible within the contemporary categories in which the authors themselves felt that they were working, such as Knolles and the genre of history, Rycaut and diplomatic *relazione* accounts and 'news' of Ottoman-Habsburg conflict and contemporary 'news' of other conflicts such as the French Wars of Religion (1562-98).

From its beginnings, English literature on the Ottoman Turks drew heavily upon continental writing, particularly works in Latin and French. Whether as material for translations, sources of information, or by providing models for specific works and authors, continental writing continued to exert an influence on works published in English on the Ottomans throughout the period under study. However, I have chosen to characterise my topic as specifically 'English literature on the Ottoman Turks'. I have justified this approach by arguing that the immediate contexts of book production and more general contexts such as Anglo-Ottoman trade, diplomacy and the political and

religious climate of England are more relevant to understanding these texts than the broader continental context. Further, an informed consideration of the wider continental literature would surely rely upon detailed assessment of more specific national contexts. While there is a growing body of work on various national European literatures dealing the Ottomans, the time for an overview of 'European literature' has perhaps not yet come.⁴⁷ Additionally, many English authors themselves had a clear awareness that English writing on these topics was undergoing a period of emergence or development. For example, Paul Rycaut states in his epistle 'to the reader' in the 'memoirs' section of his *The History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677*

I was carried with a certain emulation of French and Italian Writers, of whose Ministers few there were employed in the parts of *Turky*, but who carried with them from thence, Memoirs, Giornals, or Historical Observations of their times.

⁴⁷ On French Literature on the Ottomans see Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature: 1520-1660* (Paris, 1941), a lengthy survey treating 'the Turk' in early modern French literature and the general context of these representations. Michael J. Heath, *Crusading Commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge and rhetoric against the Turks* (Genève, 1986) deals with 'the Turk' and crusading rhetoric in the French wars of religion. Alain Grosrichard, *The sultan's court: European fantasies of the East* (London, 1998) is an anatomy of 'European' fantasies of 'the east' from a literary critique angle. See also Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in early modern France: Eurasian trade, exoticism and the ancien regime* (Oxford; New York, 2008). On Italian representations see, Lester J. Libby, 'Venetian views of the Ottoman empire from the peace of 1503 to the war of Cyprus', *Sixteenth century journal* 9, no. 4 (1978), 103-126 which traces the effect of 'patriotic humanism' on Venetian accounts but fails to treat what these accounts say of the Ottomans critically or place their language within a broader Italian context. See also Soykut, *Image of the 'Turk' in Italy* and Lucette Valensi, *The birth of the despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte* (Ithaca, 1993), a thoughtful account of the development of 'despotism' as a political category in Venetian 'Relazioni'. Although not on representations of 'the Turk' *per se*, Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: nation, identity, and coexistence in the early modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, 2006) contains an excellent section on early modern identities and the Ottomans. Scholarly work available in English on German representations of the Ottomans remains dominated by two venerable survey works, see Göllner, *Turcica*; Robert Schwoebel, *The shadow of the crescent: the Renaissance image of the Turk 1453-1517* (Nieuwkoop, 1967). There remains little available in English on Spanish representations of 'the Turk', in contrast to the attention lavished on the expulsion of the Moriscos and Jews. Debates surrounding 'Spanish Identity' have figured views of the Ottomans and Muslim North Africa see M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado, 'Christians, civilised and Spanish: multiple identities in sixteenth-century Spain,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998), 233-51.

In which our Nation hath been so defective, that besides some scattered and abrupt Papers, without coherence, or method, adjoined to the end of *Knoll's* History of the Turks (which is an excellent collection from divers Authours) one shall scarce find five sheets of Paper wrote by our Countrymen in way of History.⁴⁸

Rycaut's desire to create an 'English' account of the Turks is certainly notable, particularly in light of MacLean's identification of the Restoration as a key moment in the development towards identifying a 'great national literature'.⁴⁹ However, despite my focus upon an 'English' literature on the Ottomans it is not my intention to treat this in isolation from continental works, those very same 'French and Italian writers' to whom Rycaut compares himself, emulates and yet also sets himself apart from as an English author. In addition to works translated into English, there was also a large volume of books written, published and printed on the continent (again particularly in Latin and French) available in England to those who wished to know of the Ottoman Turks, both before and after the development of a substantial English literature on the Ottomans. Finally, despite my focus on an 'English' literature it is important to note that English authors also identified with their fellow Christians writing on the Ottoman Turks across the continent. Notions of 'Christendom', however diffuse and complex that term was, still played a very important role for early modern authors' writing on this topic.

⁴⁸ Rycaut, *Turkish Empire* (1680), memoirs, sig. I4^r.

⁴⁹ MacLean, *Culture and society in the Stuart Restoration*, p. 10.

There are also practical academic reasons to focus upon these texts in an English context. The vast majority of current scholarly reference and research apparatus focuses upon national literatures. I am referring to such basic and indispensable materials such as the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC), the *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB), the *Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* and the young upstart of the group, *Early English Books Online* (EEBO). While equivalent materials exist treating other non-English national literatures, there is an absence of supra-national reference works. As such I await with excitement the eventual creation of the AHRC-funded Universal Short Title Catalogue: an electronic bibliographical catalogue of all (approx. 500,000) surviving books printed before 1601 created by combining and correlating all existing national STCs, complemented by work on hitherto neglected areas of the sixteenth-century book world. Projects such as this will considerably expand the horizons in which it is possible to view early modern literature.

Field of study

‘English literature on the Ottoman Turks’ is potentially an extremely large topic. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis I have sought to limit it to a more manageable area and have excluded several related fields, either because of the scholarly attention they have already received, or in the interests of practicality. The following paragraphs assess these topics and explain why they have been excluded. This section is followed by a detailed outline of the chapters of the thesis.

This thesis is not a work of comparative history. I have neither the language skills nor specialised research skills required to conduct research in the field of Ottoman history. Thus, this thesis is above all a work of English literary history, an eastward-facing window on the world of early modern England, rather than a significant contribution to Ottoman historiography. Nonetheless an accurate appraisal of Ottoman history is clearly a key context for understanding this English literature. It is a running theme of this thesis that English writing on the Ottomans was never simply an ‘Orientalist’ and Eurocentric closed circuit of western views of the east. This literature was an English response to the Ottoman empire and its relationship with England through trade and diplomacy, but above all its military and political power and major incursions into Europe. I have drawn upon the rich Ottoman historiography currently available in English, without which my study would have been at best blinkered and at worst blind. Imber’s *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1650* (2002), Inalcik’s *The Ottoman Empire: the classical age 1300-1600* (1973), and Finkel’s *Osman’s dream* (2005), have been useful points of reference to general Ottoman history.⁵⁰ Inalcik and Quataert’s *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire* (1994) provides an account of economic affairs in a broader context than trade with western Christian nations and offers a key corrective to the assumptions of many earlier works on the Levant trade. My appraisal of military and diplomatic matters, particularly the Ottoman-Habsburg conflicts, owes much to Murphey’s *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700* (1999), Agoston’s *Guns for the Sultan* (2005) and Faroqhi’s *The Ottoman Empire and the World around It* (2004). My general approach to writing on a topic related to Ottoman history received early guidance from Faroqhi’s *Approaching*

⁵⁰ Full bibliographic references for all works mentioned in this survey are given in the final bibliography.

Ottoman History (1999). Indeed, the realisation that my topic is fundamentally English literature owes much to Faroqhi's insights upon the limitations of European travel accounts as sources for Ottoman history. In addition to these and many other authors who have shaped my outsider's view of Ottoman history I have referred to several authors on specific issues or episodes such as Zilfi's article on the seventeenth-century Kadizadeli movement (1986), which provides essential context for the period of Paul Rycaut's residence in the empire.⁵¹

I have limited this study temporally to the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for reasons argued above. However, it is clear that many of the ideas and images discussed had deep roots and I am indebted to the work of many scholars working upon the 'later crusades' and, to borrow Hankins' phrase, 'humanist crusaders'. Principal amongst these are Beckett's *Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the Islamic world* (2003) and Housley's indispensable *The later crusades* (1992) and *Religious warfare* (2002). Hankins' *Renaissance crusaders* (1993), Meserve's thesis 'The origin of the Turks: a problem in Renaissance historiography' (2001) and her later monograph *Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought* (2008) between them provide an insight into humanist responses to the Ottomans and their relationship to medieval images and concepts. Furthermore, all the above texts have helped to delineate my period of study and gain an appreciation of its features by contrast with earlier periods.

⁵¹ Madeline C. Zilfi, 'The Kadizadeli: discordant revivalism in seventeenth-century Istanbul', *Journal of Near Eastern studies* (1986), 251-74.

I have opted for 'English' over 'British' because the overwhelming majority of authors I have examined were English, and with the dominance of London over the print trade the vast majority of my sources are also 'English'. There are important non-English figures in this field, the most notable being William Lithgow (a Scot), and many of the merchants involved in the Levant trade were also not English. However, as I have not dealt with any non-English figure in depth, my study remains focused on the English context. Furthermore the occasional non-English authors mentioned in passing contributed to a book trade firmly centred on London and England. While texts were occasionally published in Edinburgh or Dublin, these are a tiny minority and I have not examined these contexts separately.

While my focus has been literature, other scholars have taken the broader remit of material culture as a framework to examine English representations of and relationships with the Ottoman Turks. Notable in this area are Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton whose influential and thought-provoking book *Global interests: Renaissance art between East and West* (2003) questions the often assumed rigidity of the east-west divide. Their lead has recently been followed by MacLean's *Looking East: English writing and the Ottoman empire* (2007), whose first chapter treats material culture such as carpets, clothes and visual art as one of the sites in which the English first encountered the Ottomans.

Perhaps the most crucial omission resulting from my literary focus has been the Levant Company and the subject of trade. While I have examined the Levant Company as a

context for literature, I have steered away from the Company, its trade and documents as research topics in themselves, and have relied upon the scholarly secondary literature. I have often had recourse to Wood's *A history of the Levant company* (1935) as well as more recent works such as Andrews' *Trade, plunder and settlement* (1984). For studies of seventeenth-century merchants and diplomats in the service of the Levant Company I am deeply indebted to Anderson's *An English consul in Turkey* (1989), a definitive account of the life of Paul Rycaut who I have focused upon as an author, and Goffman's *Britons in the Ottoman empire* (1998), both for Anglo-Ottoman relations generally and a fascinating account of the Levant Company during the Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration. More specifically on Levant company chaplains I have looked to Pearson's rather antique and occasionally suspect *Bibliographical sketch of the chaplains to the Levant company* (1883) and Wright's rather more reliable *Religion and empire* (1965), while for the relationship of these men to the academic study of 'oriental' languages I have looked to Toomer's *Eastern wisdom and learning* (1996) and Russell's *The 'Arabick' interest of the natural philosophers in seventeenth-century England* (1994). Taken together, these scholars provide an intriguing window upon the interdependency of English mercantile, scholarly, professional and religious interests in the Levant.

For practical reasons, I have sought to narrow the focus of this study as far as possible. I have primarily studied works which treated the Ottomans either directly or largely as their topic, and have generally avoided works on other topics which simply mention the Ottomans in passing. For the sake of brevity, I have borrowed Carl Göllner's phrase *turcica* to describe such 'works on the topic of the Ottoman Turks', and I will use this

term throughout this thesis. Primarily for reasons of practicality, I have sought to refrain from lengthy discussions of representations of the Ottoman Turks within geographical literature. Although I have left a certain flexibility in this boundary and have discussed figures such as Purchas and Speed, it would be highly instructive to conduct an in depth study of 'the Turk' specifically within wider geographical texts. It would be advantageous to view representations of 'the Turk' contrasted and compared to English representations of other nations, and geographical literature is the perfect place to begin such a study. However, this topic is enormous and worthy of a thesis in itself.

I have also largely avoided the topic of the Ottoman Turks as represented in religious polemic, although I have referred to discussions of this in secondary literature.⁵² For example, I have avoided any discussion of the substantial portion of the second edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1570) which contains a section on the Ottoman Turks. In any case, I have found no evidence of these passages being widely influential on other authors writing on the Ottomans. Similarly, I have sought to avoid early modern English treatments of Persia. Although these self evidently went hand in hand with views of the Ottomans and would indeed make a useful and interesting comparison, there simply was not time nor space to include these within the remit of this research project.

I have treated in some detail English views of Islam and sought to place these within the context of a long and venerable Christian polemical tradition towards Islam. A key

⁵² I have omitted a discussion of Housley's subtle and nuanced 'three Turks' schema as it is most relevant to the complex representations of 'Turks' to be found within religious polemic and wider literature, rather than literature which specifically took the Ottomans as its topic. Housley, *Religious warfare in Europe* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 131-159.

reference point here has been Nabil Matar's landmark *Islam in Britain 1558-1685*, in its critical approach to assumptions regarding English attitudes to Islam and the wider world, as much as in the astonishing breadth of source material tackled. However, for reasons of space, I have by-passed any long and detailed interaction with the voluminous scholarly literature on 'Islam and the West', to borrow Norman Daniels' phrase. Nonetheless I feel that my discussion of this in chapter three, and particularly my suggested shift to examining a 'Christian polemical tradition' regarding Islam, as opposed to a specifically western or European one, contributes to these debates as they have developed in works such as Daniels' *Islam and the West* (1960), Southern's *Western views of Islam in the middle ages* (1962), Lewis' *Islam and the West* (1993) and more recent works such as Tolan's *Saracens: Islam in the medieval European imagination* (2002) and Fletcher's *The cross and the crescent* (2005).

Even within the rubric of early modern English works specifically relating to the Ottoman Turks I have avoided some topic areas which have already received notable scholarly attention. This is particularly true of 'the Turk' on the early modern stage and of the Barbary States, piracy, English captives and captive accounts. There has been a wealth of recent scholarly attention on 'Turk Plays', developing the older models such as Chew's *The crescent and the rose* (1932). Amongst these a few stand out, notably Vitkus' *Three Turk plays from early modern England* (2000) and *Turning Turk: English theater and the multicultural Mediterranean* (2003), and most recently Dimmock's *New Turkes* (2005) and Birchwood's *Staging Islam* (2007). The attention paid to the stage is one reason why the study of early modern English representations of 'the Turk' and 'the

east' more generally have been shaped to such a great degree by literary theory. Another major reason for this is the field's engagement with the work of Said which sprang from literary criticism. A recent example of this approach is MacLean's *Looking East: English writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*. This ambitious and wide ranging book assembles a broad selection of references and works treating the Ottomans and seeks to relate them to the development of English identity. Thematic essays cover images of sultans and 'Turky carpets' to plays, ballads, diplomatic accounts, chronicles, geographies, poems, diaries and sermons. MacLean approaches these sources, and gives coherence to his account through a hermeneutic strategy which he dubs 'imperial envy'. This denotes 'a dominant discursive formation' or 'structure of feeling that combined admiration with contempt, fear with fascination, desire with revulsion'.⁵³

[I]mperial envy most usefully describes the ambivalent structures of admiration and hostility towards the Ottomans that distinguishes a great deal of writing of the time. In envying the Ottomans their empire, moreover, the English came to refashion themselves as British once they set out in pursuit of an empire of their own. Imperial envy also helped give shape to the nature and character of their imperial ambitions...⁵⁴

One problem with this approach is that 'ambivalent structures of admiration and hostility towards the Ottomans' were far from uniquely English. Valensi's study of sixteenth-century Venetian *Relazioni* found that in the period from 1503 to the 1570s they portray

⁵³ MacLean, *Looking East*, p. 245.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

the Ottoman state as an alien but fundamentally legitimate and even admirable political order.⁵⁵ Were the authors of those *Relazioni* also suffering from ‘imperial envy’ along with the multitude of other writers such as Bodin (a French lawyer) or Busbecq (a Habsburg diplomat), who produced ambivalent accounts of the Ottomans? Furthermore, while many English accounts of the Ottomans did indeed ‘seek to construct subjects in terms of national identities, legitimate authority and power over others’, does that necessarily make them an ‘imperial discourse’? MacLean states that the diplomat Paul Rycaut’s ‘plan was to keep an eye on all aspects of how the Ottomans ran their empire in order to figure out how it operated’.⁵⁶ This is broadly true, but need that in itself be ‘imperial’? Was Rycaut not simply a young diplomat eager to emulate accounts written by ‘French and Italian writers’ and advance his career by presenting his abilities, to both Royal court and Levant Company, through his apt analysis of the milieu in which he found himself? Throughout his account, as we shall see below, Rycaut places great emphasis on the Ottoman empire’s importance as a commercial interest. While this is presented in terms of national interest the question remains whether it is in any meaningful sense imperial.

In sum MacLean’s account suffers from its desire to create an overarching hermeneutic strategy through which to approach English writing on the Ottomans, and on a broader level the effect of the Anglo-Ottoman relationship on English writing and national identity more generally. This desire is perhaps partly a result of his engagement with Said, arising from a perceived need to replace ‘Orientalism’. However, the size and

⁵⁵ Valensi, *The birth of the despot*.

⁵⁶ MacLean, *Looking East*, p 191.

diversity of English literature on the Ottomans makes its interpretation through a single interpretive strategy, or ‘discursive formation’, problematic. In contrast to seeking such a ‘discursive formation’, my own approach to English literature on the Ottomans will seek interpretive strategies from the situational and intellectual contexts of the texts themselves, thereby allowing for the variety and diversity of this literature. For example, I will contextualise and interpret Rycout through his personal ambitions as a diplomat and author, the Levant trade, the political and religious contexts of Restoration England and his relationship to the new learning and older literary models such as Tacitean history.

North African piracy, English captives and their accounts have been the subject of numerous recent articles and books. Amongst these, as in so many areas of this field, the works of Nabil Matar stand tall, particularly *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen* (1999), *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (2005) and his article ‘The Barbary corsairs, King Charles I and the civil war’ (2001), the latter of which is particularly helpful regarding the impact and importance of Barbary piracy in Britain. Alongside Matar’s works, Hornstein’s *The Restoration navy and English foreign trade, 1674-1688* (1991) and Hebb’s *Piracy and the English government, 1603-1642* (1994) have informed my view of Rycout (who was involved in diplomacy with the Barbary states) and provided context for the many references to piracy that the student of English *turcica* inevitably encounters. Because of considerations of space I have chosen not to focus upon captive accounts. However, when it has been necessary to understand their context I have drawn upon Colley’s ‘Going native, telling tales’ (2000) and *Captives* (2002), and Vitkus’ *Piracy, slavery, and redemption* (2001).

Chapter summary

The central argument of this thesis is that English discourse on the Ottoman Turks changed dramatically in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in terms that I have identified as the emergence and development of a large, sophisticated and diverse literature English literature on the Ottoman Turks. I will also argue that the texts which comprise this literature and its authors should be interpreted by examining the ‘general social and intellectual matrix out of which their works arose’,⁵⁷ to borrow Quentin Skinner’s admirably concise formulation. Beyond examining the context of English works on the Ottomans I will attempt to follow ‘the fortunes of texts, and the discourses they may be said to have conveyed, as they travel from one context to another’.⁵⁸ I will therefore seek to address questions such as, why did this literature emerge in the late sixteenth century and how was this different from what had gone before? Who wrote these texts, what were the contexts for their production, and how are these contexts reflected in these works? How did these texts represent ‘the Turk’ and what factors shaped these representations? To what purpose and effect were certain of these texts and representations drawn on by later authors? I have argued that the answers to these questions are best sought within an English contextual frame and related to localised religious, political and social contexts rather than as part of a broader literature of ‘European/Western’ writing on the Ottomans, or indeed ‘the East’. However, I have also sought to relate these English sources to the large contemporary continental literature on the Ottomans, which provided many English authors with sources or indeed material for

⁵⁷ Quentin Skinner, *The foundations of modern political thought* (Cambridge, 1978), p. x.

⁵⁸ J. G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian moment* (Princeton, 2nd ed., 2003), p. 554.

translation. However, even the act of translation has a context and the meaning of the text may be radically altered and appropriated by the act of its translation into a new language or context. Thus even continental works translated into English also had an English context, and an English translator, often working for an English patron, producing a work for the English book market.

The topics of my chapters have focussed either upon large bodies of material which share a discernable context, individuals who can be shown to have been drawn on by numerous later authors, or contexts which can be demonstrated to have had a formative effect on large numbers of contemporary authors. The first two chapters focus upon the process by which English literature on the Ottomans emerged and developed. Chapter one concentrates on a very large body of works printed in English at the turn of the seventeenth century in response to the Ottoman-Habsburg 'Long War' (1593-1606). I argue that this 'boom' of works on the Ottomans printed in this period led to an established English literature on the Turks. I then compare this literature to sixteenth century English writing on the Ottomans, and in particular a series of translations of continental works produced in the 1540s by a small clique of evangelical printers. I examine the motivations in producing these translations and argue that they had a meaning specific to the English religious and political contexts from which they emerged. I then contrast these to the context from which the literature of the 1590s emerged. In particular I emphasise shifts in the meaning of the term 'Christendom' between these contexts, from the highly polemical 'Christendom' of the evangelicals calling for renewed reform to the generally moderate and inclusive 'Christendom' of the scholars of

the 1590s. On a similar theme, chapter two focuses upon the most significant author of this emerging literature, Richard Knolles, and his *History* (first edition, 1603). I place this work in the context of Knolles' life, his patrons and religious views as well as the literary contexts of contemporary views of history as a genre and the sources he drew upon. From this emerges a picture of Knolles' conception of 'history', and his purposes as a historian, combining a 'sea and world of matter' into a rhetorically and stylistically coherent work, where events are given meaning through the working of Providence. Finally I have examined Knolles' development into *the* recognised English authority on the Turks through those who read his work, drew on, responded to, wrote about and referred to it.

Of the many relevant English contexts, I have placed a particular stress upon the Levant trade, showing how it became an increasingly important context for English writing on the Ottomans throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. This trade served as a facilitator to those travelling in or writing on the Levant, easing the movement of men and their observations, preconceptions and impressions along the trade routes. As such this trade provided both source materials and authors who made a massive contribution on English writing on the Ottomans. Chapter three examines three writers who wrote accounts of their travels through the Levant: Thomas Coryat, Fynes Moryson and George Sandys. Such travel accounts blossomed in the early seventeenth century, assisted by the trade routes and diplomatic apparatus brought by the rapidly expanding Levant trade. 'Travel accounts' of this period were very different from the set genre of 'travel writing' which emerged later, particularly from the 'grand tour', a category which all three of these writers prefigure. Thus this chapter identifies literary models for these accounts

particularly in humanistic education and notions of pilgrimage. I will emphasise the literary nature of these accounts and their relationship to both classical and scriptural writing as well as contemporary geographical and political literature, which they both drew on and contributed to. My examinations of Moryson and Sandys also draw some comparison between the colonial involvements of these men and their writing on the Levant, while rejecting 'Orientalism' as a suitable model for understanding them. Further a detailed account of Sandys' *Relation* (1615) examines his relationship to Christian polemical traditions regarding Islam and contemporary literature on the Ottoman state. Finally I shall extend my consideration of Sandys' relationship to contemporary literature through a detailed account of many of those who read his account and in particular authors who drew upon it.

Chapter four examines authors who either drew directly on material generated by the Levant trade or were themselves involved in Levant Company affairs. It focuses on chaplains of the Levant Company; the various scholars who wrote continuations to the several editions of Knolles' *History* published following the latter's death in 1610; and Levant company consul Paul Rycaut. The Levant chaplains section focuses on the writing of Thomas Smith and the confluence of contexts in which Englishmen might be brought to consider the Ottomans or the Levant, including trade, the academic study of languages, the classics or antiquity, geographical or historical writing, the scriptures or indeed simply from widely held commonplaces regarding 'the Turk'. My consideration of Knolles' continuers will focus on their increasing reliance upon material generated directly from the Levant trade or Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy. Finally I shall examine the

works of Paul Rycaut at length. I shall place his most important work *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1666) in the political and religious contexts of Restoration England, and show how these contexts helped shape his views of the Ottoman state. Following from this I shall relate his later works to his diplomatic and literary aspirations and changes in his attitude to the Ottoman state in his final work, written following the disastrous turn in Ottoman fortunes represented by the siege of Vienna in 1683 and the War of the Holy League, which culminated in the treaty of Karlowitz in 1699.

English literature on the Ottomans was never simply 'Anglo' or 'Euro-centric', where the agenda could be comfortably set by the desires of English or indeed continental authors. The two peak periods of English publication on the Ottomans came in direct response to the Long War (1593-1606) and the War of the Holy League (1683-99), in particular the siege of Vienna (1683). Thus a significant proportion of English publications on the Ottomans were direct responses to Ottoman offensives on their European front. Although English literature on the Ottomans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was shaped significantly by the development of Anglo-Ottoman trade and diplomatic relationships, it was also a direct response to Ottoman military and political power in continental Europe. My period of study ends with the close of the seventeenth century and the treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, an event which marked a decisive shift in the balance of power in Europe away from the Ottomans. Although some of the territory lost at Karlowitz was later recovered, the treaty marked the end of the Ottoman empire as a major central European power. Karlowitz was seen as a seismic event by English contemporaries and

more than any other single event signalled the passing of the Ottoman empire as an object of power combining fear with fascination.

Coincidentally the year 1700 saw the publication of Rycaut's final work, followed by his death. Thus the end of the century also brings the remarkable Knolles-Rycaut literary series to a close, excepting an abridgement of Knolles and Rycaut by John Savage and a work by David Jones drawing heavily both authors, both published in 1701.⁵⁹ Jones' work began:

THE Turks have been a Nation now for many Ages past, that from an obscure Original became so fam'd for their Conquests and Warlike Atchievements, and of latter Years so remarkable for the terrible Overthrows and Losses they have sustain'd, that a Compleat History of the Rise, Progress, and Decay of their Empire, cannot but expect a kind Reception from the Intelligent Reader.⁶⁰

While Jones' pronouncement of the Ottoman empire's decay is with a historian's hindsight premature, it is nonetheless indicative of a noted shift in contemporary English views of the Ottomans. Needless to say, such an unequivocal statement would have been unlikely twenty years previously. Karlowitz and the end of the century therefore provide a convenient terminus for this particular study and I shall leave eighteenth-century English views of the Ottoman Turks to other scholars.

⁵⁹ John Savage, *The Turkish History: Comprehending the Origin of That Nation, and the Growth of the Othoman Empire, with the Lives and Conquests of Their Several Kings and Emperors* (London, 1701: ESTC T928050).

⁶⁰ D. Jones, *A Compleat History of the Turks: From Their Origin in the Year 755, to the Year 1701. Containing the Rise, Growth, and Decay of That Empire* (London, 1701: ESTC N004971), sig. A2^f.

Chapter 1

THE EMERGENCE OF AN ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE OTTOMANS



Figure 1: 'Achmat, the first of that name, eight Emperour of the Turks'

Knolles, *History* (1610), p. 1203, by kind permission of the Trustees of the National

Library of Scotland.

Now Machamyte that turke vntrue
 To our lorde Cryste Jhesu
 And to his lawe also
 Many crysten men slayne hath be
 And wanne constantyne ye noble cyte

Anon, *Capystranus* (1515)

The two English depictions of Ottoman sultans above were published within a hundred years of each other. The earlier is a snippet of doggerel verse describing ‘Mahomet II’, conqueror of Constantinople, from the anonymous work *Capystranus* published 1515. The later is an engraved portrait of ‘Achmat I’ (r. 1603-17) taken from the second edition of Knolles’ *History* (1610). Between these dates a large, diverse and complex English literature on the Ottoman Turks emerged and it is this development that defines the contrast between these depictions.

Capystranus is a romance concerning the Italian friar John Capistrano, who raised the peasant crusader army which lifted the siege of Belgrade (1456), following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Its crude verse depicts a clumsy stereotype of ‘the Turk’. The anonymous author makes no differentiation between ‘turkes and sarasyns’,¹ and shows no interest in Islam or any details concerning the Ottomans beyond the tortures they inflict

¹[*Capystranus. a metrical romance*] (London, 1515: STC 14649), sig. Aiii^r.

on their unfortunate, yet heroic, Christian victims. The text gives no sense of material or intellectual interest in the Ottomans, where they came from, who they are, or crucially, any sense of English involvement with them. ‘The Turks’ are quite simply the villains, the enemies of Christendom. The details and language of the description of the fall of Constantinople could just as easily describe the fall of Acre in 1291.

However, the engraving of Achmat I is a different proposition entirely. Knolles describes the portrait as a ‘liuely counterfeit, taken by a most skilful workemans hand at CONSTANTINOPLE, at the cost and charge of my kind friend and cousin Master *Roger Howe*, at his late being there’.² Earlier in his *History*, Knolles thanks Howe for his ‘discreet and curious observations during the time of his late abode at Constantinople’.³ Indeed Parry suggests that the account of Achmat I’s court, with which the second edition of the *History* (1610) ends, is probably based on Howe’s description.⁴ This account includes a detailed description of the sultan’s appearance, he is

... now about the age of two and twentie yeares, round and full faced, and withall well faouered, but that the signes of small Pox are yet in his face somewhat to be seene. His beard being but little, is of a browne chesnut colour, growing in little tuffes in foure seuerall places, on each cheeke and each side of his chinne one ... He is of a good and just stature, well complectioned, and enclined to be fat, as was his father *Mahomet*: strong and well limmed...⁵

² Knolles, *History* (1610), p. 1297.

³ *Ibid.*, sig. Avi^r.

⁴ Parry, *Knolles*, p. 22.

⁵ Knolles, *History* (1610), p. 1297.

The level of detail in this accompanying description certainly suggests that the portrait is based on an eyewitness account. The fact that Howe obtained such a description and portrait during his time at Constantinople is itself interesting and implies that he was consciously gathering information for Knolles.

While the execution of the portrait is crude, the production of such an item and the level of specific detail to which it aspires reveal developments in both England's relationship with the Ottoman Empire and in English literature upon the Ottomans. Howe's presence as a gentleman traveller in Constantinople, one of many during the early seventeenth century, is in itself indicative of the stability of England's diplomatic and trade ties to the Ottomans, which by 1610 had been established for thirty years. It is possible Howe had seen Achmat I at a distance, for example riding to the mosque on Fridays. However, there would also certainly be those among the ambassador's entourage who had encountered the sultan at closer quarters and from whom Howe could have obtained his detailed description.

While the portrait may well be based on first-hand description it also reflects a number of conventions. As we shall examine in chapter two, the portraits of the *History* draw on a number of sixteenth-century continental chronicles for both their likenesses and their format. Furthermore these chronicles themselves drew on a long continental tradition of visual representations of Oriental monarchs. Thus although the portrait of Achmat I is the first portrait of a sultan in the *History* to be based on a description rather than borrowed

or adapted from a chronicle, it also conforms to the format borrowed from earlier sources. However, while the *History* is clearly linked to a wider continental literature on the Ottomans, it is most interesting for what it tells us about the development of a contemporary English literature on the Ottomans.

The *History* (1603) was one of the first original, as opposed to translated, English works on the Ottoman Turks. Knolles' work aspires to a level of detail which contrasts dramatically to the pantomime caricatures of early sources such as *Capystranus*. Not only did the *History* cover the origins of 'the Turks', the rise of the Ottoman dynasty and their subsequent history, but the second edition (1610) was extended to include information on Ottoman history up to the date of publication, including first-hand descriptions and illustrations of the incumbent sultan and his court. Further, the second edition manifests a new degree of English interest and involvement with the Ottomans in its links to English material and commercial interests in the Levant. The contrast between the *History* and *Capystranus* illustrate the emergence of a sophisticated and diverse English literature on the Ottomans. The present chapter examines the development of this literature, from its origins in the mid sixteenth century, up to the early seventeenth, by which stage it was capable of producing material as complex as the *History* and its portrait of Achmat I.

There have been a number of recent studies relevant to English literature on the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth century. In particular, Dimmock and Housley have emphasised 'the Turk' as a figure in Reformation debates and religious controversy.⁶ However, rather than focussing on 'the Turk' as an image within wider literature I will examine the

⁶ Dimmock, *New Turkes*; Housley, *Religious warfare*.

development of an English literature which took the Ottomans as its specific topic (see introduction). In particular I will focus upon the turn of the century as a key period in the emergence of an English literature on the Ottomans both larger and more sophisticated than any of its antecedents. I will not attempt a chronological survey and description of English writing on the Ottomans in the sixteenth century, a task concluded satisfactorily for the period 1529-1571 by Dimmock, or focus on the wider context of European writing, as Housley does.⁷ Rather, I will contrast the 1540s, when the first English texts to treat the Ottomans in any real detail appeared, to the boom in *turcica* at the turn of the seventeenth century. Through a comparison of the religious and political climates which shaped the literature of these periods I will establish the contexts in which Englishmen were led to write on the Ottomans, and relate them to the works which they produced.

I will examine the texts of the 1540s in the context of the English Reformation and the late years of Henry VIII's reign, particularly the aftermath of Thomas Cromwell's execution in 1540, which represented Henry VIII's rejection of doctrinal innovation and his desire for a religious settlement following the upheavals of the break from Rome. In contrast, the texts of 1590-1610 were largely written in the late years of Elizabeth's reign, following the Elizabethan Church settlement, and relate less to English religious contexts than to interest in the Ottomans spurred by contemporary Ottoman-Habsburg conflict. However, the greatest contrast between these periods is that while the texts of the 1540s proved to be isolated examples, the *turcica* of the turn of the century have lasting significance as the foundation of an established, sophisticated and diverse English literature on the Ottomans in the seventeenth century.

⁷ Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 20-86.

The 1540s: Evangelical printers and chronicle translations

The 1540s produced the first texts to attempt a detailed description and account of the Ottoman Turks in English. These were not the first texts in English to deal with ‘the Turks’, being preceded by a range of fifteenth and early sixteenth-century papal indulgences⁸ and a number of early sixteenth-century texts such as *Here begynneth a lytell treatyse of the Turkes lawe called Alcaron* or indeed *Capystranus*. However, the crude views ‘of the turkes and sarasyns’,⁹ Islam, and its prophet ‘Machamet the Nygromancer’,¹⁰ presented in these earliest texts bear little relation to the complex literature on the Ottomans which later developed.

Far more relevant than these precedents to the works of the 1540s is an assessment of ‘the Ottomans’ place in the political and religious disputes of the day’.¹¹ The ‘Turks’ place in these religious debates has been examined extensively in Dimmock’s work on ‘the Turk’ as an image in the English Reformation writing of figures such as Simon Fish, Thomas More, John Rastell and William Tyndale, and in Housley’s broader focus on continental figures such as Erasmus, Luther and More. However, while the texts of the 1540s, largely translations of continental chronicles, were certainly published against the backdrop of

⁸ [Frater Johannes Kendales turcipelerius Rhodi ac comissarius a sanctissimo in xpo patre et duo nostro duo sexto ...] (Westminster, 1480: 14077c.110); Johannes de, Gigliis, [*Indulgence, w. blank terminations to suit either singular or plural grantees, to contributors to crusade*] (Westminster, 1489: STC 14077c.114); Castellensis, Robertus, [*Robertus Castellensis ... vt confessore idoneu*] (London, 1498: STC 14077c.136); [*Indulgence to contributors towards the redemption of the Children of the "Lady Elyzabeth Lasarina" from the Turks*] (London, 1511: STC 14077c.130); [*Michael De Palealogo Frater Consobrinus Illustrissimi Ducis Maior Costantinopolitan*] (1512: STC 14077c.119).

⁹ *Capystranus*, p. 6.

¹⁰ *Here Begynneth a Lytell Treatyse of the Turkes Lawe Called Alcaron. And Also It Speketh of Machamet the Nygromancer* (London, 1515: STC 15084), title page.

¹¹ Dimmock, *New Turkes*, p. 5.

Reformation debates in which ‘the Turk’ was often alluded to as a metaphor or directly, they also represent the first works in English to attempt a detailed consideration of the Ottoman Turks as a topic in and of themselves and as such are a logical starting point for a consideration of English writing on the Ottomans Turks.

The year 1542 brought three large texts in English focusing on the Ottoman Turks: *The Order of the Great Turckes Courte; A Godly Consultation Vnto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon* and *The New Pollecy of Warre*. These texts were longer and more detailed than any previous English works on the Ottomans and as such bear close examination.

The treatise *The Order of the Greate Turckes Courte*,¹² began life as *Libri tre delle Cose de turchi* (Vinegia, 1539) by Benedetto Ramberti (1503-1546), secretary to the Venetian Senate, later librarian of Venice’s Marciana library. Ramberti had also previously served as legation secretary to Contarini and Moceginio in their joint embassy to the sultan in 1518.¹³ Ramberti’s work had been translated into French by Antoine Geuffroy, and published as *Estat de la court du grant Turc* (Antwerp, 1542) and later under the title *Briefve descriptiõ de la court du Grant Turc et ung sommaire du règne des Othmans. Avec ung abregé de leurs ... superstitions; ensemble lorigine de cinq empires yssuz de la secte Mehemet*, (Paris, 1543 and 1546), also appearing in Latin as *Aulae Turcicae, Othomannicque Imperii, descriptio* (Basel, 1573). The English edition of 1542, published by Richard Grafton, is taken from Geuffroy’s translation and seems unaware of

¹² Antoine Geuffroy, *The Order of the Greate Turckes Courte* (London, 1524 [i.e.1542]: STC 24334).

¹³ Lester J. Libby, ‘Venetian views of the Ottoman empire from the peace of 1503 to the war of Cyprus’, pp. 106, 109-12.

Ramberti, citing Geuffroy as the author. This text went far beyond the scope and detail of any previous work in English, stating its subject matter as

The estate of the courte of ye great Turcke. The ordre of hys armye, & of his yerely reuenues. Item a briefe rehearsal of al conquestes and vctories that the Turckes haue had, from the first of that stocke, to this Solyman ye great Turcke that now reigneth.¹⁴

The second text, *A Godly Consultation Vnto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon*,¹⁵ was translated from the Latin *Ad nominis Christiani Socio Consultatio, Quanam Ratione Turcarum Dira Potentia Repelli Possit, ac Debeat a Populo Christiano* (Basel, 1542) of the Zwinglian writer and theologian, Theodore Bibliander. Bibliander later edited a Latin translation of the Koran based on the medieval Latin translation of Robert of Ketton (produced for Peter the Venerable of Cluny in 1143). This ‘Koran’ was preceded by a ‘warning to the reader’ by the reformist theologian Philip Melanchthon, and published by the Basel printer, Johanes Oporinus, in 1543, following considerable resistance on the part of the city council, a controversy only resolved by the intervention of a letter from Martin Luther.¹⁶ *A Godly Consultation Vnto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon* aims to

¹⁴ Geuffroy, *The Order of the Greate Turckes Courte*, title page.

¹⁵ Theodorus Bibliander, *A Godly Consultation Vnto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon by What Meanes the Cruell Power of the Turkes, Bothe May, and Ought for to Be Repelled of the Christen People* (Basill [i.e. Antwerp], 1542: STC 3047).

¹⁶ Harry Clark, 'The publication of the Koran in Latin: a Reformation dilemma', *The sixteenth century journal* 15, no. 1 (1984), 3-13.

open the causes for the which we haue kepte warre so vnshappely these many yeres with this cruell nation. And how that by oure vyces whyche bragge and cracke in vayne the moste worthy name of Christe/ and haue no dedes of holy lyuyngre agreable to the same/ the monarchy of Mahumet wyth hys superstytious and damnable lawe hath growne vp after thys terrible maner.¹⁷

It is these ‘vyces’ and the unchristian behaviour they embody which form the main body of Bibliander’s, and his anonymous translator’s, text.¹⁸ While Grafton’s publication, *The Order of the Greate Turckes Courte*, was based on a Venetian diplomatic account, Bibliander’s text is primarily shaped on the one hand by the early Reformist position on ‘the Turk’, and on the other by medieval descriptions of Islam which he absorbed through his interest in the Koran and its confutation.

These twin intellectual contexts merge in the deployment of a number of images which ultimately derive from scriptural sources. Perhaps the most significant of these is the Ottoman Turk as the ‘scourge of God’, a notion perhaps most forcefully expressed by Luther in his *Resolutiones Disputationum* (1518) but more comprehensively applied to the Ottoman context by him later in *Vom Kriege wider die Türken* (1529).¹⁹ The context of medieval writing on Islam emerges clearest in his description of ‘Mahumet’ born to a mother ‘of the trybe or kinred of Ismael’, and ‘wel knowne to be couetous, cruell, vnryghteous, desirous and very gredye of honoure and dominion prone and redye to all

¹⁷ Bibliander, *A godly consultation*, sig. Avi^v.

¹⁸ Bibliander’s position corresponds roughly to Housley’s ‘interior Turk’. Housley, *Religious warfare*, pp. 131-159.

¹⁹ Housley, *Religious warfare*, pp. 85-96; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, p. 44.

manner of foule and filthy pleasure’ as well as knowledgeable in ‘the crafte of coniouryng, charmyng and whitcheecraft’. This villain with the help of ‘certen jeues and heretykes runagates’, particularly ‘Sergius the monke of Constantinople a nestoriane’, creates a ‘civil and a popishe lawe’ in a somewhat ad hoc manner to ‘make the people of Arabye faythfull and subiect vnto hym’.²⁰

Throughout *A Godly Consultation Vnto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon*, Bibliander conflates ‘Turks’, ‘saracyns’ and, in the above example, ‘the kindred of Ismael’, a term with its roots in an etymology of the word Saracen in the writing of St. Jerome, but ultimately deriving from the bible (see appendix two). In addition to the witchcraft and presence of ‘Sergius’, a detail concerning ‘Mahumets’ visions identifies the medieval source:

he had gotten the fallinge syknis thorow the immoderate use of wyne and lechery
 ... he couered hys dysease wyth a moste suttle lye/ and he cloked hym selfe
 craftely to the vulgare people wyth the rumore and fame of a dyuyne
 entercourse.²¹

In similar vein to Bibliander’s work, but written in an English rather than continental context, the third text published in 1542 was *The New Pollecye of Warre*.²² It was written by the well known evangelical polemicist, Thomas Becon, writing under his pseudonym Theodore Basaille, and published by his regular printers, John Mayler and John Gough.

²⁰ Bibliander, *A godly consultation*, sigs. Cvii^v-Dv^f.

²¹ Ibid., sig. Diii^f.

²² Thomas Becon, *The New Pollecye of Warre* (London 1542: STC 1735).

For Becon, the ‘Nerolyke Tyrant ye great Turke, that mortall enemy of Christes religion, that destroyer of the christe[n] faith, that perverter of all good order, that adversary of all godlynes & pure innocency’²³ is largely a symptom of the wickedness and division of the ‘christian commonweale’. Indeed, of ‘the Turke’ Becon asserts ‘no man nedeth to doubt, but that he is the scourge of God to ponish us for our wycked and abhominable lyvyng’.²⁴ Needless to say Becon the evangelical preacher has the answer to this warning: ‘no nacio[n] shall be able to resist and wythstonde his [Turkish] tyranny, excepte there be some godly remedy found shortely’.²⁵ In his prologue, which has little explicit mention of ‘the Turk’, Becon lays out his topic as ‘the cause of these cruell warres, that reygne nowe almost thorowe out the whole worlde, & by what meanes they maye be ceased’ alongside spiritual solutions relating to the behaviour of Christian society at large and soldiers in particular.²⁶ The context of this polemic is clearly the debates in works such as the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (1503) of Erasmus and Luther’s *Ob Kriegesleute auch in seligem Stande sein Können* (1526) and *Vom Kriege wider die Türken* (1529), regarding the waging of war, the role of religion and the appropriate response to the central European advances of the Ottoman Turks.²⁷ It is striking that throughout this work Becon characterizes ‘the Great Turke’ in the singular, as a force of God, rather than pursuing any specific or detailed treatment of the Ottoman Turks, their empire, actions or institutions.

²³ Ibid., sig Ciii^v.

²⁴ Ibid., sig. Cv^r.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., sig. Biv^r.

²⁷ Housley, *Religious warfare*, pp. 62-92, 131-59.

The 1540s also saw the publication of two other texts on the Ottoman Turks, *A Ioyfull New Tidynges* (1543)²⁸ and *A Shorte Treatise Vpon the Turkes Chronicles* (1546),²⁹ which I shall treat in some detail later.

A Ioyfull New Tidynges is a short and yet complex text, supposedly by Alfonso d'Avalos del Vasto imperial commander and sometime governor of Milan, 'translated out of Doutche into Englyshe by Jhon Mayler'.³⁰ However, it is clear that the translation has radically altered the body of the text, to the extent that Avalos is the subject of the first part of the text rather than its author. Further, the text is also clearly shaped by the English context in which this translation was published.

The main body of the text concerns the wars of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V in Italy against Francis I of France and reflects both English and Ottoman interest in these events. However, Mayler also balances a need to service Tudor propaganda with evangelical reformist polemic, thus negotiating his own, far from secure position in England as an evangelical in the closing years of Henry's reign. He achieves this balance by lionising Emperor Charles V and his brief alliance with Henry VIII while demonising the French through the use of imagery taken straight from evangelical polemic. The overlapping contexts relevant to understanding this text demonstrate some of the

²⁸ Alfonso Avalos Vasto (trs. John Mayler), *A Ioyfull New Tidynges of the Goodly Victory* (London, 1543: STC 977.5). Editions also survive in Latin (1542) and Dutch (1543), both printed at Antwerp.

²⁹ Paolo Giovio (trs. Peter Ashton), *A Shorte Treatise Vpon the Turkes Chronicles* (London, 1546: STC 11899).

³⁰ Vasto (trs. Mayler), *A Ioyfull New Tidynges*, sig. Fiv^v.

problems of a simplistic reading of a single 'European literature' on the Ottomans, or indeed constructing an Ottoman 'other' in opposition to 'European identity'.³¹

There were twin contexts for this short work. The first was the Franco-Ottoman agreement, which led to a joint attack on Nice in 1543 and the wintering of the Ottoman fleet and its admiral Barbarossa (mentioned repeatedly in the text) at Toulon. The second context was Henry VIII's alliance with Charles V and their imminent joint invasion of France. The text argues that Francis I's defeat in Italy is God's punishment for repeatedly 'despysing of hys word and for hys wycked lyuyng',³² and further breaking truces with Charles V while entering into 'the moost wycked & vngodlyest co[n]sedaracio[n] ye ever was hard beyng betwene an heathan Tyraunt & one ye hath take[n] vpo[n] him to be the moste Christen Kynge'³³ (i.e. his alliance with the Ottoman sultan).

Not only has Francis I obstructed Charles V's crusade to Tunis in which he intended 'to fyght agaynste the Turke ... and to delyuer the Christen Prysoners which werein his handes moost cruelly handeled',³⁴ when Charles V had hoped that 'he wold helpe and ayde me, as all Christen Princes dutie is. To dryve the Turke out of Christendome',³⁵ but through breaking truces with Charles he has disrupted the peace of Christendom. In contrast Charles V has

³¹ Hay, *Europe*; Yapp, 'Europe in the Turkish mirror'.

³² Vasto (trs. Mayler) *A Ioyfull New Tidynges*, sig. Civ^v.

³³ Ibid, sig. Fiv^f.

³⁴ Ibid, sig. Eii^f.

³⁵ Ibid, sig. Fi^f.

[A]lwayes spoken and labored for peace, and quietnes that we shuld be of one mynde al Christendome together, and that ther shoulde be no warre amonge the Christen, but that we shulde al together warre vpo[n] the Turke the enemy of our Lorde Jesu Christ.³⁶

In these passages it is possible to discern a thematic similarity to the texts of *Bibliander* and *Becon*. The schema which through which those texts understood the meaning of ‘the Turk’ is very similar to that which Mayler’s *A Ioyfull New Tidynges* uses to interpret contemporary events. The sins and divisions of Christendom, in this case exemplified by Francis I, are punished by God through defeat and abandonment by his allies. Thus ‘the Turk’ again acts as the instrument of God’s punishment, although not explicitly as the ‘scourge of God’. The connection with *Bibliander* and *Becon* is all the more evident when one recalls that John Mayler was Thomas Becon’s publisher (and had published the *Newe Pollecye of Warre* the previous year).

These Evangelical commitments are clearest in an extraordinarily vituperative passage relating to Francis I and the Pope.

What shuld a man saye to this wycked Kyng, whome the Bysshop of Rome callethe the mooste Christen Kyng, but hys deades declare hym to be the mooste vnChristian Kyng, lyke as the Bysshoppe of Romes worckes declare hym to be very Antechriste. For these two, that is to say the fre[n]ch-Kyng and the Bysshop

³⁶ *Ibid.*, sigs. Eiv^r-Eiv^v.

of Rome hath taken upo[n] them the name of Christen Rulers, but yet ther be nomen moore agaynste Christes doctrine and his flocke then these men are.³⁷

Such strong evangelical polemic sits alongside the need to comply with Tudor propaganda. This propaganda was perhaps most clearly expressed in Henry VIII's declaration of war on France, also published in 1543, which explicitly links the war to Francis I's Ottoman alliance as well as to the failure to pay a 'pension' due Henry for his claims to the title 'king of france'.

[T]he frenche kynge, omittyng the duetie and office of a good christen prynce (whiche is moche to be lamented) hath not onely by a longe time and season ayded the great Turke, common ennemye to christendome, and also by sundry wayes and meanes encouraged procured and incited, and dayly procureth the sayde Turke, to arrayse and assemble greate armies and forces of warre, to enter and invade the same, whiche dayly the sayde Turke attempteth and putteth in execution, to the great trouble perturbation and molestation of all good christen princes and their subiectes, and to the peryll and daunger of the state of christen religion, and imminent destruction of the vniuersall weale and quiet of all christendom.³⁸

For Henry VIII the French association with 'the Turk' was a convenient excuse for war. However, Mayler's need to balance the strong element of evangelical polemic in his text

³⁷ Ibid, sig. Eiii^r.

³⁸ Henry VIII, *For as moche as by credyble meanes* (London, 1543: STC 7801).

with the official line of anti-French propaganda leads him to the somewhat ironic position of portraying 'the noble Emperour' Charles V, so often Rome's champion against the Lutheran challenge, as a unifying figure offering peace to Christendom and the prospect of a unified front against the Ottoman Turks.

It has been argued that European writing constructed an image of Turkish 'otherness', which served as a marker of difference and through this process helped define and articulate 'European' or 'western' identity.³⁹ However, the complex multiple contexts of even a comparatively short text such as that of Mayler challenge such a simplistic reading, both on the grounds of 'otherness' and 'identity'. Firstly it is clear that the most demonised figure in Mayler's text is the French king Francis I, followed shortly by the pope. It is true that one of the points through which Francis I is branded is his alliance to the Ottomans. However, the central point stands that 'the Turk' was often not the only figure of 'otherness' available to sixteenth-century Englishmen and this role was often just as ably filled by the French, Spanish, Scots, Irish, Indians or indeed Catholics at a slightly later date. Far from reinforcing a 'European' identity the (plural) models of identity delineated in such texts were often somewhat closer to home. Mayler needed to balance his evangelical commitments with a suitable degree of patriotism and support for the war with France.

In such a context, far from being a simple precursor to a sense of 'European' identity the notion of 'Christendom' is a selective and contested notion. It is selective in that it is flexible enough to exclude Francis I and (for the time being) include Charles V. It is

³⁹ For example, Soykut, *Image of the "Turk" in Italy*; Yapp, 'Europe in the Turkish mirror'.

contested in that it touches at the heart of Reformation controversy, the claim to 'true Christianity' espoused by both sides. By redrawing the boundaries of Christianity to exclude figures such as the pope and the king of France, Mayler's 'Christendom' articulates the rejection of the religious establishment and the claim to purity that lay at the heart of the Reformation. For Mayler, the notion of 'Christendom' is polemical and emphasizes what divides rather than what unifies.

A figure such as Mayler wrote in several overlapping contexts that shaped his representations of the Ottoman Turks, and defined their relationship to the other figures in his text, i.e. Henry VIII, Francis I, Charles V, the Pope/Antichrist and God. Firstly, there is the context of an evangelical writer, attempting to sustain his position in the late years of Henry VIII's reign. Secondly, there is the context of England's relationship to the other major continental powers (and notable lack of relationship to the Ottoman empire), and Henry VIII's international policies. Third, is the role of the 'Turk' as an image deployed within Reformation debates by figures from More to Becon, which provided Mayler with a schema through which to interpret the military and political events he was writing about. Lastly, there is the active role played by the Ottoman empire as a military and political power in the major events of the day in Europe, in this case Valois-Habsburg conflicts in Italy. It should not be forgotten that although writing such as Mayler's was indelibly shaped by the English and continental contexts in which it was enmeshed, it was also prompted by the prominent and active presence and engagement of the Ottoman empire in Europe in the period.

Dimmock has argued that ‘the English war against France, allies of the Ottomans, coupled with the recent Ottoman conquest and annexation of Hungary stimulated a market for material relating to the ‘Turke’ in this period’.⁴⁰ While perfectly plausible in general, the focus on a continental context does not pay enough attention to the English context in which these texts appeared. The texts of the 1540s are particularly interesting in this regard as they were almost all published by a small clique of prominent evangelical printers.

Significant here are two publishing partnerships. The first was Richard Grafton, ‘whose sometime incautious combination of reformist commitment and commercial activity made him one of the most eye-catching evangelicals of the period’,⁴¹ and Edward Whitechurch (who later married the martyred Thomas Cranmer’s widow) who together published Thomas Cromwell’s Mathew Bible and later the Great Bible. The second partnership was that of John Gough and John Mayler, who together published the reformist polemicist, Thomas Becon (often under his pseudonym Theodore Basaille). To these we may add Mathias Crom, an Antwerp printer earlier involved in the printing of Coverdale’s New Testament of 1538. Between them these five men, all with solid evangelical connections, were responsible for the entire extant English publishing output that took the Ottoman Turks as its explicit topic during the 1540s.⁴²

⁴⁰ Dimmock, *New Turkes*, p. 42.

⁴¹ Alec Ryrie, *The gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the early English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 19.

⁴² Edward Walshe, *The Office and Duety in Fightyng for Our Countrey* (London: Johannes Herford, 1545: STC 2500). This text is not discussed in this thesis as Walshe does not explicitly mention the Turks in the body of the text. Walshe only mentions ‘infidels’ once, being more concerned with the pressing matter of scriptural and historical arguments for patriotism.

The specific dates of these works are important. In 1541 Grafton and Gough had both been arrested in the round up of evangelicals following the execution of Grafton's patron, Thomas Cromwell, in 1540, but quickly released again. These arrests led to 'a remarkable if short-lived, strain of moderate reformist printing which cautiously pressed for continued reform while remaining within the law' and it is in this light that these works on the Ottomans (four of which were published in 1542) should be viewed.⁴³ The Ottoman Turks provided a weighty and supposedly secular topic, yet one heavy with connotations relating to earlier religious controversies, allowing evangelical printers of the period to continue producing an evangelically committed output. This strategy was not without risk however, and, although this is difficult to interpret, the number of irregularities in the stated printer, place and author of these texts may well be significant. For instance, *The Order of the Greate Turckes Courte* bears the date 1524 on its title page and the true date 1542 inside. *A Godly Consultation Vnto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon* states 'Printed at Basill: By Radulphe Bonifante' when it was actually printed at Antwerp by Matthias Crom, while *The New Pollecye of Warre* was written by Thomas Becon as 'Theodore Basaille'. More solidly Grafton's position as a leading evangelical figure is reinforced by his subsequent career, as he became King's Printer under Edward VI but lost his press under the subsequent rule of Mary I.⁴⁴ Most significantly, it is notable that not only Grafton and Whitechurch but also Gough and Mayler were arrested and briefly imprisoned in 1543.

⁴³ Ryrie, *The gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 115.

⁴⁴ E.J. Devereux, 'Empty tuns and unfruitful grafts: Richard Grafton's historical publications,' *Sixteenth century journal* vol. 21, no. 12 (1990), p. 1.

Not only the context but the content of these works reveals their evangelical commitments. For example, the preface of Grafton's publication *The Order of the Great Turks Court* (1542) lays the blame for the Turk's depredations on 'our synfull lyuyng and open contempe of Goddes holy woorde' and states his hope that

all other maye be sturred to call vpon our heauenlye father, that he wyll sende hys lyuyng spirite amonge vs, to woorke true faythe and repentaunce in al mennes heartes to rayse vp true preachers of ye kyngdome of Christ, to confonnde [the] Antichrist.⁴⁵

Ryrie goes further in reading the main text's description of the Ottoman court and the inevitability of God's judgement on Islam as 'the standard evangelical diatribe against the papacy, with only the minimal of changes to names'.⁴⁶

However, while these works were clearly published in the context of the religious upheavals of Henry VIII's reign, their genesis was often in continental works. The interplay of contexts which converged in these translations is illustrative of the contested nature of 'Christendom' and 'the Turk' within this period. Such texts and images could easily be appropriated by figures at opposite ends of the spectrum and given new meanings in new contexts. This is most forcefully demonstrated by two translations of Paulo Giovio's *Commentario de la cose de Turchi* (1531) into English.

⁴⁵ Geuffroy, *The Order of the Greate Turckes Courte*, sig *iv^v.

⁴⁶ Ryrie, *The gospel and Henry VIII*, p. 127.

In 1546 Grafton's partner Whitechurch published a translation by Peter Ashton of Paulo Giovio's *Commentario de la cose de Turchi* (1531) as *A Shorte Treatise Vpon the Turkes Chronicles*. This English translation also contained an added epistle which stated the purpose of the text as

to learne their gyle, and policies in awuter we have hereafter to do with them &, also to amend our owen turkische and synfull lyues, seying that God, of his infynite goodnes & loue towarde us, sufferethe the wicked and cursed seed of Hismael to be a scourge to whip us for our synnes, & by this means to cal us home agayne.⁴⁷

This short passage contains several points of interest. The familiar allusions to the 'scourge of God' and 'seed of Ishmael' reinforce the clear reformist agenda represented by the call to 'amend'. The characterisation of our own 'synfull lyues' as 'turkische' is a common feature of 'the Turk' as a rhetorical image in English Reformation debates. However, the stated aim to 'learne their gyle and policies in awter we have hereafter to do with them' is a new departure, implying not only that knowledge of this powerful empire was an end unto itself in 1540s England but also that the notion that England might indeed 'have hereafter to do with them', as the French already did, was not beyond the imagination.

However, while Whitechurch uses this text to articulate his evangelical commitments and link the Ottoman presence in central Europe to the need for religious reform, this agenda

⁴⁷ Giovio (trs. Ashton), *A Shorte Treatise Vpon the Turkes Chronicles*, sig. *vi^v.

is far from Giovio's original context. The *Commentario de la cose de Turchi* was written in the context of Charles V's attempts to organise a crusade in Hungary, with the pope's support, following the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1529. Dedicated to Charles V on 22 January 1531, but probably first published in Rome in 1532 by Giovio's regular publisher Antonio Blado, it was Giovio's 'contribution to the coming crusade'.⁴⁸ To this end a great army was indeed raised and marshalled at Vienna and although, no major engagements were fought, Giovio's narrative of the great crusade filled the thirtieth book of his *Histories*.⁴⁹ Historian, bibliographer, sometime papal courtier and Bishop of Nocera, Giovio was no evangelical reformer. Although his writing occasionally casts papal policy in an unfavourable light he had little sympathy for the Lutherans and their doctrinal innovations. Furthermore, having been personal physician to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (the future pope Clement VII) from 1517 and retaining ambitions to the Bishopric of Como (a position denied to him by Pope Paul III in 1549), Giovio was a figure closely linked to both the papacy and imperial court.

Giovio's crusade exhortation, written to support the papally-endorsed crusade of his patron Charles V, was translated into Latin as *Turcicarum rerum* by Francesco Negri, an Italian Protestant exile living and working in Wittenberg in 1537. This translation was subsequently printed in Antwerp (1538) and Paris (1538, 1539). It was Negri's Latin text which Ashton translated into English, with Whitechurch's epistle, while a German edition (translated by Justus Jonas, 1537) was published with a foreword by Melancthon. Zimmerman characterises this text as Giovio's 'most realistic, least

⁴⁸ T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio* (Princeton, N.J. ; Chichester 1995), p. 121.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125 on 'Historiarum sui temporis libri'.

moralizing, and most informative' text on the Ottomans.⁵⁰ Further, given the place of the 'Turk' as a metaphor in early Reformation debates, as well as the importance of the question of what constituted an appropriate response to the Ottomans, it is not surprising that Giovio's text was translated several times (in addition to the Italian printings of 1532, 1533, 1535, 1538, 1540, 1541 and 1560). However, what is particularly interesting about Whitechurch's translation is the appropriation of Giovio's account of the Ottomans and the changed meaning the translation is given within the confessional context added by Whitechurch's epistle and Melanchthon's prologue. These additions transform this text from a standard crusade exhortation into an evangelical polemic. This foreword is not Melanchthon's only connection to the texts, authors and printers of English *turcica* of the 1540s. Not only did Melanchthon subsequently write a prologue for Bibliander's edition of the Koran, but his open letter to Henry VIII attacking the conservative 'six articles', openly criticising the Tudor regime, had been published in 1540, by Whitechurch's partner Richard Grafton.⁵¹

A Shorte Treatise Vpon the Turkes Chronicles, was not the only contemporary English translation of Giovio's work. Henry Parker, Lord Morley, made a presentation to Henry VIII of his own manuscript translation titled *Commentarys of the Turke* as a New Year gift. The translation is difficult to date. Based upon the titles Morley attributes to Henry VIII, James P. Carley suggests a date between Henry's assumption of the title of Supreme

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 121.

⁵¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer : A Life* (London 1996), p. 281. Grafton's chronicle coined the term 'whip with six strings' later seized upon by Foxe.

Head of the Church of England in 1536, and that of the kingship of Ireland in 1541.⁵²

Morley, a minor figure at court and man of letters, whom David Starkey has described as a 'literary backwoodsman',⁵³ made a habit of dedicating his own translations of books to noble patrons. Carley observes that Morley's 'New Year's gifts ... mirror the complex negotiations between individuals, patrons, and factions which constituted the web of his life and the Tudor world in general'.⁵⁴ Starkey notes that Morley's 'Boleyn connection' (through his daughter, Jane's, marriage to George Boleyn) and habit of 'hobnobbing with Mary' [Tudor] did not prevent his having 'ties with Thomas Cromwell', all of which he managed to balance with an 'over-riding commitment to the king'.⁵⁵ Starkey identifies four general features of Morley's literary output, which neatly contextualise his dedication to Henry VIII. These were: a 'pervasive anti-clericalism', a 'conservative approach to doctrine and ritual', a 'view of the secular power as the bulwark of orthodoxy' (notably against the infringements of the Pope) and a staunch 'English patriotism'.⁵⁶ So Morley was an essentially conservative and orthodox figure, supportive of the king in his assertion of independence from Rome. He was by no means an evangelical or radical doctrinally, and was occupied primarily with balancing his support for the king and his family connections (notably to the Boleyns) in turbulent times.

Morley's flattering dedication to Henry VIII is worth quoting at length.

⁵² James P. Carley, 'The writing of Henry Parker Lord Morley: A bibliographical survey,' in *Triumphs of English: Henry Parker, Lord Morley, translator to the Tudor court*, ed. Marie Axton and James P. Carley (London: 2000), pp. 28, 42

⁵³ David Starkey, "Morley in the Tudor Context," in *Triumphs of English: Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Translator to the Tudor Court*, ed. Marie Axton and James P. Carley (London: 2000), p. 10.

⁵⁴ Carley, "The writing of Henry Parker Lord Morley", p. 30.

⁵⁵ Starkey, "Morley in the Tudor Context," p. 9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

for thys Turk not withoute cause is lyke to that dragon that with hys tayle, as Saincte John wryteth in the Apocalippes, pulleth vnto hym the three partes of... the greate worlde, and by hys so greate power sekythe for noone other thyng but onely to haue the reste and to brynge all the worlde to a monarchy. But with Goddes helpe he shal fayle of his peruers and frowarde wyll, for emongest other moste Christene kynges God hathe electe your moste royal persone, not onely to be victoriouse of your enemyes, but also made youe Defendour of the Feithe.⁵⁷

Morley invokes the apocalyptic Dragon and the spectre of an Ottoman world monarchy at the end of days. However, he does not tie this to a call for general religious reform, as Whitechurch does, or make any implicit critique of the current state of the world, in any case an indiscreet move in a dedication to a king. There is not even an anti-papal tone to this image, in sharp contrast to his seething description of the ‘Babylonicall seate of the Romyshe byshop’,⁵⁸ ‘this seate of Sathan’ and his ‘cursed courte’⁵⁹ in his *Exposition and declaration of the Psalme Deus Ultionum Dominus, made by Syr henry Parker knight, lord Morely, dedicated to the Kynges Highnes* (1539). Although the above passage echoes the *Exposition’s* characterisation of the pope as ‘this babylonical strompette’, ‘this serpent ... which seketh by tyrannous / presumption, to bryng in his subjection, all pryncis of the worlde’,⁶⁰ at no point in the dedication of the *Commentarys of the Turke*

⁵⁷ Giovanni Boccaccio, trs. Henry Parker G. Wright and ed. Herbert G. Wright, *Forty-Six Lives* (London, 1943), appendix A: preface to Parker’s translation of Paulo Giovios *Commentario del cose de Turchi* (BL MS Arundel 8, f.1 a, b), pp. 160-61.

⁵⁸ Marie Axton and James P. Carley eds., *Triumphs of English: Henry Parker, Lord Morley, Translator to the Tudor Court: New Essays in Interpretation* (London 2000), appendix three: *Exposition and declaration of the Psalme Deus Ultionum Dominus, made by Syr henry Parker knight, lord Morely, dedicated to the Kynges Highnes*, pp. 232-40.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

does Morley make the Turk/pope/antichrist connection. Instead Morley indulges in a rather forced pun on the king of France's title 'Most Christian King' (which he later repeats in case it was missed the first time, see below), leading in to a play upon words on Henry's usual appellations 'the most victorious' and 'defender of the faith'. This tone is far distant from the radically evangelical Whitechurch, whose business partner Grafton was an outspoken if occasional critic of the Henrician regime, coining the term 'whip of six strings' to describe Henry's Six Articles, and publishing Melanchthon's attack on that legislation and on Henry in 1540. While Whitechurch's stated purpose in publishing a translation of Giovio's text is to awaken Christians to the need to repent and reform in the face of God's punishment for their sins, Morley's dedication states

I thought itt expedyent to translate thys booke ... that your hyghe wysdome myght counsell with other Christen kynges for remedye agaynste so perlouse an ennemye to oure feythe. And I darre say, so holy, so noble and so gracious a hart haue youe, that yf all the rest wolde folow your holsome ways, all ciuill warres shulde sesse, ande onely they with youe, moste Christen Kyng, as the chef of them all, shulde brynge thys Turke to confusion.⁶¹

Here the notion of a divided Christendom falling prey to the 'Turk' becomes fodder for Morley's anodyne fantasy of Henry's precedence over other kings (especially the French) as a vehicle for Christian unity. However, while Whitechurch's publication utilises Giovio's text for a critical purpose, in contrast to Morley for whom it is simply a vehicle for courtly flattery, the *topoi* they manipulate are related. The similarity does not end with

⁶¹ Boccaccio, *Forty-six lives*, pp. 160-61.

their choice of text, also but includes the use of scriptural schema for understanding both Giovio's text and the Ottoman role in history. For Morley, St John's Dragon and the eschatological expectation of the world monarchy at the end of days figure heavily in his preface, while for Whitechurch the notion of the 'scourge of God', and its biblical precedents in the Assyrians and Babylonians, structure and inform his response to the meaning of Giovio's text and the Ottomans themselves. Although the 'scourge of God' is an image absent from Morley's dedication (perhaps it implied too strong a critique of authority) both authors draw on a recognizable body of scriptural models to understand and respond to Giovio's account of the Ottomans. Furthermore, both authors linger on a divided Christendom and connect 'the Turk' to the end of days although for different audiences in different contexts. Whitechurch's reference is somewhat oblique, placing the rise of the Ottomans following the empires of the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Romans, i.e. the world empires of the prophecy of Daniel (although it is not explicitly referred to), adding urgency to his call for reform.⁶² On the other hand, Morley seems to draw on the notion to add a sense of gravitas to his topic, and flatter Henry's sense of importance. However, while Morley's and Whitechurch's agendas diverged wildly, they spoke the same language, and sought to manipulate a strikingly similar common ground of imagery and ideas. Finally, both authors give a sense that the Ottoman Turks are a matter worthy of consideration either 'in awter we have hereafter to do with them' or, in Morley's case as a matter, quite literally fit for a King. This level of concern stands in total contrast to the complete absence of detailed works on the Ottomans in English before the 1540s.

⁶² Giovio (trs. Ashton), *A Shorte Treatise Vpon the Turkes Chronicles*, sigs. *i^v-*ii^r.

However, it is perhaps the contrasts between the various figures who published Giovio's *Commentario de la cose de Turchi*, or translations thereof, which stand in sharpest relief. Figures as diverse as Giovio himself and Negri, Jonas (with Melanchthon), Whitechurch (with Ashton) and Morley brought to this text their own agendas and purposes as well as fundamentally different understandings of what it meant to publish a text on the Ottomans Turks. While early modern perceptions of the Turks have often been studied on the level of a 'European' literature about the Turks, texts such as Giovio's show how the process of dissemination and translation could radically change the context and indeed meaning of a text: from a crusade exhortation to a vehicle to curry favour at court, a continental Protestant polemic or a moderate evangelical polemic in the delicate context of Henry's reappraisal of reform following Cromwell's fall. Indeed, rather than serving to form, or reinforce, any sense of 'European' identity, these texts often emphasised what was divisive or contested about notions such as 'Christendom'. Indeed notions such as 'Christendom' or 'the Turk' were often deployed in more immediate contexts, supporting more localised identities such as Grafton's beleaguered call for continuing religious reform or Mayler's attempt to negotiate his evangelical commitments within the strictures of Tudor propaganda.

While the texts of the 1540s were published in a loaded context, they were also a major step forward in terms of the level of detail pursued by accounts of the Ottomans in English. However, the scarcity of English accounts of the Ottomans during the reigns of Edward and Mary is indicative of their potentially subversive message. It is also noteworthy that the two most detailed of these texts, the translations of Ramberti and

Giovio, were published by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitechurch (oftentimes partners), as Grafton is known for his publication of historical material and particularly chronicles in his later career.⁶³ Neither *The Order of the Greate Turckes Courte* nor *A Shorte Treatise Vpon the Turkes Chronicles* are chronicles in the strict sense of a chronological narrative of events based on years or reigns of monarchs, structured in a morally edifying narrative demonstrating divine purpose in history and illustrating examples or warnings to the present age. Nonetheless, both were published in the context of the relative popularity of chronicles in the mid sixteenth century, and as such differ substantially in format from later English items of *turcica*.⁶⁴

Ultimately, although the texts of the 1540s are more detailed than what went before, they are isolated examples, produced in specific circumstances with little demonstrable influence on later authors. While Giovio was cited, referred to and emulated by many later English writers, notably Knolles, none refer to either English translation examined above. If an educated English gentleman of the late sixteenth century wished to know of the Ottoman Turks in detail he was still far more likely to turn to the continental, particularly Latin and French, works on the topic of authors such as Busbequius, Barleti and Georgijević. It was not until the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, which saw an unprecedented increase in the number of books in English on the Ottomans that a true English literature on the Ottoman Turks emerges.

⁶³ Devereux, 'Empty tuns and unfruitful grafts', pp. 33-56. makes great play of the notorious unreliability of Grafton's *Chronicles* and the war of words waged by Grafton and his rival chronicle compiler John Stow over plagiarism and the relative merits of their publications.

⁶⁴ D. R. Woolf, 'Genre into artifact: the decline of the English chronicle in the sixteenth century,' *Sixteenth century journal* 19, no. 3 (1988), p. 325. The title of *A Shorte Treatise Vpon the Turkes Chronicles* is interesting in light of similarly named contemporary publications such as *A short cronycle wherein is mencioned all names of all the kings* (London, 1539: STC 9985.5).

The publishing boom of the 1590s

The first period to produce a substantial number of books in English on the Ottoman Turks was the 1590s. The massive increase in this period is evident in the *Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* where printers registered their ownership and right to print copies of books.

Figure 1 shows the number of entries of *turcica* in Arber's *Registers* charted chronologically by decade. For the purposes of this survey 'turcica' includes material relating to the 'Turks' or the Ottoman empire, its history, peoples, lands (during periods under Ottoman rule), ruling dynasty, key figures, major opponents, wars and political, military, natural and supernatural events involving the above. I have also included works on Islam and accounts of Barbary piracy, as they were both strongly associated with 'Turks', as well as accounts of travels to lands under Ottoman rule, and plays directly involving Ottomans or 'Turks'. This survey does not include material relating to pre-Ottoman Islamic history, the crusades, contemporary non-Ottoman Islamic empires, general geographical works and cosmographies, Levant company documents and 'oriental' romances. Further I have not included religious polemic on the grounds that it would be impossible to draw the line between works which mention the 'Turk' and those *about* the 'Turk'. For a full discussion of the sample of this survey see appendix three. Only the first mention in the registers of any one book is recorded, hence 'copies' (i.e. the right to copy) which changed ownership or went through several editions are only included at their first entry.

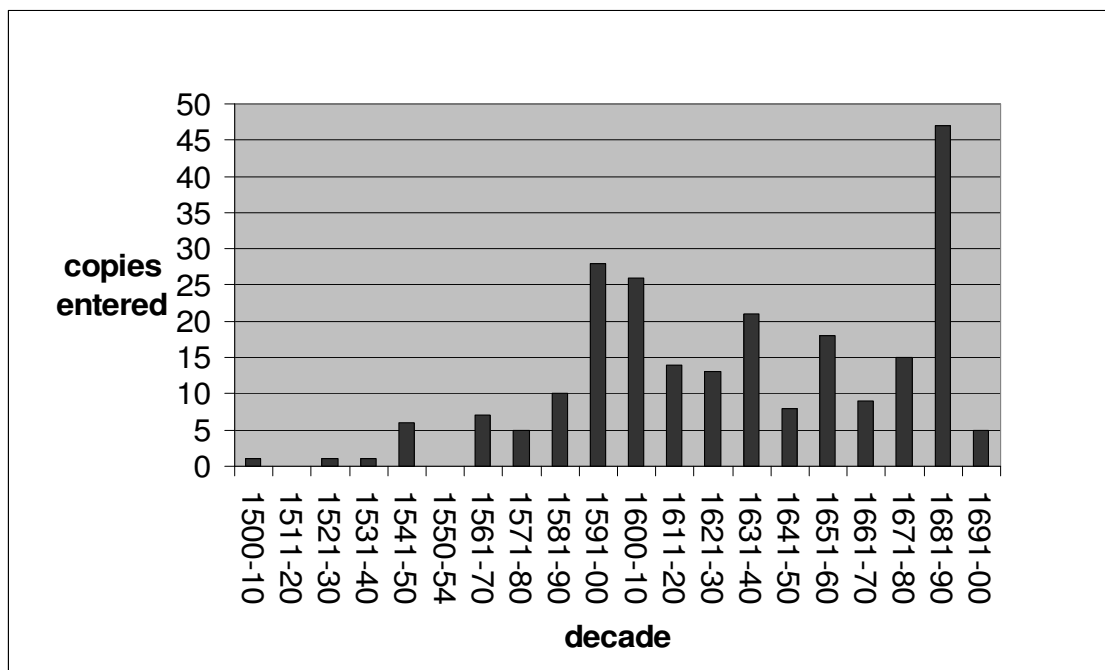


Figure 1: *turcica* entered in the *Registers* by decade

The chart shows a massive boom in English *turcica* registered with the Stationers' Company in the period 1590 to 1610. In contrast to the literature of the 1540s, produced in a short period by a small number of related figures and sharing both contextual and thematic concerns, this later literature of the period 1590 to 1610 is both substantially larger and more diverse. Although I will attempt some general account of the range of material produced in this exceptionally productive period, I will focus largely upon lengthy works, partly because more survive, and partly as their context, authors and patrons are clearer. Before examining possible explanations for the massive increase in English books on the Ottomans in the 1590s it is necessary to make some general comments contrasting the two periods under discussion and specifically on the course of the English Reformation. The printing output of literature on the Ottomans of figures

such as Grafton, Whitechurch, Mayler and Gough is clearly linked to a particular moment, signalled most clearly by the fall of Thomas Cromwell, when Henry VIII sought a more conservative religious settlement and consequently clamped down on Evangelicals notably through the Act of Six Articles. Drawing on the established usage of 'the Turk', and related images such as the 'scourge of God' and 'seed of Ishmael', as literary commonplaces in early Reformation debates, these texts sought to present a moderate reformist agenda. They therefore balanced their evangelical commitments against their changed position in relation to the state, the need to avoid charges of sedition and the desirability of conforming to Tudor propaganda, which also sought to draw on 'the Turk', notably as an excuse for war with France in 1543.

By the late years of Elizabeth I's reign the religious context had changed significantly. Following the upheavals of the brief reigns of Edward VI and Mary I, the Elizabethan religious settlement was embodied in the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy in 1559 and the Thirty Nine Articles passed in convocation in 1563 but not made statutory law till 1571. Initially Elizabeth's bishops, many of them previously Marian exiles, were notably more radical than the somewhat conservative queen, and the church as a whole began to take on a distinctly Calvinist leaning. However, by the late years of her reign, Elizabeth's bishops and notably John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, had become defenders 'of the establishment against criticism from the puritans'.⁶⁵ 'The Elizabethan compromise may have been politic but it created a rift between a conformist and defensive

⁶⁵ William Joseph Sheils, 'Whitgift, John (1530/31?-1604)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29311>, accessed 3 Sept 2009].

establishment and puritan nonconformity'.⁶⁶ Given the importance of the religio-political climate in shaping the literature of the 1540s, several important questions also arise with regard to the last years of the sixteenth century.

Firstly, it should be noted from the outset that while in the 1540s the evangelical reformer was in the minority, by the end of Elizabeth's reign there is a scholarly consensus that England was more or less a Protestant country. Further, from the 1590s the main challenge to, or at least the greatest critique of, the establishment was nonconformist and puritan rather than recusant. These facts prompt several questions. What can be said about the religious orientations of those involved in shaping the key English texts on the Ottomans in this period and how important was this context? How did the authors of this period relate to the kind of representations, particularly of 'Christendom' and the 'scourge of God', so prevalent in the literature of the 1540s, and how did the usage and meaning of such commonplaces change in the later context. Furthermore, given the diversity characteristic of English literature on the Ottomans of the late sixteenth century which other contexts shaped this literature?

English literature on the Ottomans from roughly 1590 to 1610 is extremely diverse in both form and content. It ranges from lengthy chronicle translations and political or geographical treatises (some translated and some, for the first time, English originals) to a wide and diverse selection of pamphlet literature as well as plays and broadsheet ballads. However, the survival of ballads regarding 'the Turk' is low,⁶⁷ while the theatrical end of

⁶⁶ Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation* (London, 2003), p. 117.

⁶⁷ Several non extant ballads are referred to in the *Registers*.

this spectrum has been the subject of a surge of recent scholarly interest, notably from Vitkus, Dimmock and Birchwood (see introduction). This present thesis focuses upon the longer works, primarily chronicles and political or geographical treatises. However, first I shall make some general comments regarding the pamphlet literature of the period.

Although I have taken English works on the Ottomans as my topic, it is not my intention to place a rigid separation between pamphlet literature relating to the Ottoman Turks and the wider pamphlet literature of the late sixteenth century, i.e. the ‘news, propaganda, advice, and descriptions of strange events ... cheap little quartos which littered the bookstalls’.⁶⁸ For example, ballads relating to Barbary captives and pirates (notably the infamous renegades Dansker and Ward) clearly relate to the similar genre of the lives (and just rewards) of rogues and criminals.⁶⁹ Similarly printed prophesies such as the *A newe prophesie seene by the Viceere SINAA bassa at his comminge into Hungarie*⁷⁰ ought to be seen in the context of other populist religious pamphlet literature and printed prophesy of the period. As stated in the introduction, when dealing with *turcica*, one is often faced with the methodological difficulty that works which took the Ottomans as their topic were not a genre unto themselves. Rather, as a pressing and important topic for many late sixteenth-century authors, concern with the Ottomans straddled many genres and contexts. This variety contrasts clearly with works of the 1540s.

⁶⁸ Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill 1935), p. 435.

⁶⁹ *News from the sea of two notorious Pyrats WARD the Englishman and DANSKER the Dutchman* (London, 1609: STC 25022); Barker, Andrew, *A true and certaine report of the beginning, proceedings and now present estate of captain WARD and DANSKER, the two late famous pirates* (London, 1609: STC 1417). See also *The seamans song of Captayne Ward the famous Pirate of the world and Englishman* (1609); *The seamans song of Dansker the Dutchman his robberies and fights at sea* (1609); Arber, *Registers*, III, p. 414.

⁷⁰ Arber, *Registers*, II, p. 652; not extant.

So, while the shorter works of the period contain a preponderance of accounts of military engagements, sieges and the like, this is a period noted for the growth of such literature in general, not merely with regard to the Ottoman Turks, but for example with regard to the French wars of religion.⁷¹ The relationship of pamphlet material on wider topics to that which is specifically concerned with the Ottoman Turks is illustrated in the career of the enigmatic London printer, John Wolfe. Wolfe was a figure key in the development of both the news pamphlet and more substantial literature on the Ottomans, until the mid 1590s when his primary role shifted from printing to publishing.⁷² Originally a member of the Fishmongers Guild, he trained as a printer in Florence and is most noted for the challenges he posed to the Stationers' Company monopoly on assigning the right to print copies. However, following this episode Wolfe not only ceased to challenge the Stationers' Company but became a company official and took an active part in searching out unlicensed printing. Most notably Wolfe was involved in the arrest of the printer Robert Waldegrave, and the destruction of his press, on behalf of Archbishop Whitgift. This occurred during the Martin Marprelate affair, a pamphlet war of words sparked by a series of satirical Presbyterian tracts attacking the Elizabethan church, and particularly church government by Bishops, through parody and irreverence, to which we shall return shortly.⁷³

Handover asserted that Wolfe was 'the father of news publishing',⁷⁴ on the grounds that, while using a newssheet formula introduced by Richard Faques seventy years previously,

⁷¹ P.M Handover, *Printing in London* (London 1960), p. 102. Over 250 such works survive from the period 1590-1610 and the titles of 200 more are known from Arber, *Registers*.

⁷² Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and His Press* (New York 1988).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁷⁴ Handover, *Printing in London*, p. 103.

Wolfe ‘strove to standardise the layout of the title page’ and also to ‘standardise the title itself’ (which Handover argues leads directly to the naming of publications as periodicals).⁷⁵ Regardless of Wolfe’s role in the development of the periodical, Huffman states that he ‘has long been recognised as a major printer of Continental news during the 1580s and 1590s’ and was responsible for roughly half of the pamphlet literature published on the French wars of religion.⁷⁶ Indeed, Huffman’s description of that literature, in which the ‘emotional range is intense but restricted, limited to the threat of danger and the call to action’,⁷⁷ could justifiably be applied to most news items regarding the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The bulk of news items regarding the Ottomans (by Wolfe or others) were translations, often from French or ‘high Dutch’ (i.e. German). However, Wolfe’s role in disseminating continental material in England stretches far beyond news pamphlets. Both Parry, in his detailed study of the historian Richard Knolles, and Huffman, in his examination of Wolfe’s place in Elizabethan literary culture more generally, have identified Wolfe as a key figure in this area. Huffman focuses on Wolfe’s Italian connections and several works he produced in London, both translations and printed in Italian, working with Italian emigrants who had fled the counter-Reformation.⁷⁸ An example pertinent to the study of English literature on the Ottomans is Marcantonio Pigafetta’s *Itinerario di Marcantonio Pigafetta gentil huomo Vicentio* published in London in Italian by Wolfe in 1585. Pigafetta had been a member of an overland embassy which travelled from Vienna

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 104.

⁷⁶ Huffman, *Elizabethan impressions*, p. 69.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

to Constantinople with congratulations from Emperor Maximilian II to Selim II on his accession in 1567.⁷⁹ Sixteen years later, Pigafetta, who still had his notes on the journey, met Richard Hakluyt in Oxford, and it was Hakluyt who turned to Wolfe to publish the account in Italian in 1585.

Parry identified Wolfe's name 'with at least fourteen works, ranging from news-sheets and pamphlets to volumes of considerable size, all of which dealt, either wholly or in part, with Turkish affairs' in the years 1585 to 1601, and contrasted this to 24 additional works he identified produced by other members of the London book trade in the same period.⁸⁰ From this Parry concluded that 'compared with his rivals [Wolfe] "specialised" in the sale of literature on the Ottoman Turks'.⁸¹ Parry also linked Wolfe with the famous Frankfurt book fairs from which he probably imported books on the Ottomans not merely for translation and reprint but also for sale to interested customers. However, Huffman's study of Wolfe's printing output does not single out the *turcica* and instead examines his interests in continental news, geography and travel accounts as well as his talent for exploiting gaps in the market; as Huffman puts it, Wolfe was 'prominently associated with interesting treatments of important contemporary matters'.⁸²

Wolfe's considerable output of *turcica* must be seen in the context of this wider portfolio, as illustrated neatly by Gabriel Harvey's literary essay, *A new letter of notable contents*.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 36.

⁸⁰ Parry, *Knolles*, p. 35 n. 42, p. 42.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.35.

⁸² Huffman, *Elizabethan impressions*, p. 115.

Addressed to his ‘loving friend John Wolfe, printer to the cittie’,⁸³ the essay ends with a ‘sonet Gorgon, or the wonderfull yeare’, which alludes to and enumerates the titles then stocked by Wolfe.

Parma hath kist; De-maine entreats the rodd:

Warre wondereth, Peace and Spaine in Fraunce to see:

Braue Eckenberg, the dowty Bassa Shames:

The Christian Neptune, Turkish Vulcane tames.

Nauarre wooes Roome: Charlmaine gives Guise to the Rhy

*Weepe Powles, thy Tamberlaine Voutsafes to dye*⁸⁴

The protagonists of Harvey’s doggerel feature in Wolfe’s pamphlets. Huffman links the reference to Parma to the pamphlet *The chiefe occurences of both the armies* (1592),⁸⁵ while the reference to De Maine is linked to *A proposition ...propounded to the Duke of Mayenne* (1593).⁸⁶ Similarly, *Articles accorded for the truce generall in France* (1593),⁸⁷ pertains to peace in France and Navarre’s conversion. The rhyming couplet

⁸³ Gabriel Harvey, *A New Letter of Notable Contents: With a Strange Sonnet, Intitled Gorgon* (London 1593: STC 12902), sig. A2^r.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. D3^r.

⁸⁵ Huffman, *Elizabethan impressions*, pp. 120 note 50, 91; *The Chiefe Occurences of Both the Armies, from the Eight of Aprill, Till the Seuenteenth of the Same Month with Other Intelligences Giuen by Credible Letters*, (London 1592: STC 11260).

⁸⁶ *A proposition of the princes, prelates, officers of the Crowne, & others of his Maiesties Councill propounded to the Duke of Mayenne, and other his adherents assembled in the cittie of Paris. With the kings declaration against the sayd assembly and rebells* (London, 1593: STC 11288).

⁸⁷ Huffman, *Elizabethan impressions*, p. 120; Henry IV, *Articles accorded for the truce generall in France* (London, 1593: STC 13117).

Braue Eckenberg, the dowty Bassa Shames:

The Christian Neptune, Turkish Vulcane tames.

relates to the short pamphlet, *A true discourse vvherein is set downe the wonderfull mercy of God, shewed towardes the Christians, on the two and twenty of Iune. 1593 against the Turke, before Syssek in Croatia* (1593). The ‘Powles’ Tammerlaine’ is surely a reference to a Polish military leader successful against the Turks, although as the exact pamphlet remains obscure, this is conjecture.

Thus, news from France and Spain of Henry of Navarre and of Parma sits comfortably alongside references to the Ottomans and their presence in Europe, merely another matter for the perusal of Wolfe’s reading public. So, even if Wolfe did not ‘specialise’ in works on the Ottomans, be they contemporary news or more generalised treatises, they were entirely concomitant with the rest of his printing output. Given the importance of the Ottoman empire in this period it is not particularly surprising that a printer of such cosmopolitan taste as Wolfe numbered a significant output of *turcica* in his stock.

A clear, and radical, religious agenda is discernable in 1540s printing of *turcica*. John Wolfe, however, is a different proposition. Little is known about Wolfe himself or his religious leanings, though certain inferences can be drawn from his output and documents relating to his capacity as a printer. Huffman has attempted to reconstruct an ‘agenda’ from themes common to his output and particularly his relationship with Gabriel Harvey. He concludes that Wolfe was committed to ‘conformity to English laws and the traditions

of the English church'⁸⁸ as well as 'practical compromise as a means of solving religious tensions'⁸⁹ and combined this with a canny ability to sense 'gaps in contemporary knowledge',⁹⁰ which could be filled with translated or foreign language texts. More specifically Wolfe was a notable publisher of anti-Marprelate texts on behalf of the church in the Martin Marprelate controversy. Huffman argues that although Wolfe initially published some of the more hardline anti-Marprelate tracts, such as those of Bancroft, he quickly abandoned this more militant position and favoured the 'cosmopolitan and relativist perspectives'⁹¹ of writers such as Gabriel Harvey and Leonard Wright.

The publication of anti-Marprelate tracts was not Wolfe's only involvement in that affair. The initial reaction of Archbishop Whitgift to the slanderous Marprelate texts was to intervene in the printing trade, using the legal sanctions of the Stationers' Court and Star Chamber, to silence puritan critique of the Elizabethan religious settlement and preserve episcopal dignity. Wolfe acted as executor for Whitgift and was amongst those who searched the house and destroyed the press of arrested printer, Robert Waldegrave (accused of printing the Marprelate tracts), in April 1588. In June 1588, Wolfe was involved in a failed expedition to Kingston seeking the location of other secret puritan presses, which he later reported on to Whitgift. Indeed a later Marprelate tract wished the 'pursuivants, and the Stationers, with the Wolf their beadle, not to be so ready to molest

⁸⁸ Huffman, *Elizabethan impressions*, p. 53.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

honest men'.⁹² Interestingly, this is not Wolfe's only connection to Whitgift as he published several translations, from Italian, by Whitgift's secretary, Abraham Hartwell, who in turn was prompted to these translations by his patron. Thus Wolfe can be clearly linked, through his printing and actions as an official of the Stationers' Company, to establishment figures, notably Whitgift, who sought to defend the Elizabethan religious settlement, and episcopal establishment, from its puritan critics.

In conclusion, while Wolfe printed a substantial number of items of *turcica*, these fitted well into the range of the rest of his printing output. For example, his printing of Pigafetta's account or Hartwell's translation of Minadoi made perfect sense in the context of his large output of both Italian and translated Italian works.⁹³ Similarly the large number of pamphlet *turcica*, identified by Parry, clearly ought to be seen in the context of his role in disseminating continental, and particularly French, news. More generally, his links to Hakluyt and seeming readiness to print works of geography, travel or 'new knowledge' (in the English context) more generally go some distance to explaining his output. In contrast to the printers of the 1540s, for whom one can identify a clear religio-political motive, a figure such as Wolfe is harder to interpret and his *turcica* may simply have been filling a gap in the market. What can be said is that it appears that Wolfe was a religious moderate, in that he can certainly be identified with the printing of religious material which sought compromise and consensus, both in his earlier printing of Italian 'politiques' such as Aurelio and Acontius,⁹⁴ and in his later contributions to the

⁹² Ibid., p. 52.

⁹³ Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi (trs. Abraham Hartwell), *The History of the Vvarres Betveene the Turkes and the Persians* (London, 1595: STC 17943).

⁹⁴ Huffman, *Elizabethan impressions*, p. 22.

Marprelate controversy. More definitely Wolfe can be associated with several establishment figures, most notably Archbishop Whitgift, for whom he operated in seeking out and destroying Robert Waldegraves' press, with Whitgift's secretary Abraham Hartwell whose translations he published repeatedly and with Richard Hakluyt with whom he printed some works.⁹⁵ We shall return shortly to the connections of Whitgift's circle to English literature on the Ottomans in this period.

The 'Long War' and English *turcica*

As previously noted, the 1590s saw a massive surge in the printing of new books in English on the topic of the Ottoman Turks. The simplest explanation for this surge is the inception of the Levant trade in 1580, which undeniably had an enormous long-term impact on this literature. However, in the shorter-term this explanation would be misleading. Of the fifty four records of *turcica* in the *Registers* for 1591 to 1610, twenty two relate either directly to the 'long war' of 1593 to 1606, the state of Hungary, or Ottoman-Habsburg conflict. Furthermore, several works of the period refer to the events in Europe to justify their writing or translation. For example, Ralph Carr presents his *Mahumetane or Turkish history* (1600) as 'telling of an ensewing danger, not much deuided fro[m] our owne doores, when daylie we lamentably see our neighbours houses

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. on Whitgift 36-38, on Hakluyt 40-41; Minadoi (trs. Hartwell), *History of the Warres*; Duarte Lopes (trs. Abraham Hartwell), *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo* (London, 1597: STC 16805); Lazzaro Soranzo (trs. Abraham Hartwell), *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo* (London, 1603: STC 22931); Martha Brossier (trs. Abraham Hartwell), *A True Discourse, Vpon the Matter of Martha Brossier of Romorantin Pretended to Be Possessed by a Deuill* (London, 1599: STC 3841).

not farre of flaming'.⁹⁶ While the anonymous author of *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* (1597) comments

the terrour of their name doth euen now make the kings and Princes of the West,
with the weake and dismembred reliques of their kingdomes and estates, to
tremble and quake through the feare of their victorious forces.⁹⁷

Richard Knolles and Abraham Hartwell are amongst the other contemporary authors who make similar allusions. In contrast to this concern with the continent, only two extant works of this period refer in their introductions or dedications to either trade or diplomacy. The first is *The trauels of certaine Englishmen* (1609), written by former Levant company chaplain William Biddulph and containing an intriguing attempt to assassinate the character of then English ambassador Thomas Glover.⁹⁸ The second is *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600), a translation from Leo Africanus, by Richard Hakluyt's assistant John Pory, which opines

And at this time especially I thought they would prooue the more acceptable: in that the Marocan ambassadour (whose Kings dominions are heere most amplie and particularly described) hath so lately treated with your Honour [Robert Cecil] concerning matters of that estate.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Uberto Foglietta (trs. Ralf Carr), *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie* (London, 1600: STC 17997), sig. B2^v.

⁹⁷ *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1597: STC 24335), sig. Aiii^v.

⁹⁸ MacLean, *Oriental travel*, pp. 51-114; William Biddulph, *The Trauels of Certaine Englishmen* (London 1609: STC 3051).

⁹⁹ Leo Africanus (trs. John Pory), *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (London, 1600: STC 15481), dedication.

However, at this stage, the Levant trade was yet to become the direct stimulus for the volume of English writing on the Ottoman Turks that it became in the first decades of the seventeenth century. While it seems plausible that the burgeoning Levant trade is one explanation for the concurrent boom in English books on the Ottomans this suggestion is difficult to substantiate.

A much clearer trend in learned works is reference to a combination of private study and connections to scholarly patrons such as Archbishop Whitgift or the noted antiquarian Robert Cotton. For example, Hartwell, Whitgift's secretary and also member of William Camden's Society of Antiquaries, dedicated a translation of Lorenzo Soranzo's *L'Ottomanno* to his patron commenting

It pleased your Grace in the beginning of Michaelmas terme last, to demand of me a question touching the Bassaes and Visiers belonging to the Turkish Court, and whether the chiefe Visier were promoted and aduanced to that high & supereminent authority aboue the rest, according to his priority of time and antiquity of his being a Bassa, or according to the good pleasure and election of the Graund Turke himselfe: wherein although I did for the present satisfie your Grace ... by the small skill & knowledge which I haue in those Turkish affaires: yet bethinking my selfe of this Discourse ... I thought it would bee a very acceptable and pleasing matter now to thrust it forth, for the better satisfaction of

your Grace and others, that are desirous to vnderstand the ful truth & estate of that
tirannical Mahameticall Empire.¹⁰⁰

While Knolles states

Moued with the greatnesse and glorie of this so mightie and dreadfull an Empire
... I long since (as many others haue) entered into the heauie consideration
thereof, purposing so to have contented my selfe with a light view ... yet without
purpose euer to have commended the same or any part thereof vnto the
remembrance of posteritie.¹⁰¹

He credits his book to

the encouragement of the right Worshipfull my most especiall friend [and patron]
Sir *Peter Manwood* knight, the first moouer of me to take this great Worke in
hand, and my continuall and onley comfort and helper therein.¹⁰²

Similarly, R.C, author of *The historie of the troubles of Hungarie* (dedicated to Robert
Cecil), states

after I had (for my priuate content) translated some few notes out of this excellent
Historie [of Martin Fumée], I was requested by some of my good friends to take

¹⁰⁰ Soranzo (trs. Hartwell), *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, sigs. ¶2^r-¶3^r.

¹⁰¹ Knolles, *History* (1603), sigs. Av^{r-v}.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, sig. Aiii^r.

further paines in the whole: which I was the rather desirous to performe, as well to satisfie their friendly requests, as also for diuers other respects.¹⁰³

In similar vein, John Pory writes of his translation of Leo Africanus' *Geographical Historie of Africa* that his patron Hakluyt 'was the onely man that mooued me to translate it'.¹⁰⁴

Such comments illustrate two main points. The first is a growing level of interest in the Ottomans both among those with scholarly inclinations and those with the inclination to patronize such scholars. Secondly, these passages reflect the availability of continental writing on the Ottoman Turks in contemporary England. When Hartwell, Knolles, and the 'many others' he mentions, wished to learn of the Ottomans there was a substantial scholarship at hand in Latin, French, Italian, and even German and Dutch (from which many news pamphlets were translated). However, in comparison to this large body of continental writing the number of original English accounts of the Ottoman Turks (scholarly or otherwise) was still small, and so the literature of 1591 to 1610 is still informed and deeply shaped by its continental sources. This goes a long way to explaining the 'European' or rather Christendom-centred viewpoint of many of these books. However, while the literature is still dominated by translated works in the early seventeenth century, original works such as Knolles' *History*, as well as an increasing number of erudite accounts by gentlemen travellers, begin to appear.

¹⁰³ Martin Fumée (trs. R.C), *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie* (London, 1600: STC 11487), sig. A4^r.

¹⁰⁴ Africanus (trs. Pory), *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, dedication.

In sum, the boom in works on the Ottomans around 1600 has no single explanation. Alongside factors such as growth in the volume of books published generally and the burgeoning Levantine trade, the events of the war of 1593 to 1606 led to a surge in publications. It is also clear that there existed a gap in the market, which was exploited by authors, printers and publishers as events made Englishmen more conscious of the Ottomans. While some critics (recently Dimmock, although there is a long pedigree back to Samuel Chew and beyond) have attributed a dip in writing on the Ottomans (see figure 1 above) to James I's much vaunted hostility to the Ottoman Turks,¹⁰⁵ this does not appear particularly convincing. The period following James' coronation in 1603 continued to be very productive in terms of these texts. Indeed, Knolles' *History*, the most important of these works, is dedicated to James I. Further, many of these texts, drawing on European sources, are extremely hostile to the Ottoman Turks as the enemy of Christendom and often call for unity in the face of the Ottomans or a reform of un-Christian behaviour. These were hardly views which conflicted with those of the king. More likely causes of the dip are the peace of Zsitvatorok of 1606, which brought the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1593 to 1606 to an end, a glut in the market brought about by the sudden proliferation of works on this topic and the number of works available to be republished, as popular works such as Knolles' *History* were, repeatedly.

Given this surge, and particularly the appearance of a number of lengthy works in this period, what comments can we make about authors such as Hartwell, Carr, Pory,

¹⁰⁵ On James' hostility to the Ottomans see Chew, *The crescent and the rose*, p. 176; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 199-200; Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp. 143-47. Despite James' well known animosity to the Ottomans, during his reign England became their premier Christian trading partner within Europe (see introduction).

Hakluyt, and Knolles, whether translators or original authors? Further, what can be said about the context in which they wrote and were encouraged to produce texts on the Ottomans by their patrons in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries?

Hartwell is perhaps best known as Archbishop Whitgift's secretary (from 1584) and a translator of several works.¹⁰⁶ Following the Star Chamber decree of 23 June 1586 through which 'power to licence books for publication was vested in the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London',¹⁰⁷ Hartwell was made an ecclesiastical censor in 1588. In effect, this decree placed powers in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to fix the number of printers, through the Stationers' Company, and to determine what could be printed as well as giving them the punitive sanctions of confiscation and destruction of illegal stock and presses. We have seen already how Whitgift used these powers in the Marprelate controversy. In his role as ecclesiastical censor Hartwell granted licences for a number of works on the Ottomans, many of which were produced by Wolfe.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, Hartwell translated two important treatises on the Ottomans from Italian into English: Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi's *Historia della guerra fra Turchi, et Persiana* as *The History of the Warres betweene the Turkes and the Persians* (1595) and *L'Ottomanno di Lazaro Soranzo* (1603) as *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, both also published by Wolfe. In addition to these activities in the book trade, which link Hartwell to a number of items of *turcica* either as a translator, through Wolfe, or as a censor, he

¹⁰⁶ Christina DeCoursey, 'Society of Antiquaries (act. 1586–1607)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2008); online edn [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/72906>, accessed 3 Sept 2009].

¹⁰⁷ Parry, *Knolles*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

had links to several other English scholars with a notable interest in the Ottomans. By 1600 when he gave a paper on epigrams, Hartwell was a member of the Society of Antiquaries, which had been founded by Archbishop Parker in 1572 and which often met at the house of Robert Cotton. In addition to several notable members such as Cotton and Camden, the Society had several interesting connections to the history of English literature on the Ottomans, the foremost of whom was Sir Peter Manwood, one of its members, the patron of England's most prominent historian of the Ottomans, Richard Knolles.

The introductions to the translations of Minadoi and Soranzo's texts link Hartwell to both the scholarly circles orbiting Whitgift and also the Society of Antiquaries (of which Whitgift was the sometime president). As mentioned above, Hartwell was prompted to publish his translation of Soranzo's text by a structural question posed to him on Turkish politics by Whitgift. The earlier dedication of *The History of the Warres betweene the Turkes and the Persians* (also to Whitgift) is strikingly similar, signed 'at Lambeth this new-yeares-day 1595'.¹⁰⁹ Hartwell claims he was prompted to publish by

[T]he graue iudgement of S^r. *Moile Finche* ... who this last Sommer beeing with you at your Maner of *Beakesbourne*, vpon speech then had about the great preparations of the *Turke* agaynst Christendome, and the huge victories that he

¹⁰⁹Minadoi (trs. Hartwell), *History of the Warres Betweene the Turkes and the Persians*. Hartwell's translations of Pigafetta (on the Congo) and Minadoi are signed New Year's Eve and Day respectively, and may have been new year gifts (like Morley's translation of Giovio for Henry VIII).

had atchieued vpon his enemies that sought to weaken him, did verie highly commende this booke, and the Author thereof.¹¹⁰

Again Hartwell mentions discussions of the Ottoman Turks by the scholarly circle surrounding Whitgift as a context for the printing of a lengthy translation of a major text, although in both cases he implies he had already done the translation. In both dedications Hartwell expresses his desire to have added to the text to provide a more satisfactory account of the Ottomans. In *The History of the Warres betweene the Turkes and the Persians* he wished to add ‘certain aduertisementes and collections, as well out of the old auncient writers ... as also out of *Leunclaius* & others, that haue lately written of the moderne and present estate thereof’,¹¹¹ while he wished to append a translation of Achilles Tarducci’s *Il Turco vncible in Hongheria* to *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*. Hartwell’s comment is particularly interesting given R. Carr’s similar stated desire (see below), and indeed the publication of Knolles’ *History* in the same year as Hartwell’s translation of Soranzo, and indicating the ‘gap in the market’ for a lengthy, scholarly treatment of the Ottomans in English, from a contemporary perspective.

While little is known of Hartwell the man, his status as a churchman with Whitgift as a patron and his solidly establishment connections to the Society of Antiquaries, are in sharp contrast to the radical evangelicals of the 1540s. Hartwell’s religious moderation is clear in comments he makes on Soranzo, in his translation of *L’Ottomanno*.

¹¹⁰ Minadoi (trs. Hartwell), *History of the Warres Between the Turkes and the Persians*, sig. A2^v.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, sig. A3^r.

[I]f he haue somewhat trespassed by terms and wordes against the Caluinists, the error will soone be pardoned, if we shall remember that he is but a relator of others opinions & speches, though himself indeed be greatly addicted to the popish religion...¹¹²

This is a fascinating glimpse of the flexibility and moderation still possible in post Reformation England, in the right context. Soranzo's anti-Calvinist stance is 'easily forgiven' in the context of the Ottoman Turk's greater threat to Christendom and is probably not his own opinion anyway, even though he is still a papist. Hartwell goes further, and in summarising Soranzo's argument describes his

[A]dvice giuen by the author to all Christen Princes, how they may co[m]byne & confederate themselues together in this sacred war ... which aduise I wold to God might deeply and soundly sinke into the heartes and mindes of all our western princes...¹¹³

In other words, Soranzo, an anti-Calvinist papist, is calling for a crusade in the most explicit terms possible and Hartwell, the Anglican churchman and secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is praying to God for his success. It is difficult to imagine such forgiving words being spoken by either Hartwell's vocal puritan contemporaries or the feverishly eschatological printers of the 1540s such as Grafton and Whitechurch. For Hartwell the notion of 'the state of Christendome' is inclusive, at least of both Soranzo

¹¹² Soranzo (trs. Hartwell), *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, sig. ¶3^v.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, sig. ¶4^r.

(despite his ‘addiction’) and ‘our western princes’. In contrast and opposition to this, at least rhetorically, unified Christendom, Hartwell states

the Turkes growe so huge and infinite ... [that] I feare greatly that the halfe Moone which now ruleth & raigeth almost ouer all the East, wil grow to the full, and breede such an Inundation as will vtterly drowne al Christendome in the West.¹¹⁴

Several points can be noted here. For the evangelicals of the 1540s the notion of Christendom was a polemical one, primarily a vehicle for exposing its sins and divisions. These were problems with one spiritual solution: reformation of religion. Further, this critical stance could be pushed to divide individual rulers or figures from the body of ‘Christendom’, as in Tudor propaganda and its treatment of Francis I or general evangelical (and indeed many English patriotic) attitudes to the pope. In contrast, Hartwell’s Christendom is ‘inclusive’: unity in the face of ‘the Turk’ is possible and not simply a shibboleth with which to lash out rhetorically at religious and political opponents. Most crucially, for Hartwell and many of his contemporaries, the Reformation, such a defining context for earlier sixteenth-century writers, is barely mentioned. This is partly because for a figure such as Hartwell, the Reformation was essentially a *fait accompli*. His inclusive stance towards the notion of Christendom and his taciturnity with regard to the Reformation reflect his establishment connections in a time characterised by that establishment’s defence of the Elizabethan religious settlement against the contemporary critique of disparate groups gathered (by modern historians)

¹¹⁴ Minadoi (trs. Hartwell), *History of the Warres Betwveene the Turkes and the Persians*, sigs. A3^v-A4^r.

under the umbrella terms of puritan and non-conformist. It is notable that two other figures involved in these translations, i.e. Whitgift and Wolfe, were deeply involved in the response of the Elizabethan religious establishment to its detractors and it is not surprising that Hartwell's translations reflect this context.

Hartwell's texts certainly reflect his social position, the scholarly and patronage circles he moved in and more generally the religious climate of his time. However, they also articulate a more sophisticated approach to the Ottoman Turks. The texts of the 1540s, and more particularly the translator's introductions to those texts, as opposed to the body of translated text, had presented 'the Turk' as an eschatological, almost pantomime, villain. However, by Hartwell's time, 'the Turks' could, at least in scholarly circles, now increasingly be viewed through the lens of sophisticated historical or political treatises, to the extent that the Archbishop of Canterbury could express a detailed interest in the standard pattern of career progression for Turkish grand viziers, and expect an answer from the scholars he patronised.

So far this chapter has examined the surge in English books on the Ottomans in the 1590s, suggested some explanations for this and, primarily through examining the milieu in which Hartwell produced his translations, probed the context from which it emerged. While it is possible to speculate in some detail about the circumstances surrounding Hartwell's translations, the background of many contemporary translators and authors of *turcica* remain a good deal vaguer. Nonetheless it is worth making some general

comments regarding the contemporary literature on the Ottomans, of which Hartwell's translations were a part.

The relationship of dedications to the patronage networks they either drew on or sought to establish, are notoriously hard to interpret or generalise about. For example, *A true discription and breefe discourse, of a most lamentable voyage* (1587)¹¹⁵ by Thomas Saunders may have been dedicated to Sir Julius Caesar in his capacity of 'commissioner for piracy', or because of his reputation as 'a person of prodigious bounty to all of worth or want, so that he might seem almoner-general of the nation'.¹¹⁶ However, with this caveat we shall proceed to examine the dedication of two items of *turcica* each, to Sir Robert Cecil and George Carey, Baron Hunsdon, respectively.

We have already mentioned Pory's *Geographical Historie of Africa* and noted its dedication to Cecil and its reference to the Moroccan embassy which visited England in 1600.¹¹⁷ This translation of Leo Africanus' *Descrizione dell' Affrica* was based on both the Italian and Latin editions but supplemented with various other sources including Hartwell's translation of Pigafetta's work on the Congo.¹¹⁸ Pory had studied cosmography and geography under Hakluyt, and it was to Cecil as Hakluyt's patron that the *Geographical Historie of Africa* was dedicated. In a varied career, Pory went on to

¹¹⁵ Thomas Saunders, *A True Discription and Breefe Discourse, of a Most Lamentable Voiage, Made Latelie to Tripolie in Barbarie* (London 1587: STC 21778).

¹¹⁶ Alain Wijffels, 'Caesar, Sir Julius (bap. 1558, d. 1636)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4328, accessed 3 Sept 2009].

¹¹⁷ N. I. Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, pp. 33-34 on the embassy of 'Hamet Xarife' or 'Abd al-Wahid bin Mas'ood bin Mohammad Annouri' as he is titled in Mulay Ahmed's letter to Elizabeth. Matar uses a portrait of the ambassador for the cover of his book.

¹¹⁸ William Stevens Powell, *John Pory, 1572-1636: the life and letters of a man of many parts. letters and other minor writings* (Chapel Hill, 1977), pp. 12-24; Africanus (trs. Pory), *A Geographical Historie of Africa*.

serve as an MP for Bridgewater in Somerset; to travel extensively, including a three year period (July 1613-January 1617) in Constantinople ‘attached to the embassy of Paul Pindar of the Levant company’;¹¹⁹ and to become involved as a member of the Virginia Company, as well as serving as a prolific ‘intelligencer’ or writer of manuscript news throughout his life. Interestingly he served Robert Cotton in this capacity.¹²⁰

A second item dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil was *The historie of the troubles of Hungarie*, a translation from the French of Martin Fumée, by ‘R.C’. The author compares his work to refugee Hungarian noblemen occasionally seen in England at the time ‘come into our little Iland (it being as it were in the vttermost confines of Europe) in ragged and mournfull habits as a distressed Pilgrime’ imploring that the book ‘shall with like fauour be graced as other distressed strangers are’.¹²¹ The text spends much energy lamenting Hungary’s fate and the ‘abisme of miserie it is fallen [into]’.¹²² ‘R.C.’ also takes a warning tone, suggesting a statutory lesson against treating with the Ottoman Turks ‘which indeede is nothing else, but only for their owne commoditie ... to aduance their intended practices against them: and then adue league and all societie of friendship’,¹²³ an interesting position to adopt a mere twenty years after the safe-conduct for English merchants agreed with the Ottomans in 1580, particularly in a dedication to Cecil, a man with commercial interests in the Mediterranean.

¹¹⁹ Powell, *John Pory*, p. 42

¹²⁰ Ibid., pp. 51-64. on Hungarian refugees see V. J. Parry, "Renaissance Historical Literature in Relation to the near and Middle East (with Special Reference to Paolo Giovio)," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P.M. Holt (London: Oxford Uni Press, 1962), pp. 15-16 note 19, 25.

¹²¹ Fumée (trs. R.C), *The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie*, sig. A3^v.

¹²² Ibid., sig. A4^v.

¹²³ Ibid.

As one of the most important men in Elizabethan England it is not surprising that Robert Cecil attracted a number of book dedications. However, considering England's growing involvement diplomatically in North Africa and the Mediterranean in this period these two dedications of *turcica* to England's leading statesman are interesting. In such a context, material on the Ottomans evidently seemed a pertinent choice of topic to scholars such as Pory or R.C. seeking the patronage of a man such as Cecil. Furthermore, both the above examples illustrate the scope of the Ottoman empire (from North Africa to central Europe) and indicate the range of circumstances in which Englishmen might be led to consider the Ottoman Turks. However, there is also an interesting contrast between these two texts. The publications of the Hakluyt circle are often treated as a literature of Elizabethan geographical expansionism and thus at least tacitly linked to English expansion into the Mediterranean and trading with the Ottomans. In contrast, R.C.'s translation places England firmly in a 'Europe', under attack and threatened from the outside by the advance of Islam despite being on the northern periphery, or as R.C. puts it, 'the vttermost confines'.

A second court figure to whom a brace of *turcica* were dedicated in this period was the second Baron Hunsdon, George Carey.¹²⁴ In 1596, Zachary Jones, 'a member of the Spenser circle'¹²⁵ and a barrister, dedicated *The Historie of George Castriot* to Carey. This was a translation of *Historie de Georges Castriot surname Scanderberg* which was

¹²⁴ Not to be confused with the George Carey of Cockington who served as treasurer at war in Ireland 1599-1606 and Lord deputy of Ireland 1603-1604, had antiquarian interests and knew Camden, Cotton and Bodley (and John Pory); nor with George Carew, Earl of Totnes, son of George Carew, dean of Windsor. See O.D.N.B.

¹²⁵ Franklin B. Williams, 'Spenser, Shakespeare, and Zachary Jones,' *Shakespeare quarterly*, 19, no. 3 (1968), 205-212.

itself a translation of the Albanian Marin Barleti's *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum principis*.¹²⁶ Jones' links to Spenser may explain this dedication, which was printed by Spenser's regular publisher, William Ponsonby, in the same year in which he was called to the bar of Lincoln's Inn. Although Spenser's relationship with the court was occasionally fraught, there is no question that he sought to use publication as a means of accessing courtly patronage circles.¹²⁷ Spenser was related to Carey's wife Elizabeth, a noted literary patron, to whom he dedicated *Muiopotmos* (1590), and addressed the sixteenth dedicatory sonnet of *The Faerie Queene* (1590). In addition, as George Carey's father Henry, first Baron Hunsdon, was the dedicatee of the tenth sonnet, it is clear that Spenser had successfully sought the favour of the Careys as literary patrons. It is likely that Jones, an unknown junior barrister, was attempting to utilise his somewhat tenuous extended social connections through Spenser to the Careys, who were after all noted literary patrons. On 23 July 1596, following his father's death, George Carey succeeded to the former's office of 'captain of the gentlemen pensioners'. Henry had also been lord chamberlain and privy councillor, titles George gained on 14 April 1597.¹²⁸ However, the style of the dedication 'To the Honourable Sir George Carey Knight marshal of her Majesties house', allows us to date the dedication of *The Historie of George Castriot* (1596) to just before his advancement of 23 July 1596. Jones' dedication is therefore an

¹²⁶ Marin Barleti (trs. Jacques de Lavardin and Zachary Jones), *The Historie of George Castriot, Surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie* (London, 1596: STC 15318); Marin Barleti, *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum principis*, (Rome, 1510); Jacques de la Vardin, *Historie de Georges Castriot surname Scanderberg, Roy D'Albanie contenant ses illustres faicles Armes. Et memorables victories a l'etncontre des Turcs, pour la foy de Jesus Christ. Le tout en donze livres par Jaques Delauardin* (Paris, 1576).

¹²⁷ Andrew Hadfield, 'Spenser, Edmund (1552?–1599)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26145, accessed 3 Sept 2009].

¹²⁸ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4649, accessed 3 Sept 2009].

attempt to gain patronage from a nobleman widely expected to gain advancement shortly. Unfortunately for Jones this proved unsuccessful.

A second text dedicated to George Carey is the anonymous *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* (1597).¹²⁹ By then Carey had become ‘Lord Chamberlaine of the Queenes house: Captaine of her Maiesties Gentlemen Pensioners’.¹³⁰ The author’s connection to Carey in this case appears less tenuous, as he implies an existing patronage relationship, referring to the ‘remembrance of your forepassed favours’ and styling himself ‘wholly deuoted to doe you seruice’ as ‘an assured follower of your lordship’.¹³¹ Given Carey’s reputation as a literary patron this suggests a number of possible identities for the anonymous author, and questions the dubious attribution sometimes made to Giles Fletcher. However, the presentation to Carey of a text on the Ottoman Turks appears, from the dedication, to be the author’s initiative, and not prompted by any encouragement or request for a book on the Ottoman Turks on Carey’s part, or indeed any explicit mention of a particular interest in the topic by him.

Policy is particularly interesting as it is not merely a translation of a specific continental work. Although focusing entirely upon ‘the Turkes religion’ it presents itself as ‘onely ... one part of that Policie’, promising that ‘You shal shortly see it seconded with the other part of these discourses: Relating vnto you their manners, life, customes, gouernment, and

¹²⁹ *The Policy of the Turkish Empire*.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. A2^r.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

Discipline'.¹³² These promises were never fulfilled, perhaps because the text was less well received by patron or reading public than the author hoped.

Similar intentions are voiced by R. Carr in the dedication of his *Mahumetane or Turkish historie* (1600), which describes itself as 'my traductions, from the *French, Latin, and Italian tounge*s',¹³³ again translations drawn from several authors rather than a translation of a single text. Tackling the rise of Islam, the rise of the Ottomans and the siege of Malta Carr goes on to add

To this I haue annexed likewise an abstract (borrowed fro[m] the *Italians*) of such causes as are saide to giue greatnesse to the *Turkish Empire* a breuiate onley of a larger worke yet by me vnfinished, deuided into three bookes which by gods grace shal come forth shortly, shadowed with the fauours of you & your brothers names.¹³⁴

Both Carr and the anonymous author of the *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* appear to have dedicated their texts to potential patrons, partly in the hope of gaining support for further, longer projects of a similar nature. Remembering Hartwell's wishes, expressed in both of his translations relating to the Ottomans, we may infer that to these men there appeared a 'gap in the market' for a lengthy English treatment of the Ottoman Turks, one which went beyond the translation of popular continental texts. All the writers discussed so far were minor Elizabethan literary figures who sought to enter or to exploit patronage

¹³² Ibid., sig. A4^r.

¹³³ Foglietta (trs. Carr), *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie*, sig. Aii^r.

¹³⁴ Ibid., sigs. Aiiij^{r-v}.

circles centered on court figures of the kind who could, and indeed did, provide employment for those of scholarly ability. Men such as Hartwell and Hakluyt were able, or perhaps simply fortunate enough, to attract regular patrons who could secure them means of livelihood, in Hartwell's case as a notary public, Whitgift's secretary, censor of the book trade and as MP for East Looe in 1586 and Hindon in 1593. It is clear in Hartwell's case that his scholarly services were a large part of his service to Whitgift, not only his translations but his membership of the Society of Antiquaries, and on a less formal level his availability to answer the Archbishop on scholarly matters, in this case concerning the Ottoman Turks. A figure far less successful in engendering long term patronage, and the financial security it brought, despite the breadth of his scholarly activities is John Pory. Pory's career, spread across teaching, translating, minor diplomatic service, service as an MP, involvement in the Virginia Company and long-term correspondence as a manuscript 'intelligencer', is indicative of the range of avenues open to the jobbing Elizabethan scholar. His translation of Leo Africanus should be viewed in some sense as an attempt to capitalise on his teacher Hakluyt's relationship to his patron Sir Robert Cecil.

The dedications of the learned works on Ottoman Turks examined so far, can be viewed as *paratexts*,¹³⁵ that is texts in and of themselves, reflecting the wider breadth of activity and services (beyond producing books), around which such patronage circles revolved. Some aspects of the breadth of scholarly services, particularly information gathering, offered to noble patrons by similar figures in this period have been examined with regard

¹³⁵ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts : Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1997).

to Gabriel Harvey, Bacon and others by Grafton, Jardine and Sherman.¹³⁶ Jardine and Sherman in particular have suggested that '[b]y the 1590s ... scholarly readers are providing a highly specific (though not yet institutionally regularised) form of private service for politically involved public figures'.¹³⁷ While Jardine and Sherman focus on a particular form of 'knowledge transaction' ('intelligencers') the figures involved and the avenues of employment open to scholars in these contexts are clearly very similar to figures such as Hartwell and Pory. What appears to the modern reader as the fawning tone of these texts reflects either relationships of exchange and expectation 'couched in a coded language of friendship and exchange',¹³⁸ or an attempt (often unsolicited) on the part of the dedicator to instigate such a relationship. Such an attempt can be observed in Zachary Jones' attempts to exploit his links with Spenser to curry favour with George Carey, or R.C.'s topical translation of *The historie of the troubles of Hungarie*, dedicated to Cecil.

The authors of the boom in English literature on the Ottomans which occurred between 1590 and 1610, scholars in the mold of Hartwell, Knolles, Jones, Pory or R.C., stand in sharp contrast to the translator/publishers of the 1540s, with their solid evangelical commitments and their need to balance these against the changing stance at court toward evangelical reform. This disparate collection of minor gentry and scholars sought to ingratiate themselves into, or, in the more successful cases, remain in, patronage circles

¹³⁶ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, "'Studied for Action": how Gabriel Harvey read his Livy,' *Past and Present*, no. 129 (1990), 30-78; Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, 'Pragmatic readers: knowledge transactions and scholarly services in late Elizabethan England,' in *Religion, culture and society in early modern Britain*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge, 1994), 102-24.

¹³⁷ Jardine and Sherman, 'Pragmatic readers', p. 106.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

around the kind of establishment figures who might provide them with employment or even long-term patronage and entry into a patron's household. They produced works on the Ottomans in response to a number of factors including the Levant trade, the war of 1593 to 1606, Ottoman involvement on the continent, and the lack of a sufficient English literature on the Ottomans to satisfy the interest these factors generated. Unlike the polemical texts of the 1540s, these later accounts, for the most part, shied away from the controversial, avoiding any critique even in moderate or general terms of the establishment which they sought to flatter. In general terms, the accounts of the 1540s utilised a polemical model of Christendom to illustrate the need for a Reformation of religion as a solution to the Ottoman threat, portrayed as God's punishment. However, later authors, writing works dedicated to establishment figures in a period characterised by the defence of the Elizabethan religious settlement against the critique of the Puritans and non-conformists, were unwilling to broach difficult and divisive topics such as disagreements in religion and portrayed an inclusive Christendom as a unity juxtaposed against 'the Turk'. While this literature was shaped indelibly by the relationships of patronage, or potential patronage, which I have argued played a large role in bringing it into being and shaping its form, this portrayal is further complicated by England's growing presence in the Mediterranean in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. Alongside this, growing interest in reporting current affairs (or at least 'currant of news' affairs) in an international frame, as well as increased Ottoman activity in central Europe, led to a massive increase in English works published, of which the lengthy historical and geographical works on which we have focussed were an important part.

The body of English works on the Ottomans printed at the turn of the century was much larger, in terms of numbers of works, than that of the 1540s, and also much more diverse in form, content and context. Further, these texts were substantially more complex and sophisticated than what had come before, treating the Ottoman Turks and their history in a much greater level of detail. However, this body of texts was still dominated by translations of continental chronicles. It was not yet shaped to the degree of later literature by the English Levant trade and English encounters with the Ottoman Turks. Further, while the first original English accounts of the Ottoman Turks begin to appear in this period, there were still no major recognised English authorities on the Ottomans. An Englishman writing on the Ottomans in the first few years of the seventeenth century was still far more likely to cite continental sources than the accounts of his countrymen. Therefore, while the turn of the century was a crucial period for the development of English literature on the Ottoman Turks, the development of a 'literature' in the terms stated in the introduction was only beginning. However, the accumulation of works of *turcica* in this period and the appearance of the first widely recognised English 'classic' on the topic of the Ottoman Turks, Knolles' *History*, to which we shall now turn, were key parts of this process.

Chapter 2

RICHARD KNOLLES

The second half of the preceding chapter examined the late sixteenth-century boom in English *turcica* and the figures involved in its production in terms of circles of patronage and the ideological, and religious tensions of late Elizabethan England. Several of the authors discussed so far attempted to suggest a more extensive and ambitious English treatment of the Ottoman Turks to their patrons, or potential patrons. This chapter will consider Richard Knolles, a figure in many ways similar to those already discussed, but crucially one who received from his patrons, Roger and Peter Manwood, the prolonged support and encouragement required to pursue precisely such a project. Knolles' *History* (1603) surpassed previous English accounts, largely translations of continental texts, as it was the first major original English account of the Ottomans. The *History* became the definitive learned English reference on the Ottoman Turks. Thus the *History* marks not only the emergence of major original English works on the Ottomans but also a wider literature drawing increasingly upon English authorities on the Ottomans such as Knolles and English accounts generated by the Levant trade.

Despite its landmark significance, Knolles' *History*, like Knolles himself, was deeply conservative and even somewhat old fashioned. This chapter will begin with Knolles' background, religious convictions and motivations for writing the *History*, before examining the character of the *History* and its relationship to its sources. In particular I will seek literary models for the form and character of this work. Following from this I

will investigate Knolles' understanding of 'History' as an abstract, and contemporary views of the duties of the historian and purpose of the genre of written history. I will then turn to Knolles' appraisal of the Ottoman Turks and analyse the eschatological narrative through which Knolles interpreted their history, and the ideas which shaped his views of their state and system. Next I will contrast the views of the Ottomans presented in Knolles' *History* to those in his *Commonweale*, a translation of Bodin's *Republique*. Finally I will investigate Knolles' development into *the* English authority on the Ottoman Turks through near contemporary views of Knolles and his *History* and relate these to the wider development of an English literature on the Ottoman Turks in this period.

Background

Born in the 1540s, probably in Cold Ashby, Northamptonshire, Richard Knolles entered Lincoln College Oxford around 1560, attained a bachelor of Arts in 1565 and was licensed as a Master of Arts in 1570. College documents suggest he remained there until 1572, and in 1576 he is recorded as returning to the college as a visitor. Following his departure from Oxford, he was appointed as Master of the Free School at Sandwich in Kent, founded by Sir Roger Manwood in 1563. Manwood had also established four scholarships at Lincoln College in 1568, and it may have been through this connection that Manwood met Knolles. Parry mentions a letter by Sir Roger Manwood dated

September 1570 referring to the arrival of a Master named Apeley, and suggest that Knolles appointment was most likely ‘in, or perhaps soon after 1572’.¹

The patronage of the Manwoods provided Knolles with the motivation, means and resources to produce lengthy works of scholarship such as the *History*. The educationalist, Richard Mulcaster, in his *Elementarie* (1581), referred to Roger Manwood as one of the ‘great founders to [sic] learning both within the universities and in the counties about them’.² However, it was under the patronage of Sir Roger’s son, Peter Manwood, that Knolles emerged as an author. Peter Manwood had a reputation not simply as a patron of learned men but also as a scholar and antiquary in his own right.³ Knolles referred to him as ‘a louer and great faouurer of learning’,⁴ while Camden commends Manwood for his sponsorship of letters.⁵ However, Manwood is better known as a patron than scholar. In addition to Knolles’ works, his name is connected to several translated works by the serial translator, Edward Grimeston, and the publication of a manuscript by Sir Roger Williams (see chapter 4). As well as supporting his father’s school at Sandwich, Peter Manwood was a benefactor of both Lincoln College, Oxford and of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.⁶

¹ On Knolles’ biography see Bodin (trs. Knolles; ed. McRae), *Commonweale* (1962); Parry, *Knolles*; Christine Woodhead, ‘Knolles, Richard (late 1540s–1610)’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); online edn. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15752>, accessed 3 Sept 2009]; Christine Woodhead, ‘The history of an historie: Richard Knolles’ *General Historie of the Turkes, 1603–1700*, *Journal of Turkish Studies essays in honour of Barbara Flemming II* (26/II) (2002), 349–57.

² Sybil M. Jack, ‘Manwood, Sir Roger (1524/5–1592)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); online edn [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18014>, accessed 3 Sept 2009].

³ Louis A. Knafla, ‘Manwood, Sir Peter (1571–1625)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Sept 2004); online edn, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18013>, accessed 3 Sept 2009].

⁴ See Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Avi^v; Parry, *Knolles*, p. 6.

⁵ W. Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1607: STC 4508), p. 239.

⁶ Parry, *Knolles*, p. 7.

The Manwoods' enthusiasm for scholarship was doubtless a motivating factor in Knolles' scholarly production. However, it also provided him with the scholarly resources necessary for an undertaking such as the *History*. In 1617 Peter Manwood was listed as one of the surviving members of the, by then defunct, Society of Antiquaries, and he probably knew Archbishop Whitgift personally.⁷ Parry links Manwood's connections to the Society of Antiquaries and prominent members such as Cotton, Camden, the historian John Stow, Hartwell and Whitgift, to the sources which Knolles drew upon to compile his history. He also links the printer John Wolfe to many of Knolles' sources. Certainly, Knolles drew upon Hartwell's translations of both Minadoi and Soranzo and a surviving letter from Knolles to Cotton indicates that his contacts went beyond printed material

Right wor.full and of mee ever to be honored

These are to desire you, nowe at

length to helpe mee to such advertiseme[nts] as you conveniently may, and as you of yo.r courtesie have often tymes put mee in hope of, for the furtherance of the continuation of the Turkish historie. If I have not such helpe as it shall please you to afford mee verie shortly, it wilbe to late for mee to make use of, the worke nowe drawing to an end. I have entreated this bearer the printer to attend yo.r pleasure and leasure herein, unto whom whatsoever you shall deliver will be safely conveyed unto mee: and so by my self returned to yo.r wor. god willing.

And so commending my self w.th my request to yo.r wor. good remembrance, I in all dutifullnes take my leave: ffrom Sandwich the XXII of Januarie 1609.

⁷ On society of Antiquaries see *Archaeologia* I (London, 1770) I, pp. v, xv, xvii, xxi. On Whitgift and Manwood see British Museum Add. Ms 38139, fol. 58r, quoted from Parry, *Knolles*, p. 7 n. 45.

Yo.r wor. ever to be commaunded

Ri: Knolles⁸

Although the letter is dated 1609 and relates to the preparation of the 1610 second edition, Knolles' reference to promises of help which Cotton had 'often tymes put mee in hope of' indicates a certain level of familiarity. Given the Ottoman interests of various figures connected with the Society of Antiquaries, an earlier connection to the Society, Cotton and his collection seems likely.⁹ Further, Parry speculates that Knolles' section on the crusade of the Lord Edward, son of Henry III in 1270, taken from either Walter of Heminburgh or Henry of Knighton (who copied from Hemingburgh) may have been consulted from Cotton's library as neither work was available in print in Knolles' lifetime but both exist as manuscripts in the Cotton collection.¹⁰

Knolles attributes the genesis of his work to private study, but states that he would not have produced a book, never mind one as lengthy as the *History*, without the 'encouragement' and 'comfort' of his patron, Peter Manwood.¹¹ However, given the often troubled terms in which Knolles refers to the 'long and painefull trauell'¹² towards completing his epic work 'written by me in a world of troubles and cares, in a place that afforded no meanes or comfort to proceed in so great a worke'¹³ (i.e. Sandwich Free

⁸ Brit Mus. Cotton MS. Julius C.3 fol. 225, quoted from Parry, *Knolles*, p. 32.

⁹ On the Ottoman interests of the Society of Antiquaries, particularly Hartwell, Finch and Whitgift, see chapter one.

¹⁰ Parry, *Knolles*, p. 32.

¹¹ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Aiii^r.

¹² *Ibid.*, sig. Avi^v.

¹³ *Ibid.*, sig. Avi^v.

School), it seems likely that Manwood applied more than simple ‘encouragement’.

Indeed Knolles’ ‘troubles and cares’ were real enough as a document of 1602 regarding the Sandwich Free School states

as mr. Richard Knolles now master is found not to have intended the same with that diligence as was meet he should, it was by his honour thought convenient, for the better education of the youth of this town, that a more industrious master should be appointed for the said school and that mr. Knolles being dismissed, in respect he was placed there by the late lord chief baron [sir Roger Manwood], founder of the same school, should be allowed a yearly stipend of twelve pounds during his life, upon his quitting the school and school house at michaelmas next, to be paid quarterly by the treasurer of the town.¹⁴

A later document of 1606 states

The annuity granted in 1602 not having been paid, mr. Knolles consents to accept the same, and to depart at michaelmas; it is therefore agreed, that for employing a more industrious schoolmaster hereafter, the said Richard Knolles in respect of his departure, being first placed there by the founder, shall have an annuity of twelve pounds during his natural life out of the treasury of the town, he leaving the school at michaelmas and putting in surety to that effect.¹⁵

¹⁴ Letter quoted from Parry, *Knolles*, p. 3. For full account of Sandwich Free School, see W. Boys, *Collections for a history of Sandwich in Kent* (Canterbury, 1792), pp. 197-276.

¹⁵ Boys, p. 272, quoted from Parry, *Knolles*, p. 4.

Parry suggests that Knolles was only able to remain master of the school between the issuing of these documents because of Manwood's support. He conjectures from Roger Manwood's statutes for the school, which allowed for a stipend in the case of an elderly or sick master, and Knolles' own comments on his ill health in later writings that Knolles may well eventually have left the school through ill health. It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the production of as sizable and impressive a work as the *History* in addition to Knolles' duties as Master was the root cause of the accusations of laxity in his duties.¹⁶

Furthermore, the *History* was not Knolles' only scholarly achievement. He also published a translation of Jean Bodin's sizable *De Republica* (French) and *Republique* (Latin), as *The six bookes of a Commonweale*. This work attempted to synthesise the substantially different Latin and French texts rather than providing a simple translation of either. Finally he produced an English translation of William Camden's *Britannia*, which was never published. Knolles' 'world of troubles and cares' is a sobering reminder that while figures such as Knolles and Hartwell were comparatively successful in attracting and maintaining patronage relationships, which supported both them and their scholarly activities, such relationships also brought a weight of expectation and a corresponding workload.

Manwood's patronage not only enabled Knolles to produce a lengthy treatment of the Ottomans, as his several of his contemporaries notably Hartwell, R. Carr and the

¹⁶ Parry, *Knolles*, p.5. Parry lists these duties as a 6.30 morning prayer followed by classes until eleven and from one until five followed by an evening prayer.

anonymous author of *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* had also sought to do, but pushed Knolles to produce the definitive and extensive work which he did. Yet Manwood's reasons for 'encouraging' the production of such a text remain elusive. He may have been responding to circumstances, notably the inception of the Levant trade in 1580 and the Long War of 1593-1606, which helped to produce the more general surge of English *turcica* at the turn of the century. However, while the Levant trade may have been one of the factors which encouraged Manwood to prompt Knolles to write his history, it evidently was not a factor which Knolles considered as central to his topic. He does not mention the inception of the English Levant trade at any point in his lengthy history, and only mentions English trade in the briefest terms in passing.

While discussing Hartwell I emphasised his scrupulous avoidance of the issue of religious division in his translations of *turcica*, in sharp contrast to the more polemically minded evangelical printers of the 1540s. In particular I asserted that his notion of 'Christendom' was 'inclusive', in that it functioned as a vehicle for rhetorical cohesion, as opposed to the critical views of Grafton and others for whom the notion of 'Christendom' served polemical purposes. In Knolles' writing this tendency is, if anything, more pronounced and noticeable, which is particularly striking as his background implies a familiarity with negotiating the difficulties of religious division. Knolles spent twelve years at Lincoln College, Oxford, a staunchly traditionalist and Catholic institution which underwent a period of disruption following Elizabeth's coronation in 1558.¹⁷ Indeed, 'disruption' is something of an understatement. Hugh Weston, chairman of the commission that tried Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer in 1554,

¹⁷ Bodin (trs. Knolles; ed. McRae), *Commonweale*, p. 53.

was rector of Lincoln from 1539 to 1556 and three of his successors to that office were forced to resign on religious grounds. Following Weston, Lincoln's next rector, Henshaw, was 'ejected by Queen Elizabeth's visitors in 1560' and Anthony Wood suggests that several of the Fellows left with him.¹⁸ His successor, Babington, was 'forced to resign in 1563 under suspicion of Romanist opinions'. Finally, John Brigewater who 'held the Rectorship during the whole period of Knolles' fellowship, was forced to resign it in 1574. He then took refuge on the Continent and became active in the Jesuit cause'.¹⁹ Such Catholic commitments were not limited to the Fellows. McRae reveals that 'of the ten men whom the *Lincoln Register* shows to have been fellows of the college between 1566 and 1570, no fewer than eight ... went abroad in the Catholic cause'. McRae is unable to trace the ninth and the tenth is Knolles. From McRae's research it is striking that 'practically all of Knolles's contemporaries at Lincoln went almost directly from Oxford to the English Roman Catholic College at Douay'.²⁰ Furthermore, it seems that 'several undergraduates who were at Lincoln while Knolles was a fellow also went abroad to be ordained as priests'²¹ and McRae is able to assert that 'it is clear that virtually all of Knolles' contemporaries at Lincoln remained faithful adherents of the old religion'.²² It is abundantly obvious, with the dismissal of rectors, the routine denial of degrees to those whose religious views came under suspicion, and the number of religious exiles emanating from the College, that Knolles spent his formative University years in the midst of religious divisions pushed to the point of crisis.²³

¹⁸ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1691: Wing W3382), Sig. Eee^r, f. 715.

¹⁹ A. Clark, *Lincoln* (London, 1898), pp. 39-40; Bodin (trs. Knolles; ed. McRae), *Commonweale*, p. 53.

²⁰ Bodin (trs. Knolles; ed. McRae), *Commonweale*, p. 53.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²³ Knolles refers to 'my nursing mother house Lincolne College in Oxford': Knolles, *History* (1610), sig. Avi^v.

Interestingly, Knolles was one of the very few Lincoln men to attain a Bachelor of Arts degree in this period.

While Knolles' own religious convictions remain opaque, some interesting inferences may be made. In the first place, Knolles was not denied a degree, nor did he flee to the continent as a religious exile. These two factors suggest that he was not of Roman Catholic sympathies, an assertion proved by his long association with the Manwoods. Jack asserts that Sir Roger Manwood was a 'committed Protestant', as befitted his position as Lord Chief Baron, and his service in 1575 on a commission against Anabaptists,²⁴ while his son Peter has been described as 'anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish and pro-Puritan'.²⁵ Furthermore, Sir Roger Manwood's statutes for the Free School at Sandwich stipulate that the Master should be

by examynacion fownd meete bothe for his learnynge and descreacion of teachinge, as also for his honest conversacion and righte understandinge of Godes trewe religeon nowe sett fourth by publique awthoritie...²⁶

Thus it seems unlikely that Knolles displayed any outward sympathies for the Catholic cause whatsoever, unlike almost all of his Lincoln contemporaries. Yet neither does one find any indication of Puritanism or anti-papal sentiments in Knolles' writing. This is perhaps surprising as not only was discussion of the Ottoman Turks rich with

²⁴ Sybil M. Jack, 'Manwood, Sir Roger (1524/5- 1592)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

²⁵ Louis A. Knafla, 'Manwood, Sir Peter (1571-1625)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Knafla is quoting P. Clark, *English provincial society from the Reformation to the revolution: religion, politics and society in Kent, 1500-1640* (Hassocks, 1977), p. 345.

²⁶ Boys, *Collections for a history of Sandwich in Kent*, p. 223, quoted from Parry, *Knolles*, p. 5.

opportunities to express such sentiments, but so were other topics he covers, notably his lengthy and detailed discussion of the crusades. Consider Knolles' description of the Council of Claremont

Which the Pope perceiuing, tooke thereupon occasion to enter into a large discourse concerning ... the necessitie of so religious a war to be taken in hand, for the deliuerance of their oppressed brethren out of the thraldome of the infidels ... Which notable persuasion, with the heauie complaint of the hermit, and the equitie of the cause, so much mooued the whole counsell and the rest there present, that they all as men inspired with one spirit, declared their consent by their often crying out, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, God willeth it, God willeth it.²⁷

In Knolles' account the first crusade is a 'religious', equitable and necessary war. Indeed, it serves as a model for the united front against the Ottomans he suggests in his introduction. Further, both Pope Urban II and Peter the hermit are heroic figures. There is no trace of either anti-papal sentiment or indeed of Protestant critique of the crusades in this account. This uncritical presentation of the first crusade, and indeed of crusade as an ideal, is perhaps all the more striking given that England had itself been the target of a crusade, the Spanish armada, within Knolles' lifetime. On these sentiments it is hard to picture Knolles as a Protestant extremist.

Knolles' religious conservatism is clear in his attitude to Christendom or 'the Christian commonweale' as he terms it. Despite the manifest religious and political divisions of the

²⁷ Knolles, *History* (1603), p. 14.

world in which Knolles lived this ideal remains unified, although no longer under the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope.

[T]he common state of the Christian Commonweale: whereof even the verie greatest are to account themselues but as the principall members of one and the same bodie, and haue or ought to haue as sharpe a feeling one of [sic] anothers harmes, as hath the head of the wrongs done vnto the feet, or rather as if it were done vnto themselues: in stead of which Christian compassion and vnitie, they haue euer and euen yet at this time are so deuided among themselues with endlesse quarrels, partly for questions of religion (neuer by the sword to bee determined,) partly for matters touching their owne proper state and soueraignetie, and that with such distrust and impacable hatred, that they neuer could as yet (although it haue beene long wished) ioyne their common forces against the commonemie: but turning their weapons one vpon another (the more to bee lamented) haue from time to time weakened themselues, and opened a way for him [the Turk] to deuour them one after another.²⁸

Several points are remarkable in this passage. Firstly, the organic metaphor, of Christendom as a state, despite the divisions which Knolles acknowledges, remains intact (i.e. even if it has always been divided it is still fundamentally ‘the Christian Commonweale’). Secondly, Knolles is remarkably non-partisan, regarding these divisions. Not only does his passing reference to ‘questions of religion’ (one of the very few in his lengthy account) avoid any specific confessional stance, but he also declines to

²⁸ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Aiv^v.

apportion blame for these divisions to any specific party, relegating it to an anonymous third person 'them', although the end of the passage hints that he may have had the Greek Christians in mind.

The defining features of Knolles' writing are its conservatism and respect for traditional figures of authority. While examining the causes of the rise of the Ottoman empire and its expansion at the cost of Christendom, Knolles steers away from criticising the 'counsels of the Great', instead focusing on general causes 'so pregnant and manifest' which 'may therefore without offence of the wiser sort (as I hope) euen in these our nice dayes be lightly touched'.²⁹ McRae makes similar observations on Knolles' character, as they relate to the *Commonweale* and connects them to his education at Lincoln College. McRae notes that 'the medieval curriculum', with its emphasis on Latin and Aristotle, changed as slowly as religious opinion at Lincoln College.³⁰ These intellectual contexts are evident in *Commonweale*, a composite translation from Bodin's Latin and French editions. McRae notes a pattern in the minor changes which Knolles effected in this translation. Alongside some sensible editing of potentially sensitive topics such as Bodin's discussion of female rule, remarks on English national character and controversial episodes of English history (such as the trial of Thomas More), Knolles removes 'some slighting remarks on scholastic arguments and methods' and 'criticisms of Aristotle'.³¹ McRae considers that these instances 'demonstrate Knolles' loyalty to the Aristotelian tradition', adding that the differences between author and translator probably reflect Bodin's time at the Ramist-influenced University of Paris in contrast to Knolles'

²⁹ Ibid., sig. Aiv^v.

³⁰ Bodin (trs. Knolles; ed. McRae), *Commonweale*, p. 54.

³¹ Ibid., p. 41.

time at the solidly traditional Lincoln.³² Indeed McRae goes further adding that ‘Bodin had little respect for authorities, but Knolles was a thoroughgoing traditionalist’.³³ The image of Knolles which emerges from his writing is thus one of a conservative, indeed old fashioned, man, orthodox and respectful of authority, in religion and other matters, who kept his head down in a volatile age.

Knolles the historian and his sources

Knolles’ conservatism also manifests itself in the character and style of the *History*. Fussner identified Knolles’ work as one of a new breed of ‘territorial history’, and asserted that ‘the territorial state, symbolised in its rulers, was the basic unit of Knolles’ study’.³⁴ In some respects this is true; nations, kingdoms, empires, their rulers and wars are the basic building blocks of the episodes of the *History*. However, Knolles’ story also relies upon the conflict of far larger supra-national entities. One of the central themes of the *History* is the tribulations of the divided ‘Christian commonweale’ and its contest with the, by contrast unified, ‘*Islami*, that is to say, men of one mind, or at peace among themselves’.³⁵ Further, although the *History* is organised as a chronicle, organised into chapters based on the lives of individual sultans and detailing events year by year, Knolles’ conception of history is structured by the morally edifying themes of the working of God’s providence through history, the cyclical nature of history and the

³² Ibid., p. 41.

³³ Ibid., p. 42.

³⁴ F. Smith Fussner, *The historical revolution: English historical writing and thought, 1580-1640* (London, 1962), p. 177.

³⁵ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Av^r.

relation of these to biblical history (i.e. scripture, both as history and eschatological precedent). While the detail and scholarship of Knolles' account can be identified with the kind of English historians which Fusser identified as the 'historical revolution', his *History*, structurally and in its attitudes, also borrows liberally from the continental and Greek chronicles which were its major sources.

It seems appropriate to place Knolles, the historian, into what Woolf has characterised as 'the borderland between history and chronicle in Renaissance England [from Vergil to Stow] ... a final humanist-influenced stage in the transition of English historiography from the chronicle into the various forms that developed in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'.³⁶ Woolf characterises these 'borderline' works as more detailed and drawing on a greater variety of sources than earlier chronicles (which often merely replicated their source) but still essentially in the same genre. Such a description might certainly stretch to Knolles. However, Woolf's attribution of a 'dry and abrupt narrative style' would not.³⁷ This is no mere quibble as recent historiographical arguments regarding contemporary definitions such as 'historian', 'antiquary', and indeed 'chronicler', have emphasised the role of eloquence and style as central to the early modern English ideal of the historian.³⁸ This element of Knolles' attitude to history is illustrated by his attitude to 'Turkish' sources, primarily the translations of Leunclavius.³⁹

³⁶ D.R. Woolf, 'Genre into artifact', p. 329.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ D. R. Woolf, 'Erudition and the idea of history in renaissance England,' *Renaissance quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1987), 11-48; D. R. Woolf, *The idea of history in early Stuart England: erudition, ideology, and 'the light of truth' from the accession of James I to the civil war* (Toronto, 1990).

³⁹ Parry, *Knolles*, appendix III pp. 113-118. According to Parry, Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti ...* (Frankfurt, 1588), contains material translated from 'the short form of the chronicle of Muhji ad-Din'. Also, Leunclavius, *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum* (Frankfurt, 1591), contains material taken from diverse translations deriving from Turkish sources, including an Italian

[Y]ea the Turkish Histories and Chronicles themselues (from whom the greatest light for the continuation of the Historie was in reason to haue beene expected) being in the declaration of their owne affaires (according to their barbarous manner) so sparing and short, as that they may of right be accounted rather short rude notes than iust Histories, rather pointing things out, than declaring the same; and that with such obscuritie, by changing the auntient and vsuall names as well of whole kingdomes, countries and prouinces, as of cities, townes, riuers, mountaines, and other places, yea, oftentimes of men themselues, into other strange and barbarous names of their own deusing, in such sort, as might well stay an intentiue reader, and depriue him of the pleasure together with the profit he might otherwise expect by the reading thereof; whereunto to giue order, perspicuitie, and light, would require no small trauell and paine.⁴⁰

The modern reader may smile at the irony of Knolles' exasperation with 'strange and barbarous names of their own deusing', given that he himself intended to write a 'Sarsin Historie', and note that Knolles assumes the fault lies with the 'Turkish' chronicle rather than the translator. However, this passage also reveals much of Knolles' attitudes to the purpose of history and the historian's purpose. These attitudes apply beyond Leunclavius' chronicles, to the 'sea and world of matter' from which Knolles drew his information. Fundamentally, the task of the historian is to bring 'order,

translation of 'the longer form of the chronicle of Muhji ad-Din'; the *Codex Verantianus* possibly deriving from 'the chronicle of Ruhi Edrenevi'; and the *Codex Hanivaldanus* a composite work based upon 'the chronicle of Mehemmed Neshri', a work known as the *Anonymous Giese*, and probably other unidentified Ottoman sources.

⁴⁰ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Av^v.

perspicuitie, and light', and to rescue the reader from 'obscure' and conflicting accounts. As Woolf puts it 'the task facing the Elizabethan author was ... not the discovery of new facts, or the reweaving of the old into new cloth, but the harmonizing of conflicting accounts'.⁴¹ Thus Knolles' task as the first major English historian of the Turks, was not to reassess the Ottomans and their place in history, or to discover new information about them but rather to harmonise existing accounts and points of consensus regarding the Ottomans and shape them into a stylistically coherent account which elevated the topic and gave it meaning through a clear and moralistic framework. In this regard Knolles was singularly successful and it is difficult not to admire the remarkable consistency of style that the *History* displays, even given its length and the diversity of sources from which Knolles drew. Thus Knolles' scorn of the 'Turkish Histories and Chronicles' stems not only from their 'rude' and 'barbarous manner' (i.e. their lack of polished rhetorical style) but also their 'obscure' deviation from the details of his other sources. However, it is Knolles' comment that these accounts are not true histories 'rather pointing things out than declaring the same' that is most revealing. The implication is that Knolles regarded the role of the historian as far more than merely recounting facts, instead resting fundamentally on his ability to harmonise and present these within a wider moral, and indeed scriptural, framework.

The full title of Knolles' *magnus opus* (with a typically early modern disregard for brevity) is *The generall historie of the Turkes: from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. together with the liues and conquests of the Othoman kings and*

⁴¹ Woolf, *The idea of history in early Stuart England*, p. 34.

emperours faithfullie collected out of the best histories, both auncient and moderne, and digested into one continuat historie vntill this present yeare 1603. The first edition (1603) is comprised of three sections. ‘The generall historie’ is only the first book, and short at a mere 128 pages, covering the pre-Ottoman history of the ‘Turks’, the ‘notable expeditions’ being the crusades. The majority of the work, 1024 pages, is the ‘liues and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours’, a reign by reign account of the lives of the sultans, up to 1603. This is followed by a generalised description entitled ‘a brief discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkish empire’ (15 pages). Later editions included continuations bringing the *History* up to the date of publication (see appendix four). The majority of the *History* is therefore organised by the lives of sultans, although by year within these. Each life is prefaced by an engraved portrait of the sultan in question and an epigraphical poem. From the above description it should be clear that the *History* is an extremely long and yet highly structured composition. The question is, where did this structure come from? Was this Knolles’ invention or did he appropriate this model from one of his sources? However, before tackling this question it is necessary to make some generalisations about the nature of Knolles’ sources and his attitude towards them.

Knolles helpfully includes a list containing ‘the names of the Authors whom we especially used in the collecting and writing of the *Historie of the Turkes*’ at the end of his introduction (see appendix five).⁴² These sources are for the most part Latin chronicles. Amongst these chronicles are several translated into Latin from Greek such as those of Laonicus Chalcocondilas, Nicetas Choniates and Nicephorus Gregoras (Knolles,

⁴² For a general treatment of Knolles’ sources, including brief biographical and bibliographical data see Parry, *Knolles*, appendix III, pp. 111-45.

or their translators, Latinise their names) and even some from Turkish, notably from ‘Leunclavius’ (who worked from Italian and Greek manuscripts deriving from Ottoman originals as well as some Ottoman texts).⁴³ The majority are, however, continental chronicles, many of which we have already encountered. In particular, Knolles mentions ‘Paulus Jovius’ (i.e. Giovio), Thomas Minadoi (whom Hartwell had translated into English) and one Henricus Pantaleon. In addition, Knolles mentions some general works, not specifically on the Ottomans, whom he presumably employed for reference. These include the famous geographical works of Abraham Ortelius, Sebastian Münster and the copious historical and geographical writings of Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II) .

It is worth making some general note on the character of these sources and Knolles’ use of them. Firstly, they are textual in nature and continental in origin. While Knolles states his preference for ‘eye witnesses’ in practice he drew his information from books and from learned ones at that. Knolles admired Giovio and his humanist model of history and he comments that he approached his sources ‘as might *Pau. Iouius* from the mouth of *Muleasses* king of Tunes, from *Vastius* the great *Generall*, from *Auria* the prince of Melphis, *Charles* the Emperor his Admiral, and such others’.⁴⁴ However, while Giovio was personally acquainted with these figures, Knolles was merely acquainted with the books of ‘eye witnesses’. Despite Knolles’ pretension to the method of the humanist historian his sources were uniformly secondary in nature. The first edition of the *History* drew entirely upon textual sources and therefore the key contexts which shaped it are

⁴³ Parry indicates that Knolles’ marginal references to Choniates give precise folio references to the pagination of *Historia Rerum in Oriente Gestarum* (Frankfurt, 1587), a chronicle compilation including Latin translations of Zonaras, Choniates, Gregoras and Chalkokondyles. Parry, *Knolles*, pp. 119, 137 n.. 62.

⁴⁴ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Avi^r.

literary. In particular, it is notable that the English Levant trade made no impact upon the text of the first edition of Knolles' *History* (1603). Astonishingly, the inception of the trade is not even mentioned. However, the sections added to the second edition of the *History* (1610) draw on first-hand accounts to a far greater degree (see chapter one) and Knolles alters his introduction's account of his sources adding to the list of authors

[A]s also from the credible and certaine report of some such honourable minded gentlemen of our own country, as haue either for their honours sake serued in these late warres in Hungarie, or vpon some other occasions spent some good time in traueilling into the Turks dominions, but especially into the imperiall citie of Constantinople, the chiefe seat of the Turkish Empire, and place of the Great Turks abode: amongst whom, I cannot but deseruedly remember my kind friend and cousin M. *Roger Howe*, vnto whose discreet and curious obseruations during the time of his late abode at Constantinople, I iustly count my selfe for many things beholden.⁴⁵

The first decades of the seventeenth century saw a dramatic rise in the number of published accounts by gentlemanly travellers to the Levant, figures such as Lithgow (1614), Sandys (1615) and Blount (1636), to whom we shall return in the third chapter. The second edition of the *History* reflects both the growing Levant trade and availability of first-hand English accounts of the Ottomans. For example, Knolles' description of the divan of 'Achmat I' as 'a faire cloister, like vnto the lower part of the Exchange in

⁴⁵ Knolles, *History* (1610), sig. Avi^r.

LONDON' probably reflects Howe's account.⁴⁶ However, as noted, the first edition of 1603 (which provided the bulk of the text for later editions) contains no such sources. Thus, although Knolles came to provide a definitive seventeenth-century English account of the Ottoman Turks it was not based on the accounts of Englishmen, but rather on continental texts.

A further point of interest regarding Knolles' sources is their language. Knolles drew most of his information from Latin sources. However, he not only wrote his *magnus opus* in English but also dedicated sizable amounts of his time to the translation of lengthy Latin works into English, notably Bodin's *Republique* and Camden's *Britannia*. Therefore, while Knolles' works are decisively shaped by Latin scholarship they also made a substantial contribution to contemporary vernacular literature. Knolles' use of Latin texts may well have stemmed from his pedagogical background as both Lincoln College and Manwood's Free School placed a heavy emphasis on Latin, but it also stemmed from his linguistic limitations. McRae has suggested from internal evidence of Knolles' *Commonweale* that his grasp of Greek was poor. Additionally, Knolles was no specialist in 'oriental languages'. Anthony Wood, seemingly drawing on an oral source, commented of Knolles' history 'therein are found divers translations of Arabick Histories, in which Languages he was not at all seen, as some that knew him have averr'd'.⁴⁷ However, more fundamentally, Knolles' choice of sources emphasises the continuing importance of Latin in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, both as a vehicle for the transmission of learned discourse and more widely. Knolles' attitude

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 1298; Parry, *Knolles*, pp. 22, 30.

⁴⁷ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, sig. U2^f. f. 311.

to Latin sources stands out in an intriguing comment contrasting them to vernacular authors.

[Y]ea for these few late yeares I was glad out of the Germane and Italian writers in their owne language to borrow the knowledge of these late affaires as not yet written in Latin, wherein if the reader find not himselfe so fully satisfied as he could desire, I would be glad by him to be better enformed, as being no lesse desirous of others to learne the truth of that I know not.⁴⁸

The formulaic final clause, inviting the reader to correct his potentially incorrect sources strongly implies that Knolles is referring to news pamphlets, which often closed with very similar provisos. However, there is also an implication that if a matter was important enough it would eventually be written in Latin, if perhaps ‘not yet’ in the case of ‘late affaires’. Of course, this passage also suggests that Knolles had at least a working knowledge of ‘Germane’ and Italian (as well as French as we know from his translation of Bodin), although many such accounts were also available translated into English (see chapter one on Wolfe). A further indication of Knolles’ use of news pamphlets comes in his mention of ‘Andreae Strigelii’, a known author of news pamphlets (see appendix five).⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Avi^r.

⁴⁹ See *Historical relacons or a true description of all matters worthie memorie in all Europe and other places adioyninge from the moneth of Aprill until September 1602. Done by Andrew Strigell, Arber, Registers*, III, p. 99. Knolles lists ‘Andrea Strigelius’ as a source: see Knolles, *History*, sig. Avi^v; Parry, *Knolles*, p. 101.

I have argued that Knolles largely relied upon continental Latin chronicles, and that as his sources were almost entirely printed his account is shaped primarily by literary contexts. Now I shall turn to the question of how these sources shaped his account, and in particular the question of whether he modelled his account of the Ottomans upon earlier works and if so which ones.

It has been proposed that Knolles drew upon Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum*, to the point where his history is essentially derivative.⁵⁰ However, even the most cursory examination of the two texts is enough to dispel this notion. Firstly, Boissard's text is a mere 356 pages (in quarto) while Knolles' first edition runs to 1168 (of folio). One might contrast the level of detail in Boissard's three-page long account of the pre Ottoman origins of the Turks to Knolles' 128 pages on the topic. While both Boissard and Knolles organise their accounts around a series of lives, each being a chapter and beginning with an engraving of the personae in question, this similarity is superficial. All of Knolles' chapters take the life of an individual sultan as their topic. Boissard collects a rogue's gallery of sultans, their Christian opponents ('Scanderbergus', 'Ameses Castriota'),⁵¹ other oriental monarchs ('Ismael Sophi', 'Assambegus' and 'Mvleasses'),⁵² diverse other Ottoman figures ('Chairadines Barbarossa' and 'Sinan Bassa'),⁵³ and some related

⁵⁰ This suggestion seems to originate from Sir Sidney Lee's ill informed DNB article which claims 'A long list of Byzantine historians and other authorities is given but Knolles seems largely to have followed Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum*'. More recently this claim surfaced in the work of Brandon Beck. Beck is among the few academics to espouse this notion, but it arises frequently in book catalogues and non specialist sources and thus justifies a brief rebuttal. 'Richard Knolles,' in *Dictionary of National Biography* vol. 31, ed. Sidney Lee (London, 1892), pp.273-274; Brandon H. Beck, *From the rising of the sun: English images of the Ottoman Empire to 1715* (New York, 1987), p. 274.

⁵¹ Jean Boissard, *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum* (Frankfurt, 1596), pp. 72, 79.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 219, 73.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 261, 123.

historical figures ('Teckel Scachocvlis').⁵⁴ The structural similarities between Knolles and Boissard, such as they are, probably arose from both authors' desire to emulate the writing of Paulo Giovio.⁵⁵ Giovio's histories and lives, modelled on classical sources such as Plutarch, helped to stimulate 'a renaissance fashion for anthologies of biographies of the famous',⁵⁶ of which Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum* is an example.

The suggestion of *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum* as a major source for the *History* seems to originate from the fact that many of Lawrence Johnson's engravings, which illustrate Knolles' account, are clearly copied from Theodore De Bry's illustrations for Boissard. These are primarily the illustrations of sultans included at the beginning of each chapter or life, although some other figures are included. However, Astington has shown conclusively that not all of Johnson's engravings are taken from *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum*. Astington asserts that Johnson drew upon Paulo Giovio's *De Rebus et Vitis Imperatorum Turcarum* (also one of De Bry's sources for illustrating *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum*) and also some of Joost Aman's engravings from a chronicle called the *Türkische Chronica* (1577), which Astington mistakenly identifies as by Marin Barletius.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 101.

⁵⁵ Parry, *Knolles*, p. 128. Parry describes Giovio's works, particularly *Historiarum Sui Temporis Libri XLV*, as 'a major foundation' of Knolles' account. Further Paulo Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basilea, 1571) was a major influence on Boissard, and probably also Knolles, being a series of short lives and epigrams, including many Turkish sultans and notable figures in the history of the Ottomans. Knolles borrows some epigraphical poems from this work.

⁵⁶ John H. Astington, 'The "unrecorded portrait" of Edward Alleyn,' *Shakespeare quarterly*, 44, no. 1 (1993), p. 80.

⁵⁷ Müller, *Chronica* (1577); Astington, 'The "unrecorded portrait" of Edward Alleyn', pp. 73-86.

The *Türkische Chronica*, which is also sometimes incorrectly attributed to Giovanni Antonio Menavino, is a chronicle compilation, made up of works by several authors and including Barleti's *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi* and Menavino's *Il costumi et vita Turchi* (Florence 1551). The *Türkische Chronica*, published in Frankfurt 1577 and printed by Georg Raben for Sigmund Feyerabend was translated and compiled by one Heinrich Müller. The confusion caused by the imprecise acknowledgement of authorship in mid sixteenth-century chronicle compilations such as these has played havoc with modern day library catalogues and accounts for Astington's uncharacteristic error in an otherwise excellently researched piece. However, he not only misattributes the authorship of this text to Marin Barletius, but probably narrowly misidentifies Knolles and Johnson's source entirely. Joost Aman's engravings (contained in the *Türkische Chronica*) are indeed Johnson's source, but it is unlikely he found them in the *Türkische Chronica*.

The year following the publication of the *Türkische Chronica* the same Frankfurt publisher, 'Sigismund [sic] Feyerabend', published the *Chronicorum Turcicorum* (1578), a chronicle compilation set into Latin by Phillip Lonicer.⁵⁸ Like the *Türkische Chronica*, the first book of the *Chronicorum Turcicorum* contained Joost Aman's illustrations of the Turkish sultans, which Astington's article refers to as Johnson's source for some of the illustrated plates of the *History*. Lonicer's *Chronicorum Turcicorum* (1578) is essentially

⁵⁸ Lonicer, *Chronicorum* (1578). Attribution of the authorship of the various sections of the *Chronicorum* is confusing. However, the contents page identifies it as 'omnia ex diuersis autoribus collecta, & latine exposita, eodem Lonicerno autore' ('the whole collected from diverse authors and translated into Latin by the author Lonicer').

a Latin version of Müller's *Türkische Chronica* (1577), as is confirmed in Lonicer's introduction which states

Haec in Germanicam lingua ex Italica ante annos aliquot faeliciter transtulit claris vir. Henricus Mullerus Iurisconsultus [this the renowned Henric Müller, lawyer, has last year happily transferred into the German language from Italian]...⁵⁹

While Astington convincingly identifies Joost Aman's engravings on which Johnson drew, Johnson's source for these is likely to have been Lonicer's *Chronicorum Turcicorum*. We can be certain that Knolles drew upon Phillip Lonicer's *Chronicorum Turcicorum* as he not only mentions 'Phillipus Lonicerus' amongst his list of main sources but refers to Lonicer in several marginal annotations, while he makes no mention of Müller (who in any case wrote in German rather than Knolles' preferred Latin). Knolles also includes several other authors from Lonicer's compilation amongst whom are Sabellicus, Fontanus, Chiensis and Barletius (see appendix five). Furthermore Menavino's name, in its Latin form, appears in the text. Knolles refers to 'The former historie as it is reported by Io. Ant. Mænauvinus a Genoway'.⁶⁰ It is possible that Knolles drew on chronicle compilations such as Lonicer's and listed the authors they contained separately as sources, rather than consulting the original printed or manuscript works. This practice would help account for the number of authors Knolles refers to in his

⁵⁹ Lonicer, *Chronicorum*, p. iii.

⁶⁰ Knolles, *History* (1610), p. 501.

History. Certainly Parry regarded Lonicer's compilation as one of Knolles' central sources.⁶¹

The significance of Lonicer as a source for Knolles' account goes far beyond Joost Aman's engravings which Johnson copied for Knolles. The structure of the first tome of Lonicer's chronicle is very similar to that of Knolles' *History*. Each begins with a short account of the origins of the Turks, followed by an account of the crusades, which then leads on to a reign by reign account of the lives of the Ottoman sultans. Indeed, the similarity does not end there. Each individual life begins with an engraving of the sultan in question, underneath which appears an epigraphic poem, drawing together moralistic themes. Furthermore, in the original edition of the *History* (1603) many of these poems are cited as taken from 'Phi Lonicer. Hist. Tur. Li. .I.' (these include Othman, Baiazet, Mahomet I, Amurath II). These similarities are striking. Indeed, so striking that it is almost certain that Knolles copied the structure of Lonicer's chronicle and used it as a model for his own account of the Ottoman Turks.

However, while Lonicer may have provided Knolles with a structure on which to model his account, the contrasts between the *History* and *Chronicorum Turcicorum* are perhaps even more revealing. The first of these contrasts is the level of detail and stylistic assimilation to which Knolles aspires. While Lonicer's lives of the sultans are brief affairs, comprising only the first third of the first of his three tomes, Knolles' lives are exhaustive. Indeed, while the former occupy around eighty pages of folio, the later stretch to around 1120. This length is reflected in Knolles' structure, as the lives of sultans is not

⁶¹ Parry, *Knolles*, pp. 131-32.

the only organisational principle he employs. Within these lives, the account progresses chronologically and each succeeding year is noted in the margins. Lonicer's account is too brief to require such additional organisation and progresses by chronological events rather than explicitly detailing each year. On a more fundamental level however, the greatest contrast between Lonicer's work and Knolles' is that while Lonicer's work remains a somewhat *ad hoc* collection of translated chronicle excerpts (some general accounts and descriptions, some chronological accounts, and some focusing on specific events), several of which overlap, Knolles is much more ambitious. Indeed, although Knolles draws on many such chronicle sources, he assimilates them into one coherent and definitive account: a 'just historie' rather than 'rude notes' in his own nomenclature. Knolles' vision also exceeded that of his contemporaries, Hartwell and Carr. While both Hartwell and Carr stated their intention to write a more extensive account of the Ottomans, they both envisioned appending other translations to the body of their works. The result would have been a compilation similar to Lonicer's. Despite his chronicle style, sources, and loyalty to staunchly traditionalist ideals such as 'the Christian Commonweale', Knolles' account is no longer simply a chronicle or chronicle compilation but aspires to a new style of 'History'.

Knolles drew on a wide variety of sources, with a marked preference for learned, and indeed Latin, accounts. However, he brought these disparate sources together through a structured moralising narrative and consistent rhetorical style. This narrative was not simply textual organisation, but rather central to Knolles' understanding of the role, and indeed duties, of the historian. Knolles presented his audience not with mere fact, but

rather an edifying and coherent narrative which illustrated pressing lessons for the present, but also, more crucially, revealed the moral nature of history. Although, to the modern reader, such a distinction may seem to be primarily stylistic and of secondary importance to the factual information contained in a history, it was key to early modern conceptions of 'History' and helps to account for the contemporary popularity of Knolles' work and the speed with which it became an established English authority on the Ottomans. It is now time to turn to the nature of this narrative, that is to say divine providence, and consider how this shaped and affected Knolles' understandings and representations of the Ottoman Turks.

Rhetoric, 'history' and the Ottomans

The preceding section examined Knolles' source material, its character and his relationship to it. However, Knolles' great achievement was bringing coherence and order to this source material through the use of a grand moralising narrative and steady rhetorical style. By 'rhetoric' I am referring to the language, imagery, allusions and themes through which Knolles structured the episodes of his *History*, and through which he directed his reader to consider the role and meaning of the Ottoman dynasty in 'History'. This rhetoric is nowhere sharper and clearer than the opening paragraph of the 'Authors introduction to the Christian Reader'.

THE long and still declining state of the Christian commonweale, with the vtter ruine and subuersion of the Empire of the East, and many other most glorious kingdomes and prouinces of the Christians; neuer to be sufficiently lamented, might with the due consideration thereof worthily mooue euen a right stonie heart to ruth: but therewith also to call to remembrance the dishonour done vnto the blessed name of our Sauour Christ Iesus, the desolation of his Church here millitant vpon earth, the dreadfull danger daily threatened vnto the poore remainder thereof, the millions of soules cast headlong into eternall destruction, the infinit numbers of wofull Christians (whose grieuous gronings under the heauie yoke of infidelitie, no tongue is able to expresse) with the carelesnesse of the great for the redresse thereof, might giue iust cause vnto any good Christian to sit downe, and with the heauie Prophet to say as he did of Hierusalem: O how hath the Lord darkened the daughter of Sion in his wrath ? and cast downe from heauen vnto the earth the beautie of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his wrath?

lament.

Hieremie, cap. Secundo. ⁶²

This striking passage has several notable features, foremost of which is the biblical quotation with which it ends. This section, printed in plain type against the italics of the rest of the introduction for emphasis, is from the Old Testament book of Lamentations Chapter II. The book of Lamentations, then attributed to the prophet Jeremiah describes

⁶² Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Aiv^r.

the aftermath of the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah by the Babylonians, who took the Israelites into exile and captivity.⁶³ Chapter I describes the desolation of Jerusalem. Chapter II explains these events as God's punishment of a sinful Israel, and presents the Babylonians as the rod of God's wrath.⁶⁴

Knolles' reference to Lamentations is revealing. The above passage does not merely end with a quote from Lamentations but mimics the theme and style of that book throughout. Lamentations is one of the most distinctive books of the Old Testament.⁶⁵ Although, in general, Knolles tends to use sentences of an unwieldy length to a modern eye, this passage seems to push this tendency to its limits and resembles nothing so much as a dense block of printed verse, or indeed a monotonous litany or dirge. This similarity combined with the repetitive dwelling on imagery of loss, despair, desolation, destruction and sorrow and culminating in the explicit reference to Lamentations, suggests that Knolles modelled this entire passage upon Lamentations.

Through his appropriation of this biblical text Knolles is placing his account of the history of the Turks, Ottoman and pre Ottoman, within the frame of Biblical history. The use of Lamentations serves several rhetorical purposes. Firstly, the biblical nation of

⁶³ Neither Jeremiah nor any other author's name is mentioned in the text, thus the authorship is disputed by many modern critics.

⁶⁴ 'I am the man that thorowe the rodde of his wrath have experience of miserie' Lam. III.1. *The Holie Bible conteynng the olde testament and the new* (London, 1568: STC 2099), sig. Si^r.

⁶⁵ Lamentations cantos [chapters] are structured as a series of strophes [stanzas] each consisting of three verses [lines]. The punctuation of Knolles' passage suggests sets of three verses and thus is strikingly similar to the first sub-canto of Lamentations II, consisting of five strophes of three verses each. The effect is that of a litany or dirge. Although Knolles' approximation of the text does not correspond to some of Lamentations' features i.e. it does not mimic the qinah meter and is not acrostic. However, these features were only significant in the original Hebrew, a language which Knolles did not know. Johan Renkema, *Lamentations* (Leuven, 1998), pp. 31-41, 208-9.

Israel is elided with ‘the Christian Commonweale’, in which Knolles includes both Latin and Eastern Christians.⁶⁶ Thus the Babylonian captivity of Israel, which forms the context of Lamentations, although not explicitly mentioned, can be understood as an allegory of the status of Christians suffering under (another eastern monarchy) the Ottoman ‘yoke’. In Lamentations the Babylonians are presented as ‘the rod of God’s wrath’. Knolles’ formulation uses a biblical allegory to suggest that as the Babylonians were God’s chastisement of a sinful ‘Israel’ so the Ottoman Turks fulfil a similar role towards the ‘Christian commonweale’. As we saw in chapter one, this theme, ‘the scourge of God’, was common to religious polemic and early English treatment of the Ottomans. However, Knolles does not use this allegorical schema to push forward an explicit religious polemic or vent anti-papal sentiment. The absence of anti-papal polemic is highly significant given that Luther had preached on the Roman Catholic Church as a ‘Babylonian captivity’, and the notion of a sinful nation of Israel/Christendom punished by God through the Babylonian/Turks seems ready made for such a purpose. That Knolles chose not to follow a polemical line of argument reflects the historical moment at which he wrote, as well as his personally conservative outlook, respect for established authorities, and preference for religious toleration, all of which are evident in both the *History* and *Commonweale*.

The allusion to Lamentations allows Knolles make a clear statement that Ottoman history is to be understood through biblical precepts. Further, it allows him to introduce his

⁶⁶ Knolles follows a long standing tradition of exegesis based on St. Paul’s letter to the Galatians (Gal. III-IV), allegorising the story of the family of Abraham to prove that New Testament Christians are the spiritual heirs of the nation of Israel as God’s chosen people. Katharine Scarfe Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the Islamic world*, p. 96.

theme of history in general as the work of God's providence, where events are structured as a moral drama not merely to be described but also interpreted and understood through biblical allegory. In sixteenth-century texts the introduction served as the most condensed example of the author's rhetoric and may have served as a kind of bookseller's advertisement. That Knolles chose to model the first passage of his introduction on a particularly distinctive passage of the Old Testament represents a highly visible rhetorical strategy, the significance of which would not have been lost on a scripturally literate Reformation audience.

Knolles' framing of Ottoman history within the setting of a wider eschatological meta-narrative of the history of God's church upon the earth is reinforced in his conclusions, which reach forward to the conclusion of biblical history: the end of days. The final paragraph of the lives of the sultans ends

[B]eseeching his omnipotent majestie, for his onely Sonne our Sauour Christ his sake, in mercie to turne the hearts of this mightie and froward [sic] people vnto the knowledge of his Sonne crucified, and the loue of his truth: or otherwise in his justice (for the more manifesting of his glorie) to root out their most bloud-thirstie and wicked empire ... as that the name of *Gog* and *Magog* be no more heard vnder heauen, but that all may be one blessed flocke under one great shepheard Christ Jesus: At the greatnesse of which worke all the world wondering, may with joy sing

*Vnto him in Trinitie, and Trinitie in Vnitie, be all honour and glorie world without
end.*⁶⁷

This passage is full of eschatological references. First, there is the reference to the conversion of the ‘Turks’ (probably referring to Muslims in general), a much prophesied event usually associated with the coming of the end of days. Secondly, Knolles invokes the figures of Gog and Magog. These figures feature not only in the Old Testament prophecies of Ezekiel and the New Testament Revelation, where they signify peoples whose coming and eventual defeat is a sign of the end of days, but also in other non scriptural sources. These include various medieval references to the ‘gates of Alexander’, where Gog and Magog are identified as northern barbarian peoples (sometimes identified as ‘Scythians’) shut off from the civilised world by a wall with iron gates situated in the Caucasus by Alexander the Great, but destined to break through this barrier and eventually be defeated during the end of days.⁶⁸ Finally, Knolles’ references to unity, singing and ‘world without end’ (i.e. the Doxology) invoke the end of days. By couching the conclusion of his history in these terms and projecting the end of the Ottoman dynasty into biblical history, both in terms of prophecy, and the vast related literature of interpretation and apocalyptic tradition surrounding figures and events such as Gog and Magog and the conversion of the Muslims, Knolles brackets the history of the Ottomans within a wider conception of history as the praxis of divine providence, a theme both edifying and familiar to his readers.

⁶⁷ Knolles, *History* (1603), p. ‘153’ [i.e. 1153].

⁶⁸ Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought* (Cambridge, 2008), see appendix 1, pp. 249-56, especially on Caspian Gates, Gog and Magog and medieval adaptations of classical geography as source material for renaissance historical views of the Ottomans.

The conclusion to Knolles' short 'A briefe discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire', which follows the lives of the sultans, serves a similar purpose in framing his discussion of the strength of the Ottoman Empire within a wider (and frankly comforting, given the all too obvious power of the non-Christian Ottomans) narrative of divine history.

It [the Ottoman Empire] must needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it selfe fall, and againe come to nought, no man knowing when or how so great a worke shall be brought to passe, but he in whose deepe counsels all these great reuolutions of empires and kingdomes are from eternitie shut vp ... [w]hiche worke ... in mercie hasten that we with them [here eastern Christians rather than Turks], and they with vs, all as members of one bodie, may continually sing, Vnto him be all honour and praise world without end.⁶⁹

This passage is similar to the conclusion of the lives of sultans in its purpose and significance in that it ends with an allusion to the end of days. However, it also demonstrates a slightly different conception of history, one of cyclical mutability fading into a pattern of divine providence ultimately concluding in apocalyptic terms. This view of history, influenced by both a classical view of historical cycles and biblical notions of history, notably the prophecy of Daniel, whose shadow looms large over many early modern considerations of the Ottomans, was common to Knolles and many of his

⁶⁹ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Gggggii^r.

contemporaries, a good example being Walter Raleigh's *The historie of the vworld*.⁷⁰ A further point of importance regarding this passage is that the eventual fall of the Ottoman Empire is projected forward into biblical history (prophecy and eschatology) and the counsels of God. This is the context for Knolles' preceding comments on the condition of the Ottoman Empire.

Which although it be indeed very strong (for the reasons before alleadged) yet is it by many probably thought to bee now vpon the declining hand, their late emperours in their owne persons farre degenerating from their warlike progenitors, their souldiors generally giuing themselves to vnwonted pleasures, their auntient discipline of warre neglected, their superstition not with so much zeale as of old regarded, and rebellions in diuers parts of his Empire of late strangely raised and mightily supported: all the signes of a declining state...⁷¹

This passage should not necessarily be interpreted as evidence of 'Ottoman decline' as far back as the late sixteenth century. It is worth recalling that this passage is preceded by a detailed section regarding the strength of the empire (the 'reasons before alleadged' which Knolles alludes to). Although the late sixteenth century was undoubtedly a period of transition and crisis for the Ottoman state, and Knolles' reference to 'rebellions in diuers parts of the Empire' is generally accurate, it is worth emphasising that for Knolles and his contemporaries the possible decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire was still largely seen as an eschatological act of God. Indeed, Knolles' work ends emphasising the

⁷⁰ Raleigh, Sir Walter, *The history of the world* (London, 1621: STC 20639).

⁷¹ Knolles, *History* (1603), sigs. Gggggi^v-Gggggii^r.

threat still posed to the whole of the 'Christian Commonweale' 'still in danger to bee by this roaring lyon deuoured'.⁷² In sum, both the introduction and conclusion of the *History* seek to frame Knolles' narrative history of the Ottoman dynasty within a wider conception of biblical history, ultimately destined to end through the fulfilment of Biblical prophecy. His subject is in many ways the progress and tribulation of the Church and ministry of Jesus Christ on earth and its battles with heresy.⁷³ In this framework, Islam, and thus the history of the Ottomans, is viewed as a continuation of this eternal struggle between Church and heresy, faith and the devil. This schema leads Knolles to conflate the end of Ottoman history with the end of history more generally, in the end of days.

The rhetoric of early modern texts was often sharpest in their dedications, epistles, introductions and conclusions. These served as sites of heightened rhetoric in which authors sought to reinforce the authority of their texts or make their mark in the wider world (through dedications). Further, these sections also summarised and, indeed, advertised the text for readers and potential readers, a function also catered to by the long summarising titles of early modern books. Knolles is no exception and these sections serve to map out the grand themes and rhetoric through which he shaped his account of Ottoman history into a moralistic and edifying narrative. However, while Knolles' rhetoric is developed most explicitly in these sections, much of his achievement as a historian rested on the even projection of this rhetoric throughout the work as a whole.

⁷² Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Gggggii^r.

⁷³ 'Christendom' was still overtly identified with the idea of a church or 'the church of Jesus', with all of the institutional implications that carries, in contrast to the notion of Europe, which was much more of an 'identity' than institution.

Knolles' narrative and rhetoric are apparent in the structuring of his lives of the sultans, each of which begins with an engraving and short epigraphic poem summarising the life of the particular sultan. These reiterate Knolles' themes by dwelling on the personal failings of each sultan, the insignificance of their worldly power in relation to God and the inevitable judgement they face as a result of these factors. The *History*, as a whole, describes a string of military campaigns and heroic events, punctuated by speeches by eminent historical figures and enough of a summary of each sultan's personal failings to draw some instructive moral lessons and demonstrate the judgment of the Almighty in their eventual fates. This pattern is illustrated most clearly in Knolles' life of Bayezid I and his epic conflict with 'the great Tartarian prince Tammerlane' (Timur Khan) culminating in defeat at the battle of Ankara in 1402 and his subsequent imprisonment and death. The first edition includes an epigraph taken from 'Phi. Lonicer. Hist. Tur. Li. 1'⁷⁴ included both in the original Latin and English translation.

Prowd *Baiazet* most false of faith, and loathing blessed peace:
 His warlike troupes like lightening, to shake he doth not cease.
 Of HADRINOPE he makes choice, for his imperiall seat,
 That EVROPS kingdomes he might joyne vnto his empire great.
 CONSTANTINOPLE he distrest, twice with straight siege and long:
 And vainly thought to have possest the Graecians wealth by wrong.
 But overcome by *Tamberlane*, fast bound in fetters sure,

⁷⁴ Knolles, *History* (1603), p. 202.

Trod vnder foot, and cloas'd in cage, great shame did there indure.⁷⁵

The emphasis in this passage is not the Ottoman state, or the calamitous results of the battle of Ankara in its history. Rather, the epigraph focuses on Bayezid's personal failings of pride and faithlessness, and his tyrannical rule which vainly sought to possess wealth and land by force and without right. This view of '*Baiasit*, of his violent and fierce nature surnamed *Gilderun*, or Lightening',⁷⁶ continues throughout the chapter which emphasises his supposed desire for violent conquest and disregard for covenants with Christians, in total contrast to the peaceable Prince '*Sigismund* at the same time king of HUNGARIE (a yong prince of great hope)' who was 'a just prince, and wished to liue in quiet with his owne'.⁷⁷ At length 'the tyrant (as should seeme) pretending right vnto whatsoeuer he could by force get'⁷⁸ is humbled for his hubris by the noble 'Tammerlane'.

Godshalk noted that the 'semi-mythical story of 'Tammerlane' and 'Baiazet' appears 'in as many as one hundred Renaissance sources', although he was most interested in Marlowe's famous portrayal first published in 1590 (although the first part is generally accepted as having come into existence by 1588).⁷⁹ While some have attempted to connect Knolles' and Marlowe's portrayals, any evidence for this is at best

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 203.

⁷⁷ Knolles does not mention Sigismund's betrayal of John Huss or Jerome of Prague, which Thomas and Tydeman assert is taken as an explanation for Sigismund's defeat by the Ottomans at Nicopolis by the martyrologist John Foxe (Foxe reverses the actual chronology of events). Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe: the plays and their sources* (London, 1994), p. 78.

⁷⁸ Knolles, *History* (1603), p. 203.

⁷⁹ William Leigh Godshalk, *The Marlovian world picture* (The Hague, 1974), p. 103.

circumstantial.⁸⁰ Knolles' and Marlowe's accounts differ in several points but most notably the issue of Tamerlane's parentage. Marlowe makes him a shepherd, Knolles a noble descendent of 'Zingis' (i.e. Genghis Khan). Further, Knolles does not allude to stage versions at any point, instead noting scornfully 'most Historiographers report him ... to have lived as a poore shepheard or herdsman in the mountaines ... a matter almost incredible'.⁸¹ Indeed, Thomas and Tydeman have commented that the 'chief events and incidents [of the Tamerlane story] ... may have been embedded in the popular consciousness well before'⁸² Marlowe's play. Furthermore, beyond the English context there was already a long succession of European authors who had used the figure of Tamerlane to explore similar themes to Knolles (see introduction). Thomas and Tydeman comment

for Renaissance authors the cataclysmic phenomenon which was Tamburlaine supplied a graphic case-history through which to validate the legitimacy of relentless aspiration, deplore the vagaries of Fortune's favours, or regret the ruthlessness inseparable from outstanding martial prowess.⁸³

Another Renaissance commonplace regarding Tamerlane, which finds its way into the *History*, is the view that Tamerlane's diversion of Bayezid from the conquest of

⁸⁰ Hugh Dick, 'Tamburlaine sources once more,' *Studies in Philology* 46 (1949), 154-66, Dick argues, or rather speculates, that Marlowe knew Roger Manwood and lived in Kent as did Knolles and therefore may possibly have looked at an early manuscript draft of the first chapters of Knolles' history. His theory comes down to the coincidence of two Elizabethan figures writing on Tamerlane and consulting books on this topic in the same locality at the same time, and while possible, cannot be proved.

⁸¹ Knolles, *History* (1603), pp. 211-12.

⁸² Thomas and Tydeman, *Christopher Marlowe*, p. 70.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

Constantinople was ‘an instance of providential intervention’.⁸⁴ Knolles’ ‘Tammerlane’ is best viewed, not in the narrow context of English representations such as Marlowe’s, but in the wider European literature of Chronicles and Lives, which had often used Tamerlane to explore similar themes.

The key element in Knolles’ telling of the Tamerlane story is the relationship of the vagaries of fortune to God’s judgment upon pride, and ultimately the vainglory of worldly things next to the Glory of God. Whichever of the many possible sources from which Knolles drew his depiction, he tailored it to suit his meta-narrative of the working of God’s providence through history by making ‘Tammerlane’ an agent of divine justice. Knolles not only states that Tamerlane was known as ‘*The wrath of God, and Terroure of the World*’⁸⁵ but he puts the following words into his mouth as he imprisons Bayezid in an iron cage: ‘Behold a proud and cruell man, he deserueth to be chastised accordingly, and bee made an example vnto all the proud and cruell of the world’.⁸⁶ Tamerlane does not stop there but parades Bayezid around his kingdom using him as a footstool when mounting his horse and inflicting various other humiliations: ‘all of which *Tamerlane* did, not so much for the hatred of the man, as to manifest the just judgement of God against the arrogant follie of the proud’.⁸⁷ Having lingered on the fall of the proud tyrant for some time, Knolles returns to another of his central themes, the transitory nature of worldly power, commenting sagely, ‘By this one daies event, is plainly to be seen the

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 70-76.

⁸⁵ Knolles, *History* (1603), p. 211

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 220

⁸⁷ Ibid.

uncertantie of worldly things, and what small assurance euen the greatest haue in them'.⁸⁸

The story of Bayezid I and Timur is not merely an episode in the history of the Ottoman dynasty; rather Knolles' rhetoric elevates it into a pithy opportunity to reflect upon his central themes. Similarly, for Knolles, 'History' is not mere events but rather a moral drama whose episodes illustrate the workings of providence, and the task of the historian is to provide his audience with vivid and edifying illustrations of this great truth.

Tyranny and the Ottoman state

Knolles' depiction of Bayezid I as a tyrant is no exception among the lives of the *History*. For example, the epigram preceding the chapter on 'Solyman', which is also taken from Lonicer, emphasises 'Solyman's' ceaseless assault on Christendom, hubris and defencelessness in the face of fate and God's eventual judgement. In contrast to Bayezid, or 'Baiazet', who was almost always portrayed as a tyrant, representations of Suleyman I ('the Magnificent') were often a good deal more ambiguous. While it was not particularly unusual to portray Suleyman as the tyrant, neither were more sympathetic depictions, such as the 'Soliman' included in *The pourtraitures ...of nine moderne worthies of the World*, uncommon.⁸⁹ However, Knolles' 'Solyman' is defined by pride, violence and hubris.

His fathers empire *Solyman* doth rule with mightie power,

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ *The pourtraitures at large of nine moderne worthies of the world* (London, 1622: STC 24602).

And Christian kingdomes ceaseth not with slaughter to deuour.
 The antient RHODES, with NAXOS Isle, and PAROS he did take,
 And on the coasts of ITALIE did wofull hauocke make:
 Faire HVNGARIE with armies great he often did annoy,
 And with a world of men had thought VIENNA to destroy.
 But whilest to SIGETH he laied siege, in hope the same to haue,
 Cut off by death in his great pride, went naked to his graue.⁹⁰

Knolles' characterisation of both Bayezid I and Suleyman I as tyrants reflects his perception of the Ottoman polity as a whole. His understanding of the Ottoman Empire is fundamentally predicated upon his understanding of 'tyranny'. 'Tyranny' was not simply a term of abuse, although it held a definite pejorative meaning. Rather, it was a fundamental category of political description with its roots in a lengthy classical and humanist tradition of defining political legitimacy and models of government. 'Tyranny' stood alongside a vocabulary of terms such as 'monarchy' within this discourse and its meaning was defined against them. Put simply, if 'monarchy' might be ideologically justified on the obedience of the family to the father (in particular Adam as the original father), then 'tyranny' was analogous to the dominance of the master over his slave. This model shapes Knolles' account

The *Othoman* gouernment in this his so great an empire is altogether like the gouernment of the master ouer his slaue; and indeed meere tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is so absolute a lord of all things within the compasse of his empire,

⁹⁰ Knolles, *History* (1603), p. 566.

that all his subjects and people be they neuer so great, doe call themselues his slaues and not his subjects: neither hath any man power ouer himselfe, much lesse is he lord of the house wherein he dwelleth, or of the land which he tilleth ... Neither is any man in that empire so great or yet so farre in fauour with the great Sultan, as that he can assure himselfe of his life, much lesse of his present fortune or state, longer than it pleaseth the Grand Signior...⁹¹

Knolles' depiction of the Ottoman polity is always shaped and defined by his expectations of 'tyranny' as a political category. Knolles broadly describes the *kul*⁹² system of the Ottoman court but extends this into the organising principle of Ottoman society at large. However, while he is ostensibly describing the Ottoman system his account is always recognisable as the 'tyranny' of humanist political discourse. Thus the Ottoman sultan is presented as an extreme example of a ruler with no limitations placed upon his power. The sultan and his ministers are described as 'absolute' and 'arbitrary', the system is based upon violence and rapine instead of law, and fear instead of security. Knolles emphasises the absence of private property as a limitation on the power of the monarch, in contrast to the rights of Englishmen. Although he discusses the Ottoman system in detail and draws upon many contemporary sources, the elements which Knolles

⁹¹ Ibid., sigs. Fffffi^v-Fffffii^r.

⁹² *Kul*: 'In the late fourteenth century, the Ottoman ruling house adapted, perhaps from the Seljuk example, the idea of using captured slaves as the backbone of a new army or janissary corps... The janissary corps was only one component of the *kapikulu* or "slaves of the Porte", which came to encompass also much of the Ottoman bureaucracy. After Mehmed II, most of the highest men of state, including almost every grand vizier from Mehmed II's Mahmud Pasha (r.1453-66) to the Köprülü triumvirate of viziers (r.1656-83) who served under Mehmed IV, were *kuls*. Indeed, by the reign of Mehmed II's great-grandson Süleyman, not only had being a *kul* become a virtual prerequisite to advancement, but also a new social class had emerged around the concept.' Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman empire and early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 65.

identifies as characteristic features are familiar from humanist debates about political legitimacy.

Much humanist political rhetoric assumed that by definition the rule of the just and legitimate monarch encouraged virtue and prosperity within his kingdom. By contrast the ‘Tyrant’ who rules by violence and fear debases both the subject population and the kingdom itself. Knolles’ view of the Ottoman polity and particularly the institutions of *kul* and *devşirme*⁹³ are underpinned by this assumption.

In which so absolute a soueraigntie (by any free borne people not to be endured) the tyrant preserueth himselfe by two most especiall meanes: first by the taking of all arms from his naturall subjects; and then by putting the same and all things els concerning the state and the gouernment thereof into the hands of the Apostata or renegate Christians, whom for most part euey third, fourth or fift year (or oftener if his need so require) he taketh in their childhood from their miserable parents, as his tenths or tribute children.⁹⁴

The system is predicated upon slavery, and a corrupting of the ‘natural’ order of ruler and subject. The ‘natural Turks’ are made servile by the sultan who denies them their natural rights such as property and the practice of arms. Furthermore, the perceived reliance on the *devşirme*, which so scandalised Knolles and his European contemporaries, denies the ‘natural turks’ positions of authority, opportunities to advance and the incentive to

⁹³ *Devşirme*: Ottoman institution by which usually Christian boys were ‘tithed’ into service. Ibid., p. 236.

⁹⁴ Knolles, *History*, sig. Fffffi^r.

perform worthy actions. Again, although Knolles ostensibly describes an Ottoman institution it is clear that his description of both the system and its consequences are shaped fundamentally by his notion of ‘tyranny’. Similarly, the lack of property rights and the insecurity of ‘fortune’ in the empire disinclines men from tilling the land and being industrious in the mercantile sphere.

[T]he subjects despairing to enjoy the fruits of the earth, much lesse the riches which by their industrie and labour they might get vnto themselues, doe now no further endeouour themselues either to husbandrie or traffique ... For to what end auaieth it to sow that another man must reape? or to reape that which another man is readie to deuour? Whereupon it commeth that in the territories of the *Othoman* empire ... are seene great forrests, all euery where wast, few cities well peopled, and the greatest part of those countries lying desolate and desert ... As for the trade of merchandise, it is almost all in the hands of Iewes, or the Christians of EVROPE, viz. the Ragusians, Venetians, Genowaies, French, or English [one of Knolles’ only references to the English trade].⁹⁵

While a just rule encourages virtue and prosperity, ‘tyranny’ leads to wrack and ruin debasing the land, the people, and even virtue in war or ‘industrie’. The victims of this particular ‘tyranny’ are above all the ‘Greeks’ and ‘natural Turks’ who have suffered under its yoke, and whose lack of industry Knolles contrasts to the Jews and ‘Christians of Europe’.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

Knolles' description of Ottoman 'tyranny' has similarities to the theories of 'oriental despotism' which became overwhelmingly prevalent in the eighteenth century.⁹⁶ Specifically, slavery is propounded as a model for understanding the state, the ruler's power is viewed as unlimited and absolute and population is viewed as fundamentally servile. Further, the Ottoman system is contrasted to more legitimate (English) forms of monarchy and Knolles dwells on the disastrous consequences of this model of governance for the country and populace in both economic and moral terms. The implication that the Ottomans are systematically incapable of good governance is particularly reminiscent of later eighteenth and nineteenth-century writing. However, unlike later theories of 'oriental despotism', most famously propounded by Montesquieu, this analysis is not generalised to all 'oriental' nations; neither is it given a systematic cause such as climate.⁹⁷ Knolles' perception of the excesses of Ottoman absolutism is specific to the 'Turks' whose 'cheerefull and almost incredible obedience vnto their princes and Sultans; [is] such, as in that point no nation in the world was to be worthily compared vnto them',⁹⁸ and not analogous to or emblematic of all 'oriental' government. Although other 'oriental' figures are given similar attributes this attribution is not systematic. Tamerlane is depicted wielding excessively harsh justice, ruthlessness and total authority but this does not make him a 'Tyrant'; on the contrary he is portrayed as just. For Knolles the 'tyranny' of the Ottomans is a function of their method of

⁹⁶ Çırakman, *From the "Terror of the World" to the "Sick Man of Europe"*, pp. 4-5; McCabe, *Orientalism in early modern France*, p. 59. McCabe insists upon discussing Jean Bodin in terms of 'oriental despotism' on the grounds that his category of 'Seigniorial Monarchy' was 'translated into English as despotic'. However, neither Bodin, nor his near contemporary English translator, Knolles, uses the term 'despotism'. This has a severe distorting effect on McCabe's understanding of Bodin. Valensi notes 'The words *despote*, *despotique* and *despotisme* appeared in a French dictionary for the first time in 1720' and dates the 'concept of despotism' to the late seventeenth century. Valensi, *The birth of the despot*, p. 2.

⁹⁷ Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (trs. Nugent), *The Spirit of Laws* (London, 1750), first published in French in 1748.

⁹⁸ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Av^r.

government, rather than a result of their being an oriental state. Similarly the ‘natural Turks’ are servile because they have been subjected to ‘tyranny’, not simply because that is the natural state of ‘eastern’ peoples or those living in a hot climate. Unlike the later eighteenth-century notion of ‘oriental despotism’ there was nothing fundamentally ‘eastern’ about ‘tyranny’ as a political category. While English accounts of the seventeenth century often presented the Ottomans as the very axiom of ‘tyranny’, the category might as easily be applied in a European context.

Several modern scholars have examined the roots of the eighteenth-century notion of ‘oriental despotism’ and its relationship to earlier accounts of the Ottomans. Çırakman argues that sixteenth and seventeenth century European accounts of the Ottomans were characterised by their diversity and ambiguity. She contrasts this to the ‘uniformity’ of the eighteenth century when ‘despotism as an essentially eastern form of regime’ became an accepted category of political description (in particular she discusses Montesquieu and Boulanger).⁹⁹ Valensi’s more nuanced account examines the emergence of ‘despotism’ as a term for describing Ottoman governance within Venetian *relazione* accounts. She describes a shift from the portrayal of the Ottoman state as a rival but legitimate power to a ‘Tyrannical’ or ‘despotic’ (and therefore illegitimate) one in the late sixteenth century. Valensi links this to contemporary political instability within the Ottoman Empire but also, and more significantly, to the resurgent assertion of Venetian republicanism against other several states defined as ‘Tyrannical’, most notably Florence.¹⁰⁰ The meaning of ‘tyranny’ in these *relazione*, therefore, has a clear Venetian context. Beyond this

⁹⁹Çırakman, *From the "Terror of the World" to the "Sick Man of Europe"*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰⁰Valensi, *The birth of the despot*, p. 91. Nations described as tyrannical by Venetian *relazione* include England under Cromwell.

Venetian context, ‘the invention of the abstract category of despotism will not occur until the end of the seventeenth century’.¹⁰¹ The notion of a specifically ‘oriental despotism’ is an eighteenth-century phenomenon. However, from the late sixteenth century the notion of ‘tyranny’ cropped up with increasing frequency in European political discourse (beyond descriptions of the Ottomans), and eventually became ‘synonymous and interchangeable’ with despotism.¹⁰² Thus, although both Çırakman and Valensi argue for a clear separation between portrayals of the Ottoman state as a ‘tyranny’ and ‘oriental despotism’, the former is certainly part of the intellectual context of the development of the latter. To return to Knolles, while it is clear that he viewed the Ottoman dynasty as ‘Tyrannical’, it would be a mistake to elide his portrayal with more systematic later accounts as part of an unbroken lineage of ‘oriental despotism’.

Knolles is far from consistent in his portrayal and condemnation of Turkish monarchy and his introduction also discusses many positive attributes which contributed to the Ottoman Turks’ meteoric rise to greatness, including

the two strongest sinewes of euery well gouerned commonweale, Reward propounded to the good, and Punishment threatened vnto the offendor; where the prize is for vertue and valour set vp, and the way laied open for euery common person, be he neuer so meanelly borne...¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Av^r.

This degree of ambivalence towards Ottoman governance, praising its meritocracy as a means of encouraging its subjects to great deeds in the introduction, castigating its tyranny and the lack of security it grants its subjects for discouraging the same in the conclusion, is not as confusing as it may seem. The easy sense of superiority articulated later through the paradigm of ‘oriental despotism’ fits ill at ease in the late sixteenth-century context. Knolles and his contemporaries still required explanations for the all too obvious power and success of the Ottoman Empire. They sought them not merely through theological and providential formulations such as the ‘scourge of God’ or the Imperial cycles of the prophecy of Daniel, but also through more politic discourses such as debates about good governance, which often had greater scope for ambivalence. Not only did the Ottomans ‘not have a monopoly on absolutist or tyrannical government’ but, many aspects of the Turkish state might still also be praised.¹⁰⁴

This tendency is forcefully present in a publication contemporary to Knolles’ *History*, the anonymous *The Policy of the Turkish Empire*.

For such as are acquainted with the Histories of the Turkish affaires, and doe aduisedly looke into the order and course of their proceedings: doe well perceiue, that the chiefest cause of their sodaine and fearfull puissaunce, hath beene the excellencie of their Martial discipline ioyned with a singular desire and resolution to aduaunce and enlarge both the bounds of their Empire and the profession of their Religion. The which was alwaies accompanied with such notable Policie and prudence, that the singularitie of their vertue and good

¹⁰⁴ Valensi, *The birth of the despot*, p. 91.

gouernment, hath made their Armes alwaies fearefull and fortunate, and consequently, hath caused the greatnesse of their estate.¹⁰⁵

Although both Knolles and the anonymous author of the *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* view the Ottoman Turks in a negative light (as ‘barbarians’ or ‘tyrannical’) they also concede the effectiveness and power of the Ottoman Empire. The pervading sense of superiority of the later eighteenth century is not a characteristic of earlier writing on the Ottomans. While early modern authors might express feelings of religious or moral superiority, this sat alongside a need to acknowledge and explain the all too obvious temporal might of the Ottoman empire.

The need to account for Ottoman power, even while rejecting their religion and morals as alien and inimical to Christendom, helps to explain the diversity and ambiguity characteristic of sixteenth and seventeenth-century accounts of the Ottomans. A further complicating factor was that, at the height of Ottoman power, European nations such as Venice, France and England, found it expedient and sometimes essential to deal with the Ottomans economically and diplomatically. In the absence of a clear material dominance over the Ottomans, such contacts inevitably led to a diversity of opinion on the Ottomans as Europeans found much to admire in the power and wealth of the Ottoman Empire. Çırakman and Valensi suggest that the diversity of sixteenth and seventeenth-century European representations of the Ottomans stand in contrast to later eighteenth-century representations, which were shaped to a greater degree by the widely held and entrenched paradigm of ‘oriental despotism’. Writers such as Meserve, Hankins and Bisaha, working

¹⁰⁵ *The Policy of the Turkish Empire*, sig. A3^r.

on fifteenth-century humanist representations of the Ottomans, conduct a similar debate about the periodisation of regularising paradigms through which the Ottomans were viewed.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly both Meserve and Hankins displace such paradigms to periods later than their own field of specialism, favouring more nuanced readings of the material with which they are most familiar. It may be that there is a similar dynamic at play in the work of Çırakman and Valensi, who both identify a greater complexity in the earlier material with which they are most familiar while dismissing it in eighteenth-century material. However, regardless of whether eighteenth-century European representations of the Ottomans are objectively less nuanced and diverse in opinion than those of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, it is most certainly the case that the projection of paradigms such as ‘oriental despotism’ back into the sixteenth and seventeenth century is deeply anachronistic and best avoided.

Bodin and Knolles

The extent of the diversity found in sixteenth and seventeenth-century *turcica* is evident in the contrasting attitudes to the Ottomans articulated in Knolles’ two major scholarly works, the *History* and *Commonweale*. The latter, Knolles’ lengthy translation of Bodin’s *Republique*, was not merely a straight translation, but sought to synthesise the arguments of Bodin’s French edition with those of his later Latin edition. Knolles’ translation of Bodin’s extended essay on the nature of sovereignty mentions the Ottoman Turks on

¹⁰⁶ James Hankins, ‘Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist literature in the age of Mehmed II,’ *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1993), 111-207; Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, 2004); Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought*.

several occasions. However, both its representations and fundamental understanding of the Ottomans are radically different, and far more positive, than Knolles' views in the *History*. Bodin's politic discussion of forms of government is able to treat the Ottoman state in a far more even-handed manner than Knolles' *History*. The comparison of Knolles' *History* to his translation of Bodin allows us insight into the character of these authors, the genres they wrote in and the works they produced. Further, the dramatic contrast between these works also suggests the absence of a single widely accepted paradigm through which the Ottoman Turks were understood in this period, a role later filled by 'oriental despotism'.

The questions of the influence of Bodin's ideas on Knolles as a writer and thinker, and ultimately Knolles' motivation for translating (and synthesising) Bodin's major work, are not easy to answer. Knolles dates the dedication of 'the six bookes' to Peter Manwood, December 1605, at most three years after completing the *History*. The comparative translation of a work of the length of *Republique*, combined with Knolles' duties as a schoolmaster, indicates a project of some length. Therefore, it is not too much to assume that Knolles had a familiarity with Bodin while writing the *History*. Further, Knolles' dedication states

SIR, gathering matter to continue the liues of the Turkish Emperours, but finding nothing hitherto worthy the writing ... The Sarasin Historie also not to be performed without the light of there owne Chronicles, and the stories of many

other countries by them conquered and possessed ... I thought good to translate these six bookes of *Bodin* his Commonwealth.¹⁰⁷

This implies that the translation was done after the publication of the first edition of the *History*. However, Knolles' dedication to Manwood also alludes to 'the experience of so many yeares spent in the former [*History*] (and the beginning of this [*Commonweale*], which you haue long since seene)'.¹⁰⁸ Although this last statement is ambiguous, it is possible to read it as suggesting an overlap in the writing of the *History* (1603) and the translation of Bodin (1606). In any case, the decision to translate Bodin, and the rather ambitious method of synthesising the substantially different arguments of the Latin and French editions, implies an earlier and established familiarity with Bodin's work on Knolles' part. Furthermore Knolles' language is frequently notably similar to Bodin's e.g. peoples of a commonweale 'as members of one and the selfe-same naturall body'¹⁰⁹ in his translation of Bodin and those of the Christian commonweale who ought to account themselves 'members of one and the same bodie' in his *History*.¹¹⁰

This raises the question of Knolles' motivation in translating Bodin. Of Bodin's work and his intentions, Knolles states

Which bookes by him for the common good of his natiue country onely, first written in French ... at such time as that mightie kingdome began now after the

¹⁰⁷ Bodin (trs. Knolles), *Commonweale* (1606), sig. ai^r.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. aii^r.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. aiv^r.

¹¹⁰ Knolles, *History* (1603), sig. Aiv^v.

long and bloodie ciuile warres againe to take breath, were by him afterwards for the publicke benefit of the rest of the Christian Kingdomes and Commonweales turned into Latine also ... the chief scope and drift of him in the whole Worke being to make the subjects obedient vnto the magistrates, the magistrates vnto the Princes, and the Princes vnto the lawes of God and Nature. Which so good and Christian an intent and purpose in some part to further, I out of those his French and Latine copies haue into our owne vulgar translated that thou here seest...¹¹¹

Here Knolles selects some key themes in Bodin's work which one might view as common threads with the themes of the *History*. Foremost amongst these is concern and a sense of public duty and engagement towards the 'Christian Commonweale'. Alongside this was a desire to promote stability and religious toleration. The *History* blames Ottoman success upon Christian divisions and disunity, political and religious. Bodin, writing in the aftermath of the French wars of religion, not only points to the consequences of religious division and persecution, but repeatedly seeks exemplars of how to avoid or resolve such problems in his examination of various forms of commonwealth. Further, Knolles emphasises Bodin's emphasis on 'the laws of God and Nature', which is a major feature of Knolles' consideration of the Ottoman state. A further theme that unites Knolles' major scholarly works, the *History*, *Commonweale*, and his unpublished translation of Camden's *Britannia*, is the translation and dissemination of scholarly knowledge from Latin and foreign languages, into English.

¹¹¹ Bodin (trs. Knolles), *Commonweale*, aiii^v.

Despite these similar thematic concerns it is the contrasts between Bodin's and Knolles' views of the Ottomans that are most dramatic and striking. For example, in his discussion of categories of monarchy, which he labels 'Royal', 'Lordly' and 'Tyrannical', Bodin (and Knolles' translation) does not consider the Ottoman state to be a 'tyranny' (in contrast to Knolles in the *History*), but rather a 'Lordly Monarchie', alongside Muscovy.

[T]he Emperour of the Turkes styleth himselfe *Sultan* ... Lord of the Turkes, for that he is lord of their persons and goods; whom for all that he gouerneth much more courteously and freely, then doth a good householder his servants: for those whom wee call the princes slaues, or seruants, the Turkes call them Zamoglans, that is to say tribute children; whom the prince vseth no otherwise to instruct, then if they were his children...¹¹²

The contrast to Knolles' view of both the office of the sultan and the practice of *devşirme* could hardly be greater. The fundamental difference here is that Bodin views the sultan's rule as in accordance with the 'lawes of nature' and therefore legitimate and, in this passage benevolent, while Knolles condemns it as 'tyrannical' and therefore illegitimate. For Bodin 'Lordly Monarchie' (including the Ottomans) is legitimate for

if the consent of all nations will, that that which is gotten by iust warre should bee the conquerors owne, and the vanquished should be slaues vnto the victorious, as a man cannot well say that a Monarchie so established is tyrannicall.¹¹³

¹¹² Ibid., p. 201.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 203.

In other words, the Ottoman state is built on conquest, but if one accepts that conquest is lawful, then how can one argue that their state is illegitimate? Interestingly, as a further example of ‘Lordly Monarchie’, Bodin points to ‘the emperour *Charles* the fift, after he had subdued the great country of Peru’.¹¹⁴ For Bodin there is no fundamental divide between the Ottoman state and other states, including western European ones. Ultimately he is able to conceive of them within the same system. He also counts the Ottoman Turks and Muscovites as ‘European’. There are also examples of Ottoman tyranny in Bodin’s account. In his discussion of the differences between a king and a Tyrant he contrasts the Tyrannical ‘Baiazet’ with the once more heroic ‘Tamerlan’ who came to ‘chastice his tiranie, and to deliuer the afflicted people’.¹¹⁵ However, unlike Knolles, Bodin’s judgement of ‘Baiazet’ is not reflective of his account of Ottoman sultans or indeed their system of government more generally.

Knolles’ account of Ottoman governance extends the principle of slavery from the sultan’s household outward until it is the basic relationship between subject and ruler through the sultan’s monopoly on private property. In contrast, Bodin argues that the Ottoman system is not true slavery in the European sense (interestingly, he says the same of the Muscouite ‘Cholopes’ ‘which wee corruptly call slaues’).¹¹⁶

[A]s concerning the Turkes Pretorian Souldiors [Janissaries], and those youths which are taken from the Christians as tribute, and are called tribute children, I

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 203.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 221.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 201.

neuer accounted them for slaues; seeing that they are enrolled in the princes familie, and that they alone enjoy the great offices, honours, priesthoods, authoritie and honour; which nobilitie extendeth also vnto their nephews in the fourth degree, and all their posteritie afterward beeing accounted base, except by their vertue and noble acts they maintaine the honour of their grandfathers: For the Turkes almost alone of all other people measure true nobilitie by vertue, and not by discent or the antiquitie of their stocke; so that the farther a man is from vertue, so much the farther hee is (with them) from nobilitie.¹¹⁷

Here, Bodin does not merely imply that calling the *Janissaries* and *Kul* slaves is a misnomer but turns the whole schema of a system based on slavery on its head by arguing that these so called slaves are effectively ‘nobilitie’ and indeed praising the ‘Turkes’ as the world’s leading meritocracy.

A further point on which Bodin praises the Ottoman Turks is religious toleration. Writing in the bitter aftermath of the French wars of religion, Bodin was strongly of the opinion

that the minds of men the more they are forced, the more forward and stubborne they are; and the greater punishment that shall be inflicted vpon them, the lesse good is to be done.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 537.

Here the sultan served as an enlightened exemplar for avoiding the chaos and disruption of sectarian strife.

The great emperour of the Turkes doth with as great deuotion as any prince in the world honour and obserue the religion by him receiued from his auncestours, and yet detesteth he not the straunge religions of others; but to the contrarie permitteth euery man to liue according to his conscience.¹¹⁹

For Bodin the ideal ruler was devout and constant in religion but rather than persecuting his subjects into obedience, led by pious example and persuaded them into orthodoxy through virtuously embodying the tenets of his faith. While several early modern commentators perceived religious toleration and uniformity in the Ottoman state, few were as generous as Bodin, who restrained himself from making any derogatory comments on the nature of Islam while making such observations.

Conversely, while Knolles praised the Ottoman state for its openness to the advancement of the low born, its 'rare vnitie and agreement amongst them, as well in the manner of their religion (if it be so to be called)',¹²⁰ and toleration, he also, as previously discussed, considered it both tyrannical and illegitimate.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Knolles *History* (1603), sig. Av^r.

[N]ot contented by such commendable and lawfull meanes still to extend or establish their farre spreading Empire ... they sticke not in their diuellish policie to breake and infringe the lawes both of Nations and Nature.¹²¹

As examples of these infringements Knolles alleges that leagues formed with the Ottomans 'haue with them no longer force with them than standeth with their owne profit'¹²² thus contravening the law of Nations. While even more fundamentally their state also corrupts the 'laws of nature'.

As for the the kind law of nature, what can be thereunto more contrarie, than for the father most vnaturally to embrue his hands in the bloud of his owne children? and the brother to become bloudie executioner of his owne brethren? a common matter among the *Othoman* Emperours. All which most execrable and inhumane murders they couer with the pretended safetie of their state...¹²³

This passage is later echoed in Knolles' later description of Suleyman's execution of his son, Mustafa, a description which makes clear the precise law of nature to which Knolles is referring. The following words are, for effect, placed in the mouth of Suleyman's son 'Tzihanger' (Cihangir) who forthwith kills himself out of sheer horror at his father's actions.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid., sig. Av^v.

¹²³ Ibid., sig. Av^r.

*Ah wicked and ungodly Cain, traitor (I may not say father) ...How came it into thy wicked, cruell and sauage breast, so ungratiously and contrarie to all humanitie, I will not say the reuerence of your owne bloud, to kill thy worthie, warlike and noble sonne.*¹²⁴

Although the passage clearly reflects the notion of ‘natural law’ invoked in the introduction, the horror of the act of kin slaying is also clearly defined and understood through the biblical typology of Cain and Abel, even when the killer is the victim’s father rather than brother. Once again Knolles’ representation and his understanding of Ottoman history is framed in scriptural typology and played out as a moral drama. In this drama, and following such typologies, the Ottoman role was destined to be that of the tyrant. Interestingly, the issue of fratricide is not a point of contention for Bodin, who notes that the Ottomans have no particular monopoly on political killings and, indeed, praises the longevity of the Ottoman dynasty for the stability it grants their empire.

The topic here is English writing on the Ottomans, and so any contextualisation of Bodin’s remarkably positive representations of the Ottoman Turks, in its French (and indeed wider European) context is beyond the remit of this thesis. However, it is clear that Bodin’s appraisal of both the stability and comparative toleration of religious diversity in the Ottoman empire must be seen in the context of the aftermath of the sectarian conflicts of the French wars of religion. A further possible context is the establishment of extensive diplomatic, economic, and even tentative military relations between France and the Ottomans from the 1530s and renewed in 1569. Whilst one might

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 763.

hesitate to call these contacts an alliance, in the formal sense, both the length of this arrangement and its manifestations were considerable. How are we to read Bodin's treatment of the Ottomans in *Republique*? It may be partly satirical: if the barbarian 'Turks' manage not to tear their civil society apart with sectarian divisions why can not France manage the same? However, given both the extensive use of Ottoman examples, across many topics (not merely religious), in *Republique*, and also given that it is not a work about the Ottomans as such but rather one in which they feature alongside diverse others merely as examples, such a reading seems unlikely.¹²⁵

The fact remains that Bodin was able to discuss the Ottoman Turks in the context of a politic discourse on the nature of rulership with considerable neutrality as had Machiavelli earlier, without recourse to the kind of moral grandstanding, biblical typology or even constant reinforcement of Christian religious superiority which characterises Knolles' *History*.¹²⁶ Further, in producing a translation of this account (even one with considerable freedom, as Knolles had in combining the arguments of Bodin's Latin and French editions), and within the genre of politic discourse, Knolles felt able to follow Bodin to the extent that this translation's representations of the 'Turks' contrast dramatically with Knolles' own earlier *History*.

The dramatic contrast in the treatment of the Ottoman Turks in Knolles' two major scholarly achievements illustrates the diversity of representations of Ottoman Turks and the absence of a single dominant learned paradigm for understanding the Ottoman Turks

¹²⁵ McCabe, *Orientalism in early modern France*, pp. 58-64. McCabe suggests that many of Bodin's Ottoman references are thinly veiled jibes at Charles V.

¹²⁶ On Bodin's and Machiavelli's treatment of the Ottomans see Valensi, *The birth of the despot*, pp.55-66.

in this period. It could be argued that as the *History* is work focussed directly upon the Ottomans, and Bodin's *Republique* merely uses them as exemplar, a comparison of them based entirely upon their opinions of the Ottomans is inappropriate. However, Machiavelli, whose sparse sentences on the Ottomans are far fewer than Bodin's, has received considerable modern scholarly attention for these opinions. Indeed, many of the later writers who articulated 'oriental despotism' (e.g. Montesquieu and Boulanger) were essentially political writers, rather than writers concerned with the Ottomans *per se*. Furthermore, I have focused not so much upon Bodin's *Republique* as Knolles' translation of it, *Commonweale*. The bare fact remains that Knolles, most famous as a historian of the Ottomans, translated Bodin's work of political philosophy, despite its almost diametrically opposed views on the Ottomans. It may well be that this kind of 'positive' representation was possible, or even merely acceptable in the context of a more worldly 'politic' discussion, such as a discussion of forms of government. By contrast, the historian was expected to assume a more highbrow stance. The moralistic narrative which so characterises and shapes the *History* is such a key feature precisely because Knolles viewed the *purpose* of history as demonstrating the order of things by illustrating such edifying themes.

Knolles the authority

Knolles' *History* became established as the most authoritative early modern English account of the Ottoman Turks. This final section will cover its editions and publishing

history before examining contemporary views of this text and its author. The *History* was first published in 1603 and went through four further editions (1610, 1621, 1631 and 1638), each expanded with a continuation bringing it up to the date of publication. This publication record is a clear indication of its success and continuing popularity. Indeed, it would quite possibly have seen several more editions had the final edition not been the subject of a petition to the court of the Stationers' Company regarding the ownership of the copy. The publishing history of the *History* is complex. It was first listed in the Registers for 5 December [1602] as 'A booke called *the generall history of the Turkes before the rysinge of ye Ottoman familie. with all the notable expeditions of ye christian prynces against yem together with the lyves of the Ottoman Kynges and Emperours* Wrytten by Richard Knoles'¹²⁷ under the name of the printer 'Adam Islip'. Islip subsequently printed all the above editions. However, a marginal note in this entry adds

Note that the one half of this copie belongeth to master G. Bishop and master John Norton And the other half to Adam Islip. And the said Adam Alwise to haue the workmanship of printinge the whole book and the one half of the benefit of euery impression.¹²⁸

It seems that rather than fund the production of this substantial and expensive work himself, Islip split both the investment and ownership of the *History*. One of the other significant parties, George Bishop, was a printer of some repute who in the later part of

¹²⁷ Arber, *Registers*, III, p. 223.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

his career bought many such part copies, focussing on investment and ownership of new editions rather than printing *per se*.

In 1611, following Bishop's death, his widow transferred 'his part of *Turkish History*' along with diverse other copies and parts of copies 'all thye whiche dyd lately belonge to the sayd master Bysshop',¹²⁹ to 'master Adames'. Sixteen years later, in 1627, this part of the copy was 'entred to Andrew Hebb by the assignment of Mre Adams'.¹³⁰ Echoing the original, the entry from 1627 notes 'Mr Islip is always to have the workmanship of the printinge the whole book according the ffirst entrance and to have for printing of it as he hath heretofore'.¹³¹ Although we have no way of telling whether Islip had indeed split the profit of previous editions (and later events imply that he did not) what we can be certain of is that on 7 August 1637 'Mr Hebbes Refference from Sr John Lamb to the company about the Turkish history was read' in the Stationers' Court.¹³² So, preceding the publication of the final edition of the *History* in 1638, Hebb attempted to assert his ownership of a fourth part of the copy of it. In response, Islip claimed that the division of the copy had been limited to one impression. By 30 April 1638 the court had decided in favour of Hebb.¹³³ This court decision may well have been a crucial factor in making the edition of 1638 the last in the original format. A further factor must have been the death of Adam Islip in 1639, although it should be noted that his widow, Susan Islip, is listed

¹²⁹ Arber, *Registers*, III, p. 454.

¹³⁰ William Jackson, *Records of the court of the Stationers' Company, 1602-1640* (London, 1957), p. 194.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 299.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 308. See also petition of Elizabeth Adams, widow, and Andrew Hebb, to Archbishop Laud, April 25 1638, *Calendar State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, 1637-1638* (London, 1869), vol. XII, pp. 388: 34; 379. The petition sought to prevent further imprints of the *History*.

by Plomer as working as a printer between the dates 1641 and 1661.¹³⁴ It should also be noted that the 1640s saw a drop in the number of *turcica* entered into the *Registers* (see appendix three). This fall in numbers reflects a drop in the number of news broadsheets concerned with Ottoman matters, as such publications concentrated on events closer to home in the form of the civil war. The *History* of 1638 was the final edition under its original title. However, in 1687 a definitive *Turkish History*, collecting together the various continuations with the writings of Paul Rycaut, who in many ways tried to supplant Knolles as ‘the’ English authority on the Ottoman Turks, was published in two volumes and is essentially the same text, albeit extended.¹³⁵ The edition of 1687, along with the various continuations published with the editions of 1610, 1621, 1631 and 1638, will be dealt with in chapter four.

The enduring popularity, and marketability, of the *History* is attested to, not merely by the above editions but also by Andrew Moore’s *A Compendious History of the Turks* (1660, with a second edition in 1663), a work cribbed from Knolles’ (see introduction).¹³⁶ This work took advantage of the abeyance of editions of the *History* between 1638 and 1687 to present the same material under a different title, thereby exploiting the market for *turcica*, while circumnavigating problems of ownership of copy.

Although many academics writing on Knolles have cited the recommendations of later luminaries such as Johnson, Byron and Coleridge regarding Knolles’ qualities as a writer,

¹³⁴ Henry R. Plomer, *A dictionary of the booksellers and printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), p. 106.

¹³⁵ Knolles, *History* (1687).

¹³⁶ Andrew Moore, *A Compendious History of the Turks* (London, 1660: M2530).

more contemporary reflections are harder to come by. Seeking to examine ‘trends’ in the reading tastes of the gentry, F. J. Levy examined inventories contained in the records of the London Committee for Sequestration, which he took to represent a ‘fair cross-section of gentry libraries’.¹³⁷ Levy focussed on ten of the twenty seven individuals, whom he considered the most representative. The lists themselves did not necessarily represent complete libraries. However, all of the figures owned at least one history of which ‘the most popular were Camden on Elizabeth (5) and Knolles on the Turks (4), followed by Raleigh’s *History of the World* and Paolo Sarpi on the Council of Trent (3 each)’.¹³⁸ Although this sample is too small to draw any firm conclusions, the indication is still extremely interesting, particularly when one considers the glut of critical attention lavished on Raleigh and Camden (particularly in the field of ‘the renaissance sense of the past’ and the ‘historical revolution’ debates) in contrast to the relative obscurity in which Knolles languishes.

Perhaps more illustrative of the role of definitive English authority on the Ottoman Turks, which Knolles’ work posthumously came to serve, is the use his near contemporaries made of it. The *History* rapidly became a point of reference for other Englishmen who wished to write on the Ottomans, and was frequently cited in marginalia or text itself. Thus, in his epic collection of travel accounts *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), Samuel Purchas, on one occasion, informs us ‘The Reader may

¹³⁷ F.J. Levy, ‘How information spread among the gentry, 1550-1640’, *Journal of British studies* 21 (1982), p. 27. The inventory is from 1643 and relates to the confiscation of Cavalier goods.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

informe himselfe more fully... in *Knolles*, or other Writers of the *Turkish Storie*,¹³⁹ strongly implying Knolles' primacy. Earlier in the same work, during a description of the Latin capture of Constantinople in 1204, a marginal citation directs us 'see also *Knolles Turkish Historie* Sup. tom. 1/8'.¹⁴⁰ Of course, Knolles was also highly influential even when he was not explicitly cited. For example, George Sandys, whose description of his travels through the Levant is followed by a brief description of the 'Turks' and their empire, lifts his short section on 'The history of the Turks' directly from *The Generall Historie of the Turks* (i.e. the first book of Knolles' *History* preceding the lives of the sultans). While Sandys does not acknowledge his debt to Knolles, all of the central names and dates of his account coincide with Knolles and upon occasion his phrasing is extremely similar, if edited.¹⁴¹ For example

[the Turks] first ceased vpon a part of the greater ARMENIA, and that with so strong a hand, that it is by their posteritie yet holden at this day, and of them called TVRCOMANIA...

Knolles (1603) p. 3.

And by strong hand [they] possest themselues of *Armenia* the greater; called thereupon *Turcomania*, as it is at this day...

¹³⁹ Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625: STC 20509), p. 1360.

¹⁴⁰ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, p. 65.

¹⁴¹ For example, the Turks leave Scythia in 844 and the central figures of the account are Tangrolipix, Axan, Cutlu–Muses, retaining the same spelling and dates as Knolles, although these examples are not exhaustive. In addition to the examples below Sandys' phrasing is frequently similar, if shortened.

Sandys (1615) p. 42.

As befits a short section based on a book, Sandys' account is briefer, but the facts and the phrasing ('with so strong a hand' and 'by strong hand') are clearly a paraphrase.

Although to the modern eye this is plagiarism, it was entirely natural for Sandys, given the literary bent of his travel account, to draw on a contemporary authority on the history of the 'Turks', just as he repeatedly drew upon classical authorities to recount the history of the areas he travelled through. Significantly for us, Sandys' use of Knolles indicates that by the time Sandys wrote, i.e. before 1615, Knolles was an established point of reference on the 'Turks', both Ottoman and pre Ottoman. When educated, internationally-minded English gentlemen, such as Sandys, wished to cite a definitive account of the 'Turks', or their origins, they could, and frequently did, turn to Knolles' *History*. Sandys may even have used the new second edition (1610) of Knolles, although there is no way to tell this from the text.

Knolles' standing as an authority on the Ottomans was not limited to writers of *turcica* however, and he was frequently cited by authors writing geographies, histories and cosmographies, which often included sections on 'Turkey'. Peter Heylyn seems to have been fond of Knolles, citing him in no less than three separate books. *Mikrokosmos* cites Knolles in marginalia in sections on Hungarie, the Adriatique Isles, Armenia and Egypt.¹⁴² *The historie of that most famous saint and souldier of Christ Jesus St. George*

¹⁴² Peter Heylyn, *Mikrokosmos* (Oxford, 1625: STC 13277), pp. 356 on Hungarie, 440 on 'Adriatique isles', 586 on Armenia and 762 on Egypt.

of *Cappadocia* refers to ‘Knolles on the life of Selimus’.¹⁴³ *Cosmographie* supports a story about a tribute of a million ducats paid by ‘Rascia’ in Dacia to the Turks by commenting ‘Knolles in his history doth report it so. And his continuator doth affirm it’.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, Thomas Fuller’s *Historie of the Holy Warre* cites Knolles in marginal references on the topic of (Seljuk) Turkish history as a prelude to his central topic, the crusades.¹⁴⁵ Samuel Clarke’s hackneyed *A geographical description of all the countries in the known world*, includes a section on the Ottomans which is simply an abridged copy of the concluding *Discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire* from Knolles’ *History*, ending ‘see *Knolles* his discourse hereof’.¹⁴⁶ However, Knolles’ was not merely cited over matters Ottoman, but eastern history more generally. Another minor historian, Edward Leigh, borrowed a description of Tamerlane in his *Analecta Caesarum Romanorum* noting ‘*Knolles* in the Turkish Hist. saith of *Tamerlane*. In his eies sate such a rare majestie as a man could hardly endure to behold them without closing his own’.¹⁴⁷

Scholars such as these often cited or quoted Knolles alongside other authorities, either continental, or increasingly throughout the seventeenth century, English. For example, Heylyn’s *The historie of the most famous saint and souldier of Christ Iesus* cites Knolles as a source, but later on the same page also mentions ‘Master *Sam. Purchas* out of *Busbequius*’.¹⁴⁸ Similarly while Alexander Ross’ *Pansebia* cites Knolles on several points regarding Islam and the Turks he usually appears alongside continental authorities

¹⁴³ Peter Heylyn, *The historie of that most famous saint and souldier of Christ Iesus; St. George of Cappadocia* (London, 1631: STC 13272), p. 211.

¹⁴⁴ Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie* (London, 1652: Wing H1689), p. 207.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Fuller, *The historie of the holy warre* (Cambridge, 1639: STC 11464), p. 10, Chapter 7, Book 1.

¹⁴⁶ Samuel Clarke, *A geographical description of all the countries in the known vworld* (London, 1657: Wing C4516), p. 169.

¹⁴⁷ Edward Leigh and Henry Leigh, *Analecta Caesarum Romanorum* (London, 1664: Wing L984), p. 22.

¹⁴⁸ Heylyn, *The historie of that most famous saint and souldier*, p. 211.

such as ‘Borrius, Lanicerus, Knolles, Camerarius, Iovius ...’¹⁴⁹ or with other English authors i.e. ‘Georgevitz, Knolles, Purchas ...’.¹⁵⁰ However, by the mid-seventeenth century, Knolles’ *History* had become an authoritative point of reference beyond the scholarly circle of geographers, cosmographers and historians; for example, in sermons and religious controversy. The churchman, controversialist, and later archbishop of Armagh, John Bramhall cites ‘*Knolles Turk. hist.*’¹⁵¹ regarding a treatise published ‘about the year 1630’ by the patriarch of Constantinople. Bramhall claims that the patriarch (Cyril Lucaris I) thought highly of the Church of England, having been informed thereof by Sir Thomas Roe, and indeed agreed so far doctrinally that ‘in a word, he is wholly ours’!¹⁵² Another churchman, and future bishop of Lincoln, Robert Sanderson, cited Knolles as source for the ‘barbarous’ yet ‘memorable’ story of ‘Amurath the great Turke’ and his execution of ‘his beautiful minion Irene’ as an example of mastering one’s own will, in a sermon on the same.¹⁵³

By the mid-seventeenth century, Knolles’ *History* had become the definitive English authority on the Ottoman Turks. The lack of new editions of the *History* between 1638 and 1687 seems to have led to a drop in citations, perhaps also helped by the emergence in the 1660s of Paul Rycaut as a prominent author on the Ottoman Turks. However, the edition of 1687 re-established Knolles’ primacy as an authority on the Ottomans. In his late seventeenth-century *An account of the English dramatic poets*, Gerard Langbaine

¹⁴⁹ Alexander Ross, *Pansebeia, or, A view of all religions in the world* (London, 1655: Wing R1972), p. 167.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁵¹ John Bramhall, *A Replication to the Bishop of Chalcedon* (London, 1656: Wing B4228), p. 359. Bramhall’s reference is ‘*Knolles Turk. Hist. in the life of Am. 4 P. 1503*’

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 358.

¹⁵³ Robert Sanderson, *Twenty sermons formerly preached* (London, 1656: Wing S640), p. 83.

uses Knolles as a general reference work on the events of Oriental history in his accounts of ‘Roger Boyle’, ‘Lodowich Carlell’, ‘William Davenant’, ‘Francis Fane’, ‘Thomas Goff’, ‘Christopher Marloe’ and ‘Gilbert Swinhoe’.¹⁵⁴ He does not suggest Knolles’ work as a source for these dramatists, but rather as an account of the events in the plays for his reader’s interest. A further indication of Knolles’ status as is his inclusion in John Evelyn’s dizzyingly pluralist *Numismata* in a list of ‘Historians, Antiquaries, Critics, Philologers...’, alongside contemporary figures such as Leland, Purchas, Speede, Camden, Stow, Grafton, Fuller, Raleigh, Sandys (Edwin and George) and older authorities such as V. Bede (i.e. Venerable Bede) and Gildas.¹⁵⁵

Although Knolles came to be viewed as an authority, even *the* English authority, on the Ottoman Turks it does not follow that those who drew on Knolles as a source necessarily shared his views, or the rhetorical agenda which his work espoused. While Fuller drew on Knolles’ account of the kingdom of the Seljuk Turks, his opinion of the Crusades which their growth prompted differed enormously. For Knolles, his history structured by the conflict of the Church of Christ and the agents of the Devil, most notably heresy and specifically Islam, the crusades are ‘notable expeditions of the Christians’, and Pope Urban II and Peter the hermit are heroic figures. While for the hard-line Protestant polemicist Fuller the crusades are a malevolent plot on the part of the Papacy to gather power unto itself and Peter the hermit is ‘a contemptible person’.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Langbaine, *An account of the English dramattick poets* (Oxford, 1691: Wing L373), pp. 28, 47, 48, 110, 189, 234, 235, 345, 500.

¹⁵⁵ John Evelyn, *Numismata* (London, 1697: Wing E3505), p. 260.

¹⁵⁶ Fuller, *The historie of the holy warre*, p. 11, chapter 8, book 1.

A clearer example of appropriation, as opposed to disagreement, is the printer Andrew Sowle's *The Prophecie of a Turk concerning the downfall of Mahometism*.¹⁵⁷ Sowle was a committed Quaker, and 'the Sowle press was the primary channel through which early Quaker works were published'.¹⁵⁸ The Prophecy itself concerns the fall 'the Downfall of Mahometanism and of the setting up the Kingdom of Glory of Christ'[sic], a topic on which the Quaker Sowle and the traditionalist Knolles would have had very different opinions. Although Knolles was assiduous in avoiding any hint of religious controversy in his work, it seems that Sowle, whose stock in trade was religious controversy, could still appropriate material from Knolles for publication within his own agenda. Notably, and in tune with his optimistic title and presentation of this 'prophecy', Sowle omits Knolles' detailed and grisly description of the brutal execution of its progenitor ('one of the Deruices').¹⁵⁹ Although Solwe published this pamphlet in the same year as Paul Rycaut's edited and definitive edition of the *History* (two edited volumes assimilating all of Knolles and Rycaut's writing on the 'Turks' as one work), the pagination Sowle quotes (p. 1384 of the 'Turkish History') does not match this edition, and therefore must have been taken from one of the earlier editions.

While these examples point to the place which Knolles' work came to occupy as a definitive English authority on the Ottoman Turks, they also illustrate something else. As noted above, Knolles is frequently cited alongside other authors. These are often continental but as the seventeenth century progressed Englishmen increasingly turned to

¹⁵⁷ *The prophesie of a Turk concerning the downfall of Mahometism* (London, 1687: Wing P3678).

¹⁵⁸ Paula McDowell, 'Sowle, Andrew (1628–1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39671> accessed 3 Sept 2009].

¹⁵⁹ Knolles, *History* (1621), p. 1384.

the writing of other Englishmen when they wished to know of the Ottoman Turks, of whom Knolles was but a prominent example. A good example is Robert Baron's annotations on his oriental play, *Mirza*, which states 'for the quality of the *Ottoman* Empire, I refer the Reader to the most elaborate, and accurate discourse of M. *Sandys*, and M. *Knolles* in his *Turkish History*'.¹⁶⁰ Here a reference to Knolles is part of a reference to a wider English literature on the Ottoman Turks, prominent members of which were Knolles, Sandys and Purchas. This is in stark contrast to the period in which Knolles wrote the first edition of the *History* which drew almost exclusively on continental sources (mostly Latin), when no sizable body of such literature existed. Furthermore, while we have noted that Sandys drew on Knolles account for background information on the 'Turks', this tendency of English works to refer to a steadily increasing body of English works, rather than simply relying on continental material increased throughout the seventeenth century, although many later English works still also referred to continental works. For example, Samuel Purchas' gargantuan cosmology *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (not to be confused with his edited travellers' tales *Purchas His Pilgrimes*) cited both Knolles and Sandys extensively throughout the chapters eight to fifteen covering the 'Turks'.¹⁶¹ This is of particular interest as while Purchas cites Sandys in the third edition of *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1617), the second edition of the same work from 1614 does not contain any reference to Sandys. This indicates that Purchas read Sandys' *Relation* (1615) and updated his sections on the Ottoman Turks with new information. From such examples it is possible to postulate the emergence of an English literature on the Ottoman Turks in the first part of the seventeenth century. This literature

¹⁶⁰ Robert Baron, *Mirza. A tragedie* (London, 1647: Wing B892), p. 164.

¹⁶¹ Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (London, 1614: STC 20506); Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (London, 1617: STC 20507).

emerged out of the boom in publishing of *turcica* which we have witnessed in the 1580s and 1590s, of which Knolles was merely the most prominent, impressive and lastingly important member. It is to this literature and the degree to which it was shaped by the English Levant trade, in contrast to the literature which preceded it, which we shall turn in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

The first two chapters argued that the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries witnessed the emergence of a specifically English literature on the Ottoman Turks. As the seventeenth century progressed, this literature, which hitherto had largely consisted of translations of continental accounts or large syntheses drawn from a wide spectrum of continental sources (such as Knolles' *History*), began to rely more upon English accounts of the Ottomans. Continental works continued to provide an intellectual context for English literature on the Ottomans throughout the seventeenth century, providing material for translations, as well as sources for writers of synthesising accounts such as the geographical works of Samuel Purchas. Nonetheless, writers such as Purchas drew on English accounts alongside continental sources, and so first-hand English accounts of the Ottomans came to play an increasingly influential role in shaping English literature on the Ottoman Turks as the seventeenth century progressed. This period also saw an increasingly large number of first-hand English accounts of the Ottomans some of which became recognised authorities on the Ottomans, such as the works of George Sandys and Paul Rycaut. The movement toward the increasing prominence of first-hand English accounts, as sources or works in their own right, is intricately bound up with the development of the English Levant trade. However, not all first-hand English accounts of the Ottomans of this period were directly involved in the trade. This chapter will examine one such group: travel accounts written by gentlemen travelling through the Levant and eastern Mediterranean.

Although I have referred to these travel accounts as ‘first-hand accounts’ this chapter will argue that they were often deeply shaped by the wider literary context in which they were written, and indeed read. This context included not only contemporary English writing on the Ottomans and geography, but also the classical and biblical literary canon. Such literary contexts framed these authors’ approach to the eastern Mediterranean, and it is only through the interaction of such contexts with the experience and events of travel itself that these accounts can be understood. Further, many of these travel accounts were later drawn on as source material by a broad range of authors writing upon the Ottomans and geography more generally. Thus, these accounts did not merely draw on the wider literature but also came to inform and shape it. This dynamic relationship between travel, travel accounts and wider literature is common to most of the large number of early seventeenth century English travel accounts describing Ottoman lands, the Levant and eastern Mediterranean more generally, such as those of Lithgow or Blount (the most obvious exception being Thomas Dallam’s diary).¹ I have chosen to focus upon three figures that particularly illustrate this relationship between travel accounts and wider literature, namely Thomas Coryat, Fynes Moryson and George Sandys.

With all three of these authors I shall examine the wider literary context and seek to place this alongside other key elements which shaped their accounts. Coryat illustrates the

¹ On seventeenth-century Levantine travel accounts see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *An intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's travels in the Ottoman lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609-21* (Aldershot, 2006); Andrew Hadfield, *Amazons savages, and machiavels: travel and colonial writing in English, 1550-1630: an anthology* (Oxford, 2001); MacLean, *Oriental travel*; Kenneth Parker, *Early modern tales of Orient: a critical anthology* (London, 1999); John Stoye, *English travellers abroad, 1604-1667: their influence in English society and politics*, rev. ed. (New Haven; London, 1989).

colourful and unconventional elements characteristic of many travel accounts of the time. I will relate Coryat's works to contemporary notions of travel from education and pilgrimage to the roots of the 'grand tour'. Coryat's account is also shaped through his use of the classical and biblical cannon to engage with the landscape of the Levant. In contrast to Coryat's light touch, Moryson attempts to combine his 'travel account' with observations of the political systems and 'manners' of the areas he travelled through. I will examine Moryson's experiences of the dangers and difficulties of travel and religious identity as important contexts for his writing. I shall also use Moryson's involvement in English imperialism in Ireland, to explore the contrast between the experience of the Englishman in the Levant and in the early colonial enterprise. However, Moryson's observations of the 'commonwealths' and 'manners' of the regions he travelled through often draw as heavily on contemporary geographical literature as his travels themselves. I shall argue that it is this contemporary literature which shapes his analyses of the Ottoman state. Of these three travellers, Sandys most succinctly exemplifies the themes of this chapter. Sandys was the erudite gentleman traveller *par excellence*, and his genteel and literate account of the Levant was one of the most widely read and influential travel accounts of his era. I will examine how the literary character of his *Relation* and engagement with contemporary literature shaped his approach to the Levant, and his account of the Ottomans and Islam. I will also treat the reasons why Sandys became such a popular and authoritative writer on the Ottomans and many other topics.

Although I have referred to these texts collectively as 'travel accounts', it is important to note that 'travel writing' was not a single established genre in early seventeenth century

England, much less the established, familiar and conventionalised form which we recognise today. Rather the 'travel accounts' we will examine are more fluid, situated between earlier pilgrimage accounts and the later Grand Tour, which did not become established in its conventionalised form until the eighteenth century. Early seventeenth-century 'travel accounts' often included elements of geography, classical history, political discourse, poetry, religious polemic, educational tract, commercial information, linguistic information, cultural observation and analysis ('manners'), antiquarianism, wit and diverse other elements within their rubric. However, before we turn to specific accounts we shall first place them in context by discussing the role of the burgeoning Levant trade in facilitating and encouraging travel in the eastern Mediterranean in the early seventeenth century.

Trade and Gentleman Travellers

The erudite gentlemen travellers who form the central topic of this chapter may have produced the most visible and public accounts of journeys to the Levant in the early seventeenth century, but they were far from the only Englishmen present.² The following passage demonstrates the assistance merchants and officials of the Levant Company might afford their more literately-inclined countrymen.

² Few men of lower social standing produced such accounts; see the organ maker Thomas Dallam's diary, which remained unpublished until 1893. MacLean, *Oriental travel*. See also thesis introduction: slave and captive accounts.

we by the assistance of God arriued in safety at *Allepo*, being some sixe miles before our approch to the Citty, encountred by many of our English Merchants, to giue vs the welcome on the Turkish Shore. After mutuall courtesies ended, they accompanied vs into the City vnto the *Consull* Pallace; where hauing dismounted our selues, we were well entertained by Mr. *Richard Colethrust* worthy *Consull* then to our worthy English nation. At whose charge and expences, I abode two moneths and better: all which time I fell into consideration not so much of the City, as of the Prouince, in which it standeth, offering hereby vnto my selfe two things worthy of obseruation.³

This passage, taken from John Cartwright's *The Preachers Trauels* published in 1611, illustrates two central points. The first is the benefits to the gentleman traveller provided by the inception of the English Levant trade and the proliferation of an English presence, both merchants and officials (ambassadors and consuls of the Levant Company), along the established trade routes and its centres.⁴ As well as facilitating travel along these trade routes, the presence of Englishmen and particularly consuls provided secure stopping points and orientation alluded to by many travellers of the period. The second is the extent to which the presence of merchants, factors and consuls could, and did, provide a stimulus to the production of written accounts.

³ John Cartwright, *The preachers trauels* (London, 1611: STC 4705), p. 4.

⁴ Although Cartwright was indeed a preacher he was not attached to the Levant Company and his voyage was a private one. However, he was later appointed chaplain to the East India Company, probably on the strength of his travels, experience of foreign lands and printed account. See Louis Booker Wright, *Religion and empire. The alliance between piety and commerce in English expansion, 1558-1625* (New York, 1965), p. 62.

By the early seventeenth century the Englishman travelling to the Levant might sail directly from England or take the more established route through France, Venice and thence onward. Either way, he (the majority of surviving accounts are by men⁵) could expect to encounter Englishmen in the eastern Mediterranean. If, like Cartwright, our traveller was a gentleman and carried letters of introduction, he might expect hospitality from Levant company factors and officials along the way. Cartwright's account is not the only one of the period which mentions such welcome interludes from travel as a moment for 'consideration' of 'things worthy of observation'. For example, Sandys' *Relation* contains a lengthy description of Constantinople, the Ottoman empire, its history, structure, religion, peoples and cultures. The level of detail he provides reflects a lengthy sojourn in Constantinople 'where by Sir *Thomas Glover*, Lord Ambassador for the King, I was freely entertained: abiding in his house almost for the space of foure moneths'.⁶ Similarly William Lithgow was a welcome recipient of the hospitality of 'the right Worshipfull Sir *Thomas Glouer*, then Lord Ambassadour for our Gracious Soueraigne his Maiesty, who most generously entertained me three moneths, in his house'.⁷

Of course a gentleman travelling with letters of recommendation might well receive the hospitality of consuls and gentlemen of any number of nationalities. Lithgow's 1640 edition of *The totall discourse* mentions at various points the many officials from whom he received help or hindrance, including Venetian, French and Ragusan consuls in addition to English and Turkish officials. However, it cannot be doubted that the

⁵ MacLean, *Oriental travel*, includes an appendix on ambassador's wife Lady Anne Glover in an attempt to emphasise the gender disparity in the sources.

⁶ Sandys, *Relation* (1615), p. 28.

⁷ William Lithgow, *A most delectable and true discourse of an admired and painefull peregrination* (London, 1623: STC 15712), p. 76.

booming English Levant trade of the early seventeenth century assisted and encouraged travellers to the Levant. This trend is evinced by the proliferation of accounts by erudite gentleman travellers, most of which mention the Levant trade or Englishmen directly involved in it. In addition to Cartwright, Sandys and Lithgow, one might mention William Biddulph (published 1609), Thomas Coryat (1611), Fynes Moryson (1617), Charles Robson (1628) and Henry Blount (1636).

It should also be noted that travel throughout western Europe became easier following the ending of the French wars of religion in 1598 and the signing of a peace treaty in 1604 between England and Spain.⁸ The same period saw the end of the Ottoman-Habsburg Long War of 1593-1606. These outbreaks of peace are particularly significant as many of those who wrote accounts of travels in the Levant had also travelled widely in Europe (notably Coryat, Moryson and Lithgow), also many of those headed for the Levant took routes through continental Europe (as opposed to around it by ship). Relative peace in Europe may provide an additional explanation of the proliferation of travel accounts in the early seventeenth century.

Thomas Coryat

The similarities and connections of Levantine travel accounts of the early seventeenth century to the wider travel literature in general are illustrated in the career and writing of

⁸ Michael G. Brennan, *English civil war travellers and the origins of the western European grand tour* (London, 2002), pp. 11, 31.

the self named ‘Odcumbian Leg Stretcher’ Thomas Coryat.⁹ I have chosen to examine Coryat, as he illustrates the mercurial, and even eccentric, nature of much of the travel writing of the period, in vivid contrast to the familiar conventions of modern travel writing. Coryat’s writing is by turns learned; comic to the point of being clownish; unconventional; and yet erudite, and packed with detailed observation. As one of the prefatory verses preceding the main body of his best known work *Coryats Crudities* puts it

THE Fox is not so full of wiles
As this booke full of learned smiles:
Come seeke, and thou shall finde in it
Th’ Abridgment of great Brittaines wit.¹⁰

Coryats Crudities is an account of five months travel throughout ‘France, Sauoy, Italy, Rhetia Comi, Only Called the Grisons Country, Heluetia Alias Switzerland, Some Parts of High Germany, and the Netherlands’ which Coryat performed between May and October 1608.¹¹ Following these, and the publication of *Coryats Crudities* in 1611 he set out once more in 1612 visiting amongst other places the reported site of Troy, Constantinople, Iskenderun (Alexandretta), Aleppo, Damascus and Jerusalem before returning to Aleppo. From Aleppo he walked to India via Diyarbakır (where he was robbed), the ruins of Tabriz, Esfahan, where he paused for two months and then joined a caravan and walked via Kandahar, Multan, Lahore, and Delhi to the Mughal capital, Agra

⁹ Odcombe being Coryat’s native town.

¹⁰ Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (London, 1611: STC 5808), sig. f7^v.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, title page.

and then onwards to Ajmer where he found the Mughal emperor Jahangir and the East India Company's first ambassador to the Mughals, Sir Thomas Roe. From the letters Coryat continued to write during these prodigious travels was published *Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits: 'greeting. From the court of the great Mogul'* (1616), and later a second short account *Mr Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth greeting: from Agra the capitall city of the dominion of the great Mogoll in the Easterne India, the last of October, 1616*.¹² Coryat had hoped to write a longer account of his travels and for this purpose had sent home notes written up in Aleppo. Unfortunately this longer work was never completed as he died in East India Company's factory at Surat in Gujarat in 1617. However, the second volume of the geographer Samuel Purchas' epic collection of English travel accounts *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Puchas his Pilgrimes* (1625) included a much abridged (some might say butchered) account of '*Master Thomas Coryates Trauels to, and Obseruations in Constantinople, and other places in the way thither, and his Journey thence to Aleppo, Damasco and Ierusalem*', based on Coryat's notes.¹³

Like many of the travellers I will examine in this chapter, Coryat's Levantine travels represent only one, rather small, portion of his formidable wanderings. While this thesis is most concerned with his account of the eastern Mediterranean, this account must be read in the context of the attitudes to travel, which Coryat articulates in the earlier *Coryats Crudities*. Coryat's earlier writing is particularly important as his account of the Levant is edited by Purchas to the point of incoherence, removing Coryat's literary style,

¹² Thomas Coryate, *Thomas Coriate Traueller for the English Wits: Greeting.: From the Court of the Great Mogul, Resident at the Towne of Asmere, in Easterne India*. (London, 1616: STC 5811).

¹³ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. II, book 10, p. 1811.

drowning the reader in detail and flitting erratically between topics. For example, Purchas' marginal headings for a particularly cramped page read, 'Butterflies great; Sodomie; Cheapnesse; Firey Flies; Cadileskiers [Kadiaskers]; Cimices [lice]; Courtesie; Phelebotomie [medicinal bleeding]; Superstition; Pride; Boxing; Fannes; *Amis an English Jew and Rites of Circumsition*'.¹⁴

Coryats Crudities engages in contemporary debates on the utility of travel. Coryat viewed travel as a form of education suitable to young gentlemen and in his dedication to James I justified travel writing in the following terms

[I]t may perhaps yeeld some litle encouragement to many noble and generose yong Gallants ... to trauell into forraine countries, and inrich themselues partly with the obseruations, and partly with the languages of outlandish regions, the principall meanes (in my poore opinion) to grace and adorne those courtly Gentlemen, whose noble parentage, ingeneous education, and vertuous conuersation haue made worthy to be admitted into your Highnesse Court: seeing thereby they will be made fit to doe your Highnesse and their Country the better service when opportunity shall require...¹⁵

Coryat views travel, here referring to European travel, as the means by which the courtly gentleman can acquire cosmopolitan manners and graces suitable to James I's court. However, travel also benefits in a more practical way allowing courtly gentlemen 'to

¹⁴ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. II, book 10, p. 1824.

¹⁵ Coryate, *Coryats Crudities*, sigs. a4^v-a5^r.

purchase experience and wisdom; that they might be the better able to benefit their country and common-weale'¹⁶ and linguistic skills. Although Coryat justifies travel as a way for the young gentleman to prepare for public life, his own jester-like persona seems to preclude any attempt to present himself as suitable for such office. Unlike his near contemporary Sandys, who was elected to the post of Treasurer of the Virginia Company in 1621, there is no record of Coryat seeking office. Rather, Coryat, an ardent self publicist, seems to have sought primarily to entertain his readership and attain literary fame.

Both Coryat's conception of travel as a finishing school for young gentlemen and his itinerary of travel structured by cultural, and particularly classical, sites of interest, clearly foreshadow the later established conventions of the Grand Tour and mark him out as an unorthodox forerunner. However, Coryat's presentation of his travels also drew upon an earlier model: that of pilgrimage. This model is most obvious in his later voyage to Jerusalem, where like many pilgrims he had crosses tattooed to his wrists (something Fynes Moryson refused to do on the grounds it would mark him as suspiciously Catholic upon returning to England).¹⁷ This pilgrimage aspect is also notable in Coryat's attitude to visiting other sites, particularly those of classical antiquity, and his presentation of himself throughout his accounts as 'a desolate Pilgrime in the World'.¹⁸

A striking example of pilgrimage as a model for Coryat's visits to other sites is his visit to the supposed ruins of Troy. Coryat not only waxes lyric about 'the most renowned

¹⁶ Ibid., sig. b5^r.

¹⁷ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent* (London, 1617: STC 18205), I, p. 237.

¹⁸ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. I, book 3, chap 17, p. 599.

place of the whole World (only Gods sacred Citie of Jerusalem excepted) ancient Troy'¹⁹
 but one of his companions jokingly 'knights' him

Coryate no more but now a Knight of Troy

*Odecombe no more, but henceforth Englands Ioy*²⁰

Coryat later described himself as 'the first English Knight of Troy' alongside various other self granted titles such as 'the Odcombian leg stretcher' or 'the famous Odcombian or rather polytopian'. This 'knighting' is surely a jesting echo of the practice, mentioned by another pilgrim to Jerusalem Fynes Moryson, of knighting pilgrims as 'knights of the holy Selpulcher', for a small fee.²¹ However, it is not my intention to paint Coryat or his contemporaries as either grand tourists or pilgrims. Although these conventions are clearly part of their context it is precisely the absence of an established formula that leads to the characteristically unconventional and individual (in Coryat's and Lithgow's case downright oddball) character of early seventeenth century travel writing.

Coryat's account is pitched somewhere between the comic and learned, often interspersing classical quotations amongst his 'odcombian wit', or notable inscriptions from antiquity, in which he took a great interest. He uses this combination of eloquence and wit to approach the landscape of the Levant through literary reference points familiar to both himself and his readership. This aspect is clear in his descriptions of sites he perceived as culturally significant, which are often an odd combination of pithy reflection

¹⁹ Ibid., vol. II, book 10, chap 12, p. 1817.

²⁰ Ibid., vol. II, book 10, chap 12, p. 1816.

²¹ Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent*, I, p. 237.

and wit. For example, on discovering the tomb of that centrally humanist figurehead Cicero, Coryat

I could not but condole the misfortune of that famous and incomparable Orator, from the inhexhausted Fountaine of whose incomparable Learning, so many excellent Orators haue drawne liquor of Rhetorical inuention, to the great garnishing and adorning of their polite lubrications.²²

Coryat approaches the Levant and eastern Mediterranean as an educated Englishman. His interests, at least those he shares with his readers, are to a large extent defined through the texts of classical antiquity (Troy and Cicero's tomb) or the bible (the Holy land and Jerusalem). These texts attribute value to the Levant and define both his itinerary of travel through this landscape and perspective when approaching it. Although his travel is certainly shaped and assisted by the English Levantine trade, for instance his stay in Aleppo, or time at Constantinople at the house of the English ambassador Edward Barton, the Levant trade does little to shape his interests in the region. Then again his first-hand descriptions are often packed with observational detail. Although the tone of his account is often light or comic, he largely refrains from fantastic accounts of foreign lands, with the exception of two unicorns he claimed to have seen kept at the court of the Mughal emperor Jahangir.²³

²² Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. II, book 10, chap 12, pp. 1811-1812.

²³ Thomas Coryate, *Thomas Coriate Traueller for the English Wits: Greeting: From the court of the Great Mogul, resident at the towne of Asmere, in Easterne India* (London, 1616: STC 5811), p. 24. Although this flight of fancy seems at odds with much of Coryat's style, it seems less strange when one considers the enduring popularity of works such as Mandeville's *Travels* in the period Coryat was writing. See John Mandeville, *The Voyages and Travailes of Sir J. Mandeville* (London, 1618: STC 17252).

Coryat's writing is broadly reflective of wider trends in English travel accounts of the period. Faced with a world opening up through trade and, at least in the first decades of the seventeenth century through peace, gentlemanly English travellers produced a plethora of printed accounts. Most of these were saddled with a hefty literary baggage, both classical and biblical. This aspect was particularly important in the topos of the eastern Mediterranean, Levant and Holy Land. These were of course the landscapes of classical literature, and biblical narrative, in a way not true of India (where Coryat later travelled) or America (where Sandys was later a colonist). That is not to say that classical and biblical texts were not important in shaping English approaches to these areas, quite the opposite, but merely that in the case of the Levant and Holy Land, literature provided a more direct and specific familiarity with their sites, and attributed the landscape with highly predetermined cultural worth.²⁴ One gets a peculiar sense of cultural ownership and participation in the sites of the Levant, Asia Minor and the Holy Land in the writing of figures such as Coryat, a sense which coexists and conflicts with the very real danger and disempowerment experienced by many Englishmen travelling in lands under Ottoman jurisdiction. Finally, although Coryat is a colourful, picturesque and unorthodox writer, he is by no means unique. The travel accounts of the early seventeenth century were highly diverse in character and had not yet settled into the conventional forms adopted by later travel writing. While Coryat is certainly on the eccentric end of the spectrum he is by no means without company.

²⁴ On classical and Biblical models America and India see Michael T. Ryan, 'Assimilating new worlds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'; Anthony Grafton, *New worlds, ancient texts: the power of tradition and the shock of discovery* (Cambridge, 1992); Joan-Pau Rubies, *Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance*.

Fynes Moryson

Fynes Moryson sits curiously both before and after Coryat. Moryson predates Coryat in the sense that he travelled well before the latter. However, *An Itinerary* (1617) postdates *Coryats Crudities* (1611) in that it was both written and published after the latter. Like Coryat, Moryson describes two separate journeys. First a European journey through Germany, Prague, Switzerland, the Netherlands Denmark, Poland, Moravia and Austria to Italy, returning home via Geneva and France, then a separate Levantine peregrination. Unlike Coryat's brief five months, Moryson's European escapade occupied four years between 1591 and 1595, and involved long periods of residence and study, enrolled at the universities of Basel, Padua and Leiden. Moryson's second journey, like Coryat's, was a visit to Jerusalem and Constantinople, in the years 1595 to 1597. Unlike Coryat, Moryson survived his journey although his brother who accompanied him did not. Following his travels Moryson served in Ireland under the lord deputy, Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, between 1599 and 1602, which as we shall see gave an interesting colouration to his later writing. It is easy to contrast the colourful Coryat with the somewhat greyer Moryson. However, a notable similarity is the role of literary contexts in shaping these authors accounts of the Levant. This section will argue that Moryson's geographical reading sits alongside contemporary notions of travel, religious identity and the position and attitudes of the English in the Levant in framing both his experiences and memories of the eastern Mediterranean.

Although as a writer Moryson is a good deal less eccentric than Coryat, both of their accounts are, in different ways, far broader in scope than one might expect from travel writing. In Moryson's case this breadth is expressed through the author's departure from narrative and observational detail into the realms of analysis of political systems and 'manners' (culture) as well as a generally unsuccessful attempt to synthesise the author's broad geographical reading with the experiences of his travel. Moryson tells us that before writing his work he spent three years abstracting 'the Histories of these 12 Dominio[n]s thorow which I passed, with purpose to ioyne them to the Discourses of the seuerall Commonwealths, for illustration and ornament'.²⁵ However, finding that the history of so many lands ran to great length he omitted them from his work, to the relief of anyone who has read the clumsily edited and paraphrased geographical descriptions he did include. Instead Moryson's *An Itinerary*, which he first wrote in Latin and translated into English for publication, is in three parts, which are essentially separate works. The first is an account of his travels and is mostly a brief and matter of fact description of travel and its difficulties, events which occurred during his journey and places he visited, enlivened here and there with his own anecdotes and observations on manners, religion and political systems. The second part is an account of his time in Ireland and 'the rebellion of Hugh, Earle of Tyrone' (the Nine Years war 1594-1603). The third and final section 'Containth a discourse vpon many heads throughout all said seuerall dominions', a lengthy justification of the value of travel, followed by a series of geographical sketches of the lands to which Moryson travelled bowdlerised in abridged form from longer geographical works, and a discussion of the commonwealths (and strangely enough, apparel) of some of these places. This third section is much shorter than Moryson had

²⁵ Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent*, sig.¶5^v.

envisioned and a surviving manuscript extends this third part into a lengthy discussion of the commonwealths, manners and religion of all the areas he visited. These extensions were unpublished in Moryson's day. However, large sections of this manuscript were published in 1903 by Charles Hughes (who saw fit not to include Moryson's sections on the manners and religion of the Turks as being 'not very interesting'!).²⁶

Thus Moryson is far from a simple 'travel' writer. Although his introduction states

I professe not to write it to any curious wits, who can indure nothing but extractions and quientessences: nor yet to great States-men, of whose reading I confesse it is vnworthy: but only vnto the vnexperienced, who shall desire to view forraign kingdomes...²⁷

It is clear that there is a high degree of feigned authorial modesty at play here. Certainly it is clear that Moryson's ambitions surpassed both this narrow remit and his abilities as a writer. In many regards the most interesting feature of Moryson's writing springs from his attempts to marry his first-hand observations, many of which focus on tediously related distances of journeys, times taken and monetary information on prices along the way, with attitudes and information arising from his wider reading. The importance of Moryson's reading to his account is surely the result of the time elapsed between his travels (to the Levant and Holy Land in 1595 to 1597) and the writing of his only major work, *An Itinerary*, published in 1617.

²⁶ Fynes Moryson (ed. Charles Hughes), *Shakespeare's Europe* (London, 1903).

²⁷ Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent*, sig.¶5^v.

Moryson's geographical reading sits alongside contemporary notions of travel as education or pilgrimage, religious identity and of course the experience of travel itself in shaping his account. We will examine these factors first before returning to Moryson's relationship to contemporary literature and his account of the Ottoman state. As previously noted, the relative peacefulness of the early seventeenth century and the development of the English Levantine trade facilitated and stimulated travel. However, Moryson, travelling in the 1590s, provides an illustration of the difficulties tumults such as the 1593-1606 Ottoman-Hapsburg war might cause. Travelling from Vienna in 1596

We being now to take our purposed iourney into the Turkes Dominions, thought it best, first to goe to *Constantinople*, where the English Ambassadour giuing us a *Ianizare* for our guide, we hoped the rest of our iourney would be pleasant, and void of all trouble ... But when we inquired of the way from *Raguza* to *Constantinople* by land, all of the Postes and Messengers passing that way, told vs that the warre of *Hungarie* made all those parts full of tragedies and miserie. Then we thought to goe by Sea to *Constantinople*: but when wee heard that no ship would be had in three moneths at least, that long delay was hatefull to vs.²⁸

In the end Moryson and his brother travelled by sea from Venice to Cyprus and Jerusalem, travelling up the coast (where his brother fell ill and died) then to Constantinople via Crete. Throughout the journey Moryson encountered danger and difficulties and had many opportunities to reflect and regret that they did not hold to their

²⁸ Ibid., I, pp. 206-207.

original plan, whereby a Janissary guide might have much eased the problems of travel through Ottoman dominions.

Moryson places great emphasis upon the routine dangers and problems he faced as a Christian European travelling in Ottoman lands. To the dangers of robbery or illness he adds the routine humiliation one might expect to suffer as a Christian travelling in the Levant and Holy Lands. For example, outside Jerusalem

[I]t happened that a Spachi (or Horse-man vnder the great Turkes pay) riding swiftly, and crossing our way, suddenly turned towards vs, and with his speare in his rest, (for these horse-men carry speares & bucklers like Amadis of Gaule) he rushed vpon vs with all his might, and by the grace of God his speare lighting in the pannell of an Asse, neuer hurt the French-man his Rider, but he did much astonish both him and vs, till our Muccaro enquiring the cause of this violence, he said, why doe not these dogges light on foot to honour mee as I passe; which when we heard, and knew that we must here learne the vertue of the beasts on which we rode, we presently tumbled from our Asses ... and bended our bodies to him. Neither did we therein basely, but very wisely: for woe be to that Christian who resists any Turke, especially a Souldier, and who beares not any iniury at their hands.²⁹

Neither is Moryson alone in describing quixotic adventures of this kind (that the context is given by reference to a Romance character is in itself interesting). They are a

²⁹ Ibid., I, p. 217.

commonplace in the accounts of contemporary travellers. For example, Coryat states 'I was robbed of my money ... in a Citie called *Diarbeck* in *Mesopotamia*, the *Turkes* country, by a Spahee, as they call him, that is, one of the Horse-men of the Great Turke'.³⁰ It was precisely such misadventures Moryson had hoped to prevent by employing a Janissary as guide. Similarly the later traveller and Levant company Chaplain, Thomas Smith commented, under the marginal note 'patience and prudence necessary'

[A] *Christian* who is not a Slave as the *Greeks* and *Armenians* are ... will be liable to continual affronts, which he must put up and digest with a patience becoming his Religion and his prudence, and not seem much concerned, but be deaf rather to the noise and ill language.

However, if curiosity carries one twenty or thirty miles into the Country, the danger is really great and certain, (for it is usual to seize upon straglers, if they meet them in Fields and Woods separated from their company, where there is such great probability of securing their prey, and of their being undiscovered), unless he throws off his *Christian* Habit, and puts himself into that of the Country, and goes armed and well attended.³¹

Such cautionary tales throw an interesting light on the position and attitudes of the seventeenth-century Englishman travelling through, and indeed writing about, Ottoman

³⁰ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. I, book 3, chap. 17, p. 595.

³¹ Thomas Smith, *Remarks upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks* (London, 1678: Wing S4246), pp. 10-11.

domains. They also pose the question of how best to approach such sources critically. Clearly it is difficult to apply an ‘Orientalism’ approach to such figures. Such men were patently not Said’s haughty Orientalists able to write about the ‘Orient’ and define it precisely because they could do so without resistance (see introduction). Perhaps more pertinently, given that many critical studies of English travel literature of this kind have focussed on the links between early travel literature and colonialism and expanding English mercantile interests of the period, how are we to view the vulnerability and prudence these authors stress so heavily in their writing?³² This is a particularly interesting question since, as Goffman has observed, it was often the very same Englishmen who encountered the intractable Turk who pushed forward the earliest days of empire and colonialism in other areas of the globe.³³ Although, Goffman is referring to America his point also applies to a wider context, as Moryson with his experience of travel in the Levant and time spent serving under Blount in Ireland demonstrates neatly.

Indeed in one passage Moryson unconsciously and implicitly compares English and Ottoman imperial policy. While observing the population of the Holy Land Moryson comments

³² On travel writing, colonialism, Empire and expanding economic interests see Kenneth Raymond Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement: maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge; New York, 1984); Margaret Hunt, 'Racism, imperialism, and the travellers' gaze in eighteenth-century England,' *Journal of British studies* 32:4 (1993), 333-57; Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, travel, and colonial writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford, 1998).

³³ Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman empire 1642-1660* (Seattle, 1998), p. 8.

The Arabians are not vnlike the wild Irish, for they are subiect to the great Turke, yet being poore and farre distant from his imperiall seat, they cannot be brought to due obedience, much lesse to abstaine from robberies.³⁴

This is a fascinating observation. On the one hand Moryson elides the wildness of the Irish with that of the Arabs. On the other, having himself fought against an Irish rebellion and being personally aware of the difficulties of coercing rebellious subjects ‘farre distant from his imperiall seat’, Moryson implicitly compares the English and Ottoman states. However, what is most interesting is that this observation occurs only a few pages before Moryson’s account of his party’s humiliation at the hands of the *Sipahi*. The contrast between these two anecdotes is a warning of the complex difficulties of viewing early modern Englishmen in the Levant as proto-imperialists. The commonplace ‘wildness’ of the Irish provides a model for Moryson’s characterisation of the Arabs. Further, his involvement in English imperialism in Ireland provides a model for his observation on the limitations of Ottoman power. However, recalling humiliation at the hands of Turkish soldiery, Moryson simply advises patience and prudence to his readers, and other potential travellers to Ottoman lands. In other words Moryson’s involvement in imperialism in Ireland does not affect his perception of his security and status upon actually being in the Levant and under Ottoman dominion. These anecdotes did not present any contradiction to Moryson, and he did not hesitate to present them to his readers alongside each other, or feel the need soften the *sipahi* anecdote with any supposed personal heroics.

³⁴ Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent*, I, p. 216.

The degree of insecurity which Moryson took as a given to be tolerated unquestioningly by the English traveller in Ottoman lands is reinforced by another anecdote from his time in Constantinople, this time accompanied by a Janissary guide. Moryson recalls: ‘as we passed by land, an old woman meeting vs, and taking me for a Captiue to be sold, demaunded my price of the Ianizare’.³⁵ The Janissary for entertainment haggles with the old woman who refuses to offer more than a pitiful one hundred aspers for Moryson on account of his emaciation from travel and illness. Again the anecdote is revealing of the travelling Englishman’s status. On the one hand England was a small but expanding commercial presence in the Levant, with trade concessions from the sultan, ambassadors, consuls and access to some degree of official protection. On the other the individual Englishman, or indeed European Christian, at any distance from such official protection was liable to be extorted, robbed, mistaken for a slave or indeed simply abused. Furthermore, while England was a nascent imperial power with ambitions in Ireland, America and beyond, this contrasted vigorously with what the Englishman might find in the Levant. It is worth remembering that it was often the same individuals who encountered these separate contexts. For example, the intrepid captain John Smith, sometime governor of Virginia, who has been described as ‘England’s foremost advocate of colonization’³⁶ had been a Turkish slave following his capture while serving as a mercenary fighting in the Habsburg-Ottoman war of 1593-1606. While early English imperialism is clearly a relevant context for the Levantine writings of figures such as Moryson, the modern historian seeking to make such comparisons must be cautious. The involvement of early English travellers such as Moryson, Smith, Sandys and Timberlake

³⁵ Ibid., I, p. 265.

³⁶ Gwenda Morgan, ‘Smith, John (*bap.* 1580, *d.* 1631)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); online edn, Jan. 2008, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25835>, accessed 3 Sept 2009].

in early English imperialism, should not lead the critic to ignore the very real differences between these and later eighteenth and nineteenth century imperialist writers on the Ottoman empire.

Another characteristic of Moryson's contemporary travellers (i.e. travelling in Elizabeth's reign although Moryson wrote later) is the emphasis many place upon their Protestantism. This is particularly strong in descriptions of travels in Catholic lands. However, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a key element of many gentleman travellers' visits to the Levant and Holy Land, often also brought forth staunch affirmations of Protestantism, whether during the journey itself or after the event. Dimmock has cited the case of Moryson's contemporary (1601) pilgrim Henry Timberlake. Having been advised by his companions to pretend to be a Greek Christian or Catholic when entering Jerusalem, Timberlake instead loudly proclaimed that he was English and therefore of a nation with trading agreements with the sultan, and was promptly gaoled by, the presumably somewhat perplexed, Ottoman authorities. Following this Timberlake refused the assistance of the representative of Roman Catholic pilgrims, saying he would rather place his trust in the 'Turke' than the Pope. Timberlake was eventually released at the behest of a Muslim he had helped in Algiers.³⁷

In contrast to Timberlake, Moryson was a quietist who hid his Protestantism and lodged with friars in Jerusalem.³⁸ He not only hid his reformed religion but actively pretended to be Catholic. He explained this to his readers, perhaps less than emphatically, out of fear

³⁷ Dimmock, *New Turkes*, pp. 2-3. The same Timberlake was later an adventuring colonist who settled land in Bermuda.

³⁸ Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent*, I, p. 234.

of the mischief that might be done by the malice of Catholics in Jerusalem, whereby ‘this our foresaid dissembling may well bee excused, especially since thereby wee did not in any sort wound our consciences to my best remembrance’.³⁹ One stand Moryson did make was to refuse to tattoo crosses on his wrists, a mark of pilgrims, on the grounds it would lead to suspicion of open Catholicism upon his return. Thus, although while actually in Jerusalem, the ever pragmatic Moryson felt that his religious identity was a matter of ‘conscience’, he also felt the need to justify the strength of his reformed convictions to his readers in stronger terms as well as perhaps defending himself from the charge of being sympathetic to or having been contaminated or corrupted by Catholic ‘superstition’ abroad. Moryson justifies having attended mass out of curiosity over exactly such ‘superstition’:

I am confidently of opinion, that no man returnes home with more detestation of the Papists Religion, then he who well instructed in the truth, hath taken the libertie to behold with his eyes their strange superstitions, which one of experience may well see, without any great participation of their folly.⁴⁰

As well as answering the charge that travel and foreign manners corrupt, perhaps best known to modern critics through Roger Ascham’s *The Scholemaster*, Moryson neatly extends his argument that travel is the natural means of completing through experience an education in which you have been ‘well instructed’ at home.⁴¹ However, Moryson is on

³⁹ Ibid., I, p. 237.

⁴⁰ Ibid., I, p. 236.

⁴¹ On Ascham, contemporary debates, and justifications of travel see Hadfield, *Amazons, savages, and machiavels*, pp. 20-23.

more dubious ground arguing the moral probity of pretending to be Catholic in order to satisfy one's curiosity about mass, albeit without entering into the spirit and drawing the line on one's participation in ceremonies, rather than simply as a strategy to survive in Jerusalem. While much has been written on early modern English fears of the 'Renegado', or Christian convert to Islam, in Moryson's account the primary religious threat and anxiety in terms of conversion is clearly directed towards Catholicism.⁴²

The tendency to stress Protestant identity in opposition to Catholicism was doubtless heightened in Moryson's particular case by the symbolism of Jerusalem, and the act of pilgrimage. However, it is also true that for Moryson and many of his well travelled contemporaries precisely this opposition was central to the identity of the Protestant Englishman abroad. While such an observation may seem somewhat trite it is worth recalling how much has been made of the role of the Turk as a figure of 'otherness' in the development of European identity.⁴³ Further, while the Ottoman Turks, their manners, religion, state and society were often contrasted either to specific, in our case English examples, it is worth noting that the Turks were not the only figure represented in this oppositional fashion, even in the context of writing about the eastern Mediterranean and Levant. As discussed in my introduction the Ottoman Turks were not the only 'other', encountered and identified by Englishmen writing about Ottoman domains, including Jews, Greek Christians, Persians, Spanish, and French but above all Catholics, as often as not referred to pejoratively as 'Papists'. The 'Turkish other' was in good company and not necessarily even the most demonised of these figures.

⁴² N. I. Matar, 'The renegade in English seventeenth-century imagination,' *Studies in English literature 1500-1900* vol. 33, no. 3 (1993), 489-505; N. I. Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 489-505.

⁴³ Denys Hay, *Europe*; Yapp, 'Europe in the Turkish mirror'; Daniel J. Vitkus, 'Early modern orientalism'.

Moryson's account is clearly shaped by contemporary ideas of travel, his own experiences both in the Levant and Ireland, the status of Englishmen in the Levant and the religious context of the 1590s. However, in the context of this thesis we are most concerned with Moryson as a writer on the Ottoman Turks. Moryson does not merely describe his voyage through Ottoman lands but also gives us his systematic analysis of 'Turkish' society. It is here that Moryson's relationship to his geographical reading is clearest. Moryson's most systematic and complete analysis of the Ottoman Turkish state and its society comes in the manuscript, unpublished in his lifetime, which he intended to supplement his *Itinerary*. It is here he covers 'the Commonwealth of the Turkish Empire', 'The Religion of the Turkish Empire' and 'of the Turks nature'. However, while his *Itinerary* for the most part sticks to anecdotes of his journey, Moryson does provide enough analysis of these events to demonstrate a consistency in his views of the Ottoman Turks between these two works. His attitude towards the Ottoman empire is that 'The forme of the Ottoman Empire is meere absolute, and in the highest degree Tyrannicall vsing all his Subjects as borne-slaves'.⁴⁴ Moryson extends the principle of tyranny from the top down like a pyramid, right through Ottoman society, with Christian subjects and western visitors firmly at the bottom.

All that liue vnder this Tyrant, are vsed like sponges to be squeased when they are full. All the Turkes, yea the basest sort, spoile and make a pray of the Frankes (so they call Christians that are straungers, vppon the old league that they haue with the French) and in like sort they spoile Christian Subjects. The soldiers and

⁴⁴ Moryson (ed. Hughes), *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 11.

officers seeking all occasions of oppression, spoile Common Turkes, and all Christians. The Gouvernors and greatest Commaunders make a pray of the very souldiers, and of the Common Turkes, and of all Christians, and the superiors among them vse like extortion vppon the Inferiors, and when these great men are growne rich, the Emperour strangles them to haue their treasure.⁴⁵

It is of course impossible to tell whether he acquired this opinion before, during or after his travels. However, given the nature of his opinions and the clarity with which he expresses them, it is likely they were gleaned from the widespread geographical reading in which he engaged for three years before writing *An Itinerary*, most of which would have articulated similar opinions. Thus it is likely that Moryson's memory of the Ottoman lands he travelled through was shaped and rationalised through his reading of English literature on the Ottomans and wider geographical literature.

Moryson extends the principle of tyranny throughout Ottoman society, and just as good governance brings about a healthy commonweal, tyranny has a strangling effect on Ottoman society. Similarly to Knolles, Moryson argues that tyranny, where powerful prey on the weak, and lack of inheritance rights have led Ottoman society to stagnate economically.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

[T]hey desire no other dainties or greater riches, since they can neither enjoy their goods while they live nor yet bequeath them at death, and nothing is more dangerous then to be accounted rich.⁴⁶

‘Yea, by reason of the same tyranny’ the Turks ‘coldly exercise trafficke with Merchants’ and neglect both ‘Husbandry’ and ‘manual Arts’,⁴⁷ and he extends this negative evaluation of Ottoman society more generally to almost all its facets both materially and culturally. Moryson illustrates this with a disparaging reference to a familiar figure of parochial disdain, the Welsh.

Neither is the Art of Cookery greater in *Turkey* then with vs in *Wales*, for toasting of Cheese in *Wales*, and seething of Rice in *Turkey*, will enable a man freely to professe the Art of Cookery.⁴⁸

Moryson believes that tyranny fundamentally shapes not only the society, economy and culture but also the moral character of the populations subject to the sultans rule.

Yet indeed the Christians, there borne and bred in slavery especially having neuer tasted the sweetnes of liberty, are of such abiection myndes, as with the Israelites, they seeme to preferre an Egyptian bondage with slothful ease, before most sweete Christian liberty, with some danger and hazard.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent*, III, p. 125.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 126-27.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 130.

⁴⁹ Moryson (ed. Hughes), *Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 38.

It is interesting here that tyranny is entirely a category of political description, and not an ethnographic or racial characterisation. One gets no sense that tyranny is a specifically eastern or oriental category or related to climate, race or other intrinsic factors. In Moryson's eyes the Ottoman state is Tyrannical because of the absence of justice and the practice of injustice. Tyranny stagnates society and shapes the population, whether Turk or Christian, exactly as just government shapes its population positively.

While in his later manuscript writings, unpublished in his lifetime, Moryson's analysis of the Ottoman state is highly schematic, several of his anecdotes from *An Itinerary* are also deeply permeated with the same model. For example, his description of arriving in Constantinople on board a Cretan merchant vessel plays out his understanding of the Christian's place within Turkish tyranny.

Hauing cast anchor ... in the Port of *Constantinople* ... many companies of Turkes rushing into our Barke, who like so many starued flies fell to sucke the sweete Wines, each rascall among them beating with cudgels and ropes the best of our Marriners... till within short space the Candian Merchant hauing aduertised the Venetian Ambassadour of their arriuall he sent a Ianizare to protect the Barke, and the goods; and assoone as he came, it seemed to me no lesse strange, that this one man should beate all those Turkes, and driue them out of the Barke like so many dogs, the common Turkes daring no more resist a souldier, or especially a

Ianizare, then Christians dare resist them ... such is the tyranny of the Turkes against all Christians aswel their subjects as others⁵⁰

Here we see a clear deployment of Moryson's pyramid model of tyranny with each successive social strata preying upon the lower orders of society, with Christians firmly on the bottom. Throughout Moryson's account of his travels the figure of the Janissary functions as the most visible and authoritative representative of Ottoman tyranny, even when also functioning as Moryson's guide or protector (as in Constantinople).

In conclusion, Moryson's account of the Ottoman empire is shaped by several factors, at the centre of which is an interaction of the opinions and theories which he gained from his geographical reading with his experiences while travelling and memories of them. Key to Moryson's view of the domains through which he travelled is his understanding of the Ottoman state as a tyranny. This gives structure to his writing on the Turkish Commonweal and permeates his anecdotes of 'Turkish' society. A further point of major importance is his experience of travel, and particularly the dangers of travel, in the Ottoman empire. Moryson's perception and experience of his personal position of weakness in Ottoman domains lends peculiar force to his vision of the Ottoman state as a tyranny. These factors blended with his observations of the lands through which he travelled, and his comparisons of Ottoman lands to other places he had visited, to give Moryson's account its particular character. It is worth recalling that Moryson was an exceptionally well travelled man. Finally these observations were made from, and shaped by, the perspectives of Moryson as a Protestant Englishman travelling in the 1590s. His

⁵⁰ Moryson, *An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent*, I, pp. 259-60.

later involvement in Elizabethan military projects in Ireland, also colours his account, and is particularly clear in his disparaging remarks on the Irish and Welsh (he wisely avoided mention of the Scots in a work dedicated to James I). In the end Moryson's thoroughly negative assessment of the Ottoman empire is perhaps best articulated through his own description of Constantinople.

'To conclude, the Countrey is no lesse pleasant then the inhabitants are wicked.'⁵¹

George Sandys: career and reputation

Both Coryat and Moryson were widely read by their contemporaries. However, neither of them achieved as great a literary fame and reputation as our next traveller: George Sandys. Born in 1578, Sandys was the ninth son of Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York. Having studied at both St Mary Hall, Oxford and Middle Temple (there is no evidence that he qualified from either) he entered into a disastrous arranged marriage to one of his father's wards, Elizabeth Norton. In 1606 he fled from his marriage to the south of England, and his wife opened an exhaustive round of litigation which lasted from 1609 to 1662, by which time Sandys was eighteen years dead and Elizabeth was eighty two and suing his descendants. Against this backdrop Sandys set off on an extended voyage travelling through France, to Venice, Constantinople, Alexandria, Cairo and Jerusalem, returning to England via southern Italy. It was this voyage which formed the topic of his first literary work *A Relation of a Journey begun Anno Dominus 1610*, the first edition of

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 263.

which was published in 1615. In 1609, before departing on his travels, Sandys' name had appeared on a list of those to whom the second Virginia Charter was granted. His brother Sir Edwin Sandys was a prime mover in the Virginia Company and George was appointed its treasurer in 1621.⁵² While in Virginia Sandys completed a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, the first five books of which he had published before embarking for the colony. Sandys also translated book one of Virgil's *Aeneid*, as well as Hugo Grotius' *Christ's Passion*. Additionally, he was known as a poet of religious verse publishing a *Paraphrase upon the Psalmes* (1636) and *A Paraphrase of the Song of Solomon* (1641).⁵³ Sandys died in 1644.

Similarly to the two previous authors examined in this chapter Sandys' *Relation* drew heavily upon various literary contexts. Coryat engaged with the cultural landscape of the Levant through a classical and biblical canon familiar to his readers. Moryson's account was shaped by the accommodation of his memories with his compendious reading of contemporary geographical literature. However, while these two elements are present in the *Relation*, it is the highbrow literary character of Sandys' work which set it apart from both Coryat and Moryson. My examination of Sandys' *Relation* will therefore begin with the literary reputation he left behind amongst his seventeenth-century English contemporaries. Following from this I will establish why this text proved so popular with contemporaries and examine how Sandys constructed his authority within the *Relation*.

At this stage, I will examine Haynes' critical appraisal of Sandys as a 'Christian

⁵² On Sandys' election to the Virginia company see Susan Myra Kingsbury, *The records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, 1906), p. 450; James Ellison, *George Sandys: travel, colonialism, and tolerance in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 109.

⁵³ For a complete bibliography of Sandys see Fredson Thayer Bowers and Richard Beale Davis, *George Sandys: a bibliographical catalogue of printed editions in England to 1700* (New York, 1950).

Humanist', and critique his treatment of Sandys' views of the Ottomans. I will then examine Sandys' views of the Ottomans, argue that they are primarily shaped by his views of the Ottoman state as a 'Tyranny' and the Christian polemical tradition regarding Islam and relate these views to contemporary English literature. Finally, I will survey how the *Relation*, was read, received and cited by contemporary authors across a range of topics, but above all as an authority on the Ottoman Turks.

Sandys' literary reputation was extensive. Even limiting our investigations to the *Relation* it is possible to find some 49 separate contemporary seventeenth-century works which refer either to this book or to Sandys as a traveller. That the *Relation* was well received and widely read is attested to not merely by its eight editions between 1615 and 1673 (marked as the seventh edition, but there were two separate sixth editions), but also by the large number of references made to it by contemporary authors and the literary fame accrued by its author. These underline Sandys' status and reputation as a traveller, translator, authority on eastern lands and literary figure. Robert Baron in the annotations to his play *Mirza* refers his readers on no less than seventeen occasions to 'the most elaborate, and accurate discourse'⁵⁴ of 'our most exact Mr. *Sandys*' and considered him second only to Knolles as an authority on the Ottoman Turks.⁵⁵ Robert Boyle, in more than one work, refers to 'that ingenious Traveller'⁵⁶ and 'our Ingenious Countreyman'.⁵⁷ Peter Heylyn refers upon a multitude of occasions in several works to '*George Sandys* in

⁵⁴ Baron, *Mirza. A tragedie*, p. 164.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁵⁶ Robert Boyle, *Experiments and considerations touching colours* (London, 1664: Wing B3967), p. 159.

⁵⁷ Robert Boyle, *Essays of the strange subtilty, determinate nature, great efficacy of effluviiums* (London, 1673: Wing B3952), p. 45.

the excellent discourse of his own travaux'.⁵⁸ Thomas Fuller includes Sandys amongst 'authours of excellent credit'.⁵⁹ Lawrence Echard's *A most complete compendium of geography* includes Sandys and 'Morison' alongside luminaries such as 'Charden' (Chardin), 'Thevenot' and 'Tavenor' (Tavernier) in a list of 'chief travellers' in a section 'concerning rules for making a large Geography. John Evelyn in *Numismata*, that most peculiar and eclectic set of lists, counts Sandys twice: under 'Poets and Great Wits' alongside 'Shakespeare', 'Sidny Sir Phil.' and *Spencer*; and 'Great Travellers' alongside 'Mandevil', the Sherley brothers and Sir Thomas Roe. Evelyn adds a postscript: 'By no means forgetting our Renowned *Leg-Stretcher, Thomas Coriat of Odcomb*'. Interestingly, though, Coryat is clearly not in the same league as Sandys, more of an eccentric afterthought than a 'Great Traveller'.⁶⁰ One might easily continue, indeed Haynes lists Ben Jonson, Francis Bacon, Robert Burton, Sir Thomas Browne, Abraham Cowley, and John Milton as among those who were influenced by the *Relation*.⁶¹ However, for the sake of brevity suffice it to say that Sandys was widely read and considered an accurate, entertaining and important writer on foreign lands, and particularly Ottoman domains, which of course included the Holy Land and Egypt.

My observations so far have been limited to the *Relation*, with no reference to what is arguably Sandys' best known work, his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. The first five books of this were published in 1621, followed by a complete engraved edition in

⁵⁸ Peter Heylyn, *A full relation of two journeys* (London, 1656: Wing H1712), p. 36. Other Heylyn works which refer to the *Relation* include Heylyn, *The historie of that most famous saint and souldier of Christ Iesus*, pp. 228-29; Peter Heylyn, *The history of the Sabbath* (London, 1636: STC 13274), p. 190; Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, pp. 251, 258; Peter Heylyn, *Theologia veterum* (London, 1654: Wing H1738), p. 478.

⁵⁹ Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (London, 1650: STC 11464), p. 82.

⁶⁰ John Evelyn, *Numismata*, pp. 262-63.

⁶¹ Haynes, *The humanist as traveler*, p. 14.

1632. Although Sandys' travel work was widely read and he was also well known as a poet, he was perhaps most famous as a translator of classical texts. Robert Baron called him 'the exactest of all Translators',⁶² and the poet Robert Howard referred to 'the incomparable *Sandys*'.⁶³ While Dryden was critical of 'the so much admir'd *Sandys*,' Haynes asserts Dryden's own translations of Ovid are much indebted to Sandys.⁶⁴ Sandys' literary reputation as both poet and translator is summarised in doggerel in Gerald Laingbaine's *An account of the English Drammatic Poets*

*Sands Metamorphos'd so into another,
We know not Sands, and Ovid, from each other.*

To which Langbaine adds 'I have heard them [Sandys' translations] much admired by Devout and Ingenious Persons, and I believe very deservedly'.⁶⁵ These were not the only, longest, or best lines of poetry dedicated to Sandys. The poets Thomas Philipot and Henry King (in an edition containing an elegy on Charles I) both wrote elegies which dwelt at length on his reputation as poet and translator but also made allusions to his travels and particularly to Egypt and the Holy Land.⁶⁶

However, the fact that Sandys' literary reputation extended well beyond his travel writing does not detract from the importance of that writing, as is clear in the many biographies

⁶² Baron, *Mirza. A tragedie*, p. 249.

⁶³ Robert Howard, *Poems on several occasions* (London, 1696: Wing H3004), p. 180.

⁶⁴ John Dryden, *Examen poeticum* (London, 1693: Wing D2277), the dedication. See also Ellison, *George Sandys*.

⁶⁵ Langbaine, *An account of the English dramattick poets*, p. 438.

⁶⁶ Thomas Philipot, *Poems* (London, 1646: Wing P2000A), p. 20; Henry King, *Poems, elegies, paradoxes, and sonets* (London, 1664: Wing K502), pp. 118-23.

written of him by his contemporaries, or near contemporaries. Full biographies survive in David Lloyd's *Memories of the lives* (1668), the *Anglorum Speculum, or, the worthies of England* (1684), William Winstanley's *The lives of the most famous English poets* (1687), Gerard Langbaines *An account of the English Dramatic poets* (1691) and of course Anthony Wood's *Oxoniensis* V. II (1692). Winstanley's account gives a good flavour of the importance of the *Relation* to Sandys' literary reputation and also the qualities his readers admired in this work

He having good Education, proved a most Accomplished Gentleman, and addicting his mind to Travel, went as far as the Sepulcher at *Jerusalem*; the rarities whereof, as also those of *Ægypt*, *Greece*, and the remote parts of *Italy*: He hath given so lively a Description, as may spare others Pains in going thither to behold them; none either before or after him having more lively and truly described them. He was not like so many of our *English* Travellers, who with their Breath Suck in the vices of other Nations, and instead of improving their Knowledge, return knowing in nothing but what they were ignorant of, or else with *Tom. Coriat* take notice only of Trifles and Toyes... But his Travels were not only painful, but profitable, living piously, and by that means having the blessing of God attending on his endeavours, making a holy use of his viewing those sacred places which he saw at *Jerusalem*⁶⁷

⁶⁷ William Winstanley, *The lives of the most famous English poets* (London, 1687: Wing W3065), pp. 152-53.

This passage contains many points of interest, both as regards Sandys' *Relation* and the seventeenth-century attitude to genteel travel in general. As with *Coryats Crudities*, travel is presented as following naturally from a good education. Anthony Wood's biography of Sandys expresses this sense of travel as a finishing school in even clearer terms, stating 'being improved in several respects by this his large journey, he became an accomplish'd Gent.'⁶⁸ Further, Winstanley also emphasises the potentially corrupting influence of foreign climes, a common concern in contemporary writing on travel. The relative emphasis on Sandys' various destinations is also interesting. The most important in descending order are: Jerusalem and the Holy Land; Aegypt as the site of exotic antiquities; and Italy as a culturally important region but one described by many others. However, the importance of those regions does not mean that his descriptions of Constantinople, the Aegean and Asia Minor were not of interest to his contemporaries. As we shall examine at the end of this section, several authors, notably Samuel Purchas, drew on Sandys account as a source of current information on these regions. However, this passage is most important in what it tells us of contemporary views of the *Relation* and Sandys as an author. Winstanley places great emphasis on Sandys' classical learning, piety and respectability, and literary reputation as a poet and translator of note. These factors all lend authority to his observations of the Levant. Sandys is a respectable and respected author because his travels embody the ethics of gentility by being painful, profitable and pious. The *Relation* is not merely less frivolous than the writings of the clownish Coryat, but the entire carefully crafted literary edifice of both the *Relation* and Sandys' reputation, make it a suitably authoritative description of the landscape and meaning of the Levant to genteel English society.

⁶⁸ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London, 1692: Wing W3383), sig. C3^r, f 25.

While Winstanley and Evelyn explicitly contrast Sandys and Coryat, their accounts have many similarities. Sandys, Coryat and indeed Moryson followed similar itineraries: pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the sites of the bible, combined with visits to significant sites in humanistic education (Troy and assorted classical antiquities). All three also travelled widely outside these areas in Europe and beyond. Further, these accounts also place significant emphasis upon current information on the state of the lands they travelled through and covered topics such as the Ottoman state; the manners and religion of the Turks; the remains of classical civilisation; the condition of Christians living as Ottoman subjects; differences in religious observation between eastern and western Christian sects; the mercantile and political presence of Europeans in these lands; and the relative strength (and threat) of Catholicism. All three authors drew upon the extant geographical literature as well as their own experiences in the writing of their accounts. Neither they, nor most of their contemporaries, ranked visiting the Ottoman empire for its own sake as being as important, prestigious or indeed worthy of interest in comparison to the Holy Land or sites of classical renown. However, all three of these authors were drawn on extensively by those who wished to write on Ottoman dominions and Sandys and Moryson in particular were much referred to by contemporary English geographical writers, such as Purchas and Heylin. Thus, the accounts of these men contributed significantly to the emerging English literature on the Ottoman Turks of the period. Indeed, these authors were not merely observers of the Ottoman empire, or ‘travel writers’ in the modern parlance, but are best understood as both drawing upon and contributing to wider English geographical literature.

A final striking similarity between Sandys and Moryson is their involvement in early English imperialism. Although both Moryson's involvement in military campaigns in Ireland and Sandys' involvement in the administration of the Virginia colony occurred significantly after their travels they are both a sharp reminder of the varied contexts in which an early modern gentleman might find himself abroad. However, this should under no circumstances lead the modern critic to read their accounts of Ottoman dominions and the eastern Mediterranean in general through the lens of post colonial debates, imperialism and ultimately Said's Orientalism paradigm. With all three of these writers it is plainly evident that the seventeenth-century Englishman in the Ottoman empire, although saddled with an extensive baggage of assumptions and expectations of the area, was very far indeed from being the caricatured haughty, dismissive and domineering colonialist of later centuries.

The literary character of the *Relation* (1615)

From the above it should appear that Sandys, Coryat and Moryson are in many ways rather similar figures who produced similar accounts. However, Sandys was far more successful as an author, being wider read than either Coryat or Moryson and establishing a considerable literary reputation (and as a serious author rather than a clown like Coryat). While of course this reputation was assisted by his later works which garnered

him no small fame as both poet and translator, his *Relation* was also a widely read and respected work.

It was Sandys' success in constructing his authority in this text which set him above his fellow travellers Coryat and Moryson in the eyes of his contemporaries. Alongside the *Relation's* literary character, Sandys used a dazzling array of textual apparatus to construct an authoritative authorial persona which was very much in tune with both his audience's expectations and with the literary standards of his day. These include an allegorical frontispiece and title page, a lengthy and rhetorically laden dedication to the Prince of Wales and a detailed map. Sandys uses these elements to introduce his themes and rhetorical strategies, which he then extends throughout his work through the widespread use of classical quotation and allusion. The learned reference points on which these paratexts, and the rest of the *Relation*, draw, introduce the reader to the scope of Sandys' learning, establishing him as a suitable guide with the authority to describe the Levant and Holy Lands to a genteel English audience.

Sandys' dedication to Prince Charles begins, fittingly enough, with an invocation of the ideal ruler: the humanist prince.

Vertue being in a priuate person an exemplary ornament; aduanceth it selfe in a Prince to a publike blessing. And as the Sunne to the world, so bringeth it both

light and life to a kingdome: a light of direction, by glorious example; and a life of ioy, through a gracious gouernment...⁶⁹

This is not mere flattery, but flattery couched in the familiar terms of the humanistic education familiar to Sandys, and his wider readership, who are tacitly addressed by this dedication in the absence of an epistle ‘to the reader’. Sandys goes on to justify his topic to his dedicatee (and audience) in very similar terms.

The parts I speake of are the most renowned countries and kingdomes: once the seats of most glorious and triumphant Empires; the theaters of valour and heroicall actions; the soiles enriched with all earthly felicities; the places where Nature hath produced her wonderfull works; where Arts and Sciences haue bene inuented, and perfited; where wisdome, vetue, policie, and ciuility haue bene planted, haue flourished: and lastly where God himselfe did place his owne Commonwealth, gaue lawes and oracles, inspired his Prophets, sent Angels to conuerse with men; above all, where the Sonne of God descended to become man; where he honoured the earth with his beautifull steps, wrought the worke of our redemption, triumphed over death, and ascended into glory.⁷⁰

The first half of this paragraph identifies Sandys’ journey with the topos of classical antiquity and connects this strongly with the virtues of Humanism. He promises his readers a description of the lands ‘where wisdome, vertue, policie and civility haue bene

⁶⁹ Sandys, *Relation*, sig. a1^r.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

planted'. The paragraph is then split by a colon dividing the humanist significance of the eastern Mediterranean as the topos of classical history from the biblical topos of the Old Testament and the New Testament (referred to as separate topics divided by a semi colon). Thus Sandys roots his audience's expectations of his account in the major textual reference points shared by all educated Englishmen of the period, and underlines the point that virtually all of these reference points (biblical and classical from Homer onwards) occurred in the eastern Mediterranean. In common with Coryat, Sandys projects a remarkably tangible sense of cultural ownership and participation in this landscape. Haynes makes a similar point regarding the *Relation's* rather splendid map. Although the landmass represented is impressively accurate, its legends

reflect some cultural peculiarities. The map nowhere recognizes Turkish or Arab jurisdiction - "The lesser Asia" is still divided into territories called Phrygia, Lydia, and the rest ... One might conclude (with justice) that the Muslim presence was thought of as a shadow over the land rather than as a historical actuality to be assimilated ... The map represents neither ancient nor the modern worlds, but the interests of its readers, and the world Sandys describes.⁷¹

Fundamentally Sandys approaches this landscape and attributes values to its sites through this textually based set of expectations. His account of the Ottoman empire is cast in sharp contrast to these former glories as a pithy example of 'the frailty of man, and

⁷¹ Haynes, *The humanist as traveler*, p. 16. Haynes note that Sandys' map mentions 'Babilon' but not Baghdad. However, this may simply be a matter of contemporary nomenclature, as Sandys' contemporary Richard Knolles refers to 'Bagdat or new Babylon ... not far from the ruins of old Babylon'.

mutability of what so euer is worldly'.⁷² This is not to say that he is dismissive of the Ottoman empire, as Haynes suggests, but rather that it pales into comparison next to the ideals of the classical and biblical worlds presented to him first through a humanistic education and then as the bedrock of all he considered civility, literature and learning.

Which countries once so glorious, and famous for their happy estate, are now through vice and ingratitude, become the most deplored spectacles of extreme miserie: the wild beasts of mankind hauing broken in vpon them, and rooted out all ciuilitie; and the pride of a sterne and barbarous Tyrant possessing the thrones of ancient and iust dominion. Who aiming onely at the height of greatnesse and sensuality, hath in tract of time reduced so great and so goodly a part of the world, to that lamentable distresse and seruitude, vnder which (to the astonishment of the vnderstanding beholders) it now faints and groneth. Those rich lands at this present remaine wast and ouergrowne with bushes, receptacles of wild beasts, of theeues and murderers; large territories dispeopled, or thinly inhabited; goodly cities made desolate; sumptuous buildings become ruines; glorious Temples either subuerted, or prostituted to impietie; true religion discountenanced and oppressed; all Nobility extinguished; no light of learning permitted, nor Vertue cherished: violence and rapine insulting ouer all, and leauing no security saue to an abiect mind, and vnlookt on pouerty.⁷³

⁷² Sandys, *Relation*, sig. a2^v.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, sigs. a1^r-a2^v.

Sandys begins by contrasting the current state of these lands to their former ancient glories. He then explains this degeneration through another term familiar to his readers: 'tyranny'. Sandys sets Ottoman tyranny in binary opposition to his description of the 'gracious government' of the ideal Humanist prince. While the Humanist ideal of government 'bringeth ... both light and life to a kingdom', Ottoman tyranny has 'rooted out all civility' even in territories 'where wisdom, vertue ... and civility haue bene planted' in ancient times. Thus 'rich lands' 'at present remain waste' and 'goodly cities [are] made desolate'. The terms through which Sandys considers the role of government and its effects are striking and his assertion that in Ottoman lands 'true religion ... [is] oppressed, all Nobility extinguished; no light of learning permitted, nor vertue cherished' expresses these forcefully. Therefore, although the first decades of the seventeenth century was a troubled time for the Ottoman empire, and particularly Anatolia, it is likely that Sandys' assessment of a system based on 'violence and rapine', leaving a subject population 'of abject mind and vnlookt on poverty', derives more from his understanding of the political category of tyranny than the condition of the countries he visited.⁷⁴

The centrality of the notion of tyranny to Sandys' rhetoric in the *Relation* is examined by Avcioglu in her examination of its allegorical frontispiece and title page (see figure 2).⁷⁵ She usefully draws attention to various possible visual sources for the figure of *Achmet, Sive Tyrannus*, shown holding a globe and yoke (symbolising dominion and domination)

⁷⁴ Sandys, *Relation*, sigs. a1^r-a2^v. On the Celali rebellions and the 'Ottoman time of trouble', see Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Crisis and change', in *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*, ed. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: 1994), pp. 413-622; Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 73-77; Özel, O. 'Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th centuries: the 'demographic crisis' reconsidered', *International journal of Middle Eastern studies* 36:2 (2004), 183-205.

⁷⁵ Nebahat Avcioglu, 'Ahmed I and the allegories of tyranny in the frontispiece to George Sandys's "Relation of a Journey"', *Muqarnas* 18 (2001), 203-226.

and standing on an open book and broken scales (symbolising the rejection of learning and justice). Avcioglu in particular suggests Cesare Ripa's *Iconologie*, a Renaissance engraver's sourcebook of allegorical figures representing various abstracts. She notes that Ripa's 'Tyranny' holds a yoke, while the personification of 'Injustice' stands above torn scrolls and a pair of broken scales and thus the 'Achmet' of Sandys' frontispiece combined elements of both.⁷⁶ However, Avcioglu, does not notice that the two virtues, Veritas and Constantia, which flank the risen Christ at the top of the frontispiece are also drawn from Ripa's *Iconologie*. Indeed one should be hesitant to read too much into the specific composition of the image of Achmat as most of its elements appear to be drawn from what is essentially a source book for engravers. The use of *Iconologie* raises the question of the role of the engraver Francis Delaram. It seems more than likely that Sandys, or indeed his publisher W. Barret, gave Delaram the commission for a frontispiece portraying Achmat as, say, a tyrant ruling over the world unjustly, and Delaram sourced appropriate allegorical props for the purpose from the *Iconologie*. Thus while it seems clear that Sandys' Achmat is a personification of both Tyranny and Injustice, both of which Sandys identifies as salient features of the Ottoman empire, it is perhaps unwise to pursue the details of the composition very much further.

⁷⁶ Ibid. pp. 212-16.



Figure 2: frontispiece to Sandys' *Relation* (1637), by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

A second element of the frontispiece which Avcioglu correctly draws attention to is its Christian eschatological message. The medallion below the title (flanked by 'Osiris' and the lamenting virgin Mary) shows the Cumaen Sibyl, prophesising the coming of Christ, while that above it shows Christ risen above the Mount of Olives with the legend *sic redibit mons olivarum*. This image of the risen Christ is flanked by the virtues Veritas and Constantia. The schema of Sandys' title page neatly illustrates his central intellectual commitments. His title is couched between the promise of Christ and his return, illustrating his theme of the transitory nature of human history, in comparison to the glory of Biblical history and its inevitable eschatological fulfilment. However, the promise of Christ's return is articulated through the appropriation of the Virgilian oracle as a Christian prophecy. This marrying of classical literature with Christian prophecy is echoed at the head of the frontispiece where the risen Christ is flanked by the Humanist virtues Veritas and Constantia.

In an excellent study of the *Relation* Haynes has usefully labelled Sandys' intellectual background and literary commitments as 'Christian Humanism'. These commitments are not sidelined to the paratexts of the *Relation*, although they are perhaps most forcefully expressed there, rather they are central to the work as a whole. Throughout the *Relation*, which is structured in four books around the itinerary of Sandys' journey, descriptions are prefaced or enlivened through the use of extensive snippets of classical quotation. As Haynes emphasises, these are not mere literary embellishment, rather they represent the meaning and cultural value these places held for a man of Sandys' intellectual background. Haynes' account is at its best when grappling with these intellectual

commitments and how they shape the literary character of the *Relation*. As Sandys travelled, and indeed later as he sat in his library composing his account he approached the Levant with a specific agenda: 'The traveler in this book is a serious man seeking public meanings through history, allegories, an antique and monumental literary tradition, and so on'.⁷⁷ Haynes adds that the attitudes Sandys formed towards the sites he described 'are informed by the whole of his culture's stance towards the East and antiquity, a stance directly related to its most fundamental notions about itself and inextricably bound up with a canon of inherited literature'.⁷⁸ Haynes argues Sandys' topic was not so much the contemporary eastern Mediterranean through which he travelled, an area dominated by Ottoman dominions, as it was his culture's inherited expectations and accumulated literature concerning this area. Sandys' success lies in his ability to recast this tradition to an English audience, assimilate his extensive classical learning with fine English prose, and reinterpret the eastern Mediterranean through the rhetorical strategy of contrasting ancient glory to contemporary decrepitude and degeneration. It is this ability which explains the extraordinary and enduring which appeal Sandys' *Relation* had to his contemporaries.

Haynes' interpretation of the *Relation* is strongest when dealing with Sandys' use of literary form, its centrality to Sandys' purposes as an author and Sandys' relation to classical and biblical literary contexts. Conversely, Haynes account is at its weakest when dealing with Sandys' relation to contemporary English literature and the experience and position of contemporary Englishmen in the Levant and eastern Mediterranean. These are

⁷⁷ Haynes, *The humanist as traveler*, p. 47.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

a particular feature of Sandys' account of the 'Turks' where both the large and developed contemporary English literature on the Ottomans and Sandys' first-hand experiences of travel through Ottoman domains make his usual impulse towards a schema defined by the humanist interpretation of classical literature difficult to sustain.

Haynes' discussion of Sandys' brief summary of the history of the Turks (Ottoman and Pre Ottoman) places great emphasis on the 'shift from analysis in depth [of classical history] to more vivid if shallower values [of non-European cultures in this case the Turks]... delivered in heightened style'.⁷⁹ Over-analysing Sandys' somewhat cramped potted history he adds 'the motive is not the desire for information but relish for the narrative and stylistic values of the story ... the history resembles an abstract of a romance'.⁸⁰ The passage in question does indeed resemble an abstract. However, Haynes fails to observe that the source for this passage is quite clearly Knolles' *History* (see chapter two). Sandys' cramped style is the result of cramming the content of several hundred pages of chronicle into a mere five pages, covering the period from 844 up to Sandys' own day. Is it not more likely that the terse style of these passages reflect Sandys' difficulties in assimilating the weight of contemporary English scholarship on the Ottomans (and Knolles' *History* is nothing if not weighty) into an account dominated by the authority and viewpoint of classical authors, than a shift in Sandys' model for historical awareness?

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 74.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

The crux of Haynes' analysis of Sandys' section on 'the Turks' rests upon his extension of Sandys' description and critique of Islam as a paradigm for Sandys' understanding (or failure to understand) Ottoman society. However, while this is an important element of Sandys' account it ignores the important context of contemporary English literature on the Ottomans. Haynes notes that 'For his description Sandys could refer to a number of sophisticated analyses of the Turkish system'.⁸¹ His exemplar is Machiavelli, who had analysed the Ottoman system simply as a form of government (albeit a tyrannical one). Haynes claims 'Sandys never aims at this kind of detachment: for him the Turkish polity is ... a system held together only by terror and violence'.⁸² However, Haynes never tackles Sandys' relationship to the voluminous contemporary English Literature on the Ottomans. In particular Sandys paraphrases Knolles in several passages.⁸³ Many of Sandys' English contemporaries writing on the Ottoman state (including Knolles) considered it a tyranny. It seems clear Sandys was deeply influenced by these contemporary views; after all what is a tyranny other than 'a system held together only by terror and violence'? Further, most of the negative characteristics which Sandys attributes to the Turks follow from the paradigm of tyranny which Sandys deploys, i.e. laziness, greed, pettiness, inclination to stupefaction, negligence of learning, science and arts. For this reason Haynes' neglect of Sandys' relationship to contemporary English literature on the Ottomans misses a central facet of his description of the 'Turks'.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 73.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ For example, compare Sandys' suggestion that the Ottoman state is past its peak, with Knolles' very similar concluding remarks. *Relation*, p. 50; *History* (1610), sigs. Bbbbbbi^v-Bbbbbbiⁱ.

A further consequence of Haynes failure to relate Sandys' *Relation* to contemporary English literature on the Ottomans is the attribution of a Saidian 'Orientalism' to this work.

Sandys's conservativeness, his concern with scholarly prestige, his reliance on written (and therefore European) sources rather than on direct contact with the natives, and his restricted imaginative sympathy all make him especially liable to the kind of "Orientalism" Said describes.⁸⁴

Haynes falls back on Said's theorising as a result of his failure to appreciate Sandys' engagement with English writing on the Ottomans, and commonplace views of 'tyrannical Turks' as a context for the *Relation*. However, in an earlier and more perceptive passage Haynes eloquently illustrates that Sandys and contemporary westerners travelling in and describing Ottoman domains lacked precisely that combination of political domination, security, control and access which Said argued allowed later 'Orientalist' writers of the colonial era to overlay their definitions of 'the East' across the regions they observed. Writing on the appeal of the classical canon as a point of reference on the Levant, Haynes notes that, in addition to being a natural point of reference to all educated Englishmen of the period, the classical canon described the areas Sandys travelled through with all the self assurance and possessive ability to define the meanings of an area of a fully fledged imperial culture (i.e. imperial Rome). In contrast, the Englishmen of the period 'could not wander freely over the landscape: he was almost always confined to the network (ship, embassy, caravan) which assured him a

⁸⁴ Haynes, *The humanist as traveler*, p. 80.

tolerable degree of safety'.⁸⁵ Haynes notes that Sandys could not approach the ruins of Troy or Mt. Etna because of the risk of being robbed. Sandys and his contemporaries (such as Moryson and Coryat), unlike both classical and later western writers from the period of imperialism, did not have the political or military power to dominate, survey, and thus describe and define the landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean. Although it is clear that Haynes appreciates the differences between early modern authors such as Sandys and later writers of the period of western imperialism he does not extend this train of thought into the obvious critique of Said's work it implies. Haynes notes that *Orientalism* was only published as his chapter on 'Turkey' was being planned (his bibliography refers to the 1978 first edition), and resultantly he only interacts with Said's work in a surface manner. The lack of time to consider Said's work fully is perhaps why he does not engage with the difficulties of transplanting 'Orientalism' into an early modern context. To be fair to Haynes this is easier noticed from the critical perspective of 2008 than 1986, following the slew of critical appraisals of Said, and indeed detailed treatments of English views of 'the Turk' and Islam, in the interim years.

Haynes' account of the *Relation* treats this work as a whole and thus, perhaps understandably, underplays the specific literary contexts of Sandys' section on the Ottomans. Sandys' *Relation* is divided into four books, each representing one of the territories he travelled through roughly corresponding to Anatolia, Egypt, The Holy Land and Italy. We shall focus on the first book where Sandys covers 'the Turks'. In addition to describing territories Sandys visited, notably Constantinople, this first book digresses at length into a description of Ottoman state and society under several heads. This is a

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 50.

significant section occupying 45 out of the *Relation*'s 309 pages. This includes nine pages on Islam ('Mahomet', 'The Mahometan Religion' and 'The Turkish Clergie'), ten pages on the Ottoman state ('The Turkish Policy', 'The Turkish forces' and 'Sultan Achmat'), eleven pages 'of the Turks their manners' and eight 'of the Grecians' as well as shorter sections on 'history', 'the Franks' and 'Jews'. Sandys' description of this 'so vast an Empire; the greatest that is, or perhaps euer was from the beginning'⁸⁶ is the only such digression in this work. At no other stage in the *Relation* does Sandys break from his normal style to give a lengthy and dedicated section to the contemporary state of a region, never mind entering into detailed political, social and religious critique. Sandys' views of the Ottoman empire, its peoples and society, were shaped by two main elements: the Christian polemical tradition regarding Islam and the political category of 'tyranny' as a description of the Ottoman state. Thus Sandys' description of the Ottomans draws on a substantial literary context alongside his first-hand experiences of the Levant.

Islam and the Christian polemical tradition

In both its fundamental assumptions, and significant details, Sandys' account of Islam is heir to a Christian polemical tradition which was already antique in his day. Many modern critical appraisals of this polemical tradition have focused upon the twelfth century Cluniac Koran translated into Latin by Robert Ketton at the behest of Peter the

⁸⁶ Sandys, *Relation*, p. 46.

Venerable, and the later writings of Peter the Venerable against Islam.⁸⁷ Although these twelfth-century works were highly influential, many elements within them, notably the classification of Islam as a form of heresy and many of the polemical elements of the biography of the Prophet, are present in some of the earliest Christian responses to Islam, as far back as writing of St. John of Damascus (d. 749).⁸⁸ It is worth a brief digression to note that the origins of this polemical tradition are not ‘western’ in any meaningful sense. St. John (originally named Mansur) was an eastern Christian from an Arab background who had served as a counsellor to the Umayyad court at Damascus before retiring to a monastery to write. Thus, this polemical tradition has its roots in a broader ‘Christian’ reaction to the genesis of Islam, rather than a specifically ‘western’ response to the same.

The point of this digression is not to deny the significance of the translations of Ketton and writing of Peter the Venerable. Rather it is to emphasise that these came within an already substantial Christian tradition of polemical writing about Islam, one which had nothing to do with the binary opposition of ‘east’ and ‘west’ often taking as the starting point for considering this tradition. The texts produced by Peter of Cluny and his circle were of enduring significance, as is demonstrated by the reprinting of Ketton’s translated Koran in 1543, at the behest of Theodore Bibliander.⁸⁹ We have already encountered Bibliander, and in particular his work *A Godly Consultation Vnto the Brethren and Companyons of the Christen Religyon*, translated into English in 1542 (see chapter one).

⁸⁷ Norman Daniel, *Islam and the west: the making of an image* (Edinburgh, 1960); R. W. Southern, *Western views of Islam in the middle ages* (Cambridge, 1962).

⁸⁸ R. A. Fletcher, *The cross and the crescent: the dramatic story of the earliest encounters between Christians and Muslims* (New York, 2005), pp. 23-27.

⁸⁹ Clark, ‘The publication of the Koran in Latin’.

When seeking models through which to consider Islam, Sandys had access to a polemical tradition which was both venerable (no pun intended), widely accepted and available in English. Furthermore, this tradition had long interacted with the kind of Christian humanism central to Sandys' intellectual heritage, figures as key as Erasmus and Luther had written extensively on the Turks within this tradition.⁹⁰ One senses that Sandys is comfortable in dealing with Islam. He has direct models and antecedents to follow; all that is left is to colour his descriptions of religious practice with his first-hand observations. However, these never threaten the paradigms through which Sandys considers Islam. Therefore, it is no surprise that Sandys is absolutely unoriginal when writing on Islam. His description is in many ways absolutely typical for an educated and literate Englishman of his day.

In Sandys' account '*Mahomet the Saracen* law-giuer: a man of obscure parentage' rises to prominence, perhaps through 'witchcraft' and becomes leader of a group of Arabian soldiers serving the Emperor Heraclius.⁹¹ His pretensions to prophethood are opportunistic: 'being disdained by the better sort for the basenesse of his birth; to auoide ensuing contempt, he gaue it out, that hee attained not to that honour by military fauour, but by diuine appointment'.⁹² As for his religion, 'he compiled his damnable doctrine, by the helpe of one *Sergius a Nestorian Monke*, and *Abdalla a Iew* (containing a

⁹⁰ On Italian Humanist responses to the Ottomans see Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders'. On Erasmus, Luther and others writing on the Turks see Housley, *Religious Warfare*; Dimmock, *New Turkes*.

⁹¹ Sandys, *Relation*, p. 52.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

hodgepodge of sundry religions;)' following which he was 'followed by many of the vulgar, allured with the libertie thereof, and delighted with the noueltie'.⁹³

So far Sandys account is absolutely standard: Islam is a religion of violence and its success is through military victory; 'Mahomet' is a heretic drawing on previous heresy (Nestorianism); Islam is a sensual and materialistic religion, which attracts followers through its 'libertie, and so on. Sandys continues, deploying the typical polemical device of an unflattering biography of 'Mahomet' which simply lists various attributes taken from one or more previous accounts:

Meane of stature he was, & euill proportioned: hauing euer a scald head, which (as some say) made him weare a white shash continually; now worne by his sectaries. Being much subiect to the falling sicknesse, he made them beleeeue that it was a propheticall trance; and that he conuersed with the Angell *Gabriel*.

Hauing also taught a Pigeon to feed at his eare, affirming it to be the holy Ghost, which informed him in diuine precepts ... so drew he the grosse *Arabians* to a superstitious obedience. For he had a subtill wit, though viciously employed; being naturally inclined to all villanies: amongst the rest, so insatiably lecherous, that he countenanced his incontinency with a law: wherein he declared it, not onely to be no crime to couple with whom soeuer he liked, but an act of high honor to the partie, and infusing sanctitie. Thus planted he his irreligious religion, being much assisted by the iniquities of those times: the Christian estate then miserably diuided by multitudes of heresies[w]hich enlarging, as the *Saracens*

⁹³ Ibid., p. 53.

and *Turks* enlarged their Empires, doth at this day wel-nigh ouer-runne three parts of the earth; of that I meane that hath ciuill inhabitants.⁹⁴

This account of ‘Mahomet’ models him as a heresiarch, ultimately drawn from the type of the first heretic Simon Magus. ‘Mahometanism’ proceeds directly from, and receives its character from its founder’s physical and moral weaknesses. Therefore not only is it morally bankrupt, but, it is an opportunistic and thus incoherent, irrational and ‘irreligious religion’. The sense that Islam is a parody of true religion, which proceeds from a fundamental assumption that it is essentially a Christian heresy, is reinforced by ‘Mahomets’ false miracles. These are used to dupe the people, just as ‘Mahomets’ licentiousness is used to seduce them. Finally, the spread of Islam is best explained by military victory, showing Islam to be ‘worldly’ rather than spiritual, and the weakness of the Greeks, who were after all schismatics. On a different tack, Sandys’ reference to Islamic dominion over ‘three parts of the earth, of that I meane that hath ciuill inhabitants’ is fascinating. Not only is Sandys referring to a classical world, which still has four corners, but his veiled separation of America from this world (‘that hath ciuill inhabitants’) is telling. Sandys, later an American colonist, was evidently living at a juncture when he could still dismiss the Americas but not ignore them.

Sandys proceeds from this standard account of Islam to a more detailed description, focusing on points of difference to Christian theology and his observations of religious practice drawn from his time in Ottoman lands. He concludes with an interesting critique of Islam based on opinions he attributes to ‘*auicen*’ (Ibn Sina latinised as Avicenna),

⁹⁴ Ibid.

although Haynes comments that the texts, opinions and life Sandys refers to are actually those of Averroes (Ibn Rushd).⁹⁵ Sandys relates that ‘Auicen’ rejected the ‘corporall pleasures’ which he attributes to Islamic paradise: ‘magnificent pallaces’; ‘silke carpets’; ‘christilline rivers’ and ‘amorous virgins’ in favour of ‘spirituall pleasures proper to the soule’.⁹⁶ Thus, ‘in the iudgement of *Auicen*, one thing is true in their faith, & the co[n]trary in pure & demonstratiue reason’.⁹⁷ This leads Sandys to the conclusion of his section on ‘Mahometanism’

[T]he truths of religion are many times aboue reason, but neuer against it. So that we may now co[n]clue, that the *Mahometan* religion, being deriued from a person in life so wicked, so worldly in his proiects, in his prosecutions of them so disloyall, trecherous, & cruell; being grounded vpon fables and false reuelations, repugnant to sound reason, & that wisdom which the Diuine hath imprinted in his workes; alluring men with those inchantments of fleshy pleasures, permitted in this life and promised for the life ensuing; being also supported with tyranny and the sword (for it is death to speake there against it;) and lastly, where it is planted rooting out all vertue, all wisdom and science, and in summe all liberty and ciuility; and laying the earth so waste, dispeopled and vninhabited; that neither it came from God (saue as a scourge by permission) neither can bring them to God that follow it.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Haynes, *The humanist as traveler*, p. 69. Although Haynes asserts the ideas and texts Sandys’ refers to are by Averroes, there is a Latin work of this name attributed to Avicenna, see Avicenna, *Compendium de anima: De mahad. i. de dispositione, seu loco, ad quem reuertitur homo, vel anima eius post mortei.. Aphorismi de anima. De diffinitionibus, & quaesitis. De diuisione scientiarum* (Venice, 1546).

⁹⁶ Sandys, *Relation*, pp. 59-60.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

To the modern reader this deeply pejorative critique of Islam seems rather extreme. However, as far as seventeenth-century English depictions of Islam go it is entirely standard. Not only does it draw on contemporary commonplaces regarding Islam as a 'religion of the sword' or the 'scourge of God', but at a fundamental level Sandys presents it as a heresy and therefore an inverted parody of Christianity. Thus, Islam is 'irrational' and 'repugnant to sound reason' in an age which placed great emphasis upon Christianity's 'rationality' and concord with Science, natural law and the book of nature. Where Christianity is spiritual religion, spread through martyrdom, tribulation and conversion, Islam is 'worldly', 'fleshy', sensual and spread through a combination of promise and threat. Finally, Sandys' elides Islam with tyranny. Echoing his dedication Sandys presents an Islam which ravages the land leaving it depopulated, ignorant and uncivil (just as tyranny does), in firm contrast to (English) Christian Humanism which engenders civility, prosperity and learning.

Although Sandys account of both 'Mahomet' and 'Mahometanism' are almost certainly drawn from several sources, they bear a startling resemblance to those in his contemporary John Pory's *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, which it is likely Sandys had read. This similarity may simply be because both Sandys and Pory produced entirely derivative and standard accounts of Islam. However, while they differ in some details, the general outline of their accounts is identical. Accordingly, Sandys' 'Mahomet' is 'of obscure parentage', while Pory's 'Mahumet' is born to a 'prophane Idolater called

Abdalá and *Hennina a Iew*'.⁹⁹ In contrast Sandys makes 'Aballa a Jew' and 'Sergius a Nestorian monke' help 'Mahomet' compile his 'damnable doctrine'. However, for Pory 'Mahumet' 'framed a law' assisted by two figures: 'one was *Iohn*, being a scholler of *Nestorius* schoole; and the other *Sergius*, of the sect of Arrius.'¹⁰⁰ Thus, Sandys and Pory shape two versions of the same story, from the same figures, names and events, common to a Christian polemical tradition stretching back to the eighth century. Their differences are entirely superficial. Further, Pory, whose *Africa* (1604) predates Sandys *Relation* (1615), also cites Auicen on the primacy of '*the minde or the soule*' over '*felicitie or miserie according to the body*'.¹⁰¹ This use of 'Auicen' is notable and is not a standard feature of contemporary writing on Islam. However, it is unlikely that Pory was Sandys' main source, as both his accounts of 'Auicen' and Islam more generally are more detailed than Pory's. It seems more likely that they drew from the same (unidentified) source, particularly as on 'Auicen' Sandys includes some biographical detail and names of works; frustratingly Sandys, so reliable when citing classical authors, cites only 'tract 9 cap 7 et seq.' without naming his source. The central point here is that as many contemporary accounts of Islam were essentially interchangeable Sandys could easily have drawn upon any number of early modern English sources.

⁹⁹ Africanus (trs. Pory), *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, p. 380.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 380-381.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

Tyranny and the 'Turkish' character

While Sandys account of Islam is important it is not the only model which structures his vision of the Ottoman Turks. As previously noted only around a quarter of his section on Turkey is occupied by his description/critique of Islam. The rest is Sandys' descriptions of the Ottoman state, Turkish 'manners' and some of the other populations of the empire, notably the Greeks. These sections are shaped as much by Sandys' conception of the Ottoman empire as a tyranny and his observations made during his time there as by his pejorative understanding of Islam rooted within a long Christian polemical tradition.

In common with many of his contemporary writers on 'Turkey' Sandys' considered the Ottoman empire a tyranny. Although this is hardly a neutral category, it is also not merely a term of abuse. While tyranny was considered by most to be an illegitimate form of government by definition, being grounded on violence and rapine rather than law, it was also a recognized, if castigating, category of government familiar from both ancient and contemporary political writing (see chapter two). It was also a term widely applied to both European and non European political systems by the burgeoning English geographical and political literature of Sandys' day. One can find examples of tyranny used by Sandys' near contemporaries in contexts as diverse as Muscovy, Persia, Habsburg rule in the Americas, even Sandys' own king James I, and later Cromwell's protectorate. Further, not only did tyranny provide a structure in which to consider/critique the Ottoman state, in so many ways so radically different than the English state, but it had already been applied in these terms by many of Sandys'

contemporaries writing on Turkey. One senses that for Sandys tyranny was appealing, both as a term with an appropriate classical pedigree and iconography, and as an unavoidable element of the contemporary English literature on both politics and Ottoman Turkey.

As with many of his contemporaries Sandys uses the notion of tyranny as a structuring model through which to represent and judge the differences (and thus deficiency) of the Ottoman system.

[T]he barbarous policie whereby this tyrannie is sustained, doth differ from all other: guided by the heads, and strengthened by the hands of his slaues, who thinke it as great an honour to be so, as they do with vs that serue in the Courts of Princes: the naturall *Turke* (to be so called a reproach) being rarely employed in command or seruice: amongst whom there is no nobility of blood, no knowne parentage, kindred, nor hereditary possessions: but are as it were of the *Sultans* creation, depending vpon him onely for their sustenance and preferments ... These are the sonnes of Christians (and those, the most compleately furnished by nature) taken in their childhood from their miserable parents, by a leauy made euery fiue yeares...¹⁰²

The fact that, as Sandys sees it, the Ottoman system is a tyranny explains its strange practices and the logic which underpins them. The system is based upon slavery and is fundamentally arbitrary. It is a perversion of the ideal of commonwealth and thus it is no

¹⁰² Sandys, *Relation*, p. 47.

surprise to find that it subverts the ideal of family, upon which commonwealth is rhetorically grounded, with its diabolical child tax. Yet again the Ottoman system is represented through inversions. The Humanist Prince leads by example and his gracious government (in accordance with both law and natural law) extends a paternal benevolence to his kingdom and improves both it and his subjects. In contrast the Ottoman sultan rules through tyranny and his reliance on slaves, subverts the familial model of Humanistic rhetoric, leaving no 'nobility of blood, no knowne parentage, kindred, nor hereditary possessions', all replaced with the sultan's arbitrary favouritism. Just as the Humanist Prince improves and enlightens his subjects, the Ottoman Tyrant debases his own people until the 'naturall *Turke*' is an object of derision within his own polity.

This model of tyranny, and crucially its effect in shaping the characteristics of the Turks, extends throughout his lengthy descriptions of 'Turkish manners'. Uncharacteristically for Sandys, his usual smooth prose style and predilection for classical quotation is somewhat overwhelmed by the level of detail in this section and he struggles to assimilate so much information into his usual schema. Nonetheless, he clearly regarded his first-hand observations of Ottoman society as important enough to depart from the usual structure, and this section was often quoted from by contemporary geographers. Under the broad heading of 'manners' Sandys covers: clothing and hair, cleanliness, sport and leisure, parents, housing, food and drink, alcohol, tobacco, opium, marriage and marriage custom, Turkish women, bath houses, slaves, eunuchs, funerals, sciences and trade (details perhaps drawn from his residence at the embassy in Constantinople).

Sandys' perception of the Ottoman state as a tyranny and Islam as a heresy shape many of these observations. However, the early modern travel and geographical writer's habit of producing a caricature or stereotype of nations and the polemical possibilities of indicating the ills of English society through contrast with Turkish society also play their part.

It was common practice for writers of early modern travel accounts and geographies to produce national stereotypes alongside potted descriptions of areas. Thus Germans are dull and heavy and drink beer, Italians are quick, temperamental, treacherous and drink wine. Hodgen links these stereotypes to medieval encyclopaedists such as Münster and Boemus, but they must clearly be seen in a wider context of both geographical and indeed more popular and ephemeral literature.¹⁰³ However, the type which Sandys produces of the Turks is inextricably linked to his understanding of tyranny's effect upon a subject population. Thus Sandys, who saw the Turks as living at the mercy of an arbitrary tyranny, portrays them as living in a fatalistic malaise. A tyranny debases its subject population, discourages commerce and prosperity and extinguishes learning and civility. Accordingly the Turks are degenerate, addicted to sensuality, lazy, unlearned and uncivil. This comes through in several of his passages on Turkish manners. For example, on sport

So slouthfull they be, that they neuer walke vp and downe for recreation, nor vse any exercise but shooting: wherein they take as little paines as may be ... at

¹⁰³ Hodgen, *Early anthropology in the 16th and 17th centuries*, pp. 117-81; Haynes, *The humanist as traveler*, p. 78.

chesse they will play all the day long: a sport which agreeth well with their sedentary vacancie.¹⁰⁴

This 'slouthfull' 'vacancie', as an effect of Tyranny, is also reflected in Sandys' attitudes to Turkish learning.

[S]ome of them haue some little knowledge in Philosophie. Necessitie hath taught them Physicke; rather had from experience than the grounds of Art. In Astronomie they haue some insight ... They haue a good gift in Poetry, wherein they chant their amours in the *Persian* tongue to vile musicke; yet are they forbidden so to do by their law ... They study not Rhetorick, as sufficiently therein instructed by nature; nor Logick, since it serues as well to delude as informe ... Some there be amongst them that write histories, but few reade them; thinking that none can write of times past truly, since none dare write the truth of the present. Printing they reiect; perhaps for feare lest the vniuersality of learning should subuert their false grounded religion and policy; which is better preserued by an ignorant obedience...¹⁰⁵

While Sandys grudgingly admits that learning exists in the Ottoman empire, he derides it at every turn. Medical knowledge is based on experience rather than learning. Their greatest achievements are in astronomy, perhaps suspiciously superstitious. Their poetry is good, but sung to 'vile' music, borrowed from the Persians (a people of classical

¹⁰⁴ Sandys, *Relation*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

pedigree), and not really allowed under their law anyway. They reject the classical learning of rhetoric and logic and also more modern learning such as history (of which Sandys' contemporary England was increasingly enamoured) and printing. The reasons for what Sandys views as the Turkish rejection of learning are made explicit in the final lines on history and print. The Turks reject learning as 'none dare to write the truth' 'for feare lest ... learning should subuert their ... religion and policy; which is better preserved by an ignorant obedience'. In other words Sandys' estimation of Turkish learning follows naturally from his assumption that Turkey is a tyranny. It is after all unlikely that he actually tried to read any Ottoman chronicles.

The influence of Sandys' views on Ottoman tyranny upon his descriptions of Turkish 'manners' are clearest in his description of marital laws, customs and relations. In a revealing comment he changes topic from marriage to slavery: 'Now next to their wiues we may speake of their slaues: for little difference is there made betweene them'.¹⁰⁶

A true commonwealth is based on a familial model. However, Ottoman tyranny replaces this foundation: and accordingly aristocracy; parentage; and inheritance, with slavery. For Sandys this model, or rather perversion of 'civil' society, extends throughout Turkish culture, to the extent that matrimony is indistinguishable from slavery.

Sandys' views on tyranny and religion also combine to shape his view of Turkish society, as is seen clearly in what he reports as the Turkish love of stupefaction and over stimulation of the senses, which he links to the sensuality of both their religion and manners. This particular supposed Turkish predilection is an important point for Sandys

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 69.

and he mentions it at three points which he links explicitly: prayer, swings, and opium.

While praying they count on prayer beads

[S]ome shaking their heads incessantly, vntill they turne giddie: perhaps in imitation of the supposed trances (but naturally infirmitie) of their Prophet. And they haue an Order of Monkes, who are called *Dervises*, whom I haue often seene to dance in their Mosques on Tuesdayes and Fridayes ... dances that consist of continuall turnings, vntill at a certaine stroke they fall vpon the earth; and lying along like beasts, are thought to be rapt in spirit vnto celestiall conuersation.¹⁰⁷

Here Sandys links the Turkish love of ‘giddiness’ to religion, or more likely ‘superstition’, as prayer beads and monks would mean to his readers. However, he makes repeated mentions of this passage in his description of ‘manners’. First, in describing the Bayram festival following ‘Ramazan’ he makes mention of swings

[T]hey exercise themselues with various pastimes, but none more in vse, and more barbarous, then their swinging vp and downe, as do boyes in bell-ropes: for which there be gallowes (for they beare that forme) ... perhaps affected in that it stupefies the senses for a season: the cause that *opium*, is so much in request, and of their foresaid shaking of their heads, and continued turnings. In regard whereof, they haue such as haue lost their wits, and naturall idiots, in high

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 55.

eneration, as men rauished in spirit, and taken from themselues, as it were to the fellowship of Angels. These they honour with the title of Saints...¹⁰⁸

Thus not only is Islam an irrational religion, but what passes for its spirituality is literally imbecilic. Further, Sandys extends this shallowness, imbecility and sensuality from a facet of religion into Turkish culture more generally. No more is to be expected from the abject subjects of a Tyrant, lacking the leadership of a true prince to lead them and their commonwealth towards the good life. Instead the Turks turn to fatalism and escapism.

The *Turkes* are also incredible takers of *Opium* ... carrying it about them both in peace and in warre; which they say expelleth all feare, and makes them couragious: but I rather thinke giddy headed, and turbulent dreamers; by them, as should seeme by what has bene said, religiously affected.¹⁰⁹

For Sandys, both the Turkish state and religion are fundamentally grounded on illegitimacy thus it follows that Turkish society, down to its choice pastimes, is equally falsely grounded and exists in a malaise no closer to the truth (in the sense of virtue) than an opium dream.

The basis of Sandys' description of Turkey in his understanding of the Ottoman state as a tyranny and in Christian polemical tradition regarding Islam does not prevent him from using it as a perspective from which to criticise English society. Although this theme is

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 66.

not a major strand of Sandys' writing, it occurs at several points. Thus, he notes despite the violence and barbarism which the Turks extend to Christians

[T]hey live with themselves in such exemplary concord, that during the time that I remained amongst them (it being about three quarters of a year) I never saw *Mahometan* offer violence to *Mahometan*; nor break into ill language.¹¹⁰

The mention of ill language is interesting as this was a constant source of consternation in pamphlet and sermon literature in seventeenth century England, as were other subjects Sandys makes pointed references to noting that 'They never alter their fashions',¹¹¹ and 'they avoid the dishonest hazard of money' (gambling).¹¹² Such comments are almost certainly references to perceived vices, or social ills, in England. However, the level of detail also reflects the length of time ('above three quarters of a year') Sandys spent in Turkey and most especially Constantinople, 'where by Sir *Thomas Glouer*, Lord Ambassador for the King, I was freely entertained: abiding in his house almost for the space of four months'.¹¹³ Further, much of the information Sandys notes, for example on marriage ceremonies, or court descriptions, is unlikely to have come from direct observation, and much of his detail is not of the kind usually reproduced in contemporary works on the Ottomans, which tended to focus on political structure and dynastic or military anecdote. One might speculate that it is likely Sandys drew information from his hosts at the embassy in Galata. The level of anecdotal detail Sandys pursues in his

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 63.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 64.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 28.

Ottoman section was of great interest to contemporary geographical writers, as we shall see. Thus Sandys perfectly illustrates the dynamic relationship between literature and travel accounts which is the central theme of this chapter. As we have seen Sandys accounts of the Ottomans were heavily influenced by his views of Ottoman tyranny and Religion, garnered from contemporary literature. However, as we shall see, the *Relation* provided a treasure trove of detailed 'first-hand' information on Ottoman society and lands, used extensively by those writing in English on the Ottomans and contemporary geographers.

Sandys the authority

Although Sandys became an accepted and widely cited authority on the Ottomans, and the wide ranging lands under their domain, the *Relation* was also read in several other ways by his contemporaries. This final section will explore some near contemporary references to the *Relation* read: as literature, a source of geographical or antiquarian information, and as fodder for scientific and religious debates. I have included this breadth of references for two reasons. Firstly, this demonstrates the range of contexts in which Englishmen might come to consider topics related to the Ottoman Empire, particularly true as many of the key cultural sites of the scriptures and classical history (notably Jerusalem and Troy) were under Ottoman control, as well as many renowned lands bound to be handled in any large geography or cosmology (for example Egypt, Greece, Arabia and Hungary). Secondly, although I have presented Sandys as part of

English literature on the Ottoman Turks, the range of ways in which contemporaries read the *Relation* demonstrates the protean nature of this literature. English literature on the Ottomans was not a single genre, but rather, disparate collected texts sharing topics, contexts, concerns, conventions and often sources.

It should be noted at the outset that many (if not most) of those who read the *Relation*, probably read it primarily as literature. I have already sought to argue that one of the explanations for the exceptional and enduring popularity of the *Relation* was its mastery of literary form and thus its perceived suitability as a genteel account of the eastern Mediterranean. While it is generally difficult to substantiate such claims, because of the difficulty in finding contemporary references to specific authors, in the case of the *Relation* we are lucky to have a particularly vivid account of a genteel reading in the diaries of Lady Anne Clifford. This aristocratic Lady of literary bent owned ‘a library stocked with choice books’ according to her officer George Sedgewick; reading (or being read to) was ‘a lifelong pleasure and a solace in periods of trouble’.¹¹⁴ Anne Clifford’s diary mentions reading the *Relation* as a retreat and distraction in the bitter aftermath of a domestic argument, over property, an issue which dominated her early married life.

January 1617

Upon the 8th we came from London to Knowle. This night my Lord & I had a falling out about the Land.

¹¹⁴ Richard T. Spence, ‘Clifford, Anne , countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery (1590–1676)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); online edn, Jan. 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5641, accessed 3 Sept 2009].

Upon the 9th I went up to see the things in the Closet and began to have Mr Sandy's [sic] Book read to me about the Government of the Turks, my Lord sitting the most part of the Day reading in his Closet.¹¹⁵

Interestingly here, we have a picture of Sandys' *Relation* not merely as a suitable choice of reading matter (or distraction) for a widely read noblewoman, but Sandys is mentioned primarily as an authority on the Ottoman State (i.e. 'Government of the Turks').

In addition to this literary role, there are some indications that the breadth of the *Relation's* classical quotation was not merely interesting but useful to contemporary authors (and readers). For example, Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie* quotes translated passages of Horace and Juvenal from the *Relation*.¹¹⁶ Given Sandys' exemplary reputation as a translator, he may well have served many contemporaries as a useful source book of reliably translated classical quotations. This possibility is further suggested by Samuel Purchas' eloquent summary of a completely different approach to reading and using Sandys' *Relation*. *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), that monumental continuation of Hakluyt's project to collect and edit the travels of Englishmen across the globe, includes lengthy, if edited, sections of the *Relation*. Purchas states his approach to Sandys as an author in an intriguing apology to the reader prefacing this section.

¹¹⁵ B. Davis, *George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer* (London, 1955), p. 27; D. J. H. Clifford (ed.), *The diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud: 2003), p. 47.

¹¹⁶ Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, pp. 243, 58.

Pardon me, that I haue here much pruned his Sweet Poetrie, his farre-fet Antiquitie, and other fruits of his Learning: I would not haue his owne Worke out of request. I present men rather as Trauellers, then as Scholers; and in this Historicall Stage produce them, telling what they haue seene; not what they can say, or what other Authors have written: not that I disproue this (for what else is my whole Pilgrimage ?) but that I hold on here another course; where if euery man should say all, no man could haue his part, and where euen breuitie it selfe is almost tedious (as you see) by Multitudes. The other parts of Master *Sandys* are not simply superfluous, yet these are to our present purpose sufficient.¹¹⁷

Purchas' approach to Sandys then is clear: he is interested in his first-hand accounts, what he has seen, not what he has to say. At the same time he is at pains to make clear, seemingly to an audience familiar with Sandys, that he is aware that Sandys' literary style is 'not superfluous', even while apologising for editing it. The typically overworked extended metaphor through which Purchas describes this literary style is also suggestive. Referring to his editing as pruning the 'fruits of his [Sandys'] Learning', Purchas seems to evoke the grammar school boy habit of keeping a commonplace book of classical quotations (or the fruits of learning) for use in letters and other writing as a way of demonstrating erudition. The suggestion of this format is itself reminiscent of the *Relation's* predilection for classical quotation and again perhaps implies its use as a miscellany of classical quotations. On the other hand, while Purchas may style Sandys as 'a Learned *Argus* seeing with the Eyes of many Authors'¹¹⁸ he is only interested in what

¹¹⁷ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. II, Lib. VIII, p. 1274.

¹¹⁸ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. II, Lib. VIII, p. 1274.

he saw with his own eyes and treats the *Relation* as a repository of current information rather than a carefully crafted literary account. In his earlier work *Purchas his Pilgrimage* Purchas also sources Sandys for accurate, reliable and authoritative information, while jettisoning the literary trappings upon which much of Sandys' authority as an author was based. While *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas his Pilgrimes* is an enormous edited collection of travel accounts, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (to which the above passage from *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Purchas his Pilgrimes* refers) is an attempt at a massive systematised cosmology, drawing extensively upon travel accounts. The massive *Hakluytus Posthumus: Or Pilgrimes*, appeared in four volumes in 1624/25 but only ran through one edition (Purchas died in 1626). However, the merely voluminous *Purchas his Pilgrimage* appeared in separate editions 1613, 1614, 1617 and 1626 (not to be confused with *Purchas his Pilgrim: Microcosmus, or, The Historie of Man*, a third work, appearing in 1619). Purchas updated the various editions of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* to include newly published accounts, to the extent that they are substantially different works. This proves to be highly relevant to any consideration of the *Relation*, as the section of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* dealing with Turkey in the 1617 edition refers extensively to Sandys, while he is absent from the 1614 edition (the *Relation* was not published until 1615). Thus between the publication in 1615 of the *Relation* and the 1617 edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* Purchas read the *Relation* (along with vast swathes of other travel material) and assimilated much of its description of Turkey into his cosmology. This is a small demonstration of the *Relation's* interaction and contribution to the English geographical literature of its day. Again Purchas simply lifts large sections of anecdotal detail from Sandys on diverse topics such as the fleet, marriage customs and

dogs but most particularly Turkish dress and manners, where Purchas lifts an entire section of the *Relation* word for word. Interestingly this section is one of the few lengthy passages of generalised first-hand description in the *Relation*.¹¹⁹ Although Purchas drew on many sources, many of whom we have encountered in previous chapters - notably Knolles, Minadoi (Hartwell's translation), Africanus (Pory's translation), Menavino, Biddulph, Villamont, Nicholy, Busbequius and Leuanclavius, - his main English sources were Knolles, Sandys and Biddulph, in that order.

I have already examined at some length the widespread use made of the *Relation* by contemporary geographers such as Heylyn, yet the point bears repeating. Sandys was drawn on as a source of both contemporary and ancient information by a wide range of geographical and historical writers in much the same way as Purchas had. For example, Nathaniel Wanley's *The Wonders of the little world, or a general history of man in six books* (1673) quotes Sandys on points as varied as the severity of Turkish penal punishments and the pyramids,¹²⁰ while Thomas Fuller's *The Historie of the Holy War* (1639) refers to Sandys for a description of the Jews of 'Salonia', a description of Jerusalem and current names for sites mentioned in the bible.¹²¹ One interesting aspect of many writers who quoted Sandys, is that his current first-hand accounts were often measured against received (sometimes classical) information. So, Thomas Browne's *Pseudoxia epidemica* quotes Sandys on the smelliness of Jews, an old medieval stereotype cum folk tale, to the effect that 'They are generally fat ... and ranck of the

¹¹⁹ Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1617), pp. 339-40 are lifted wholesale from the *Relation*.

¹²⁰ Nathaniel Wanley, *The wonders of the little world, or, A general history of man* (London, 1673: Wing W709), pp. 54, 409.

¹²¹ Thomas Fuller, *The historie of the holy warre* (Cambridge, 1639: STC 11464), pp. 4, 36.

savours which attend upon sluttish corpulency'.¹²² Similarly, diverse contemporary authors contrasted description of the streams of the Nile to that of Ptolemaic geography, notably Thomas Fuller¹²³, Robert Boyle¹²⁴ and Edmund Bohun.¹²⁵ This example is particularly interesting as it demonstrates that Sandys had become a figure of authority himself, not merely a source of material for those writing authoritative accounts.

A related area of study to which Sandys had much to offer was what might be termed classical antiquarianism, in which I would include both accounts of classical history and of antiquarian remains (primarily ruins and inscriptions) of the classical world. Thus Edmund Bolton's *Nero Ceaser* includes Sandys' description of the Sepulchre of Agrippina.¹²⁶ Edward Leigh's *Analecta Caesarum Romanorum* not only cites Sandys on a number of sites of classical significance, and surviving antiquarian objects of interests (a statue of Commodus as a gladiator), but goes as far as to compare Turkish and ancient Roman 'Maxims'.¹²⁷

Of course not all authors agreed with Sandys on all counts, for example Robert Boyle respectfully dismisses Sandys on the subject of 'Negroes'.

There is another Opinion concerning the Complexion of *Negroes*, that is not only embrac'd by many of the more Vulgar Writers, but likewise by that ingenious

¹²² Thomas Sir Browne, *Pseudodoxia epidemica* (London, 1646: Wing B5159), p. 204. The corresponding passage is Sandys, *Relation*, p. 148.

¹²³ Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, p. 82.

¹²⁴ Boyle, *Essays of the strange subtilty, determinate nature, great efficacy of effluvioms*, p. 45.

¹²⁵ Edmund Bohun and John Augustine Bernard, *A Geographical Dictionary* (London, 1693: Wing B3454), p. 288.

¹²⁶ Edmund Bolton, *Nero Caesar* (London, 1624: STC 3221), p. 50.

¹²⁷ Leigh, *Analecta Caesarum Romanorum*, pp. 56, 171, 252.

Traveller Mr. *Sandys* ... besides other men of Note, and these would have the Blackness of *Negroes* an effect of *Noah's* Curse ratify'd by God's, upon *Cham*; But though I think even a Naturalist may without disparagement believe all the Miracles attested by the Holy Scriptures, yet in this case to flye to a Supernatural Cause, will, I fear, look like Shifting the Difficulty...¹²⁸

This passage, which leads into a fascinating discussion of blackness, slavery and the position of 'Negroes' against a backdrop of arguments over the relationship of nature, science and theology, is also intriguing in terms of the value placed upon Sandys and his account. Boyle respects Sandys as among 'men of note' and quoted him in other works, notably where his first-hand observations could be used, but also rejects his more 'Vulgar' and 'Supernatural' opinions. Boyle's marriage of theology and a commitment to experimental data, a key element of the new science for which he was such a figurehead, seems from a modern perspective far more forward looking than Sandys' intellectual commitment to classical texts. Nonetheless the humanistic learning Sandys espouses so comfortably was clearly not the only form of knowledge to be read from his *Relation*. The nature of knowledge was changing and figures such as Boyle valued the *Relation* more for its first-hand accounts than the 'learning' of its author.

Sandys was also quoted as a reference by authors writing on far wider fields than geography and history. Whether one author agreed or disagreed with him is not as significant as the *Relation's* potential to play a role in a very diverse range of debates. With its descriptions of the classical and biblical topography, complemented by

¹²⁸ Boyle, *Experiments and considerations touching colours*, p. 159.

elucidations on ancient practices and observations of modern religious worship, the *Relation* provided fuel for religious and scholarly debates, with specific passages becoming particular bones of contention. For example, Peter Heylyn, a well known writer of partisan apologetic works defending ecclesiastical policies and critiquing their puritan opponents, cited Sandys in *The History of the Sabbath* (1636), itself a defence of the Book of Sports. Heylyn cites Sandys' observations made at Jerusalem, on the religious observance of Coptic and Armenian Christians in the context of a discussion of ancient Christian practice and the observation of the Sabbath.¹²⁹ Writing later in a passage directed specifically against 'Dr Heylin' the non conformist Richard Baxter's *Divine Appointment of the Lords Day* cited differing passages from Sandys to the opposite effect.¹³⁰ A third and separate view of debates surrounding the Sabbath was put forth by the Sabbatarian Francis Bampfield whose *Sabbatikh* drew on Sandys' *Relation* 'concerning the matters of Religion in the Eastern parts',¹³¹ a text which was also attacked in Baxter's *Divine appointment of the Lords Day*.

In a separate exchange the Baptist controversialist Benjamin Keach's *The rector rectified*, one of several texts he published attacking infant baptism, disputed the application of anecdotes from Sandys' *Relation* to doctrinal debate (the anecdote is about the depth of the river 'Aenon near Salim' in which John was baptised, and was related as evidence of whether baptism is rightfully sprinkled water or full body submersion). In passages attacking one 'Dr Hammond', Keach asks 'Must we believe God's Word or a

¹²⁹ Heylyn, *The history of the Sabbath*, II, p. 190.

¹³⁰ Richard Baxter, *The divine appointment of the Lords day proved* (London, 1671: Wing B 1253), p. 24.

¹³¹ Francis Bampfield, *Sabbatikh* (London, 1677: Wing B628), p. 24.

lying Traveller?’.¹³² Thus Sandys’ observations of eastern Christian religious practice, and indeed anecdotes from the Holy land more generally, could be drawn on as fuel for heated religious debate by figures across the religious spectrum, debating diverse issues.

Sandys was drawn on for anecdotal detail on a broad range of topics by an extraordinary range of works. Further specific passages often became common reference points for particular topics or sites, such as funeral practices of the ancients,¹³³ coffee¹³⁴ or Mount Etna, and particularly an anecdote concerning the visit of the Elizabethan merchant Thomas Gresham.¹³⁵ However, Sandys’ *Relation* remained most extensively quoted on the topic of Ottoman lands (which of course included the Holy Land and Egypt) and ‘Turks’. ‘Mr Sandys’s Book ... about the Government of the Turks’, became a standard English reference (alongside Knolles) and was referred to by the majority of those writing second hand accounts, for example the various works of Purchas, Heylyn, Fuller, or the extensive annotations to Robert Baron’s oriental play *Mirza*, which mention Sandys on no less than seventeen occasions.

Sandys’ *Relation* is an exemplar of many of the themes I have sought to discuss in this chapter. It is a ‘first-hand’ account of the Ottoman Empire, a widely read English authority on the Ottoman Turks, and therefore an example of both the increasing prominence of English authors and first hand accounts in English literature on the

¹³² Benjamin Keach, *The rector rectified* (London, 1692: Wing K84), p. 169. I have not located the tract to which Keach was replying.

¹³³ John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments within the united monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the islands adjacent* (London, 1631: STC 25223), p. 13; John Dunton, *A mourning-ring, in memory of your departed friend* (London, 1692: Wing D2630), p. 293.

¹³⁴ Francis Bacon, *The Vertues of coffee* (London, 1663: Wing D72aA).

¹³⁵ Bohun and Bernard, *A Geographical Dictionary*, p. 80; Athanasius Kircher, *The Vulcanos* (London, 1669: Wing K624), pp. 23, 28, 41 on Sandys and p. 62 on Gresham.

Ottoman Turks in the early seventeenth century. However, while it is a 'first-hand' account it also draws heavily upon the scriptural, classical and geographical literary contexts which shaped Sandys' expectations of the eastern Mediterranean. Sandys' widespread citation as an authority on the Ottomans, especially by contemporary geographical literature, is an example of the dynamic interplay between literature and travel accounts in this period. This chapter has sought to place such literary contexts alongside other formative factors which shaped the writing English travel accounts of this period such as contemporary notions of travel, the status of Englishmen in the Levant, early colonialism and the growing Levant trade. The following chapter will explore a second group of first-hand English accounts of the Ottomans: works produced by authors directly involved in the Levant trade.

Chapter 4

THE LEVANT COMPANY

As the seventeenth century progressed, English literature on the Ottoman Turks began to draw increasingly on English, as opposed to continental, sources. One reason for this was simply the accumulating number of works available in English on this topic. However, the English Levant trade also increasingly became an important context for this literature. We have already encountered both of these trends in chapter three on travel accounts, which were greatly facilitated by the Levant trade and both drew on and contributed to wider English literature on the Ottoman Turks. The present chapter will examine accounts which emerged more directly from the Levant trade, either written by authors involved in it, or drawing on sources generated by it. I will focus upon three groups of sources. The first is, works produced by churchmen hired by the Levant Company as chaplains. The second, 'continuations' added to subsequent editions of Knolles' *History* bringing its narrative up to the date of publication, by various authors. The third is the works of Paul Rycaut, a minor diplomat in the employ of the Levant Company.

The chaplains are merely one example of a set of sources written by figures involved directly with the Levant Company or trade. Various others include the captivity accounts produced by English sailors captured by North African corsairs, documents relating to Levant company business such as the publishing of trade capitulations, and the accounts of diplomats such as Sir Thomas Roe or indeed Rycaut. I have chosen to examine the chaplains as they illustrate the diversity of interests which led Englishmen to the Levant

in this period, economic to academic, be they trade, diplomacy, antiquarianism or the study of scripture, classical history and oriental languages. I will focus in particular upon Thomas Smith, a man whose intelligence, linguistic abilities and first-hand experiences of the Levant did not prevent him from producing a thoroughly negative account of the Ottomans based primarily upon a foundation of preconception and prejudice.

In contrast to the chaplains, none of the 'continuers' had been personally involved in the Levant. However, their 'continuations' often drew from sources generated by the Levant trade and reflected this in their concern with matters of trade and diplomacy. I will argue that subsequent 'continuations' increasingly drew upon English accounts of the Ottomans and particularly material generated by the Levant Company, and that in this they reflect a broad trend in wider English literature on the Ottoman Turks.

The final section shall focus upon the single most important and influential account to emerge from the Levant trade: Rycaut's *Present State* (1666). Largely written in Constantinople, this was the most systematic, rationally organised and objective seventeenth-century English account of the Ottoman Turks. Furthermore, based upon first-hand accounts and emerging from Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relations, as opposed to drawing primarily on a continental literature on the Ottomans, it articulated a distinctly *English* perspective. The pragmatic tone of this account contrasts dramatically with Smith's almost entirely negative appraisal. Nonetheless there are many similarities between Rycaut and Smith. They were both employed by the Levant Company and spent a substantial period living in Anatolia, and although Rycaut was consul of Smyrna during

the period Smith was resident at Constantinople, they had met.¹ Both had a deep aptitude for languages and spoke Turkish. Further both had an interest in Anatolian antiquities.² Both also published lengthy accounts of the eastern churches: Rycaut's *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (1679) and Smith's *An account of the Greek Church* (1680). However, while Rycaut's ambitions towards a diplomatic post lead him to emphasise the utility of trade with the Ottomans, Smith's experiences in the Levant merely confirmed the worst fears he had inherited from commonplace images of 'the Turk' and Protestant polemical writing on the nature of Islam.

Rycaut became the foremost living English authority on the Ottomans, superseding the 'continuations' with his own *Turkish Empire* (1680) and 'editing' the sixth edition of Knolles' *History* (1687). I shall conclude by contrasting the *Present State* (1666) to his final work the *Turkish History* (1700). This was written in Hamburg following the wars of the Holy League (1683-1697) and the treaty of Karlowitz (1699), a period of military crisis which generated a substantial peak in the volume of English *turcica* comparable to that written in response to the 'Long War' of 1593-1606, examined in chapter one.

Rycaut's final work reflects the massive reversal of Ottoman power in central Europe that these events represented and retreats from his earlier pragmatic and distinctively English perspective into a more conservative opposition of the Ottoman empire to 'Christendom'. This later shift in perception to a more conservative outlook suggests that Rycaut's

¹ Smith, *Remarks upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks*, p. 163.

² See below on Smith's antiquarian interests. In 1670 Rycaut led an expedition which rediscovered the lost site of 'Thyateira' one of the churches of the Apocalypse. Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey* (Oxford 1989), p. 220.

former involvement in the Levant trade was a key element of the pragmatic approach adopted by the earlier *Present State*.

Levant Company chaplains

It is likely that the Levant Company chaplains existed from the first inception of the trade, probably at first as chaplains attached to the person of the ambassador, but also serving the role of minister to the merchants at Constantinople. Certainly by the late sixteenth century there were chaplains at Constantinople and Aleppo.³ Although the character and background of the men who served as chaplains varied widely they were largely both highly educated and literate, and many stayed in the Levant for extended periods. It is therefore no surprise that they generated a large and diverse body of literature. Several chaplains produced accounts of travels or time spent in the Levant, such as William Biddulph's *The Trauels of Certaine Englishmen* (1609), Charles Robson's *Newes from Aleppo* (1628) or Thomas Smith's *Remarks on the manners, religion and government of the Turks* (1678, originally published in Latin in 1672). Further, Henry Denton published *A description of the present state of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos, and Mount Athos by Joseph Georgirenes* (1678) as well as an *Account of a voyage to the Levant* for the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1697).

³ John Pearson, B., *A Bibliographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company Maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna 1611-1706* (Cambridge 1883), p 8. Pearson's study, based on the minute records of the Levant Company, claims the first mentions of chaplains as Constantinople (1611), Aleppo (1624) and Smyrna (1634). However, earlier mentions occur in the East India Company records. Wright, *Religion and empire*, p. 57. Further MacLean points to various correspondences in Levant Company and Venetian diplomatic documents mentioning a chaplain at Aleppo in 1596 and at Constantinople in 1599, MacLean, *Oriental travel*, p 67.

Similarly William Halifax published *An account of a visit to Palmyra* in the *Philosophical Transactions* (1695) and Henry Maundrell published *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter A.D. 1697* (1703). Many of these are essentially travel accounts and are similar to the genteel accounts examined in the previous chapter.

The accounts of chaplains such as Biddulph, Robson, Smith and Maundrell have much in common with those of contemporary travellers such as Sandys, Moryson, Coryat and Cartwright (who was a preacher although not attached to the Levant Company). Most importantly they shared a similar learned frame of reference for the eastern Mediterranean: namely the classical canon and scripture. Further, many of these men had antiquarian interests and found much to write of in Anatolia. In addition to this shared literary heritage many of these figures demonstrate an interaction with contemporary English literature on the Ottomans and also on Egypt and the Holy Land. Lastly, as Levant Company chaplains, these men moved through the eastern Mediterranean in similar channels to the genteel travel writers, most of whom record time spent as guests in the residences of ambassadors or consuls.

There are also important contrasts. As residents, chaplains tended to spend longer periods of time in the Levant than private travellers. Further, as chaplains attached to a particular city and community of merchants they tended to stay put, and in particular within Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo. In contrast, travellers tended to wander, passing through major destinations such as Constantinople, Cario and Alexandretta, but gravitating in particular to Jerusalem. One effect of this is that many chaplains' accounts

are more often general descriptions than accounts of specific voyages, as is the case in the works of Smith and Biddulph, although their writing still bears many similarities to travel accounts. However, this generality is clearer in longer works such as John Covel's *Some account of the Greek church*, published in 1722 long after Covel's eventful stint as chaplain and stand-in ambassador between 1670 and 1677. That is not to say chaplains did not also produce travel accounts upon occasion. Indeed many, including Robson and Maundrell, undertook journeys during their time in the Levant and produced accounts of them, or included appended relations of particular journeys to more general descriptions, as was the case with Smith. A further contrast is their attitude to the Levant trade. While a genteel travel account such as Sandys' was certainly facilitated and encouraged by the Levant trade, the trade plays a far greater role in most chaplains' accounts. For example, MacLean has forcefully argued that Biddulph's account should be read primarily within the context of internal Levant Company politics over the appointment of personnel, notably of Biddulph himself.⁴

One extant group of texts by Levant chaplains was a by product of the selection process for these posts. In addition to recommendation, candidates were required to preach a sermon, on a set text, to an assembly of Levant merchants in London.⁵ The successful candidate's sermon was often printed, presumably serving as public notice of the piety of the Company and the quality of chaplain it attracted. These sermons therefore reflect several contexts. The first of these is the range of attitudes and allusions drawn on by the candidates to describe the Levant, an area which most of them, for the most part fresh out

⁴ MacLean, *Oriental travel*, pp. 66-77.

⁵ Wright, *Religion and empire*, p. 65.

of university, had as yet little or no direct experience of. Alongside the more literary and educated of these attitudes sit widespread beliefs or ‘commonplaces’ about the Levant. The second is the official attitude and religious zeal of the Levant Company’s governing body, who selected the text upon which the sermon was to be preached. The third is the background and education of the majority of candidates, which provided them with a shared classical and scriptural frame of reference for the Levant. All of these elements are reflected in the following passage, taken from the concluding paragraph of a sermon preached to merchants of the Levant Company in 1664 by John Luke:

Perfume your minds with the sweet spices of the East, feed your eyes with the fair beauties of the morning, *the morning*, after which *no evening* shall follow. Value your Souls capable of everlasting glories, your bodies improveable beyond the light of the Sun, and disdain a glance at the deceitfull allurements of this transitory life. Your minds obsequious to heavenly attractives, and aspiring without fainting to the perfections and exaltations of immortality.⁶

Luke’s message is clear: the attractions of the east are nothing compared to the ‘scoff of the Heathen, the comfort and joyfull expectation of the Christian, the *Resurrection of the dead*’.⁷ The ‘East’ is presented in contrast to the Christian world as alluring, sensual and rich but ultimately deceitful, immoral and transitory. It is clear that Luke was able to draw on an established vocabulary or repertoire of commonplaces and images (such as ‘perfume’, ‘sweet spices’ and ‘allurements’) to describe ‘the East’. Furthermore, he

⁶ John Luke, *A Sermon Preached before the Right Worshipful Company of the Levant Merchants at St Olav's Hart Street London, Thursday December 15th 1664* (London 1664: Wing L3472), pp. 43-44.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

explicitly uses these images to construct an exotic and inferior 'East' entirely in terms of, and in opposition to, Christian belief, a strategy he uses to project his authority as a minister over this 'East' and the temptations it holds for his audience.

Luke's theme of Christian abstinence from the temptations represented by 'the East' would seem particularly pertinent given the context of the sermon. He gave it as a candidate for the chaplaincy at Smyrna, in competition with two other candidates, following which Luke was elected by fifty nine balls against forty nine.⁸ The sermon begins with a quotation of biblical text and analyses this linguistically, comparing its translation from Hebrew and Greek to varying accepted readings by learned authors before summarising his arguments under three headings and drawing his conclusions. At first this rather academic approach would seem to have little to do with the Levant merchants to whom he is preaching, reflecting rather Luke's university education. However, his interpretation of the text invokes the burial practices of the early Christian church of Smyrna, the very city where he was applying for a post.

Significantly though Luke's main focus is on the 'Corinthians', and by implication other Christians in error over their scriptural interpretation. At no point does he mention 'the Turks', only 'the East', and then only once in his concluding paragraph. Though the passage quoted above does contrast this 'East' with the glory of Christian resurrection, the main contrast of the sermon is with more familiar 'others' such as the classical 'heathens', and wayward 'Corinthians'. Luke's rather dry, but ultimately successful,

⁸ Pearson, *A bibliographical sketch of the chaplains to the Levant company maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna 1611-1706*, p. 64. The third candidate withdrew.

sermon on Christians in error, and abstinence from the temptations of the 'East', fits well with the 'zeal for religion and morality' which Wright attributes to the governors of the Levant Company.⁹ The chaplains' purpose in the Levant was as much to police the moral standards of the English Levantine community as to look to their spiritual welfare which is reflected in Luke's sermon. This role accounts for Luke's focus upon heterodox Christians (Corinthians), and also explains the absence of any reference to Islam: the chaplains were not in any sense missionaries, as many of them make explicit in their writings.

The subject of the sermon is of particular significance as the texts candidates were required to preach were set by the Company. A similar connection between the text to be preached and the Levant can be seen in the sermon of Thomas Smith, a candidate four years later in 1668, on a passage from St. Paul preaching to the 'Asian Jews'. For figures such as Luke, fresh out of university, the Levantine coast of Anatolia primarily meant the biblical landscape of St. Paul's preaching and the churches of the apocalypse, hardly the case for the governors of the Levant Company. What is significant is that the Levant Company seemingly sought to recruit figures capable of elucidating the biblical meaning of the Levant to its merchants for moralising effect. Luke's projection of Christian authority and biblical significance onto the Levant, over its perceived licentiousness as a commercial and physical landscape ('the sweet spices of the East'), is also an assertion of Company discipline. Here we would seem to find a, perhaps unexpected, meeting of English commercial interests, scriptural moralising and bookish academic method. Luke's dry comparisons of Greek and Hebrew bible translations give him the authority to

⁹ Wright, *Religion and empire*, p. 59.

interpret the Levant in biblical terms, and thus were seen, by the Company, to qualify him for the job of sustaining moral order in the merchant community.

Luke's subsequent career also illustrates the connections between the world of the academy and the trading company. He went on to become an orientalist in the word's original sense, meaning an academic specialist on 'the East' and particularly 'oriental Languages' (such as Hebrew, Aramaic, 'Chaldean', Arabic, Persian and very occasionally Turkish). At the time of the above sermon Luke had recently graduated from Cambridge (B.D and fellow of Sidney Sussex College in 1663). Following this he was elected chaplain to the Levant Company for the factory in Smyrna, a post he held during the years 1664-69, returning for a second spell in the years 1673-83 having completed a doctorate of divinity at Christ's College Cambridge in 1673.¹⁰ After his return to England he was made a fellow of Christ's College in 1683 and in 1685 was appointed the Lingard Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, a post he held until his death in 1702. In moving to and fro between the worlds of academic orientalism and mercantile pastoral employment Luke trod an established path, although most such chaplains were drawn from Oxford. The link with the academic study of Arabic was particularly strong:

As the lynchpin in the English diplomatic and commercial representation in the Ottoman Empire, the Levant Company had a profound impact on the development and consolidation of English Arabic interest.¹¹

¹⁰ The British Library holds a number of Luke's unpublished travel diaries. MS Harley 7021.

¹¹ G. A. Russell, *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden 1994), p. 8.

A conspicuous example of this connection was the leading Arabist of the seventeenth century, Edward Pocock, who served as a chaplain at Aleppo for six years. However, Pocock was not the first to attempt to use the opportunity presented by the Levant Company to further the study of oriental languages. On 20 July 1629, Thomas Bainbridge, the master of Christ's College, wrote to Archbishop James Ussher, a noted collector of oriental manuscripts:

Whereas our Turkey Merchants, trading at Aleppo, being now destitute of a Minister, have referr'd the choice of one unto yourself, may it please you to understand, that there is one Mr. Johnson, a Fellow of Magdalen-Colledg, who hath spent some Years in the Oriental Languages, and being desirous to improve his Knowledg therein, is content to adventure himself in the Voyage; he would take pains to preach once a week, but not oftner, being desirous to spend his time in perfecting his Languages, and making such Observations as may tend to the advancement of learning.¹²

In the event Samson Johnson did not become a chaplain at Aleppo, but the proposition was evidently a reasonable one. The pattern of periods of residence as a chaplain, between degrees or academic posts, was first set by Pocock. Having studied under Matthias Pasor at Oxford, and been privately taught by William Bedwell ('the father of Arabic Studies'), Pocock was made a Fellow of Magdalen in 1628. It is probable that his decision to apply for the chaplaincy at Aleppo was inspired by a chance meeting with the

¹² Ussher, Letters, no. 144, p. 411 quoted from G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning : The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford 1996), p. 119.

Dutch scholar G. J. Vossius at Oxford, who had expressed interest in Pocock's publication of a Syriac manuscript. Vossius's friend Jacobus Golius, a professor of Arabic at Leiden had recently returned from Aleppo with a sizable haul of oriental manuscripts acquired using the connections of the Dutch merchant community.¹³ Pocock spent six years at Aleppo serving the merchant community, improving his Arabic and Hebrew with tuition from native speakers and acquiring oriental manuscripts. In 1636 he was ordered by William Laud, then chancellor of the University of Oxford, to return to England to take up the chair as the newly created Laudian professor of Arabic. However, Pocock later returned to the Levant, for a further three years between 1637 and 1641, staying at Constantinople with the ambassador Sir Peter Wyche for whom he acted as chaplain while again collecting manuscripts for Laud and studying languages.

Pocock was the most illustrious example of the links between Arabists and the Levant Company, but he was not alone. We have already mentioned Luke (chaplain at Smyrna from 1664 and Professor of Arabic at Cambridge later), and we will shortly come to Thomas Smith (chaplain at Constantinople 1668, and later noted orientalist and unofficial librarian of the Cotton Library), but we should also note Robert Huntington, a chaplain at Aleppo in 1670 and later noted orientalist and Bishop of Raphoe, a friend of both Smith and Pocock, but most famous as a collector of manuscripts and correspondent. The links between the Levant trade, its chaplains, and the academic study of Arabic in seventeenth

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-26. It is clear from his correspondence that Pocock was able to use local contacts developed by Golius throughout his long term dealings acquiring manuscripts in Aleppo.

century England are well documented.¹⁴ My purpose in recapping the careers of Pocock, Huntington and Luke has been to illustrate another strand of interest which drew Englishmen of the period to write on, and indeed reside in, the Levant. However, as well as contributing to the fields of orientalist languages, Levant chaplains also contributed to and interacted with the wider English literature on the Ottoman Turks and the lands under their domain. The inter-relationships between these two threads of writing as English approaches towards what one might broadly term ‘the East’ are apparent in the career and writing of Thomas Smith.

Thomas Smith

Smith’s early career followed a similar pattern to that of Pocock, under whom Smith had studied at Oxford, and Luke. He graduated from Queen’s College, Oxford BA in 1661 and MA in 1663 and was appointed master of Magdalen College School. Following his studies, and a period spent lecturing in Hebrew at Magdalen, Smith gained the post of chaplain to the English ambassador Daniel Harvey at Constantinople, where he lived from 1668 to 1671. It is apparent that Smith saw this post primarily as a means of improving his languages and collecting oriental manuscripts, three of which he presented to the Bodleian on his return. Smith had gained this appointment through the recommendation of the government official Joseph Williamson, whom Wood notes gave

¹⁴ Ibid; Pearson, *A bibliographical sketch of the chaplains to the Levant company maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna 1611-1706*; Russell, *The 'Arabick' interest of the natural philosophers in seventeenth-century England*, pp. 1-70.

support to many Queen's' men.¹⁵ Smith dedicated his description of the Levant, the *Remarks upon the religion, manners and government of the Turks* (1678), to Williamson and later served him as a chaplain 1678-79. However, unlike Pocock and Luke, Smith did not choose to become a career Arabist although he remained an academic. Further, unlike both Pocock and Luke, Smith did not return to the Levant, even when in 1677 he was encouraged by Bishop John Fell of Oxford to follow up his deep interest in the Greek Church by returning east to collect manuscripts of the Greek Fathers.¹⁶

Smith published prolifically throughout his lifetime including *Remarks upon the religion, manners and government of the Turks* (1678) and *An account of the Greek Church* (1680). Both were originally published in Latin and only later translated into English by Smith himself.¹⁷ We shall focus upon his work of *turcica*, the *Remarks on the manners, religion and government of the Turks*. While Smith's text is based on his experiences in the Levant he also repeatedly makes reference to contemporary English literature on the Ottomans and eastern Mediterranean. The *Remarks on the manners, religion and government of the Turks* is also shaped by Smith's academic interest in 'oriental' languages and classical history as well as his background as priest. However, perhaps the most important intellectual context of his account is the broad range of contemporary commonplaces and commonly held prejudices regarding 'the Turk' upon which he draws throughout. These have a profound effect on Smith's views despite his highly educated background and first-hand knowledge of Ottoman society. He is in many ways the perfect

¹⁵ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1692), p. 869

¹⁶ Toomer, *Eastern wisdom and learning*, pp. 245-46. The Thomas Smith who served as chaplain in Smyrna from 1683 was a different individual.

¹⁷ Thomas Smith, *Epistolæ duæ, quarum altera de moribus ac institutis Turcarum agit* (Oxford, 1672: Wing S4241); Thomas Smith, *De Græcæ ecclesiæ hodierno statu epistola* (Oxford, 1676: Wing S4235).

illustration of the difference between ignorance and prejudice, as it seems his familiarity and knowledge served merely to confirm his worst assumptions.

Smith's introduction makes a clear reference to those other learned chaplains Pocock and Huntington, both of whom conspicuously failed to produce printed accounts of their time in the Levant, although Pocock gave an oral account to Smith which Smith included in his *Account of the Greek Church* (1680). Huntington is generally considered to have published very little in his life despite his enormous learning. Smith remarks

I hope what I have done in this kind will not in the least hinder any of those worthy and ingenious persons, who have made the same tour before or since, from publishing their Journals.¹⁸

The same introduction seems to assume in the reader a familiarity with literature on the Levant and Smith notes it would have filled a 'large volume' if he had

written a full history of the Religion, Manners and Government of the Turks, or had thought fit to have stuffed these Memories with accompts of things trivial and common, which have been said too often already and which are to be met with in every little Relation.¹⁹

¹⁸ Smith, *Remarks upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks*, sigs. A5^v-A6^r.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. A4^r.

Printed in 1678, these comments are a pertinent indication of how far English writing on the Ottomans and the eastern Mediterranean more generally had come since the late sixteenth century. Smith viewed travellers' accounts of the Levant as so 'common' as to be 'trivial'. He was apparently also familiar with seemingly ubiquitous contemporary works on the Holy Land and later refers to

THE curious surveys everywhere extant of *Bethlehem, Nazareth and Jerusalem*,
 ... which are owing to the industry and learning and curiosity of devout Pilgrims,
 ... suffer us not to be unacquainted with their situation and state.²⁰

Although Smith's *Remarks on the manners, religion and government of the Turks* is a generalised work of description focussed particularly upon the 'temper and manners' of the Turks, rather than a travel account or description of a particular journey, it makes no attempt to be systematic. It is divided into three sections of substantially differing character. The first and longest section (on the Turks) meanders from topic to topic with no attempt at an overall structure or chapters. The second is a lengthy account of Smith's travels to visit and survey the present condition of 'the seven churches of the apocalypse' mentioned by the Book of Revelation (and situated in Anatolia). This takes the form of a relation of a journey but spends as much time recording ancient (particularly Greek) inscriptions verbatim as it does describing the churches it states as its erstwhile topic. The final section on Constantinople was not included in Smith's original Latin edition (1672) and would therefore seem to have been written specifically for the English edition

²⁰ Ibid., p. 205.

(1678).²¹ It was therefore composed seven years after Smith had lived in the Levant and although it is presented as a first-hand account some passages bear striking similarity to other contemporary accounts, particularly Sandys' *Relation*. Compare

I thinke there is not in the world an obiect that promiseth so much a farre off to the beholders, and entred, so deceiueth the expectation.²²

Sandys (1615).

No place perchance in the World deceives a mans expectation more than *Constantinople*, it promising so largley at a distance both from the land and Sea: but when you enter into it, all the glorious outward appearance seems but a delusion of fancy.²³

Smith (1678).

Many passages in the *Remarks on the manners, religion and government of the Turks* suggest a source drawn from contemporary English literature on the Ottomans, either in the main body of text or the later section on Constantinople. Few passages are as obviously attributable to a single source as that above, largely because Smith seldom refers to other authors by name. However, several general attitudes, including Smith's

²¹ Smith, *Epistolæ duæ, quarum altera de moribus ac institutis Turcarum agit*. This work contains no section on Constantinople.

²² Sandys, *Relation* (1615), p. 36.

²³ Smith, *Remarks upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks*, p. 288.

portrayal of the religious policy of the Ottoman state as a cynical ‘politick Engine’,²⁴ were common in contemporary literature.

Smith’s attitudes to both the Turks and Anatolia are also shaped by his background and education. Of these Smith’s preoccupation with classical antiquity and his profession as a linguist are particularly obvious. Reviewing the sites of ancient antiquity was clearly part of the brief of the academically inclined Levant chaplain as Smith saw it (following in the footsteps of Pocock). His introduction explicitly compares his book’s frequent transcription of Greek inscriptions to the Arundel marbles, and particularly the Parian Marble (itself a lengthy Greek inscription), brought from Anatolia by Thomas Howard and presented by his son Henry to Oxford University in 1667.²⁵ Smith’s fascination with language is also evident throughout the *Remarks on the manners, religion and government of the Turks* and he frequently provides translations of Turkish and Arabic words. Indeed, the original Latin version contains a reasonably long glossary of terms giving the Arabic, Turkish and Latin translations.²⁶

As a trained minister, Smith was, of course, aware of the significance of eastern Anatolia as a biblical landscape; indeed, the second section of this work is structured entirely around visits to sites of biblical importance. Smith is not overly drawn to ruminating upon this significance. The only time when he does so is as a conclusion to his survey of the Churches of Asia (which was the conclusion proper to his original Latin work). Smith ends in sermonly style,

²⁴ Ibid., p. 20.

²⁵ Ibid., sig. A6^r.

²⁶ Smith, *Epistolæ duæ, quarum altera de moribus ac institutis Turcarum agit*, pp. 173- 182.

That which affected me with the deepest anguish ... was and is a reflexion upon the threat made against *Ephesus* mentioned in the Second Chapter of the *Revelations* of St. *John*, who made his abode in that City, and died there. *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the first works: or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy Candlestick out of its place, except thou repent ...* as I sorrowfully walked through the ruins of that City especially, I concluded most agreeably, not only to my function, but to the nature of the thing ... that the sad and direful calamities which have involved these *Asian* Churches, ought to proclaim to the present flourishing Churches of *Christendom* ... what they are to expect ... if they follow their evil example ... and that their security lies not so much in the strength of their frontiers, and the greatness of their armies, (for neither of these could defend the *Eastern Christians* from the invasion and fury of the *Saracens* and *Turks*) as in their mutual agreements, and in the virtues of a Christian life.²⁷

The image of Smith wandering through the ruins of Ephesus reflecting on biblical passages, the ruin of the eastern church and continuing spiritual and temporal threats to the western church (or perhaps churches given the allusion to ‘mutual agreements’) is vivid. Smith’s views, in particular his identification of ‘*Saracens* and *Turks*’ as the scourge of God and emphasis upon spiritual purity as the only defence from God’s anger, are very similar to Protestant and ultimately Lutheran writing on war with the Turk. It is illustrative that Smith adhered so completely to views which would not have been out of

²⁷ Smith, *Remarks upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks*, pp. 274-76.

place in the mid sixteenth century, as to reformulate them himself while wandering through Ottoman Anatolia and later writing about the Levant after three years residence there. It is presumably such passages that lead Toomer to judge that

Smith's narrow and bigoted Christian piety prevented him from treating his experiences in the East as anything but a confirmation of his prejudices against the Turks.²⁸

On the other hand, this passage with its instructive moral drawn from biblical quotation is also highly reminiscent of a sermon. Both this passage and the moralising passage of Luke's candidacy sermon quoted earlier probably reflect the kind of sermons preached to Levant merchants of the period. In that case both these texts would reflect the chaplain's role as moral guardian/police to the merchant community. One would hardly expect chaplains to be too open to the local (foreign, Muslim and therefore polluting) surroundings, when their official function in the Levant was to guard against precisely such corrupting influences.

Smith was not an ignorant man. He spoke Arabic, Greek, Hebrew and Turkish, was highly educated and spent three years living in the Levant. However, his account is deeply shaped by contemporary English commonplace images of 'the Turks'. It begins:

THE *Turks* are justly branded with the character of a Barbarous Nation; which censure does not relate either to the cruelty and severity of their punishments,

²⁸ Toomer, *Eastern wisdom and learning*, p. 244.

which their natural fierceness, not otherwise to be restrain'd, renders necessary and essential to their Government; or to want of Discipline, for that in most things is very exact, and agreeable to the Laws and Rules of Polity, which Custom and Experience hath established as the grand support of their Empire; or to want of civil Behaviour among themselves, for none can outwardly be more respectful and submissive, especially to their Superiors, in whose power it is to do them a mischief, the fear of which makes them guilty of most base compliances: But to the intolerable Pride and Scorn wherewith they treat all the World besides.²⁹

In other words Smith's assessment of the Turks 'horrid barbarousness'³⁰ is not so much a reflection of their state as their 'character'. In particular this view of the 'Turks' character is justified in terms of their ill treatment of Christians in general, and specifically of Smith himself. His account bristles with such examples: lists of insults regularly given to Christians (including 'Gaour or Infidel' and '*bre Domuz you Hog*'),³¹ being stoned by children³² or narrowly avoiding having his throat cut by 'several Janizaries'.³³ It is clear that Smith arrived in the Ottoman Empire with deeply rooted prejudices against 'the Turks'. These were then reinforced by these negative experiences into a general account of the Turks, while accounts of kindness by individual Turks such as a '*Gentleman-Turk*' at Bursa³⁴ are seen as exceptions.

²⁹ Smith, *Remarks upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks*, pp. 1-2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. A5^v.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 185.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Among the commonplace images Smith draws on are several generalisations of the Turkish ‘temper and manners’. Smith frequently refers to Turks as ‘dull’ and as ‘heavy’³⁵ or ‘dull and heavy fellows’.³⁶ As the above passage demonstrates, Smith also paints the Turks as ‘fierce’ and places great emphasis on ‘their natural rudeness and hatred’.³⁷ Similar negative traits were often attributed to ‘Turks’ in stage plays and other more ephemeral literature such as ballads or news pamphlets. However, the attribution of particular traits or character to certain nationalities was common in the seventeenth century, and these were often linked to climate (see introduction and chapter three). Thus it is no particular surprise that Smith states ‘The *Turks* are always guilty of Extreams ... Whatsoever they do, they do it with so much impetuosity and fury, that equity and clemency and civility are wholly laid aside’,³⁸ as hot-headed tempers were frequently attributed to the inhabitants of hot climes, notably the Italians.

Likewise Smith’s attitude towards Islam is defined entirely through reliance on seventeenth-century commonplaces and contains the usual elements: Islam as heresy, a polemical biography of the prophet, a summary of its essential points of disagreement with Christianity and the portrayal of Islam as ‘worldly’ (i.e. sensual, salacious, violent and politic). Further Smith conflates the ‘ignorance’ and incivility he perceives in the Turks with their acceptance of a religion he views as manifestly flawed. It is difficult to imagine a more complete rejection of Islam than his description of

³⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 116.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 35.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 174.

[A] Religion, which is made up of folly and imposture and gross absurdities, which abstracting from the common and fundamental principles and notices of Natural Religion, has nothing in it to recommend it self...³⁹

In contrast the Turks' objections to Christianity 'argues a stupidity only befitting *Turks*'.⁴⁰ At one point Smith even conflates the character of the Turks with that of Islam, referring to it as '*Turcism*'.⁴¹

Despite the, at times overwhelming, atmosphere of prejudice that pervades the *Remarks on the manners, religion and government of the Turks* it is still a detailed account of the Ottoman Turks, their religion, manners and state. When Smith has finished denigrating the folly and flaws of Islam, at least as he saw it viewed entirely through the lens of the Christian polemical tradition, his account turns to his own observations of religious practice. These observations are highly detailed and assisted by his knowledge of Arabic and Turkish.⁴² It is remarkable that Smith could produce such observations of the surface manifestations of Islamic religion, despite failing so comprehensively to engage with its substance. He approached Islam already certain of the truth and validity of the venerable Christian polemical tradition regarding it and therefore saw no reason or need to delve deeper or engage with its ideas. Similarly, while Smith provides a detailed account of the Ottoman state and functionalities of its legal system, this never leads him to question what he already 'knows' of 'the Turks' from commonplaces and contemporary literature.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 28.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 144.

⁴² Ibid., p. 57. For example Smith translates a number of short Arabic prayers.

Smith's *Remarks on the manners, religion and government of the Turks* is a vivid illustration of the potential breadth but also the severe limitations of English interest in the Ottoman Turks and Anatolia in the mid-seventeenth century. In a single individual these might span the commercial interests of the Levant Company, academic interests in language, antiquarianism and historical manuscripts and interest in the Ottomans as manifested in the large English literature on the topic. However, these interests were also often bounded by deeply rooted 'commonplace' assumptions about the nature of 'the Turks', and an even further entrenched and ancient Christian polemical tradition regarding Islam. Although, as we shall see, Smith's contemporary Rycout was able to look past these prevailing commonplaces in the interests of promoting the Levant trade, Rycout's relatively neutral tone was uncommon.

Luke, Smith and Pocock were directly employed in the trade. However, the importance of the Levant trade as a context for literature on the Ottomans went beyond accounts published by individuals directly involved in it. We shall now turn to one group of authors who drew heavily on diplomatic sources generated by the Levant trade, the 'continuers' of Knolles' *History*.

The Levant trade and continuations of Knolles' *History*

Knolles' *History* was published in six separate editions in 1603, 1610, 1621, 1631, 1638 and 1687. Each of these editions was updated to extend the history of the Ottomans up to the date of publication, in disparate continuations by various authors (see appendix four). This thesis has already discussed the *History* in some detail. Chapter one began with a brief look at the context of the portrait of Ahmed I in the second edition (1610), while chapter two focussed extensively upon the context and text of the first edition (1603) and contemporary responses to it as a work in general. The following section will argue that the continuations of these subsequent editions of the *History* are illustrative of two broader trends within wider English literature on the Ottoman Turks. As the seventeenth century progressed the proliferation of English literature on the Ottomans, and first-hand accounts in English generated by the Levant trade were an increasingly important part of the context in which new English *turcica* were written. We have already seen several manifestations of these trends in the preceding argument. For example, the travel accounts examined in chapter three were facilitated by the trade routes and diplomatic infrastructure of the Levant Company, and thus were in some sense first-hand accounts generated by the trade. However, as shown, these accounts both drew on and contributed to a growing English literature on the Ottomans in the early seventeenth century. The 'chaplain' accounts are merely one further group generated by the trade; others include mercantile accounts and gazettes, captivity accounts of sailors and major diplomatic accounts by figures such as Rycaut or Sir Thomas Roe. The proliferation of such accounts had an impact upon the wider literature which increasingly drew on English

accounts as sources as they became more available. This trend is clear in seventeenth-century geographical texts such as those of Samuel Purchas which include numerous English sources alongside continental authorities, in sections describing the Levant. The continuations also reflect these trends. While Knolles' history had been based almost entirely upon continental sources, the continuations added to later editions increasingly relied upon English accounts of the Ottomans and particularly those generated by the Levant trade. This process culminated in the works of Sir Paul Rycaut, a career diplomat, whose separately published works on the Ottomans were included alongside Knolles' text in the sixth and final edition of the *History* (1687).

The first continuation appended to the *History* (1610) was written by Knolles himself. This section retained the format and style of his original work, extending it from 1603 to 1610, including the last year of Mehmed III's reign and the first half of the reign of Ahmed I. As noted in chapter one the account of Ahmed I's reign was prefaced by a portrait of that sultan. Unlike the portraits prefacing previous chapters this illustration was based upon a first-hand description obtained by Knolles' cousin Roger Howe who had spent time in Constantinople. Previous portraits had been based upon images in circulation in various continental works. However this is not the only instance where Knolles' continuation mentions first-hand sources of information. In a passing mention of Mehmed III's other surviving son Knolles states

his name was not to be learned, euen by a good vnderstanding friend of mine, of late lying aboute three moneths together at CONSTANTINOPLE, who most curiously enquired after the same, hauing verie good meanes to haue learned it.⁴³

This ‘good understanding friend’ is probably not Howe, who is mentioned by name three pages later, which suggests at least two sources for the continuation who had direct and immediate experience of the Ottomans and hints at connections to diplomatic or embassy staff (the most likely ‘good means’) as a possible source of information. This impression is reinforced in the conclusion where Knolles refers to the continuation of ‘the Historie of this the greatest Monarchie now on earth’ as written ‘according to the best intelligence as yet to be expected from thence’.⁴⁴ Such ‘intelligence’ (which could ambiguously refer to either a first-hand source, written correspondence or printed ‘intelligences’) clearly shapes this continuation and in particular the in-depth description of Ahmed I’s court with which it ends. In contrast to the previous edition’s generalised ‘discourse of the greatnesse’, the 1610 edition goes into such details as current significant figures in the sultan’s court, naming the ‘chiefe of the Visiers’ ‘*Murat Bassa*’ and various other ‘honourable bassaes’, giving some personal detail of each.⁴⁵ Whereas the first edition of the *History* in 1603 was based almost entirely on continental sources, and shows little indication of having been shaped by contemporary English accounts of the Ottomans, the second edition draws upon some English sources. In this increasing reliance on English accounts of the Ottomans Knolles’ account reflects both growing Anglo-Ottoman

⁴³ Knolles, *History* (1610), p. 1200.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1303.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1299-1300.

economic and diplomatic relations (which generated written and oral accounts) and the increasing proliferation of printed English literature on the Ottomans.

Knolles ends this continuation by noting

IF there be any thing, in the Discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire, or the Table, not answerable to this present time (as in the naming of great Officers, or other particularities) it is to be hoped the Reader will dispense with it; for that the Author himselfe, by the hand of God visited with sicknesse, was lett to performe what he purposed.⁴⁶

This remarkable passage (possibly added by the publisher following Knolles' death before the printing of the second edition) admits the possibility that the reader may be more informed, or at least more up to date with Ottoman affairs than the author. This admission indicates two things. Firstly, the twenty year period in which Knolles compiled the *History*, the first major original English account of the Ottomans, had seen a large proliferation of other English accounts of the Ottomans. Secondly, English authors writing on the Ottomans were increasingly aware of this literature, drawing on it and responding to it.

⁴⁶ Knolles, *History*, p. 1303.

Edward Grimeston

The third edition of the *History* (1621) contained a continuation for the years 1609 to 1620 written by Edward Grimeston, a figure connected both to Knolles' printer Adam Islip and to his patron Peter Manwood (see chapter two). A jobbing scholar and prolific translator of works of geography and national history, Grimeston had been involved in the production of several works published by Adam Islip and one of Islip's associates, the printer George Eld.⁴⁷ Grimeston, as a scholar seeking patronage through translations of lengthy historical works was in many ways a similar figure to Knolles (albeit less successful). However, his continuation drew upon sources generated by the Levant trade and contemporary English writing on the Ottomans in a way that Knolles' did not.

Among Grimeston's other translations are several 'general histories', published subsequently to the first edition of Knolles' *General Historie of the Turkes* (1603), although none approached the popularity and importance of Knolles' work. These included *A Generall Historie of France* (1607 and enlarged in 1611 and 1624), *A Generall Historie of the Netherlands* (1608 and 1627) and *The Generall Historie of Spaine* (1612).⁴⁸ Grimeston translated, updating and supplementing from other sources as he went, a number of other works for Islip including *The Estates, Empires, &*

⁴⁷ On Grimeston see F.S. Boas, 'Edward Grimeston, translator and sergeant-at-arms,' *Modern philology* 3, no. 4 (1906), 395-409; G. N. Clark, 'Edward Grimeston, the translator,' *English historical review* 43, no. 172 (1928), 585-98. Clark gives an incomplete yet informative bibliography of Grimeston's translations.

⁴⁸ Jean Francois Le Petit (trs. Edward Grimeston), *A Generall Historie of the Netherlands* (London, 1608: STC 12374); Jean Serres (trs. Edward Grimeston), *A Generall Historie of France* (London, 1611: STC 22245); Louis Turquet de Mayerne (trs. Edward Grimeston), *The Generall Historie of Spaine* (London, 1612: STC 17747).

Principallities of the World (1615).⁴⁹ In addition, Grimeston wrote a number of ‘continuations’ to large scholarly works including two editions of the *Historie of France* (1611, 1624) and his translation of Pedro Mexia’s *The Imperiall Historie* (1623) whose continuation had some topical overlap with Grimeston’s continuation for the third edition of the *History* (1621).⁵⁰

Grimeston was also connected with Knolles’ patron Sir Peter Manwood. The ‘translator’s introduction’ to his *A General Historie of the Netherlands* (1608) mentions that ‘by the means of that worthy knight Sir Peter Manwood’ he had use of ‘some observations in written hand ... gathered by Sir Roger Williams, when he first bore arms under Julian Romero, a Spaniard, in the great Commanders time’.⁵¹ This refers to a manuscript by Sir Roger Williams which was also edited and prepared for publication by John Hayward at Manwood’s behest.⁵² A follow-up work, *The Low country Commonwealth* (printed by Eld), is dedicated to ‘The worthie Knight Sir Peter Manwood’ ‘vnto whom I am much bound for many kind favours and respects’.⁵³ Grimeston’s experience as an author and his connection to Islip, Eld and Manwood made him an obvious choice for the continuation of 1621. Further, Grimeston evidently admired Knolles and, in *A Generall historie of France* (1611), he recommends the history of the Turkish wars ‘very worthily

⁴⁹ Pierre d’ Sieur de Montmartin Avity (trs. Edward Grimeston), *The Estates, Empires, & Principallities of the World* (London, 1615: STC 988).

⁵⁰ Pedro Mexia (trs. Edward Grimeston), *The Imperiall Historie* (London, 1623: STC 17852).

⁵¹ Jean Francois Le Petit (trs. Edward Grimeston), *A General Historie of the Netherlands* (London, 1608: STC 12374), sig., Av^v.

⁵² The text in question was a fragmentary manuscript ‘much maimed both in sense and in phrase’ which Manwood had published. Manwood included a dedication to Francis Bacon, declaring that ‘This part of Historie, having lyen long by mee, I thought good to publish it’, and for this purpose employed one John Haywarde who ‘Restored it so neere as I could both to the stile and meaning of the author’. See Roger Williams (ed. John Hayward), *The Actions of the Lowe Countries* (London, 1618: STC 25731).

⁵³ Jean François Le Petit (trs. Edward Grimeston), *The Low-Country Common Wealth* (London, 1609: STC 15485), sigs. A2^{r-v}.

written by Mr. Knowles'.⁵⁴ Indeed, he later produced his own item of *turcica*, translating Michel Baudier's account of the Ottomans under the title *The Historie of the Imperial estate of the Grand Seigneurs* (1635).⁵⁵

Grimeston wrote his continuation to the *History* 'according to Master *Knolles* his method',⁵⁶ and simply extends *Knolles*' narrative of the lives of sultans subdivided by year, complete with portraits and epigraphical poems. He even includes a supplementary 'discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkes empire'.⁵⁷ The general content also adheres to *Knolles*' formula of battles, military campaigns, speeches, letters and courtly intrigue. Grimeston also relocates some passages of *Knolles*' writing within his continuation: a description of 'Achmat I' appears at the end of the life of that sultan (following Grimeston's account of the remainder of his life),⁵⁸ while *Knolles*' description of Ahmed's court appears in Grimeston's 'description of the greatnesse' supplemented from other authors and minus the specific names of various persons mentioned by *Knolles*.⁵⁹

Similarly to *Knolles*, many of Grimeston's sources must have been chronicle style works. However, he only mentions two by name: '*Sanzouino*'⁶⁰ and '*Gotardus*'.⁶¹ '*Sanzouino*' refers to Francesco Sanvino (Latinised as Franciscus Sansouinus) author of *Gli Annali Turcheschi ovvero Vite de' Principi e Signori della lasa Othmana* (1579) and

⁵⁴ Serres (trs. Grimeston), *A Generall Historie of France*, sig. ¶4^v.

⁵⁵ Michel Baudier (trs. Edward Grimeston), *The History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs* (London, 1635: STC 1593).

⁵⁶ *Knolles*, *History* (1621), p. 1387.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1388-1396.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1366.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1388-1389.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1388, 1393.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1324.

Dell'istoria universale dell'origine & imperio de Turchi (1600), who was also one of Knolles' sources. Parry identifies 'Gotardus' as Gothardus Artus of Danzig, a translator whose name is linked to several works including compilations of travels and the *Pannoniae Historia Chronologica*, and who was also a source for Knolles.⁶²

We have already seen that Knolles acknowledged his use of news broadsheets in various vernaculars. However, Grimeston's debt to similar English publications is much easier to establish. For example, when relating the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain Grimeston quotes the text of 'the edict of the king of Spaine' beginning

For that reason doth in conscience binde a good Christian gouernment, to expell out of all Realmes and Common weales those things which breed scandall, and bring hurt to our good subiects, and daunger to the Estate, but especially which are offensive to God, and preiudiciall to his seruice.⁶³

This is clearly an edited version of the broadsheet *Newes from Spaine* (1611), which provided the whole text of this edict beginning

BEcause reason obligeth the consciences of those that are as props and stayes to the good estate of Christian gouernment, to exonerate and quitt Kingdomes and

⁶² Parry, *Knolles*, p. 55. Grimeston quotes Gotardus on the topic of 'Muley hamet' a figure on whom a contemporary yet seemingly unconnected English work had appeared, Ro. C. *A true historical discourse of Muley Hamets rising to the three kingdomes of Moruecos, Fes, and Sus* (London, 1609: STC 4300). The existence of multiple contemporary works on such a topic illustrates the proliferation of this kind of literature.

⁶³ Knolles, *History* (1621), p. 1300.

common wealthes of such things, as are occasions of scandall vnto them, are dommageable vnto good and loyall subiects, dangerous vnto the state and which surpasseth all, offensiue vnto God and preiudicall vnto [sic] his seruice.⁶⁴

Similarly on the topic of ‘a vision scene at Medina’ Grimeston tells us

[T]here fell so great a tempest, and so fearefull a thunder ... as the heauens were darkened ... the vapours being dispersed, and the element cleare, the people might read in Arabian characters these wordes in the firmament: *O why will you beleue in lies?*⁶⁵

This passage and the other details of the vision that follow, including a descendent of the Prophet who publicly renounces his faith and is killed by a mob as a result, are taken directly from a broadsheet *Good newes for Christendome* (1620), which begins

[T]here happened so great a tempest ... [and] so fearefull a thunder, that those, which were asleepe were a wakened ... at last a voice like lightening made a strange rupture, and with *Significant Arabian Characters* so opened the thicke cloudes, and dispelled the vapowres ... & the people heard, and the rest read it to this purpose, *O why will yee beleue in lies?*⁶⁶

⁶⁴ W. I., *Newes from Spaine* (London 1611: STC 22992.7), sig. a4^r.

⁶⁵ Knolles, *History* (1621), p. 1384.

⁶⁶ *Good newes for Christendome* (London 1620: STC 5796.3), p. 13.

The fact that it is possible to identify several of Grimeston's broadsheet sources beyond doubt stands in stark contrast to Knolles writing less than two decades earlier. This may be because, as Knolles indicates, many of his broadsheet sources were out of 'Germane and Italian writers' (see chapter two). Grimeston's use of English broadsheets on topics related to the Ottomans and the relative ease in identifying his sources reflects an increase in the amount of such material available in the early decades of the seventeenth century. There existed a far greater literature on the Ottomans extant in English when Grimeston wrote than when Knolles did. However, it is not in the use of printed sources where the biggest contrasts between Grimeston and Knolles are to be found.

Unlike Knolles, Grimeston made extensive use of first-hand accounts and particularly information generated by the Levant trade. The most obvious manifestation of this is material provided by the former ambassador to the Porte, Sir Thomas Glover. Glover was the son of an English merchant and a Polish mother, born and raised in Constantinople and fluent in Turkish, Greek, Italian and Polish. After serving as secretary to ambassadors Edward Barton and Henry Lello, Glover himself served as ambassador 1606 to 1611.⁶⁷ Grimeston includes material on the embassy of one '*Husseine Chiaus*' who 'had audience from his Maiestie at WHITEHALL, Sir *Thomas Glouer* being Interpreter, from whom I receiued a true discourse of his whole speech'.⁶⁸ Grimeston includes the speech in Turkish and in English translation as well as 'A Copie of the Letter of Sultan *Osman* the present *Ottoman* Emperour, written to the Kings Maiestie, and presented by *Huseine*

⁶⁷ On Glover see MacLean, *Looking east*, pp. 204-5.

⁶⁸ Knolles, *History* (1621), p. 1379. This is a reference to the embassy of 'Uri or Husseine Chiavus' sent to James I by Genç Osman on his accession to the throne in 1618, see Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 34; MacLean, *Looking east*, p. 204.

Chiaus', also in Turkish and English. In addition to this, Grimeston presents the reader with a letter from Sultan Osman to the King of France and a letter from '*Hallil Bassa*, chiefe Visier' to 'Sir *Paul Pindar* Knight, then Embassadour for the Kings Maiestie' concerning the progress of an Ottoman military campaign against the Persians.⁶⁹ It is likely that Grimeston obtained these documents from Glover. In addition, Glover's name appears connected to several anecdotes in Grimeston's narrative, and he may have been the verbal source for these.⁷⁰ These include documents in Turkish as well as translations directly generated by the English trade and diplomatic contacts with the Ottoman empire. The account of a man such as Glover, who was raised in Constantinople, fluent in Turkish and had extensive experience of Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy, has no counterpart in Knolles' writing.

Alongside anecdotal mentions of Glover, Grimeston refers to several other verbal sources. Many of these are identifiably connected to the trade and English diplomacy. For example, an account of the intimidation of a Persian ambassador at the Ottoman court is related from 'a Dragoman to the English Ambassador'.⁷¹ Similarly, Grimeston's source on the 'Persian Kings' persecution of Armenians was 'the English Embassadors chaplein' who 'desirous to know the reason of the Persians crueltie conferred with the Patriarke of the Armenians which resided at CONSTANTINOPLE'.⁷² An example not explicitly linked to the trade is Grimeston's account of the death of the Vizier '*Nassuf*', of which he presents two versions, the latter of which was 'related after another maner by one who

⁶⁹ For the speech and letters see Knolles, *History* (1621), pp. 1379-81.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1303, 1305, 1309.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1309.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 1334.

was then present in CONSTANTINOPLE, the which I haue thought good to set downe as I haue receiued it from him'.⁷³

On occasions, Grimeston indicates a first-hand source for events which were also reported in other contemporary English publications. For example, Grimeston writes of a great fire at Constantinople and quotes the 'report of visible witnesses'.⁷⁴ This event was reported in a contemporary broadsheet entitled *A wonderfull and most lamentable declaration*.⁷⁵ A second event where Grimeston indicates eyewitness accounts but which also appeared widely in print was the funeral of Lady Anne Glover. The sermon preached at this funeral circulated in print as *A sermon preached at Constantinople*.⁷⁶ However, this does not seem to be Grimeston's source as he includes much extraneous detail but not the text of the sermon itself. It seems unlikely that these sources were directly used by Grimeston as the details they provide vary considerably from his accounts. However, such sources are an interesting demonstration of the availability of such accounts in English and of contemporary interest in Ottoman affairs.

Grimeston's account benefited from material put at his disposal by those involved in the Levant trade. He also evinces an interest in the trade in and of itself, a concern not present in Knolles' first edition of 1603. For example, Grimeston notes the commencement of Dutch trade privileges

⁷³ Ibid., p. 1336.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 1322.

⁷⁵ *A wonderfull and most lamentable declaration* (London, 1613: 10511.7).

⁷⁶ *A sermon preached at Constantinople* (London, 1616: STC 11176).

This alliance with the Turke, for the which they haue so often, and with little reason blamed the French, hath beene affected and sought by the English and Spaniards, as we haue said elsewhere; and now by the Hollanders, whose Estates proceed in all their affaires with such weight and measure, as it seemes they doe nothing but with great reason, and to good purpose.⁷⁷

Not only does Grimeston note this event, but he seems to show a benign view of the Levant trade as a whole, chiding the ‘Hollanders’ for childishly accusing the French of league with the Turks, before wisely seeking the same for themselves.

In conclusion, while Grimeston’s account drew on far fewer sources than Knolles’, he was able to draw upon material from the Levant trade and from a rapidly increasing literature in English upon the Ottomans not available to his predecessor. However, his account remains *ad hoc* and is nowhere near the scholarly achievement of Knolles’ grand, rhetorically and stylistically coherent systematising history. Further Grimeston’s work is bounded very narrowly by the prejudices of its author. Nowhere is this more obvious than in his concluding paragraph entitled ‘the disposition of the Turkes’. According to Grimeston

they write of them that they are grosse witted, idle, and vnfit for labour. They are exceeding couetous and corrupt... proud and insupportable to strangers ... giuen to gluttonie and drunkenesse... much inclined to venerie, and are for the most part all Sodomites. They are very superstitious, giuing credit to dreames and

⁷⁷ Knolles, *History* (1621), p. 1327.

diuinations; and they hold that euery mans destinie is written in his forehead,
which cannot be altered or auoided.⁷⁸

Revealingly this role call of contemporary negative commonplaces is based on hearsay i.e. 'they write of them', underlying the fact that though Grimeston drew on many first-hand sources he had no direct contact with the Ottoman empire himself. Grimeston ends his account

Thus I haue continued this historie for eleuen yeares, hauing informed my selfe out of the best authors and intelligencers I could find that concerne this subject: I should haue beene glad that some which haue resided at CONSTANTINOPLE most part of this time, would haue assisted me with their obseruations which should haue been for the generall good of our nation; but I hope notwithstanding the reader shall find content and satisfaction.⁷⁹

Despite the sources which Grimeston was able to access he clearly felt that these were not enough to satisfy the increased expectation of his readers for first hand, accurate and up to date information on the Ottomans. This paragraph hints that by 1621, when Grimeston wrote, a summary of second hand accounts, such as Knolles had originally written in 1603 (albeit in exhaustive detail), was perhaps no longer sufficient to satisfy the expectations of English readers.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 1396. Nabil Matar misattributes the above comment on Sodomy to Knolles to support his thesis concerning the biblical imagery of the destruction of Sodom as ideological justification for war against Muslims and ultimately the conquest of America. However, it is actually from Grimeston's continuation. See Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p. 114.

⁷⁹ Knolles, *History* (1621), p. 1396.

M.B. and Nabbes

The continuations of 1631 and 1638 by 'M.B.' and Thomas Nabbes respectively are influenced by the Levant trade to a far greater degree than the previous continuations in that they are primarily drawn from the papers of the English ambassadors to Constantinople, Thomas Roe and Peter Wyche. Knolles' reliance on continental accounts has been replaced by reliance upon material generated by the Levant trade itself and for the first time episodes in Anglo-Ottoman trade and diplomacy become a focus for the narrative of the *History* itself.

The fourth edition of the *History* (1631) ends with 'A continuation of the TVRKISH historie from the beginning of the yeare of our Lord 1620 vntill the ending of the yeare of our Lord 1628 collected ovt of the papers and Dispatches of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, his Maiesties *Embassadour with the Grand Segniour during that time*. By M.B.'. While M.B. remains anonymous it seems likely that he did indeed write from Roe's papers and this continuation is an edited version of these papers. This is suggested by the fact that Roe himself edited the version of this continuation included in the fifth (1638) edition. This continuation states 'collected ovt of the papers and Dispatches of Sr Thomas Rowe ... And since by Him re-viewed and corrected'. M.B. is not credited in this edition.⁸⁰ A second suggestive fact is that the continuation of 1631, credited to M.B., includes in its pages a section on the regicide of sultan Osman II. This is virtually a verbatim copy of the pamphlet, *A true and faithfull relation, presented to his Maiestie and the prince, of what hath lately happened in Constantinople, concerning the death of Sultan Osman*

⁸⁰ Knolles, *History* (1638), p. 1397.

(1622).⁸¹ This pamphlet is attributed to Sir Thomas Roe in the *Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*.⁸² Thus not only does M.B. tell us that he ‘collected’ the material out of Roe’s papers, but we can be sure that sections of text are virtually indistinguishable from the originals and in later years Roe edited and allowed this continuation to appear under his name.

It is therefore not surprising to find a significant stylistic break from Knolles in this continuation although the basic format of a chronicle, divided into chapters based around the reigns of sultans, remains the same. The continuation of ‘M.B./Roe’ has three defining features. Firstly, as befits an account drawn from a diplomat’s papers, the narrative focuses more upon diplomatic affairs and events in the Ottoman court than the campaigns and military accounts of Knolles’ section. This focus upon events at court also suits the major events of these years, the regicide of Osman II and the later deposition of Mustapha I. Secondly, although it is still primarily a narrative of Ottoman history, M.B.’s continuation is the first to focus upon diplomacy, trade and Barbary piracy as central issues. Thirdly, although other continuations contain purported copies of documents relating to the Ottomans, or Levant trade, the continuation of ‘M.B./Roe’ contains no fewer than twenty eight. At points these are presented one after another in long, repetitive and unedited sections which become *ad hoc* to the point of incoherence, which is particularly true of sections dealing with diplomatic attempts to solve the perennial problem of Barbary piracy.

⁸¹ Thomas Roe, *A True and Faithfull Relation, Presented to His Maiestie and the Prince, of What Hath Lately Happened in Constantinople, Concerning the Death of Sultan Osman* (London, 1622: STC 18507.71A) .

⁸² Arber, *Registers*, IV, p. 78.

The problem of Barbary piracy was not new. However, the rapid growth of the Levant trade, and indeed general Mediterranean shipping which virtually doubled between 1582 and 1629,⁸³ aggravated it dramatically. In response to this problem, James I and later Charles I pursued a largely ineffectual diplomatic strategy, aimed at the Ottoman sultans (who lacked the influence to control piracy in the regencies nominally under their control), the king of Morocco and other individual Barbary states.⁸⁴

M.B. begins his continuation with background on the Ottoman conflict in Poland as a context for Roe's arrival in Constantinople as the new English ambassador and includes 'the letter of Credence sent by Sir Thomas Roe', the 'Articles propounded by the Emassadour to the Grand Signior' and the 'letter of Osman to James' in his account of the negotiations renewing English trade capitulations with the Ottomans. Although these documents do contain an offer to act 'as mediator of peace' in the Polish conflict they focus upon the trade and specifically the need to renew capitulations, to prevent the alleged extortion of English merchants by Ottoman customs officials (contrary to those capitulations), to address specific cases of such abuse but above all to tackle the issue of Barbary piracy. The 'articles' Roe presented stressed

his Maiestie desires, that you will take some order with the Pyrats of Tunis and Algier, who shelter themselues vnder your Royall protection (to the great dishonour of your Maiestie) and doe many robberies upon the subjects of Kings

⁸³ David Delison Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government, 1603-1642* (Aldershot 1994), p. 2.

⁸⁴ N.I. Matar, 'The Barbary corsairs, King Charles I and the civil war', *The seventeenth century* 16, no. 2 (2001), pp. 240-44.

and Princes in amity and league with your empire, and take euen the ships sent vnto your Royall Port: admonishing your Maiestie to consider, that if they be suffered to continue, they will occasion the dissolution of all commerce and trade; being common enemies to all honest Merchants, by whom the friendship of these Kingdomes are maintained and increased. And that if your Imperiall Maiestie please not to exercise your Royall power and authoritie to bridle or destroy them; that then you will not take it in ill part, that his Maiestie, with other Princes his Allies, shall make an Armie to punish both them and all others that receiue and cherish them; which hath hitherto been forborne in respect onely of your Maiestie: and that the towns where they harbour themselues are or ought to be vnder your Imperiall command.⁸⁵

M.B.'s focus is clearly different from previous continuations. Ottoman military campaigns in Europe, the mainstay of Knolles' writing, serve merely as context to a detailed account of English diplomatic relations and trade, topics in which Knolles showed no interest whatsoever. Despite Roe's empty threats to 'punish' pirates, the prohibitive cost and difficulty of naval action, requiring large fleets on extended campaigns, forced the English to pursue a diplomatic strategy of negotiating protection from the sultan. These negotiations are described through a long procession of letters presented in a continuous sequence with no comment from M.B. and amount to a full twenty pages recounting an English petition, a counter petition by the Algerians and a compromise mediated by the sultan.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Knolles, *History* (1631), p. 1403.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1436-55.

These negotiations achieved the major English diplomatic objectives: a command to cease attacks on shipping, the freeing of Englishmen held as slaves in Tunis and Algiers, and the establishment of a consul to mediate future difficulties. However, the achievements of diplomacy in this area proved to be transitory:

This Peace thus concluded and promulged [sic], was well and exactly obserued for fiue yeres, and not one English ship assayled or taken, and at least six hundered Mariners, subiects of his Maiestie, released from a miserable seruitude and captiuitie: vntill a small offence was done to them, which they easily apprehended, to renew their desire of spoyle, by which only they liue, as being a people without industrie or traffique; there being but one way to maintaine a Peace with them who are glad of any occasion of warre, not to begin, not to vnbinde their hands; for the soule of Wisedome is Preuention.⁸⁷

This passage demonstrates clearly the impracticality of a diplomatic solution and yet the official English attachment to it. Although it had failed, Roe's solution remained a return to diplomacy and in 1625 Charles I continued this policy, sending a letter to the Moroccan ruler 'Mulay Zaidan' to treat for the release of captives and an end to attacks on English shipping.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 1455.

⁸⁸ Matar, 'The Barbary corsairs, King Charles I and the civil war', p. 240.

M.B.'s inclusion of this number of detailed sources related to English diplomatic attempts to stem Barbary piracy in the edition of 1631 is significant. Barbary piracy was already an issue in the 1620s. However, during the 1630s this issue assumed crisis proportions and 'shipping losses to pirates reached an all-time high between 10 May 1639 and 15 January 1640 when more than 68 ships and 1222 mariners were taken captive',⁸⁹ capped by the loss of the *Rebecca* of London carrying a cargo of £260,000 in silver in 1640. Further, Matar has asserted that '[t]he Barbary captives became a cause célèbre that exacerbated the social and political unrest in London'.⁹⁰ Certainly the contentious 'ship money' tax, justified by the need to combat Barbary piracy was central to the grievances of Parliament against the king. Thus M.B.'s inclusion of a large volume of material relating to piracy must be seen in the context of a period where such piracy was a growing political as well as social and economic issue of some importance, although not yet of the proportions it was to reach in 1640.

The issue of Barbary piracy retained its importance throughout the seventeenth century. This issue led to an attack on the port of Salee (in modern day Morocco) in 1637 fought in conjunction with local elements, followed by a peace and the visit of the Moroccan ambassador Alkaid Jaurar Ben Abdalla. However, this campaign did not resolve the issue regarding Tunis, Tripoli or Algiers, and a commons committee was formed which laid out proposals for a similar military expedition. The problem was that the only effective strategy was a combination of convoys, hunting down corsairs and the lengthy blockading of corsair port. All of these required a large number of ships to remain in

⁸⁹ Hebb, *Piracy and the English government*, p. 267.

⁹⁰ Matar, 'The Barbary corsairs, King Charles I and the civil war', p. 239.

active long distance operations for a period of several years, which only became practical with the increase in naval power which came about during the civil war and its aftermath. Following Robert Blake's attack on a corsair fleet at Porto Farina (Tunis) in 1655, England fought a continuous series of wars with the Barbary regencies between 1674 and 1688. It is noticeable that Barbary piracy remains a key issue throughout later editions of the *History*, particularly in the writing of Rycout, who was himself involved in both trade and diplomacy, and personally undertook diplomatic missions to Algiers.

The continuation of 'M.B./Roe' stands in sharp contrast to the writing of both Knolles and Grimeston. While Grimeston wrote similarly to Knolles, he drew upon some first-hand accounts. In contrast M.B. does not so much draw on a variety of sources as clumsily edit the papers of Roe into a continuation. However, while his section is makeshift and difficult to read it reflects the expansion of the Levant trade both in its source (i.e. Roe) and in its extensive focus upon one of the emerging key issues of that trade, Barbary piracy and the Stuart state's attempts to confront it.

The edition of 1638 is again similar to previous editions. The continuation of 'M.B./Roe' is edited (purportedly by Roe himself) to the point of coherence, containing far fewer transcripts of documents to the benefit of its narrative. A further continuation by the dramatist Thomas Nabbes was added covering the years from 1628 to 1637. This continuation is similar to M.B.'s continuation in that it is largely drawn out of the papers of a diplomat, in this case Sir Peter Wyche, Roe's successor as ambassador to Constantinople. Similarly to M.B.'s continuation, Nabbes included six letters between

Charles I and Murad IV regarding the renewal of capitulations. Nabbes's continuation thus continues the trend whereby continuations of Knolles' *History* were increasingly informed by material generated directly from the Levant trade and as a result his narrative often concerns that trade.

Following the edition of 1638 there was a long abeyance in editions of the *History* (see chapter two and appendix four). The sixth and final edition in 1687, from which the Nabbes's continuation was dropped, was far more systematically edited and ambitious in scope than the previous editions. The first five editions simply sought to present Knolles' *magnus opus* updated, in varying degrees of quality. The sixth edition sought to synthesise the edited text of the former editions with the works of Rycaut, a figure whose reputation as an authority on the Ottomans rivalled Knolles' within England, and whose reputation and lasting influence on later authors as a source and model, far outstripped that of the earlier author in the wider context of continental Europe.

Taken as a whole the continuations of the *History* reflect two broad trends with English writing on the Ottomans in the seventeenth century. These were the proliferation of works in English on the Ottomans, and the increasing importance of the Levant trade as a context for literature on the Ottomans as it expanded. Knolles' first edition draws on continental sources; his continuation begins to draw on first-hand English accounts; Grimeston draws on contemporary English publications and material from the Levant trade; M.B. and Nabbes base their accounts upon the papers of ambassadors; Rycaut was himself a diplomat who had lived in the Ottoman empire. The continuations suggest a

fairly simple development from a literature reliant on continental sources to a literature dominated by the Levant trade. However, although there was a broad trend to an increase in proliferation and influence of first-hand English accounts of the Ottomans in the seventeenth century this trend is less linear than the continuations would suggest (also note that there were no continuations between 1638 and 1687). The volume and character of English *turcica* were affected by many factors such as the Civil War, the problem of Barbary piracy and moments of continental conflict such as the second siege of Vienna (1683). In addition, translations of continental works on the Ottomans continued to be a significant portion of works published in English throughout the seventeenth century.

Paul Rycaut: early career and publications

Rycaut was a career diplomat who was deeply involved in the Levant trade first as private secretary to the ambassador Sir Heneage Finch at Constantinople (1661-66) and later as consul at Smyrna (1667-78). While the 'continuers' had been minor literary figures content to ape 'master Knolles his method', Rycaut was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a respected author in his own right who came to resent actively the long shadow Knolles cast over the field of English literature on the Ottomans.

Rycaut wrote extensively on the Ottomans and many related (and unrelated) topics and the inclusion of his works, *The Present State* and *The Turkish Empire*, dramatically

broadened the scope of the sixth edition of the *History* (1687).⁹¹ By combining Knolles' and Rycaut's works this edition gave an account of Turkish (pre-Ottoman) history generally; a dynastic history of the Ottoman empire up to the date of publication; a systematic account of that empire, its political structure, military structure, laws and 'Maxims', religion (generally and of specific sects) and current strength; as well as recent history, particularly as it related to the English trade. This document is therefore truly remarkable in its attempt to provide a comprehensive, edited and reliable account of what Englishmen knew and needed to know about the Ottoman Turks. However, Rycaut was no mere understudy to Knolles, or an armchair scholar continuing his work. Rather, he wrote the first systematic first-hand English account of the Ottomans and, unlike Knolles, his works were widely read and massively influential across Europe. My account will focus upon his most original and influential work, the *Present State* (1666). I will argue that this and his other works were shaped through his experiences and aspirations as an agent of the Levant Company and diplomat. Further, I will show that Rycaut's depiction of the Ottoman Empire is shaped through the political and religious contexts of Restoration England. Through these influence of these contexts as well as his concern and interest in the progress of the English Levant trade I will argue that Rycaut presents a distinctively *English* perspective upon the Ottoman Empire. Finally, I will seek to contrast the perspective of his earlier works to his final work the *Turkish History* (1700)

⁹¹ Because of restrictions on space I have chosen not to examine Rycaut's anonymously published relation of the Jewish Pseudo-Messiah Sabbatai Zevi in John Evelyn, *The history of the three late famous impostors, viz. Padre Ottomano, Mahomed Bei, and Sabatai Sevi*. (London, 1669: Wing E3490), or his account of eastern Christianity under Ottoman rule, see Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (London: John Starkey, 1679: Wing R2411). For a complete bibliography of Rycaut's works see Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, appendix 1: Rycaut's works pp. 294- 97.

written in Hamburg in the aftermath of major Ottoman defeats culminating in the treaty of Karlowitz (1699).

Paul Rycaut, born 1629, was the eleventh child of Peter Rycaut, a Huguenot merchant who emigrated from Antwerp to London around 1600. Peter Rycaut was heavily involved in the western Mediterranean trade and acquired a large fortune, a mansion in Kent and a knighthood.⁹² During the civil war Peter Rycaut lent money and raised troops for the Royalist cause and by 1643 he had fled to Rouen. Following this his estates were sequestered and in the Newcastle propositions of 1646 he was barred from holding office. Peter Rycaut died in 1653 and what remained of his great wealth, primarily assets held on the continent, was not enough to prevent the sale of his Kentish mansion in 1657.⁹³

Paul Rycaut was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge but also studied at Alcalá de Henares near Madrid, having travelled to Spain with his brother, Peter, seeking to redeem debts owed to his father. In the later years of the Commonwealth he travelled in Italy and while at 'Leghorn' (Livorno) he joined Blake's expedition against the pirates of Tunis (1655) who had seized a shipload of currants belonging to his brother Philip.⁹⁴ Rycaut was present at Porto Farina when Blake fired the Tunisian fleet in its winter harbour.

⁹² Many members of the Rycaut family were involved in the Mediterranean and Levant trade. Paul's brother, Philip, was involved in shipping currants (one of the Levant companies most lucrative monopolies). Further, one Philip Rycaut was consul at Tunis and later Algiers in the 1680s and a James Rycaut succeeded Paul Rycaut's successor, Thomas Coke, to the post of secretary of the Constantinople Embassy in 1695. Colin Heywood, *Writing Ottoman History : Documents and Interpretations* (Aldershot 2002), p. 37.

⁹³ Sonia P. Anderson, 'Rycaut, Sir Peter (1578–1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38472>, accessed 3 Sept 2009]. Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey*, pp. 19-49.

⁹⁴ For an account of the mid-seventeenth century currant trade see Wood, *A history of the Levant Company*, pp. 67-70.

Rycaut was later involved in negotiations with Algiers and his experiences with Blake probably influenced his later advocacy of punitive action against that port. Rycaut also spent time at the exiled court of Charles II at Brussels. Following the Restoration he was appointed private secretary to Sir Heneage Finch, the Earl of Winchelsea and newly appointed ambassador to Constantinople. This appointment was made at the recommendation of Sir Edward Dering, a Kent county connection of the family, and no doubt strengthened by solidly Royalist family credentials and Rycaut's involvement in Royalist intrigue throughout the late interregnum.⁹⁵

Following this appointment, Rycaut's early career advanced through a combination of ability and luck. *En route* to the Levant the principal secretary and newly appointed chancellor of the Constantinople factory, Robert Bargrave, fell ill and died. Therefore from the time of his arrival Rycaut served in these roles and was soon officially appointed chancellor. He proved himself an able diplomat, able to speak nine languages (English, French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, ancient and modern Greek, Turkish and some German), and he was dispatched on several independent missions. These included the ratifications of treaties with the corsair ports of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers in 1663 (when Algiers refused, he returned to London and presented the case for naval reprisals) and a mission in 1665 to refer a customs dispute at the Aleppo factory to grand vizier Köprülüzade Fazil Ahmed, at that time encamped at Belgrade.

⁹⁵ For biographies of Rycaut see Heywood, *Writing Ottoman history*, pp. 33-59; Sonia P. Anderson, 'Rycaut, Sir Paul (1629-1700)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24392>, accessed 3 Sept 2009]; Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey*, pp. 19-49.

Rycaut's first publications related directly to his involvement in Levant trade and diplomacy: *A narrative of the success of the voyage of the right honourable Heneage Finch, earl of Winchelsea, from Smyrna to Constantinople* (1661)⁹⁶ and *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace between the Majestie of the King of England, ... And the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire* (1663).⁹⁷ These two short works should be seen in the context of Rycaut's early career advancement, seeking to safeguard his new found position in the Levant Company and to build a literary reputation. The *Capitulations* was dedicated to the Levant Company, although Anderson notes that when Rycaut arrived in London later that year he had a dedication to the king printed for copies intended for the government and a later edition in 1663 also sought to curry royal favour by rededicating these capitulations to the king. This rededication may indeed simply have been politic, but as we shall see, throughout his early career Rycaut sought to use his literary talents to gain preferment, with varied degrees of success. The company was clearly well pleased, as in 1679 they requested that Rycaut, by now returned to England, publish the *Capitulations* updated to contain the articles since negotiated by Winchelsea's ambassadorial successor (and cousin) John Finch.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Paul Rycaut, *A Narrative of the Success of the Voyage of Heneage Finch from Smyrna to Constantinople* (London 1661: Wing N227).

⁹⁷ Paul Rycaut, *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace between the Majestie of the King of England, ... And the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire* (Constantinople, 1663: Wing C2930).

⁹⁸ Paul Rycaut, *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace between the Majesty of the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &C. And the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1679: Wing C2931).

The Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1666)

The desire to gain preferment and courtly patronage through the use of literary publication was a key motivation in Rycaut's first major work, *The Present State*, although his scholarly disposition, wide-ranging love of knowledge and desire to leave behind an instruction and record for posterity should not be ignored. This work was completed in 1665 and first published in 1666. Although most of the first printing was destroyed in the great fire of London, the *Present State* was reprinted in 1668, 1670, 1675, 1679, 1682 and 1686 (the text was also included in the sixth edition of Knolles' *History* in 1687). The dedication, addressed to the secretary of state, Lord Arlington, begins with a reference to Rycaut's 'five years residence at *Constantinople* in the service of the Embassy of the Earl of *Winchilsea*' and describes itself as 'the fruits of my Travels, Negotiations and leisure'.⁹⁹ Throughout Rycaut attempts to present a systematic and detailed account of the Ottoman empire, thereby showcasing his own suitability as a professional diplomat. He also places great emphasis upon the importance of the Levant trade to the English nation, his own role in that trade and therefore his role as a public servant.

Although Rycaut acknowledges the sizable extant contemporary English literature on the Ottomans, he seeks to set himself apart from it, both in terms of his sources and the *kind* of work he is aiming to produce. This is entirely in keeping with his professional ambitions, seeking patronage not as an author but as an able and up-and-coming young diplomat.

⁹⁹ Rycaut, *Present State* (1668), sig. A2^r.

I Present thee here with a true Systeme or Model of the Turkish Government and Religion; not in the same manner as certain ingenious Travellers have done, who have set down their Observations as they have obviously occurred in their Journeys; which being collected for the most part from Relations, and Discourses of such who casually intervene in company of Passengers, are consequently subject to many errors and mistakes: But having been an Inhabitant my self at the Imperial City for the space of five years, and assisted by the advantage of considerable Journeys I have made through divers parts of *Turky*, and qualified by the Office I hold of Secretary to the Earl of *Winchilsea* Lord Ambassador, I had opportunity by the constant access and practice with the Chief Ministers of State, and variety of Negotiations which passed through my hands in the Turkish Court, to penetrate farther into the Mysteries of this Politie, which appear so strange and barbarous to us, than hasty Travellers could do, who are forced to content themselves with a superficial knowledge.¹⁰⁰

Unlike the ‘obvious’, ‘casual’, ‘hasty’ and ‘superficial’ accounts of ‘ingenious Travellers’ (such as that ‘ingenious traveller’, Mr Sandys) Rycaut’s account is not merely first-hand but considered and informed by long residence, journeys and access to the Turkish court. Rycaut’s claim to penetrate into the mysteries of state is particularly pertinent to his appeal to Arlington’s patronage. The scope of the *Present State* is impressive. It purports to be a ‘complete system or Model’ of the Ottoman empire. As such its three books respectively cover Ottoman government and ‘the Maxims of State’, religion and the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., sig. A4^r.

Ottoman military system.¹⁰¹ This approach, complete with detailed computations of Ottoman military power and descriptions of courtly life is modelled upon contemporary European diplomatic accounts, such as the famous Venetian *relazione*, rather than contemporary English accounts of the Ottomans. Again this approach, the literary antecedents it draws upon, and Rycaut's insistence that the Ottoman state is 'a matter worthy the [sic] consideration, or concernment of Kings or our Governours' is intimately connected to his own ambitions and attempts to seek courtly patronage for personal diplomatic advancement.¹⁰² However, it is also true that Rycaut's attempt to set himself and his account apart from contemporary English literature on the Ottomans is testament to the size and visibility of that literature by the mid seventeenth century, as demonstrated in the previous chapters.

Rycaut reinforces the authority of his own account by emphasising the authoritative nature of his sources.

The Computations I have made of the value of their Offices, of the strength and number of their Souldiery ... are deduced from their own Registers and Records. The Observations I have made of their Politie, are either Maxims received from the Mouth and Argument of considerable Ministers, or Conclusions arising from my own Experience and Considerations. The Articles of their Faith and Constitutions of Religion, I have set down as pronounced from the mouth of some of the most learned Doctors and Preachers of their Law The Relation of the

¹⁰¹ For another detailed account of the *Present State*, see Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, pp. 40-48.

¹⁰² Rycaut, *Present State* (1668), sig. A2^r.

Seraglio, and Education of their Youth, with divers other matters of Custom and Rule, were transmitted to me by several sober Persons, trained up with the best Education of the Turkish Learning; and particularly, by an understanding *Polonian*, who had spent nineteen years in the *Ottoman Court*.¹⁰³

Earlier accounts, such as Knolles', had been based upon continental literature, or, as Moryson had, made great show of being first-hand observations. However, Rycaut claims not merely to be a first-hand account but an officially sanctioned, in-depth account, based on information taken directly from those involved in the Ottoman state. Knolles had built his authority as literature, placing the history of the Turks (Ottoman and pre-Ottoman) within a grand providential meta-narrative. Rycaut's work, with its systematic layout and claims to official sources, is closer to a work of political economy, and its successful reception earned him election to the Royal Society in December 1666. If Knolles' *History* had harked back to an older chronicle tradition, Rycaut seems to anticipate a newer and more rational approach. Indeed, the *Present State* was later drawn on heavily by prominent Enlightenment figures such as Montesquieu and Smith. However, this is not to imply a rejection of older models of learning on Rycaut's part and throughout the *Present State* he demonstrates the breadth of his learning quoting widely from 'the Bible, the Koran, Busbequius, Poccocke, Justinian, Cicero, Ovid, Bacon, Machiavelli, Livy,

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, sigs. A4^r-A4^v. Anderson identifies the 'understanding Polonian' as Albert Bobowski, otherwise known as Ali Bey. See Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, p. 41.

Plutarch, Virgil, Juvenal, Seneca, Curtius, Grotius, Aristotle and Richelieu'¹⁰⁴ but above all Tacitus, whom he cites repeatedly.¹⁰⁵

To Rycaut, the Ottoman empire is a worthy subject primarily because of the English Levant trade, and in keeping with his involvement with this trade he is always keen to emphasise

that Right Worshipful Company of the *Levant* Merchants, [which] hath brought a most considerable benefit to this Kingdom, and gives employment and livelihood to many thousands of people in *England*, by which also His Majesty without any expence, gains a very considerable increase of His Customs.¹⁰⁶

Perhaps somewhat disingenuously in a work dedicated by an ambitious but minor diplomat to the secretary of state Rycaut is always careful to couch this trade in the language of public service and benefit. However, it also leads him to a more careful, balanced but overall pragmatic presentation of the Turks, swimming against the current of contemporary commonplaces regarding the brutish, slow and barbaric nature of the much maligned 'terrible Turk'.

The sence of this benefit and advantage to my own Country, without any private considerations I have as a Servant to that Embassie, or the obligations I have to that Worthy Company, cause me to move with the greatest sedulity and devotion

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

¹⁰⁵ A Tacitian influence is also clear in the later *Turkish Empire* (1680). Rycaut aspires to the ideal of the humanist historian as a man at the heart of events who records them: 'I had great advantages to observe, and make my Annotations; having for the most part been acquainted with the persons as well as with the affairs of those concerning whom I write'. Rycaut, *Turkish Empire* (1680), sig. I4^r.

¹⁰⁶ Rycaut, *Present State* (1668), p. 217.

possible to promote and advance the Interest of that Trade: And as some study several ways, and prescribe Rules by which a War may be most advantageously managed against the Turk; I, on the contrary, am more inclinable to give my judgment in what manner our Peace and Trade may best be secured and maintained; knowing that so considerable a welfare of our Nation depends upon it, that a few years of Trades interruption in *Turkey* will make all sorts of people sensible of the want of so great a vent of the Commodities of our Country.¹⁰⁷

Rycaut explicitly contrasts his insistence on the importance of trade and the maintenance of cordial relations with the Ottoman empire to the crusading, or at least militantly anti-Ottoman, bent of much contemporary English and continental literature. Ottoman military strength and the viability of crusade was also a significant theme in much of the contemporary material generated by various continental diplomatic relationships with the Ottomans: precisely the type of accounts that Rycaut sought to emulate. A notable example, and one to which Rycaut refers to with approval,¹⁰⁸ is the widely read and highly influential *Legationis Turciciae Epistolae Quatuor* (1595)¹⁰⁹ of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, imperial ambassador to the Ottomans (1554-1562). These letters are one of the most balanced and admiring descriptions of the Ottomans produced in sixteenth century Europe. However, the *Exclamatio sive de re militari contra Turcam instituenda consilium*, which concludes this work, is essentially a call for military reform (emulating the Turks and ancient Romans) and unity within Christendom, in order to defeat the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 217-18.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 76, see marginal note

¹⁰⁹ Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, *Legationis Turciciae Epistolae Quatuor* (Frankfurt, 1595) First published as Ogier Ghislain de Busbeq, *Itinera Constantinopolitanum Et Amasianum* (Antwerp, 1582). Although widely influential, an English translation did not appear until 1694; see Augerius Gislenius Busbequius (trs. Nahum Tate), *The Four Epistles of A.G. Busbequius, Concerning His Embassy into Turkey. To Which Is Added, His Advice How to Manage War against the Turks. Done into Engl.* (London, 1694: Wing B6219).

Turks militarily. Thus although Busbecq is well known for his relatively balanced views, he still concludes his account on a theme familiar from crusade literature, and his emphasis is still very much how to defeat the Ottomans militarily. Rycaut's emphasis on the Levant trade and the desirability of amicable league with the Ottomans is thus all the more exceptional. Rycaut's perspective may be partly explained by the relative peacefulness of the time in which the *Present state* was written. It is noteworthy that English publishing regarding the Ottomans tended to peak in periods of conflict in central Europe. This trend is particularly pronounced in the first years of the Long War (1593-1606) and at the time of the siege of Vienna in 1683, both of which produced an exceptional number of English accounts of the Ottomans. Many of the texts written in such periods of perceived crisis focussed upon the threat to 'Christendom' and not a few called for some form of crusade against the Turk.¹¹⁰ However, the *Present State* was not written in such a period of crisis, which in a sense left Rycaut free to recommend trade and amity with 'the Turk' and emphasise 'English' interests over those of 'Christendom'. Indeed, as we shall see, in the 1680s his attitude to the Ottomans shifted considerably.

The following section argues that the emphasis of the *Present State* on the importance of the Levant trade, led Rycaut to a more even handed depiction of 'the Turks' than was common amongst his contemporaries. Although his views are still to some extent shaped by commonplaces, he emphasises 'the Turks' humanity, and is committed to a secular explanation of their 'character' and imperial power, based on political structure and the concept of tyranny rather than a moralistic or providential narrative. His analysis stops

¹¹⁰ While the notion 'Christendom' was slowly replaced by 'Europe' between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, major Ottoman invasions of the European heartland were one context in which the former term retained relevance and popularity.

short of later notions of ‘oriental despotism’; the abject character of ‘the Turks’ is shaped by the tyrannical nature of their state rather than the ‘oriental’ character of the population or climate, and ‘tyranny’ is not a distinctively ‘oriental’ form of government. Further, Rycaut’s notion of tyranny, depictions of the Ottoman state, and wider ideals of political legitimacy are clearly shaped by the political context of Restoration England. This political context, alongside his emphasis on the importance of trade, leads him to articulate a distinctly *English* perspective on the Ottomans.

Rycaut’s dedication to Arlington asserts that although his account of the ‘Turks’

may be termed barbarous, as all things are, which are differenced from us by diversity of Manners and Custom, and are not dressed in the mode and fashion of our times and Countries; for we contract prejudice from ignorance and want of familiarity ... your Lordship will conclude, that a People, as the Turks are, men of the same composition with us, cannot be so savage and rude as they are generally described; for ignorance and grossness is the effect of Poverty, not incident to happy men, whose spirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of so many Nations.¹¹¹

Rycaut’s rhetoric cleverly inverts the standard depictions of the ‘grossness’, barbarism, rudeness and incivility of the ‘Turk’ to reveal *English* ‘ignorance’ and ‘prejudice’ concerning the Ottomans, the solution to which is, of course, an informed work such as the *Present State*. Fundamentally his approach is rational, the ‘Turks’ are above all ‘men of the same composition as us’. He rejects the pejorative tone of much contemporary

¹¹¹ Rycaut, *Present State*, sigs. A3^{r-v}.

English literature and contrasts the ‘savagery’ and barbarism of commonplace images of the ‘Turk’ with the power and success of the Ottoman state in order to underscore the value of understanding the Ottomans and trading with them.

Despite this comparatively rational approach to the Ottoman Turks, RycAUT’s depiction of them is still frequently shaped by contemporary commonplaces, although not to the degree of Smith’s *Remarks on the manners, religion and government of the Turks*. He places particular emphasis upon ‘the deformity, of their depraved inclinations’¹¹² and ‘that abominable vice of *Sodomie*, which the *Turks* pretend to have learned from the *Italians*, and is now the common and professed shame of that people’.¹¹³ However, if one considers the general opinion in which the ‘Turks’ were held in England, and contemporary fear of the ‘Renegado’ or convert from Christianity to Islam,¹¹⁴ it is perhaps not surprising that RycAUT is quick to emphasise to his readership his rejection of perceived ‘Turkish’ vices. This is not the only moment when RycAUT seeks to distance himself from the Ottomans. When listing his Ottoman sources he claims that he only ‘gained a familiarity and appearance of friendship’. However, although RycAUT stresses that these feigned friendships served the end of acquiring information, Anderson’s painstaking study of his consulship at Smyrna reveals he regularly frequented the homes of Ottoman officials.¹¹⁵ Clearly, as a respectable author with aspirations to public life, he felt the need to absolve himself from what, to his readership, were potentially suspect associations. Nonetheless, in general RycAUT’s pragmatism and familiarity with Ottoman

¹¹² RycAUT, *Present State*, p. 33.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹¹⁴ Matar, ‘The renegade in English seventeenth-century imagination’, 489-505; Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 50-73.

¹¹⁵ Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey*, pp. 6-11; Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman empire*, pp. 26-28.

society led him to a more balanced view of 'the Turks' than was common among contemporaries.

While Rycaut's general moral assessment of the Ottoman empire is negative he is quick to emphasise its power and advocate a pragmatic approach based on commercial advantage. He rejects the sermonising tone of earlier authors, such as Knolles, in favour of a pragmatic and rationalising approach.

When I consider what little rewards there are for vertue, and no punishment for profitable and thriving vice; how men are raised at once by adulation, chance, and the sole favour of the Prince, without any title of noble blood, or the motives of previous deserts, or former testimonies and experience of parts or abilities, to the weightiest, the richest, and most honourable charges of the Empire; when I consider how short their continuance is in them, how with one frown of their Prince they are cut off; with what greediness above all people in the world, they thirst and haste to be rich, and yet know their treasure is but their snare; what they labour for is but as slaves for their great Patron and Master, and what will inevitably effect their ruine and destruction, though they have all the arguments of faithfulness, virtue, and moral honesty (which are rare in a *Turk*) to be their advocates, and plead for them. When I consider many other things of like nature ... one might admire the long continuance of this great and vast Empire, and attribute the stability thereof without change within its self, and the increase of Dominions and constant progress of its arms, rather to some super-natural cause, then to the ordinary Maximes of State, or wisdom of the Governours, as if the

Divine will of the all-knowing Creator, had chosen for the good of his Church, and chastisement of the sins and vices of Christians, to raise and support this potent people. *Mihi quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis observantur.* But that which cements all breaches, and cures all those wounds in this body politick, is the quickness and severity of their justice...¹¹⁶

Rycaut's assessment is overwhelmingly negative and yet he rejects eschatological or moralistic explanations for the Ottoman empire's success; his invocation of divine providence is a rhetorical '*as if*'. Rather, he seeks answers within the system itself. Paradoxically, as emphasised by the Tacitian quotation,¹¹⁷ the manifest flaws he depicts are the consequence of a state geared towards military success. In common with many of his contemporaries, Rycaut describes the Ottoman empire as a tyranny, that is, a system based on violence rather than law. Therefore, although the characteristics of the Ottoman commonwealth seem perverse, they make sense within the logic of the Ottoman state. He explains that the 'the original of their Civil Government [was] founded in the time of war'¹¹⁸ and this accounts for the severity of their system and the 'absoluteness' of the sultan's authority. Rycaut quotes Machiavelli's 'del prencipe' on this, and accepts Machiavelli's analysis that the 'absoluteness' of the sultan's authority is a distinct advantage in times of war and one explanation of Ottoman success.

¹¹⁶ Rycaut, *Present State*, p. 2. a marginal note cites the Latin quotation as Tacit. 1. 3. Annals.

¹¹⁷ 'The more I think about history, ancient or modern, the more ironical all human affairs seem.' Tacitus, Cornelius (trs. Michael Grant), *Tacitus: The Annals of Imperial Rome* (London, 1996), p. 99 Annals 3.18.

¹¹⁸ Rycaut, *Present State*, p. 3.

Rycaut extends this principle of tyranny and arbitrary authority through society by depicting a widespread reliance upon institutionalised slavery

if a man considers the contexture of the whole *Turkish* Government, he will find it such a Fabrick of slavery, that it is a wonder if any amongst them should be born of a free ingenuous spirit. The Grand Signior is born of a slave, the Mother of the present being a *Circhasian* ... The Visiers themselves are not always free born by Father or Mother; for the *Turks* get more children by their slaves then by their wives ... [and] it is hard to find many that can derive a clear line from ingenious Parents: So that it is no wonder that amongst the *Turks* a disposition be found fitted and disposed for servitude...¹¹⁹

Rycaut has often been castigated by modern critics as one of the fathers of ‘oriental despotism’.¹²⁰ However, there are important differences between Rycaut’s views and the later theory of ‘oriental despotism’ (see chapter two). Primarily, ‘tyranny’ was not a distinctively ‘oriental’ or ‘eastern’ characteristic; indeed for Rycaut the most prescient example of tyranny was probably interregnum England, and further examples might easily be found in Europe or in history. The character of the Ottoman subject population was the consequence of this government. Arbitrary government was not simply an inevitable consequence of the ‘oriental/asiatic’ nature of the climate or population. The Turks’ character is the result of their reliance on and inbreeding with slaves; this is what

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

¹²⁰ David Young, ‘Montesquieu’s view of despotism and his use of travel literature,’ *The review of politics* 40, no. 3 (1978), 392-405; Linda Darling, ‘Ottoman politics through British eyes: Paul Rycaut’s *The Present state of the Ottoman Empire*,’ *Journal of world history* 5:1 (1994), 71-97. Young presents Rycaut as Montesquieu’s prime source on the Ottomans. Darling presents Rycaut’s views of the Ottomans as overwhelmingly negative, measuring his description by modern standards rather than those of his contemporaries.

makes tyranny 'as natural to them, as to a body to be nourished with that diet, which it had from its infancy or birth been acquainted with'.¹²¹ Further, his description of Ottoman society is not abstracted to a generalised theory accounting for the character of 'the orient'. There *are* clear similarities between Rycaut's position and 'oriental despotism'. Indeed many of its later theorists, notably Montesquieu, drew on Rycaut. However, the eighteenth-century notion of 'oriental despotism' was more abstracted and theoretical, and gained a wider and more homogeneous acceptance, than earlier sixteenth and seventeenth-century depictions of Ottoman tyranny such as Rycaut's.

Rycaut's understanding of 'tyranny' as a political category is deeply rooted in the context of seventeenth-century England. The language through which he explores the legitimacy, or indeed illegitimacy, of the Ottoman state is deeply rooted in the political, social, religious and economic contexts of Restoration England. The overriding preoccupation with political legitimacy and the acceptable limits of monarchical authority, which inform his conception of the Ottoman state, are symptomatic of his time. To understand the role which the Restoration played in shaping these views it is necessary to return briefly to his background. As noted, Rycaut's father Peter was a Royalist supporter and rich merchant who had lost most of his fortune in the civil war and during the interregnum. However, the Royalist connection does not end there. Winchelsea, whom Rycaut served as private secretary had formerly been a leader of the Royalist underground in Kent.¹²² As Goffman has shown, the relationship between company and monarch, fractious at the best of times, had deteriorated during the civil war and interregnum into intrigue and hostility. Both Charles I and his son in exile had made attempts to seize the assets of the Levant

¹²¹ Rycaut, *Present State*, p. 3.

¹²² Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman empire*, pp. 202-3.

Company through their respective agents ambassador Sackville Crow and Henry Hyde, attempts that were successfully resisted by the Company.¹²³ The appointment of Winchelsea, who was very much the king's man, as ambassador in 1660, was an attempt to rein in a wayward, rebellious and suspect Levant Company and bring it to heel. Winchelsea's targets encompassed religious dissent as well as possible resistance to royal authority: 'the principal themes of the ambassador's commission [were] religion, loyalty to the monarch and the normalisation of monarchical relations with the Ottoman government'.¹²⁴ Pincus has talked of an 'Anglican crusade'¹²⁵ led by Winchelsea against influential Nonconformists in the Levant Company, and quotes Winchelsea privately railing against the Company's 'democratic principles, as if they had forgot to whom they owe their allegiance'.¹²⁶

Therefore, Rycaut's very presence in the Levant, as Winchelsea's secretary, is closely connected with the reassertion of monarchical authority and Anglicanism following the Restoration. It is this authoritarian background that leads Darling to express surprise that Rycaut does not embrace the 'absolute' (at least by Bodin's definition) nature of Ottoman monarchy more positively.¹²⁷ However, this interpretation is to fundamentally misunderstand Rycaut in both the context of English literature on the Ottomans and, perhaps more crucially, in the context of Restoration Anglican royalist ideology. Not only did the Ottoman system have a long established association with tyranny in English

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Steve Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 328.

¹²⁶ Winchelsea to Sir Heneage Finch, 25 June 1665, Leicestershire record office, Winchelsea letterbook ff. 261-262, quoted in Pincus *Protestantism and Patriotism*, p. 328.

¹²⁷ Darling, 'Ottoman politics through British eyes', p. 73.

literature but the ‘absolutism’ of Restoration England was rather different from that of Bodin and the French, despite the widespread reading of *Republique* in England.

Harris has written convincingly on the ‘legalist-constitutionalist’ aspects of post-Restoration Tory ideology. He argues that ‘most Anglicans and Cavaliers concurred in seeing the Restoration as marking a return to the rule of law and constitutional propriety after the illegal activities of the civil war and interregnum’.¹²⁸ The right of kings to rule was sacrosanct, and yet also embodied a return to law and civility following the arbitrary and illegal rule of the Protectorate and Commonwealth. Many of those who argued for the divine right of kings were quick to deny that they supported arbitrary government, of which the Ottomans were a commonly cited example.¹²⁹ The just king ruling by divine right and in accord with the laws of both God and the Land was often portrayed as the best defence against tyranny and anarchy, such as had ruled in the interregnum. Rycout falls solidly within the pale, not particularly surprising as Harris places Winchelsea’s family the Finches amongst important figures who urged the king to remain within the law at all times.¹³⁰ While Rycout describes the Ottoman government as ‘absolute’, he also condemns it as ‘arbitrary’. The language through which he conceives the Ottoman state, and indeed political legitimacy and the proper limits upon the authority and actions of a monarch more generally, are deeply informed by the context of Restoration England. This context is evident in statements such as

¹²⁸ Tim Harris, ‘The tories and the rule of law in the reign of Charles II,’ *The seventeenth century*, VIII (1993), p. 12.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 328

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19

I confess it is a blessing ... to be Subjects of a gracious Prince, who hath prescribed his power within the compass of wholesom Laws, acknowledg'd a right of possession and propriety of Estate as well in his Subjects as himself, who doth not punish the innocent with the guilty, nor oppress without distinction.¹³¹

Nowhere are these concerns more apparent than in Rycaut's 'epistle to the reader' which ends with the injunction

If (Reader) the superstition, vanity, and ill foundation of the Mahometan Religion seem fabulous, as a Dream, or the fancies of a distracted and wild Brain, thank God that thou wert born a Christian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church. If the Tyranny, Oppression, and Cruelty of that State, wherein Reason stands in no competition with the pride and lust of an unreasonable Minister, seem strange to thy Liberty and Happiness, thank God that thou art born in a Country the most free and just in all the World; and a Subject to the most indulgent, the most gracious of all the Princes of the Universe; That thy Wife, thy Children, and the fruits of thy labour can be called thine own, and protected by the valiant Arm of thy fortunate King: And thus learn to know and prize thy own Freedom, by comparison with Forreign Servitude, that thou mayst ever bless God and thy King, and make thy Happiness breed thy Content, without degenerating into wantonness, or desire of revolution.¹³²

What is most striking about the above passage is that by describing the 'absolute' powers of Ottoman 'tyranny' it also defines an English model of monarchy embodying the law

¹³¹ Rycaut, *Present State*, p. 8.

¹³² *Ibid.*, sig. A4^v.

and guaranteeing the 'freedom' of its subjects. This is a model which profoundly reflects the nature of the Restoration. Previous authors, such as Sandys, had also presented the Ottoman system in opposition to English government through a series of contrasts or inversions such as 'Tyranny and Oppression' against 'Liberty and Happiness' or 'an unreasonable minister' against an 'indulgent gracious Prince'. However, while Sandys used the ideal of the humanist prince for the purpose of flattery, Rycout uses these inversions pointedly to delineate the limits of 'indulgent' restored English monarchy. His reference to an Englishman's freedom to enjoy 'the fruits of thy labour' and his emphasis on a 'free and just' England, also suggest constraints upon the monarch with regards to property and the rule of law. The contrast of English freedom to 'Turkish' servitude also serves as a telling reminder that the king's rule must respect the constraint of law to be legitimate. The context of civil war and Restoration is clearest in his final warning against 'wantonness and revolution', which implicitly compares Ottoman 'tyranny' to the 'tyranny' of the interregnum, a recurrent theme throughout the *Present State*.

The importance of the Restoration and civil war as contexts for Rycout's understanding of key ideas such as tyranny and monarchical legitimacy emphasise the specifically *English* perspective from which the *Present State* is written. A distinctly English perspective is also clear in Rycout's attitude to religion. He states: 'thank God that thou wert born a Christian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church'. Note, simply being a Christian, rather than a 'Mahometan', is no longer enough. Now one must be an Anglican. Neither is this religious identity defined against a Catholic menace, foreign or internal. Rather, the targets of Rycout's indignation are what he later terms

‘puritans’ and ‘fanatiks’ i.e. English Nonconformity. While this certainly draws on an older Christian vs. Ottoman opposition, the relatively simple commitment to the concept of ‘Christendom’ of authors such as Knolles, Carr, Jones or Hartwell has retreated into the shadows of sectarian uncertainty.

Concern with religious schism and division is one of the running themes of the *Present State*. Just as Rycaut’s consideration of the Ottoman state is deeply shaped by the context of Restoration England, and the language of contemporary discourse upon the nature of monarchical authority, his account of ‘Turkish’ religion is cast in the mould of English religious divisions. While previous English literature on the Ottomans had provided brief accounts of Islam and its origins, these generally drew primarily on the long Christian polemical tradition regarding Islam. Although several contemporaries drew a comparison between the Sunni and Shiite divide and Catholicism and Protestantism, detailed treatments of diversity in Islamic belief were uncommon. Rycaut’s title states his topic as ‘the most material points of the Mahometan religion, their sects and heresies, their convents and religious votaries’.¹³³ He begins with a detailed discussion of diversity of opinion within Islamic belief itself, recounting the theological differences between Sunni and Shiite (or ‘Turk and Persian’ as Rycaut terms them), citing ‘the mufti of Constantinople’ as his source.¹³⁴ He then examines the major schools of Islamic legal thought (‘Haniffe’, ‘Shaffee’, ‘Malechee’ and ‘Hambelle’) which he terms as ‘sects’

¹³³ Ibid., title page.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 119.

named after ‘certain Doctors ... as we may say amongst Schollars of St. Augustine, *Thomas Aquinas, Dominicus, or the like*’.¹³⁵ Rycaut states

All *Mahometans* according to the Countries wherein they live, come under the notion of one of these four preceeding Professions; but yet are nominated with other names and differences of Sects according as they follow the opinions which some Superstitious and Schismatical Preachers amongst them have vented ...¹³⁶

Rycaut names these other ‘differences of Sects’ heresies. The use of the concepts of ‘sect’ to describe schools of Islamic Jurisprudence indicates that contemporary English religious debates acted as, in some sense, as a model for his views of Islam, which is borne out by his comparison of certain points of Islamic doctrine to schismatic tenets in England. For example, Rycaut’s gloss on the ‘sect’ of ‘Morgi’ states that they value grace over acts, and notes ‘ these may not improperly be compared some Sectaries in *England*, who have vented in their Pulpits that God sees no sin in his Children’.¹³⁷ Likewise Rycaut notes of the Turks more generally that they hold

That whatsoever prospers, hath God for the Author; and by how much more succesful have been their Wars, by so much the more hath God been an owner of their cause and Religion. And the same argument (if I am not mistaken) in the times of the late Rebellion in *England*, was made use of by many, to intitle God to their cause, and make him the Author of their thriving sin, because their

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

wickedness prospered, and could trample on all holy and humane rights with impunity.¹³⁸

There are two significant points to make about such passages. Firstly, Rycout uses the comparison with a faith as dubious to early modern Englishmen as Islam as a method of casting censure upon the ‘schismatics’ he holds responsible for the rebellion and anarchy of the interregnum. Secondly, the topic of religious schism and the language Rycout uses to describe it (‘sect’, ‘fanaticke’, ‘opinions’) come naturally to a Restoration Englishman. These concerns are particularly evident when Rycout turns his attention from the more established varieties of Islamic faith to more contemporary permutations, giving

an account how busie these Modern times have been at *Constantinople* in hammering out strange forms and chimera’s of Religion, the better to acquit *England* from the accusation of being the most subject to religious innovations, the world attributing much thereof to the Air and constitution of its Climate.¹³⁹

Rycout spends a considerable time discussing contemporary Religious movements, such as the ‘Kadizadeli’, within Islam.¹⁴⁰ He clearly views these and indeed Islam generally through the lens of religious debate and conflict in England. This is not to say that Rycout did not attempt to portray what he observed in the Ottoman empire, merely that his account is structured through the language and context of English religious divisions.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 105.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 127.

¹⁴⁰ On the Kadizadeli movement see Zilfi, ‘The Kadizadelis’, 251-74; Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam : Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 63-80, 105-19.

This language and contexts is again abundantly clear in his conclusion contrasting both the number and character of religious ‘sects’ in the Ottoman empire and England.

the diversity of opinions in *Turky* is almost infinite, and more numerous then in *England*, or other parts of Christendom, though commonly not proceeding from the same malice, nor laid with the same design to the prejudice of the State.¹⁴¹

Neither is the *Present State* the only one of Rycaut’s works where the context of English religious sectarianism provides a context for his depiction of Islam. The *Turkish Empire* (1680) comments on one ‘Vanni Effendi’ a ‘preacher’ that he was

[A]s inveterate and malicious to the Christian Religion, as any Enthusiast or Fanatick is to the Rites of our Church and Religion. And thus we see how troublesome Hypocrasie and Puritanism are in all places where they gain a superiority.¹⁴²

This rather unlikely invocation of ‘Puritanism’ to describe an Ottoman ‘preacher’ again demonstrates Rycaut’s polemical use of comparison to Islam to attack English religious Nonconformity and underlines the importance of English religious debates as a point of reference for his understanding of Islam. In sum, the *Present State*’s depiction of the Ottoman state, its religion and its relationship with England through trade and diplomacy all illustrate a distinctly *English* perspective, shaped by English concerns and contexts. It

¹⁴¹ Rycaut, *Present State*, p. 135.

¹⁴² Rycaut, *Turkish Empire*, p. 105.

might seem paradoxical that such a perspective would emerge from a work Rycaut wrote while serving as private secretary to the ambassador in Constantinople. However, it was precisely that combination of an educated, ambitious and intelligent man such as Rycaut, with the heightened awareness of the relationship of politics, society and religion of a Restoration Englishman, living for an extended period in direct contact with the Ottoman court, which contributed to the *Present State*'s depth and distinct perspective.

The *Present State* was a highly successful work and was reprinted repeatedly in English. Unusually, for an English work upon the Ottomans, it was also translated into several European languages including French, Italian, Dutch and Polish by 1678 and German and Russian by 1741. Anderson alludes to further paraphrases in Hungarian (1794), Latin and Romanian (1797).¹⁴³ It is notable that many of these vernaculars are central European, indicating that this much printed text was viewed as a useful description in those countries most in contact with the Ottomans either through trade (France and the Netherlands), diplomacy (Italy), or warfare (Poland and Germany). The astonishing breadth of languages into which the *Present State* (and indeed Rycaut's later works *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* and *the Turkish Empire*) was translated is testament to the pragmatic and detailed approach taken by Rycaut to his subject. The continental popularity of the *Present State* also reflects the closeness of Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relations in this period. An English diplomat such as Rycaut was well placed to provide an account viewed as useful and accurate across Europe. The pattern which these translations follow also helps explain this popularity. In terms of the

¹⁴³ For a full account of translations of the *Present State* and the widespread translation of Rycaut's other works see Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey*, appendix 1, pp. 294-297.

continental book trade, English language publication languished in relative obscurity in comparison to Latin and particularly French, and it was highly unusual for an English text to be translated into continental vernaculars at all in the seventeenth century. It is, therefore, significant that the first language Rycout was translated into was French. Two separate French translations survive, one by Briot and one by Bespier. The Italian and Polish versions were both translated from the French translation of Briot, while the Russian was translated from the Polish edition. In other words, once the *Present State* had been translated into French it spread rapidly into other vernaculars, effectively as if it was an influential French work. As a result the *Present State* was widely read and highly influential, having a profound influence on figures such as Montesquieu, Adam Smith Racine, Leibniz, Temple, Locke, Montesquieu, Cantemir and Louis XIV's Prime Minister Bourbon.¹⁴⁴ However, a detailed account of those who read, cited, responded to, emulated, drew on and engaged or copied Rycout's writing or ideas is beyond the scope of this study.

Later career and publications

The success of the *Present State* gained Rycout election to the Royal Society¹⁴⁵ and a burgeoning literary reputation. His dedication of this text to Arlington signalled his ambition as a public servant and its success cannot have hurt these ambitions. However, Rycout's prospects in the Levant trade were also assisted by the support of Winchelsea, his own reputation and record of competence gained at the Constantinople embassy and

¹⁴⁴ Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, p. 45.

¹⁴⁵ For whom he later wrote a paper entitled 'the gregarious habits of Sable Mice'.

his experience with independent missions for the Company at Algiers, London and central Europe.¹⁴⁶ These factors doubtless all assisted Rycaut in his appointment as consul at Smyrna in September 1667, a post which he held for eleven years until April 1678.

How far this appointment was influenced by Rycaut's success as an author is, of course, impossible to tell. However, what is certain is that, when Rycaut next sought advancement in public life, he suddenly, and following the long hiatus of his consulship, began once more to seek court patronage through the publication and dedication of two major works on the Levant. Both of these works might be read within the context of Rycaut's strategy of resigning his consulship in the hope of attracting an embassy post.¹⁴⁷ For example, the *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches* (1679) is dedicated to the king. Rycaut reminds the king that this book was 'a Task, which some Years past, Your Royal Self was pleased to impose upon me'.¹⁴⁸ The dedication emphasises Rycaut's 'Attendance on Your Majesties Affairs in *Turky*' (i.e. the consulship) and Rycaut's royalist credentials and family background as the 'Son of that Father, who, by his Services and Sufferings, hath set a fair Example to his Posterity, of Loyalty and Obedience to Your Majesty'.¹⁴⁹ Rycaut ends by hinting heavily at his desire for further public service, stressing that '[I] delight my self in nothing so much, as when I am performing my Duty and Services towards God and Your Majesty'.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, pp. 47, 292-93.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

¹⁴⁸ Rycaut, *Greek and Armenian Churches* (1679), sigs. A3^rv.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. A4^v.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. A5^r.

Rycaut also dedicated his next work, the *Turkish Empire* (1680), to Charles II. This dedication drops even heavier hints at Rycaut's desire to gain nomination to a diplomatic post. He alludes whenever possible to the 'Publick Trust and Interest which was committed to my Management' (i.e. the consulship), stresses his own 'prudence, faithfulness, and industry' in fulfilling his public role and suggest his suitability for a role of 'higher Magnitude'. His royalist background and 'the Character noted on my Family of being Loyal' are also pressed to the fore. The *Turkish Empire* is visibly modelled on Knolles' *History*, possibly at the publisher's behest,¹⁵¹ and is structured by the lives of sultans, subdivided into chronicle years as preceded by portraits of sultans with epigraphical poems in the same style as that work. However, Rycaut titles the sections from 1660 onward (i.e. from his arrival in the Levant) his 'Memoirs' and includes 'the most remarkable passages relating to the English trade' as integral to his topic. He is again keen to emphasise his diplomatic credentials, explicitly comparing his writing to 'French and Italian writers' of the *relazione* style.

When I first entered on this work, I was carried with a certain emulation of French and Italian Writers, of whose Ministers few there were employed in the parts of *Turky*, but who carried with them from thence, Memoirs, Giornals, or Historical Observations of their times. In which our Nation hath been so defective, that besides some scattered and abrupt Papers, without coherence, or method, adjoined to the end of *Knoll's History of the Turks* (which is an excellent collection from

¹⁵¹ Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey*, p. 229.

divers Authours) one shall scarce find five sheets of Paper wrote by our Countrymen in way of History.¹⁵²

Rycaut is not merely seeking patronage. He is also presenting himself as the foremost English authority on the Ottomans, and therefore as a literary figure of note. He is openly contemptuous of the ‘scattered and abrupt’ papers of the continuers. Further, although he is still publicly respectful to Knolles ‘excellent’ *History* he implicitly contrasts that ‘collection from divers Authors’ to the diplomatic and first-hand pedigree of his own works.

Unfortunately for Rycaut the gamble he took in resigning his consulship in 1678 in the hope of an embassy post did not pay off and when such a post became available in 1680 he was overlooked. Following the failure to secure an embassy post he sought to capitalise on his reputation as a learned and significant literary figure by publishing a number of sizeable translations. These included Baltasar Gracian’s *The Critick* (1681), which he had originally begun to translate as a young man studying in Spain, and a translation from Greek of the life of Numa Pompilius for the John Dryden edition of Plutarch’s *Lives* (1683). He also contributed a continuation to the *Platina* or ‘Lives of the Popes’ (1685) by Baptista Platina, alias Bartolomeo Sacchi, covering the years 1474 to his own time. His final translation project was again from Spanish, *The Royal Commentaries of Peru* (1688) by Garcilaso de la Vega.

¹⁵² Rycaut, *Turkish Empire* (1680), sig., I4^r.

During this time Rycout continued his association with the Levant Company, publishing an updated version of *The Capitulations and articles of peace between the Majesty of the King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. and the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire* (1679) including the articles negotiated by ambassador John Finch in 1675. In the early 1680s Rycout continued to serve the Company and government in an advisory role on Ottoman affairs and in 1682 was approached for a secret mission to Algiers to negotiate a new treaty, a mission which did not materialise when word arrived that Vice-Admiral Arthur Herbert had settled the affair. Nonetheless, Rycout was knighted in 1685 and shortly after was sent to Ireland as chief secretary to the newly appointed lord lieutenant, Henry Hyde, second earl of Clarendon, arriving in Dublin in 1686. However, Clarendon's administration was not a success and both he and Rycout were recalled in 1687. Rycout found a new patron in George Savile, first marquess of Halifax and through Savile's recommendation secured appointment as diplomatic resident at the three Hanse Towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen in 1689. He served in the Hanse towns until 1700 returning to London in 1700 where he shortly after suffered a stroke and died.¹⁵³

During the final two decades of his life Rycout was involved in two final items of *turcica*. He 'edited' the sixth edition of Knolles' *History* (1687), which included within its copious pages both the *Present State* and the *Turkish Empire*. The second was *The history of the Turks: Beginning with the year 1679 ... until the end of the year 1698, and 1699* (1700) published shortly after Rycout's death.

¹⁵³ In 1697 Rycout prevented 'the Scots Company for Trading with Africa and the Indies' (later called the Darien Company) from establishing a factory in Hamburg. The Scots later bitterly published a script of Rycout's disowning of the Scots Company to the Hamburg Senate as *A memorial given in to the Senate of the city of Hamburg in French, exactly translated into English; together with the Senate's answer to the same* (Edinburgh, 1697: Wing M1688A).

Although the sixth edition of the *History* claims to be ‘edited’ by Rycaut, it contains little new text by him and he had little involvement in this new edition. Rycaut had been given to believe that his *Turkish Empire* (1680) would be republished in a new edition of its own. While still employed in Ireland, he was dismayed to hear that it would be instead be trimmed and incorporated into a new edition of Knolles’ *History*, and wrote to his publisher Clavell

I cannot but with some regrett thinke it a great disparagement to that Worke ... to see it Crouded into 50 sheetes, and to become an appendix to an old Obsolete author.¹⁵⁴

Rycaut grudgingly allowed the use of new passages he had written for incorporation into the years 1623-77 but withheld his continuation of his own work for the years 1678-86, forcing his publisher to commission a new continuation from Roger Manley.¹⁵⁵ However, Rycaut’s resentment at failing to escape Knolles’ long shadow and reputation within England is clear in the above passage, although upon the continent Rycaut was long held as a pre-eminent authority on the Ottoman Turks while Knolles was never even translated.

It is unclear precisely what role Rycaut played in the editing of the sixth edition of the *History*. The central difference between this and previous editions is that the

¹⁵⁴ British Library M.S. Lansdowne, 1153 A, fol 31: Rycaut to Clavell, 15 May 1686, quoted from Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, p. 231.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

continuations following Grimeston are largely superseded by Rycaut's *Turkish Empire*, although there is some overlap (see appendix four). Further despite Rycaut's reluctance to be involved in this edition his publishers clearly felt that his name and works were as much of a selling point as that of Knolles which is, in itself, indicative of Rycaut's standing as the pre-eminent living English authority on the Ottoman Turks and his reputation as a considerable literary figure in his own right. Certainly although the *History* is ostensibly Knolles' work the title pages of the 1687 edition give Rycaut's name at least as much prominence as Knolles'.¹⁵⁶

The War of the Holy League 1683-99 and *The Turkish History* (1700)

Seventeenth-century English literature on the Ottomans peaked significantly during critical periods of Ottoman military involvement in Europe, notably during Long War (1593-1606; see chapter one) and the Wars of the Holy League (1683-99) both of which prompted an extraordinary number of works in English (see appendix three). In particular, the siege of Vienna in 1683 generated a larger number of English works upon the Ottomans than any other event of the seventeenth century, or indeed before it. Of forty seven items of *turcica* recorded in the *Registers* over the period 1681-90 substantially more than half (i.e. thirty) are concerned with the contemporary Ottoman Habsburg conflict and a quarter (i.e. thirteen) relate directly to the siege itself (see appendix three). Further, works referred to by the *Registers* are far from a definitive survey and represent only a portion of English responses to this event. Thus the *History*

¹⁵⁶ Knolles, *History* (1687). In the first title page Rycaut's name is larger than Knolles'.

(1687), and Rycaut's final work, the *Turkish History* (1700), appeared at a time of both extraordinary interest in the Ottoman empire's involvement in Europe and a sizable increase in publishing to meet this interest. Before returning to this work we shall briefly summarise these events and the literature they generated.

Much of the literature responding to the Wars of the Holy League and Siege of Vienna is made up of shorter ephemeral works such as news sheets, short accounts or letters from eyewitnesses, broadside ballads and miscellaneous others such as eschatological prophecies. However, several longer chronicle style works were also published in response to these events, and form a clear context for the *History* (1687) and *Turkish History* (1700). In 1683 a minor literary figure named John Shirley authored an 'epitome' of Knolles' *History* titled *The History of the Turks* (1683), which ends with a detailed description of the siege of Vienna.¹⁵⁷ Shirley took advantage of interest in the Ottoman generated by events on the continent, and the long abeyance of editions of the *History* (prior to 1687, the last edition was in 1638), to publish several derivative and inferior accounts. These include *The history of the state of the present war in Hungary* (1683) and *A true account of the enterprize of the confederate princes against the Turks and Hungarian rebels* (1685).¹⁵⁸ Shirley's works are far from unique and several longer chronicle-style works which drew extensively on extant literature and familiar literary

¹⁵⁷ John Shirley, *The History of the Turks* (London, 1683: Wing S39). Shirley's account of the siege includes a letter 'from Count Starembergh to the Duke of Lorraine', also published separately as Guidobald Graf von Starhemberg, *A True Copy of a Letter from Count Starembergh to the Duke of Lorraine, Concerning the Present Condition of Vienna*. (London 1683: Wing S5269).

¹⁵⁸ F. D. A. Burns, 'Shirley, John (fl. 1685–1688.)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); online edn, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25430>, accessed 3 Sept 2009]. Burns' article does not mention Shirley's *History of the Turks* or *History of the Present war* which were published under the name of 'I.S.' and 'I.S. Gent.'. However, these works are both attributed to John Shirley in the *Registers*.

formulas were published at this time. These include *The History of the Holy War*¹⁵⁹ by Tho[mas] Mills, an account of the crusades extended up to the siege of Vienna; *The Grand Vizier* (1684), a life of Kara Mustapha Pasha translated from French;¹⁶⁰ and a number of re-publications of significant works related to the Ottomans such as an English translation of Andre du Ryer's *Alcoran of Mahomet* (1688, first published 1649), and, of course, the *History* (1687).¹⁶¹ As noted, the stimulation of interest in *turcica* by Ottoman military in Europe during the early 1680s mirrors a similar earlier trend when the events of the 'Long War' of 1593-1606 spurred a flurry of English literature on the Ottomans. However, most of that literature had been based upon translations of continental accounts. In contrast, while translations continued to be important, many of the works of *turcica* published in the 1680s were either reprints of existing English accounts of the Ottomans (such as Knolles' or Ross's above), 'new' accounts compiled from previous English works (such as Shirley's), or drew on familiar models such as histories of the crusades or translations of French works of *turcica*. This reflects the growth of a large, diverse and sophisticated English literature on the Ottomans throughout the seventeenth century, as explored in previous chapters.

The events of the siege of Vienna, and the following campaigns, also marked a sea change in attitudes toward the Ottomans. Times of extreme crisis such as this tended to

¹⁵⁹ Tho. Mills, *The History of the Holy War Began Anno 1095, by the Christian Princes of Europe against the Turks* (London 1685: Wing M2073).

¹⁶⁰ Jean de Préchac, *The Grand Vizier* (London 1685: Wing P3205).

¹⁶¹ Andrei Du Ryer, *The Alcoran of Mahomet* (London, 1688: Wing K748). This translation of *The Alcoran of Mahomet* is usually attributed to Alexander Ross. However, Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard, *André du Ryer and oriental studies in seventeenth century France* (Oxford, 2004) questions this attribution. On the topic Birchwood notes 'although Ross may not have been directly responsible for the translation, however, he was clearly intimately involved with its production and seems to have been instrumental in justifying its appearance to the Council of State.' Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England*, p. 68.

produce a highly oppositional and black and white view of Ottoman invasions of 'Christendom'. Thus, in the short term, it is not surprising that Ottoman defeat at Vienna lead many accounts to a simplistic Christian triumphalism. However, in the longer term Vienna proved to be only the first of a long series of military calamities for the Ottoman Empire. At the initiation of Pope Innocent XI, a 'Holy League' comprising The Holy Roman Empire, Poland and Venice was formed in 1684. This league was joined by Muscovite Russia in 1686. The consequences of fighting prolonged military campaigns on several fronts proved dire for the Ottomans and led directly to the disastrous treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 which relinquished Ottoman control over Hungary and the Morea, together with other small frontier regions. Although the Ottomans did manage to recover some of this lost territory they never really regained their position as a major central European power. Essentially the Habsburg-Ottoman border shifted from within one hundred miles of Vienna to Belgrade: 'the kind of loss incurred at Karlowitz was totally unprecedented in Ottoman history'.¹⁶² This fundamental shift in the Ottoman position in Europe is reflected in the increasingly dismissive portrayal of the Ottomans common in many eighteenth-century accounts. The wars of the Holy League (including the sieges of Vienna, and Buda) and the protracted negotiations of the treaty of Karlowitz form the topic of Rycaut's final work, *The Turkish History* (1700). This final section will explore the contrasts between Rycaut's account of the Ottomans in the *Present State* (1666) and this *Turkish History* (1700) and contextualise and explain these.

¹⁶² Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around It* (London 2004), p. 58. On the Wars of the Holy League and Karlowitz as a turning point from the Ottoman perspective see Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Cambridge history of Turkey: the later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, *The Cambridge history of Turkey*; v. 3 (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2006); Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, 'Ottoman diplomacy at Karlowitz,' *Journal of the American Oriental society* 87, no. 4 (1967), 498-512; Rifaat A. Abou-el-Haj, 'The formal closure of the Ottoman frontier in Europe: 1699-1703,' *Journal of the American Oriental society* 89, no. 3 (1969), 467-75.

The *Present State* was written by a young, ambitious, dynamic Rycaut living at Constantinople and eager to prove his worth to King and Company. The *Turkish History* (1700) was written by an older Rycaut resigned to a minor post in Hamburg, whose powers were perhaps declining. Certainly the writing is far less crisp and concise than his earlier works. However, if Rycaut had changed then so had the Ottoman empire. Military defeats and the humiliation of Karlowitz resulted in a major shift in Ottoman power in relation to the rest of Europe. His ‘introduction to the Reader’ touches on both of these points

I Would not have Thee entertain a worse Opinion of this *History*, by Reason of the place where it was Wrote and Finished, being at a far distance both from *Constantinople* and *Vienna*: Though perhaps it might have been more lively, had its Colours been laid on in the Places themselves, where the Actions were performed; and at a time when the Humour of the *Turks*, and the *Idea* I conceived of their Actings, had taken so strong an Impression in my Mind, that whilst I was upon the Place, I could suffer nothing to pass my Pen without its due Observation.¹⁶³

In this rambling passage, Rycaut meanders between contrasting the context in which he wrote the *Turkish History* (1700) to his earlier *Present State* (1666), and comparing his own waning powers of observation (in contrast to his youth) to the seemingly faltering power of the Ottoman empire. The reader is left unclear if it is ‘the Humour of the Turks’

¹⁶³ Rycaut, *Turkish History* (1700), sig. a1^r.

which has changed, or ‘the idea [Rycaut had] conceived of their Actings’. However, it is not only Rycaut’s location and age that have changed but also his sources and perspective.

Being thus accustomed to such Contemplations as these, in my more Youthful Days, I could not let pass the continual News, and the constant Intelligences I received from *Hungary*, and other Parts which were the Seats of War between the *Christians* and the *Turks*, without making some Reflections thereupon.¹⁶⁴

While the *Present State* made great play of his familiarity with the Ottoman court and the first-hand nature of his sources, the *Turkish History* (1700) refers only to ‘continual News, and intelligences’. In other words, Rycaut’s final work was primarily based upon correspondence and gazette or news publications, although ‘intelligences’ might also refer to oral accounts. These are difficult to identify as he was based in Hamburg in these years and therefore not using English broadsheet publications.¹⁶⁵ Rycaut ends

I might justly ... think I need not Blot any more Paper for the future on any Subject relating to the *Turks*; for having arrived, at that great Period of the last Wars, concluded between the Emperor of *Germany*, and all his Allies against the *Turks*; It may appear how much the *Ottoman* Force is able to avail, when it is put into the Scale and Ballance against all *Christendom*.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ For Rycaut’s correspondences in these later years see Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, p. 281.

¹⁶⁶ Rycaut, *Turkish History* (1700), sig. a1^v.

This is a remarkable passage from a man who was England's foremost authority on the Ottoman Turks, who had spent eighteen years living in the Ottoman empire, written three major works on the Ottomans and 'edited' one further. Essentially Rycaut is suggesting that since the 'great ruin and Destruction of their empire' in the wars of the Holy League and the treaty of Karlowitz, the Ottomans are no longer a topic worth writing about. This is in total contrast to his *Present State*, published three and a half decades earlier, which suggested that the primary reason the Ottoman empire was of interest was because of the importance of the English Levant trade, rather than Ottoman military power. This shift in Rycaut's attitude to the Ottomans can be explained by several factors. Firstly, he wrote the *Present State* as an ambitious minor diplomat actively involved and seeking greater involvement within the Levant trade, and was bound to emphasise its importance. Secondly, the *Present State* emulated continental diplomatic accounts and therefore took a far more pragmatic approach to the Ottoman empire than the later *Turkish History* (1700), which was structured as a continuation of the sixth edition of the *History* and therefore took a more moralising tone. Thirdly, the later *Turkish History* was written in Hamburg rather than Constantinople, at a time when Rycaut's familiarity with Ottoman society was a distant memory, thus its less sympathetic tone is hardly surprising. Fourthly, this later work was largely based upon gazettes and letters and reflects their anti-Ottoman sentiment and general mood of Christian triumphalism. Finally, Rycaut completed *The Turkish History* (1700) at the age of seventy one and, his powers of analysis and writing style were perhaps no longer what they once were, leading him to fall back on a more conservative and hackneyed opposition of the Ottoman empire to 'Christendom'.

As noted, the War of the Holy League (1683-1697) and, in particular, the siege of Vienna (1683) were widely viewed as a period of extreme crisis. Indeed, it proved decisive in settling the final extent of Ottoman penetration into Europe, or, as it was still more commonly and emotively referred to by contemporaries, 'Christendom'. Rycout could write a relatively pragmatic and even handed account of the Ottoman in the relatively quiet times of the 1660s, which while containing no shortage of Ottoman military campaigns in Europe - in Transylvania (1657-62), against the Habsburgs (1663-4), and most notably the capture of Candia after a lengthy siege (1645-69) - did not approach the cataclysmic status of the siege of Vienna. His changed attitude to the Ottomans reflects his perception of the importance of contemporary events in central Europe. It also reflects a wider long term shift in European perceptions of the Ottomans, which on the whole became more dismissive, negative and homogeneous in the eighteenth century as Ottoman power in central Europe faded and such accounts were no longer balanced by a need to account for Ottoman military success and imperial power.¹⁶⁷

The *Turkish History* (1700) is essentially an account of the fall of the Ottoman empire from a position of dominance to comparative ruin. Rycout's changed attitude and approach to the Ottoman state is patently obvious in his apportionment of blame for these dire circumstances. The main text of Rycout's *Turkish History* (1700) begins

We have in our preceding History represented the *Ottoman* Empire for several years past, under many Circumstances of Happiness and Glory. The *Turks* had

¹⁶⁷ Çirakman, *From the "terror of the world" to the "sick man of Europe"*, pp. 4-5.

been successful in their Wars abroad, having increased and enlarged their Empire

...¹⁶⁸

Rycaut continues by contrasting ‘the Government of *Achmat Kuperli*’ to that of the villainous *Kara Mustapha*

And here I cannot but observe, and say, That Justice is the proper means to render a People flourishing and happy; an Instance whereof we have through all the Government of *Kuperli*, who being a Person educated and skilful in the Law, administered Justice equally to the People ... Wherefore let us look upon those Times which were as quiet, calm and peaceable as any that ever had smiled on the *Ottoman* State, and, justly attribute these Blessings to the Favour of Heaven, which was pleased in those Days to behold so much Justice and Equity dispensed to a People unaccustomed thereunto ... But now that *Kara Mustapha* comes to succeed in the Place of so just and equal a Governour, a Person of Violence, Rapine, Pride, Covetousness, False, Perfidious, Bloody, and without Reason or Justice; we have nothing to represent at the beginning of his Government, besides his Oppression, Extortion, Cruelties and Acts of Injustice beyond any thing that was ever practised before in the Reign of the most Tyrannical Princes ...¹⁶⁹

Rycaut concludes

¹⁶⁸ Rycaut, *Turkish history* (1700), p. 1. N.B. Early English Books Online (EEBO) incorrectly lists images of Knolles, *History* (1687) under the entry for Rycaut, *Turkish History* (1700) alongside the correct images.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

In which vain Confidence and Presumption of his invincible Power, he [Kara Mustapha] precipitated the whole *Ottoman* Empire into a dismal and direful Condition and State ... as will appear in the Progress of this History.¹⁷⁰

Rycaut lays responsibility for the contrasting past and current fortunes of the empire at the feet of the grand viziers Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha (in office from 1661 until his death in 1676) and Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha (whose term ran from 1676 until his execution following the disastrous siege of Vienna in 1683). Rycaut's *Present State* was written during his first years in Ottoman lands, which coincided with the first years of Ahmed Köprülü's office. The *Present State* expounded a description of the Ottoman state under Köprülü as a tyranny bounded and controlled only by the martial severity and arbitrariness of its law. However, Rycaut's later *Turkish History* (1700) chooses to portray this same period as 'Halcyon Days' of 'Law', 'equity', 'justice', 'peace' and 'quiet' and a period of exemplary government blessed with the 'Favour of Heaven'. This is contrasted to the office of the villainous Kara Mustapha (whose first years in office were Rycaut's last at Smyrna), the archetypal Tyrant whose reign of terror is ultimately to blame for the disasters of the Wars of the Holy League. There is a clear shift in perspective and approach between the *Present State* and the *Turkish History*. In the *Present State* when Rycaut claims personal familiarity with the Ottoman court and first-hand sources, his approach is systematic and to some extent impersonal. He seeks 'Maxims of State' and systematic explanations of the Ottoman empire's success and longevity. The state operates without Justice but is held together by the severity of its

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

Laws and the absolute authority of its ruler. The above passage of the *Turkish History* indicates a radically different approach. Ironically Rycaut, at a greater distance from the Ottoman court and no longer able to claim a personal familiarity with its personages (after 1679), resorts to a black and white interpretation of events based primarily upon the reputed personalities of the incumbent grand viziers.¹⁷¹

A further major shift in Rycaut's perspective is the role played by divine providence. The *Present State* explicitly denies providence as an explanation of Ottoman success. However, the *Turkish History* repeatedly refers to providence as an explanation of both the empire's recent reversal in fortunes and former glory. This tendency may to some extent simply reflect the hyperbole of Christian triumphalism which followed the extraordinary events on the continent. It echoes the nature of Rycaut's sources and the character of Knolles' *History* which Rycaut's final work extends. However, it also reflects a broader sea change in English, perhaps even European accounts of the Ottoman empire. While accounts of the seventeenth century might label the Ottoman state a tyranny, they also had to account for its success and longevity. After Karlowitz it was much easier for contemporary accounts to dismiss the Ottoman state as abhorrent and deviant without the attendant juggling act of explaining its success while maintaining a moralistic or providential framework for history. This trend explains why Rycaut accounts for the downfall of the Ottomans in Europe through their descent into tyranny from the equitable reign of 'Kuperli', despite the fact that he had originally accounted the same Köprülü's government as Tyrannical while residing under its jurisdiction.

¹⁷¹ Ironically, this focus on the competence or incompetence of certain Ottoman commanders is mirrored in much modern Ottoman historiography.

A further shift in Rycaut's perception of the Ottoman state is the position from which he views the Ottomans. The *Present State* takes a pragmatic approach, emphasising the Levant trade's importance to English national interests, and wrestling with an ambiguous and nebulous concept of Christendom fractured by the religious divisions so apparent in Restoration England. However, the *Turkish History* retreats to a far more simple and unproblematic Christendom, abandoning Rycaut's previous stress on the importance of maintaining friendly relations with 'the Turks' and simply basking in the success of 'the Christians'. This change in perspective is crystal clear in Rycaut's account of the event which acted as the crucible of this change: the lifting of the siege of Vienna by the troops of the Polish king, Jan Sobieski III.

Never was there a more heroick and generous Action performed in the World, than was this of the King of *Poland*, who, after a long and tedious March, so valiantly exposed his own Person to Hazard, and his Army in the face of an Enemy, which to human Appearance was Invincible; and all this to bring Relief and Succour to an Ally, and to maintain the Bulwark of *Christendom* against Infidels, and Enemies to the Christian Cause; 'tis such a piece of Bravery as cannot be paralleled with all its Circumstances in any History of past Ages; and therefore with much Reason and Justice were his Praises celebrated over all the Christian World...¹⁷²

¹⁷² Rycaut, *Turkish History* (1700), p. 121.

Rycaut wholeheartedly and unproblematically embraces the notions of ‘Christendom’, ‘the Christian cause’ and ‘the Christian World’ and contrasts them to the Ottomans who are now simply ‘Infidels’. By contrast the majority of uses of the term ‘infidel’ in the *Present State* appear in Rycaut’s account of Islamic tenets and occur in the context of Islamic descriptions of Christians.¹⁷³ Rycaut has more or less abandoned the pragmatic, nuanced and Anglo-centric approach to the Ottomans embodied by the *Present State* in favour of a fairly straightforward Christian triumphalism.

In sum, Rycaut’s works must be seen in the context of his career and the times he lived through. The *Present State* was shaped by his involvement in the Levant trade which led him to adopt a pragmatic approach to the Ottomans, emphasising the necessity of trade over and above previous oppositional depictions of ‘the Turk’. His diplomatic ambitions, admiration for *relazione* accounts, first-hand sources and enthusiasm for the new style of rational learning espoused by the Royal Society led him to be more systematic and rational than any previous English account of the Ottomans. The terms in which Rycaut examines the Ottoman state and Islamic religion are drawn from the political and religious contexts of Restoration England. The combination of these along with his focus on the importance of the Levant trade led Rycaut to articulate a distinctively English perspective on the Ottoman Turks.

The *Present State* is Rycaut’s most important and influential work, one read across the continent and drawn on by many other authors, both for ‘facts’ and Rycaut ideas about of the Ottoman state. By contrast the *Turkish History* (1700) is primarily of interest to the

¹⁷³ Rycaut, *Present State*, pp. 96, 99, 103, 05, 18, 24, 26, 49, 54.

historian because of the contrast it provides to Rycaut's earlier works. Written in years of major military crisis for the Ottomans, in Hamburg, based upon news and letters, this work reverts to a 'Christendom' centred, triumphalist and anti-Ottoman perspective, abandoning the nuance and Anglo-centrism of his earlier account. The disparaging tone of this account reflects contemporary Ottoman misfortunes, and yet this period also marks a sea change in European perceptions of the Ottomans following a decisive shift in their status as a European power after the treaty of Karlowitz. In the longer term, eighteenth-century European accounts of the Ottomans were increasingly dismissive of the Ottoman empire. This process culminated in 'oriental despotism' a theory which accounted for the supposedly innate inferiority of the Ottoman empire to a European audience that no longer required explanations for the power and success which had been all too obvious in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Levant trade was an extremely important context for seventeenth-century English literature on the Ottoman Turks. As we have seen, many first-hand accounts were written by individuals involved in the trade. Although we have focussed upon chaplains to the Levant Company, there are other groups of sources including diplomatic accounts such as Thomas Roe's and captivity accounts by sailors enslaved by North African corsairs. However, the importance of the Levant trade as a context for English literature on the Ottomans went far beyond these accounts, and many works relating to the Ottomans and indeed wider topics drew on sources generated from the Levant trade. The 'continuations' to Knolles' *History* illustrate this trend, but are again only a narrow example. Sources heavily influenced by the Levant trade include, the work of

geographers and cosmographers such as Purchas or Heylyn; newssheets, gazettes and pamphlets aimed at merchants and carrying news of Constantinople; accounts of piracy and shipping; travel accounts such as those examined in chapter three and early modern 'Turk' plays.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, arguably the most important and influential English account of the Ottoman Turks, Rycaut's *Present State*, emerged directly from the trade. The pragmatic tone of this work was not an inevitable consequence of Rycaut's involvement in the Levant trade; his contemporary Smith produced an unremittingly negative assessment of the Ottoman Turks. Nonetheless, the importance of the trade in shaping the relatively objective *Present State* is suggested by the more conservative stance Rycaut adopted in his final work, the *Turkish History*.

¹⁷⁴ On the influence of the Levant trade on plays see Dimmock, *New Turkes* pp. 98-100.

CONCLUSIONS

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century a large and complex English literature on the Ottoman Turks developed. This literature comprised a broad range of works across many genres including history, geography, politic discourses, travel accounts, news sheets, letters, captive accounts, plays, sermons, ballads, religious, political polemics, and miscellaneous others (such as conversion accounts or prophecies). These formed a literature in the sense of a large body of texts sharing a topic, written in a similar time and place and in similar contexts, but also in the sense of a discourse. They shared literary conventions, often cited similar sources, and recycled information, accepted ‘facts’, anecdotes and images. Further, as English works on the Ottomans accumulated, distinct English authorities on the Ottomans emerged, who were widely drawn on by contemporaries. One of the central characteristics of this literature is its diversity in form, content, opinion and context. Englishmen were drawn to write about the Ottomans for many reasons and in a broad range of overlapping contexts. These included responses to Ottoman military incursions on the continent, involvement in the Levant trade or travel, and broader interest in classical and biblical lands. References to the Ottomans were also common within English religious or political debates and upheavals, and ‘Turks’ frequently featured as stock characters within popular theatrical or ballad formats.

This diversity is the central reason why it is extremely difficult to give a simple answer to the perennial conference question ‘what did Englishmen think of the Ottoman Turks?’ The first scholarly attempts to survey early modern English responses to the Ottomans,

such as Chew's classic *The crescent and the rose* (1932) and Baumer's 'England the Turk and the common corps of Christendom' (1944), set out to answer this question briefly. As a result both focussed overwhelmingly on negative representations of 'The Turk' cast in black and white opposition to 'Christendom'. However, although widely held 'commonplace' views of 'the Turk' and the concept of Christendom are both important contexts for English literature on the Ottomans, this observation barely scratches the surface of a complex topic. While Chew's account in particular is a brave attempt to survey what was then a neglected topic, it is hardly the final word.

In the wake of Said's *Orientalism* (1978), much critical work again focussed upon the broad topic of the oppositional images and language through which the 'West' represented the 'East'. However, a substantial number of scholars have also sought to complicate this picture by emphasising that in addition to 'negative' images and stereotypes of the 'Turks' western writers also produced 'positive' images, albeit not as commonly. For example, Yapp's 'Europe in the Turkish mirror' (1992) states 'Between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries Europeans created not one but two images of the Turk, one bad and the other good'.¹ While this would seem to be a more balanced view, it is ultimately unhelpful as it lumps together disparate accounts by placing a value judgement of their 'positive' or 'negative' character over the importance of their context. Thus one might examine Knolles, Smith or Montesquieu as 'negative' accounts and Busbecq, Bodin, Rycout or Byron as 'positive'. However, the absurdity of such categories becomes clear when one examines the contexts and relationships of these accounts. While, Knolles' *History* (1603) presents an oppositional view of the Ottomans,

¹ Yapp, 'Europe in the Turkish mirror', p. 148.

his translation of Bodin's *Republique*, the *Six bookes of a Commonweale* (1606), presents a substantially differing view. Knolles' *History* has more in common with Busbecq than Montesquieu as they both end their accounts with descriptions of the Ottoman empire's military might and suggestions as to how best to manage war against it, a format familiar from crusade exhortations. Rycaut's literary career is so intertwined with the earlier writing of Knolles that any consideration of it simply must discuss the earlier author. Smith and Rycaut's attitudes to the Ottomans diverge spectacularly, and yet they both worked for the Levant Company, resided in Anatolia in an overlapping period, and had met. Byron claimed to have been inspired by Knolles, and Montesquieu drew heavily on Rycaut. However, eighteenth-century Byron and Montesquieu wrote in a very different context to that of Knolles and Rycaut. Both of these later authors wrote in, and helped shape, the context of eighteenth-century ideas about 'the Orient'. In any case, as Pocock states, a text may be written in several 'languages', or be read on several levels of meaning at the same time. Bodin's relatively 'positive' comments on the Ottomans may have been jibes at Charles V, comments on the French wars of religion, genuinely admiring, or in some sense all of these things. In all of these examples there are more important contextual factors at play than a value judgement of these accounts 'positive' or 'negative' character.

Recent critics have sought a more nuanced picture. However, the frame of reference has often still been dominated by questions of 'Western' representations of 'the East', or 'European' attitudes to the 'Turkish other'. It is clear that any attempt to provide a broad view of a subject as varied as English *turcica* must have a conceptual focus to give a

degree of coherence to the studies approach. However, the problem with structuring an argument around large and nebulous concepts such as ‘the East’ or ‘Christendom’ is that these concepts varied dramatically between periods, contexts and individuals, and as a result are extremely difficult to pin down. For example, in chapter one I have contrasted polemical usages of ‘Christendom’ within evangelical religious polemic of the 1540s, to the inclusive ‘Christendom’ as a point of consensus in opposition to ‘the Turk’, characteristic of the 1590s. Further, in response to critiques of Said’s ‘Orientalism’ thesis, there has been a tendency towards propounding alternative explanatory conceptual structures, such as MacLean’s ‘imperial envy’. However, these face the difficulty of accommodating the details of specific English contexts, while retaining sufficient breadth to cover the diversity of English literature on the Ottomans. Perhaps as a result of these difficulties, as well as the volume of English *turcica*, a feature of recent scholarly work in this field is that it has often focused on specific contexts or figures: i.e. Vitkus, Birchwood and Dimmock on drama, Colley on captive accounts, MacLean on travel accounts, Housley on the later crusades, Parry on Knolles, Haynes on Sandys, Anderson on Rycout, and so on. Matar’s *Islam in Britain 1558-1685* is one of the few critical works in this field to adopt a truly broad approach, although to English perceptions of Islam rather than the Ottomans.

In contrast, my approach takes a broad view that embraces the complexity of English literature on the Ottoman Turks. On the one hand, I draw these sources together as a ‘literature’, by examining trends, chronological developments and connections between them, while, on the other hand, I focus upon the contexts of individual works and a

nuanced reading of their representations of the Ottomans. Rather than using much debated concepts such as ‘the East’ or ‘Christendom’ to provide a broad view of my topic, I have instead sought contextual or internal textual evidence (references, citations and appropriation of source material), and shared contexts, with which to bind individual texts together through the idea of ‘literature’. As a result I have placed greater emphasis upon contemporary contexts than broad conceptual structures such as ‘western’ perceptions of ‘the East’. As well as giving a broad view this holistic approach improves our understanding of key figures such as Knolles, Sandys and Rycart, by putting them in the context of their times, contrasting these to previous periods and illustrating their importance to later authors.

Before the emergence of an English literature on the Ottomans in the late sixteenth century, occasional works on the Ottomans had appeared in English. For example, the chronicle translations of the 1540s shared some of the features of later English literature on the Ottomans. These works took the Ottomans as their principal topic and emerged from the same time, place and context. They shared the literary conventions of early Protestant polemic and its imagery of ‘the Turk’. However, while these texts form part of a discourse, it is not so much a discourse about the Ottoman Turks, as part of the wider religious debates retrospectively called the English reformation. This period did not see the emergence of an established body of English texts dealing in detail with the Ottoman empire, its state, religion, peoples and history. While chronicles such as Whitechurch’s translation of Giovio’s *A shorte treatise vpon the Turkes chronicles* (1542) were more detailed than previous accounts available in English, they were all translations of

continental works. Crucially, none of the works of the 1540s can be shown to have been drawn upon or consciously emulated by later English writers on the Ottomans. Although references to Giovio are common in later English literature on the Ottomans, none cite Whitechurch's translation. Ultimately, the chronicles of the 1540s were isolated works appearing in small numbers, and exerting next to no long-term influence on English literature on the Ottoman Turks. In mid to late sixteenth-century England, the most detailed and widely cited texts dealing with the Ottomans were not in English, as evinced by the total absence of English sources in Knolles' *History* (1603), the first major original English account of the Ottomans. Rather they were continental authors such as Giovio, Busbecq, Barleti and Georgijević, all of whom were widely drawn on and even emulated by later English writers. It was not until the turn of the seventeenth century that an Englishman who wished to know of the Ottomans would be likely turn to English works on the subject, and English authorities emerged which demonstrably set the tone for later English writers.

The boom in English publishing on the Ottomans in the decades 1590-1610 (see appendix three) has several contexts. Although the English Levant trade had been initiated in 1580, references to the Levant trade in works of this period are few and far between. A much clearer and more immediate context is the Ottoman-Habsburg 'Long War' of 1593 to 1606. Of the fifty four works of *turcica* recorded within the *Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* in the period 1591-1610, twenty two deal with the Long War, the state of Hungary or Ottoman-Habsburg conflict more generally. Interest in this conflict highlighted a 'gap in the market' for works in English on the Ottomans,

which was exploited by authors, printers and publishers. Many of these publications were translations of continental works, both specifically concerned with the conflict and dealing more generally with the Ottomans. However, it is also clear that there was demand for an original and detailed English account. Authors such as Carr, Hartwell and the anonymous author of the *Policy of the Turkish Empire* (1597) all stated their wish to write such a work and sought patronage for it. It is in this context that Knolles' *History* (1603), the periods most enduring and influential work, was written.

Following this surge in English publishing on the Ottomans, there is a substantial falling off. A long line of critics from Chew to Dimmock have attributed this to the accession of the famously anti-Ottoman James I. However, the period immediately following James' accession continued to be very productive in terms of such texts. Indeed Knolles' *History* is dedicated to James. Further, many of these works display a deeply anti-Ottoman perspective, highlighting the collective danger to 'Christendom', views which mirror those of the king. It seems more likely that this drop off was caused by the resolution of Ottoman-Habsburg conflict, and a glut in the market brought about by the sudden and unprecedented proliferation of works in English on the Ottomans, which left large number of works available to be reprinted or published in new editions.

Knolles' *History* was not merely the first major original work in English on the Ottomans; it became *the* definitive English reference work. It heralds the emergence of major English works on the Ottomans, but also a wider literature drawing increasingly upon English authorities such as Knolles. However, the work itself is deeply conservative

drawing primarily upon continental chronicles and chronicle compilations, which Knolles' rhetoric assimilates into a coherent providential meta-narrative. English sources do not make any appearance until the second edition of 1610. The *History* is therefore a liminal work drawing heavily upon an older continental chronicles, while acting as a key foundation stone of a new English literature. Knolles was massively influential and widely cited as an authority on the Ottomans across many genres including histories, geographies, travel accounts, plays, sermons, religious controversies. He demonstrably influenced many important later authors writing on the Ottomans, providing source material for Sandys and Purchas, and a model for Rycaut's historical works. All of these authors became viewed as authorities on the Ottomans in their own right.

The early seventeenth century saw an accumulation of authorities on the Ottomans, who drew on each other alongside continental sources. Englishmen across a wide range of contexts read and cited these figures when they wished to know of the Ottomans and they became key reference points. This is a palpable shift from the mid sixteenth century, when although sporadic accounts of the Ottomans had been translated into English, and 'the Turk' was written about in a number of contexts (particularly Reformation debates), it is difficult to make the case for an established English literature on the Ottomans. Continental literature continued to be an important influence on this literature in the seventeenth century, providing texts for translations and sources for those writing synthesising accounts. However, alongside these, first-hand English accounts of the Ottomans written or related by the likes of Sandys, Lithgow, Rycaut and Purchas played

an increasingly important role in shaping this literature as the seventeenth century progressed, a trend intimately connected to the seventeenth-century English Levant trade.

The establishment of the Levant trade and Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy had an enormous long term impact on English literature on the Ottoman Turks. The physical requirements of trade and diplomacy - the establishment of trade routes, shipping, factories, consulates and employment of men in periods of long residence in the Levant - all stimulated English writing. This infrastructure facilitated the Levantine journeys of a number of erudite gentlemen travellers who went on to publish written accounts. Men such as Sandys, Lithgow, Coryat, Moryson and Robson were not only assisted in their travels by the Levant trade but given the leisure to consider and describe the lands they travelled to during periods of residence as guests of consuls or ambassadors. Nevertheless, it is striking that the trade does not feature heavily as a theme in the written accounts they produced. These 'travel accounts' were often heavily literary in character, and reflected the large cultural baggage educated Englishmen carried with them to the Levant. As the landscape of both the classical world and scripture, the Levant and eastern Mediterranean was deeply implicated in many of the key literary texts central to the self image of humanist educated Christian Englishmen. However, it is not merely biblical and humanist texts which form the literary context for these 'travel accounts'. As we have seen men, such as Sandys both drew on and contributed heavily to contemporary geographical, historical and politic literature regarding this region and its peoples.

Anglo-Ottoman diplomacy and trade also required English residents in the Levant, men who often gained extensive experience and familiarity with the region, some even learning its languages. Sources from this background became increasingly prominent and influential in English writing on the Ottomans throughout the seventeenth century. For example, Grimeston's continuation to the third edition of Knolles' *History* (1621) drew on the papers of Thomas Glover, the son of an English merchant born and raised in Constantinople, fluent in Turkish, Greek, Italian and Polish, who had served as secretary to ambassadors Edward Barton and Henry Lello, then as ambassador himself (1606-11). Such sources provided detailed first-hand English accounts of the Ottomans of a kind simply not available in the sixteenth century. Viewed broadly, sources and indeed published accounts, generated by diplomacy and the Levant trade, led to a greater prominence for first-hand English accounts within English literature on the Ottomans. However, this is a broad trend and should not be taken as a linear development. Translations of continental works continued, English authors continued to cite continental authorities, and English literature on the Ottomans continued to be both extremely diverse and heterogeneous throughout the seventeenth century.

A number of figures directly involved in trade or diplomacy authored works on the Ottomans. Similarly to 'travel accounts', these works were shaped by converging and overlapping English interests in the Levant. For example, while the accounts produced by Levant Company chaplains reflect the trade they are also characterised by their interest in the academic study of 'Oriental languages', the Levant as a biblical landscape and the ruins and relics of classical antiquity. These seemingly separate academic and

commercial spheres overlapped in unexpected ways. For example, a chaplain's knowledge of the Levant as a biblical landscape might find utility in the eyes of the Levant Company as a tool for sermonising and maintaining moral discipline within the merchant community. For the chaplain, involvement in Levantine commerce meant exposure to the languages of the Levant, and an opportunity to acquire 'oriental' manuscripts, which might fuel an academic career such as those of Pocock, Luke and Smith. However, biblical and classical works were not the only literary contexts for such 'first-hand' accounts and as with travel accounts, the works of men such as Smith both drew upon and contributed to contemporary English literature on the Ottomans.

The most prominent and influential English account of the Ottomans to emerge from the Levant trade was Paul Rycaut's *Present State* (1666). This work not only went through several editions but was widely printed on the continent in French, Italian, Dutch and Polish, German and Russian, which was almost unheard of for an English work of this period. The *Present State* is an attempt at a systematic and objective account of the Ottoman state in emulation of French and Italian diplomatic accounts. In contrast to earlier seventeenth century authors, Rycaut wrote consciously within an established English literature on the Ottomans, and made a point of setting his work apart from that of 'hasty travellers' and Knolles' 'excellent collection from divers authors' (i.e. the *History*). Rycaut's involvement in the Levant trade, as secretary to Ambassador Winchelsea, gave him in-depth experience of the Ottoman court and led him to a pragmatic and relatively neutral view of the Ottomans, weighing the importance of trade with the Ottoman empire against the generally negative views of his contemporaries.

Rycaut's *Present State* formulated a perspective on the Ottomans which is both detailed and distinctly *English* in perspective, in that his understanding of both the Ottoman state and religion are deeply tied to his Restoration context. The importance of the context of the Levant trade on the *Present State* is clear in its absence in Rycaut's final work the *Turkish History* (1700). Writing as a resident in Hamburg, at a time of major Ottoman defeats during the wars of the Holy League (1683-99), Rycaut retreats to a more familiar negative view of the Ottomans written from a 'Christendom' centred perspective rather than his previous more nuanced English perspective.

English publishing on the Ottomans peaked and waned in specific periods. In particular the numbers of *turcica* recorded within the *Registers* indicate two major peaks in English publication on the Ottomans (see appendix three). The first corresponds to the Long War of 1593 to 1606. The second was in response to the wars of the Holy League (1683-99) and in particular the siege of Vienna (1683), an event which generated more English publications on the Ottomans than any other in the seventeenth century. Of forty seven items recorded in the *Registers* over the period 1681-90, thirty are concerned with the contemporary Ottoman-Habsburg conflict and thirteen relate directly to the siege of Vienna. Since Said's *Orientalism* it has been popular with scholars to portray western literature on the Ottomans and 'the East' more generally as 'Eurocentric' and 'Orientalist', indicating that western authors set the agenda for these portrayals. However, it is revealing that the two major peaks in seventeenth-century English publication on the Ottomans were in direct reaction to Ottoman military incursions into continental Europe. A substantial element of English literature on the Ottomans was therefore a direct

response to the military power and aggression of the Ottoman empire. It must not be forgotten that alongside the burgeoning English Levant trade the central reason for English interest in the Ottoman empire was its size, imperial power and military expansion.

Times of perceived continental crisis such as the siege of Vienna tended to encourage an oppositional black and white view of Ottoman invasions of 'Christendom'. Indeed, although the term 'Christendom' generally declined in usage in the seventeenth century, it underwent substantial revivals during such periods. It is therefore no surprise that in the immediate aftermath of this defeat much English *turcica* displays a simplistic Christian triumphalism. However, this period is also the beginning of a wider long term shift in perceptions of the Ottomans, again in response to military developments. Defeat at Vienna proved to be only the beginning of a string of military disasters for the Ottoman empire, culminating in the loss of Hungary and the Morea in the treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. Although some of this lost territory was recovered in campaigns in the early eighteenth century, the Ottomans never regained their position as a major central European power. With this major shift in the balance of power in central Europe came a commensurate shift in western European perceptions of the Ottoman Empire.

Çırakman has suggested that European literature on the Ottomans became less diverse and heterogeneous in the eighteenth century as a result of widespread acceptance of the paradigm of 'Oriental despotism'. In contrast, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while representations of the Ottoman empire had often been pejorative, they

also had to account for its highly visible success as a militarily powerful and aggressively expansionist alien and non-Christian power. This had led to a series of rhetorical juggling acts seeking to explain the Ottoman empire's power and military dominance while sustaining its moral/religious inferiority. One such strategy was placing Ottoman history within the framework of Christian scripture, prophecy or other eschatological formulae, such as the 'scourge of God', or as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Daniel. However, eighteenth-century descriptions were no longer constrained by the need to account for the Ottoman empire's visible power within Europe. It was much easier to assert with conviction that the Ottomans, or indeed 'the Orient', were inherently inferior to 'the West' when they were no longer a successful military power expanding at the cost of Christian and European nations. As a result eighteenth-century accounts became increasingly dismissive and secure in portraying the Ottomans and 'the East' in general as backward, degenerate, stagnant and declining. Whole works appear describing this 'decline', such as Cantemir's *History of the growth and decay of the Ottoman Empire* (1734). These eighteenth-century perceptions of the Ottomans were formalised in the concept of 'Oriental despotism', most famously propounded by Montesquieu in *De l'esprit des lois* (1748). Montesquieu in fact drew heavily on earlier authors, notably Rycout. However, his analysis, which abstracts a generalised system of 'oriental' governance from the Ottoman example and attributes it to systematic causes such as climate, is thoroughly eighteenth-century in its perspective.

This thesis has examined one era of English literature on the Ottomans, from its sixteenth-century roots, tracing its growth at the turn of the seventeenth century and its

development into a complex literature, until the dramatic changes brought by the events of the end of that century. However, alongside this literature there existed a broad and nebulous range of 'commonplaces' about 'the Turk', which made up a vocabulary of generally negative images, traits, associations and language through which 'the Turk' was perceived and represented. Among such commonplaces were notions that the Turks were 'slow', 'idle', and 'heavy', yet quick tempered and intemperate, cruel yet brave and warlike, lascivious and inclined to sexual perversion, in particular sodomy, greedy, fatalistic, servile and yet haughty and proud to foreigners.

Dimmock, Housley and Heath have argued that many of these commonplaces had roots in sixteenth-century religious polemic, although related ideas such as 'Saracen' and the Christian polemical tradition regarding Islam drew upon far older medieval ideas. However, 'the Turk' was not the only figure represented through a series of commonplace associations. In geographies and travel accounts one frequently encounters potted descriptions of the character or 'manners' of other 'nations', which generally express cultural and ethnic difference in terms of inferiority to the reference point of 'Englishman'. In fact, many characteristic elements of commonplaces of 'the Turk' were in fact also applied to other 'nations' inhabiting hot climates. For example, Italians and Spaniards were frequently described as hot tempered, cruel, proud, lascivious, intemperate, cunning, greedy, and so on. Furthermore, the 'Turkish other' is far from the only 'other' described within English literature on the Ottomans and the Levant. This literature, and in particular first-hand accounts of the Levant, teems with Spaniards, Frenchmen, Greeks, Jews, Persians, Arabs, Catholics, Armenians and other 'eastern

Christians'. 'The Turk' was seldom the most vivid general reference point of cultural 'otherness' to early modern Englishmen, certainly not in contrast to, say, 'the French'. Neither was 'the Turk' even necessarily the most demonised of these figures within English accounts of the Ottomans or Levant, a role often allotted to 'Papists'. A comparison of the commonplace views Englishmen held of 'the Turk' with those they held of other nations, particularly in geographical and travel literature, is far too large a topic to be addressed within this thesis. It is, however, fertile ground for future research. Examining other 'others' Englishmen encountered in the Levant and Eastern Mediterranean, particularly Greeks, Jews and 'eastern Christians', offers a valuable opportunity to step beyond the automatic opposition of 'East' and 'West', and its correlation with Islam vs. Christianity as an assumed frame of reference, and discover new perspectives on early modern views of 'the East'.

It would be foolish to deny the obvious importance that the various images of 'the Turk' in contemporary currency had as a context for seventeenth-century English writers on the Ottomans. However, it would be equally foolish to limit our study to commonplaces, for while these images certainly appeared in even complex accounts of the Ottomans, such as those of Knolles, Sandys and Rycart, they most certainly did not define them. The emphasis placed on these images in previous scholarly work in this field reflects the prominence of dramatic representations of 'the Turk' in the work of critics such as Chew, Vitkus, Dimmock, Birchwood and even Matar. In contrast, this thesis has sought a holistic approach. By focusing upon the contexts in which individual sources were written, yet relating them to the wider context of English literature on the Ottomans, I

have sought to bring a broader and more balanced perspective on both that literature and the diversity and complexity of the works of which it was comprised.

Appendix 1

THE TERROR OF THE WORLD

Despite its scriptural overtones the term ‘terror of the world’ does not appear to have a biblical origin. This is borne out by the use of the phrase within English biblical commentaries and marginal citations, but not the text of the bible itself, indicating that although this phrase was in common parlance in early modern England it was not taken from the bible. The earliest example comes from, Archbishop Mathew Parker’s brainchild, the so called ‘Bishops Bible’. An explanatory note to Ezekiel says of ‘elam’, a fallen kingdom listed with Assyria, Meshech, Tubal and Edom, ‘They which being a lyue were a terrour to the worlde’.¹ Similarly, the much later *Annotations upon the Holy Bible, being a continuation of Mr Pools work* (1685 – Matthew Poole had died in 1679) uses the phrase twice in notes commenting upon the same passage of Ezekiel. The first comments ‘These *Scythians* in those days were a terrour to the Nations’.² The second ties the phrase to the passage in question, a prophecy against Egypt threatening the Pharaoh with the consequences of his Tyranny.

It is God that speaketh, who had punisht former Tyrants ... They were a terrour to the world by their cruelty, oppression and continued violence ... And God hath made them a terrour by his just severities in their punishments.³

¹ *The Holie Bible* (London, 1568: STC 2099), Ezechiel 32:24 marginal note, sig. Uv^v.

² *Annotations upon the Holy Bible, being a continuation of Mr. Pools work* (London, 1685: Wing P2823), Ezekiel, 32:26, commentary, sig. mm2^v.

³ *Ibid.*, Ezekiel, 32:32, commentary. Sig. mm2^v.

This sense of divine punishment is common in many usages of the ‘terror of the world’ and is perhaps also evident in Francis Roberts’ *Mysterium and Meduilla Bibliorum, the mysterie and marrow of the bible* (1657), whose unconventional translation of Psalm 93: 3-4, runs ‘*The Lord is the terrour of the world; Heaven and Earth tremble at his presence*’.⁴ In these usages there is a similarity with the phrase ‘scourge of God’ and particularly clear association with peoples viewed both as barbarian tribes and the instrument of divine punishment upon the wicked, such as ‘Elam’, ‘Babylonians’ and the ‘Sycthians’ (often identified as the progenitors of the ‘Turks’). Given this, it is no surprise to find this phrase applied to ‘Attila the Hun’, the original ‘scourge of God’. Honoré d’Urfé’s *Astrea a Romance* (1657) and James Howell’s *The history of Hungaria* (1664) both make the association ‘Attila ... the Terrour of the World, and Scourge of God’, while Patrick Symson’s *The Historie of the Church* (1624) states ‘this *Attila* died the terrour of the world, and the whip wherewith God scourged many nations.’⁵

The earliest usages I have located of the ‘terror of the world’, however, are not in religious commentary, but rather from history and geography. As mentioned in the introduction, historian Paulo Giovio and cosmographer Simon Münster both applied the phrase to Timur Khan, or ‘Tammerlane’. English authors, to follow their example, include the martyrologist John Foxe and playwright Christopher Marlowe. Even following its association with the Ottoman Turks, the phrase never lost its connection with Tammerlane and various later works continue this usage including John Taylor’s

⁴ Francis Roberts. *Mysterium and Meduilla Bibliorum, the mysterie and marrow of the bible* (London, 1657: Wing R1594), p. 343.

⁵ Honoré d’Urfé, *Astrea a Romance* (London, 1657: Wing U132), vol. I, p. 410; James Howell, *Florus Hungaricus, or, The history of Hungaria* (London, 1664: Wing H3077A), p. 61 [i.e.16]; Patrick Symson, *The Historie of the Church* (London, 1624: STC 23598), vol II, p. 82.

Works (1630), Walter Scott's *A true history of the several honourable families* (1688) and Randle Holme's *Academy of Armoury* (1688), which provides a spurious motif from 'the Shield of Tamberlian ... called *the Wrath of God, and Terrour of the World*'.⁶

Evidently the 'terror of the world' might be applied not merely to Tammerlane but to any great conqueror or indeed conquering empire. Thus one finds common references to the Babylonian, Persian, Greek and above all Roman Empires as 'the terror of the world'.⁷ It is presumably these connotations of conquest and power that lead Thomas Adams to use the phrase to refer to the second coming; 'Thus differs Christs first comming and his second. Then in humilitie, now in glory ... then the contempt of nations, now the terror of the world'.⁸ In relation to more temporal conquerors the term often occurs in the context of discussions of the impermanence of worldly power or the downfall of great men.

Thomas Hall attributes the pithy reflection 'Where, o where is the famous body of Caeser ... that was once the Terror of the world' to St. Augustine.⁹ *The lamentable tragedie of Locrine* (1595) introduces 'So valient *Brute* [Brutus] the terror of the world'.¹⁰ Further, many of these figures have a connection with 'the east', such as, 'Xerxes King of Persia,

⁶ John Taylor, *All the Workes of John Taylor* (London, 1630: STC 23725), vol. II, p. 50; Walter Scott, *A true history of the several honourable families of the right honourable name of Scot* (Edinburgh, 1688: Wing S948), pp. 1, 16, 43, 76; Randle Holme, *The academy of armory, or, A storehouse of armory and blazon containing the several variety of created beings, and how born in coats of arms, both foreign and domestick* (Chester, 1688: Wing H2513), p. 10.

⁷ On Babylon see Thomas Lodge, *The famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy* (London, 1591: STC 16657), p. 26; on Rome see, amongst others, *Albions England, or historicall map of the same Island* (London, 1586: STC 25082A), p. 66; Thomas Palmer, *A little view of this old world* (London, 1659: Wing P253), p. 100.

⁸ Thomas Adams, *The happiness of the Church*, (London, 1619: STC 121), vol. II, p. 49.

⁹ Thomas Hall, *The beauty of magistracy in an exposition on the 82 Psalm* (London, 1660: Wing H427), p. 166.

¹⁰ W.S. *The lamentable tragedie of Locrine* (London, 1595: STC 21528), sig. A3^v.

who had ben the terror of the world'¹¹ or 'Alexander, *the Son of Jupiter, and the Emperor and Terror of the World*'.¹²

While this term had an association with oriental monarchs, and more generally great military leaders and vast world dominating empires it also often occurs in contexts thematically connected with the Tammerlane story. Thus, while discussing Ottoman military power, Dumont comments concerning monarchs generally that

when they are at the Head of 100000 Men, all devoted to their Interest, 'tis then they become the Terrour of the World ... without these neither *Alexander, Caeser*, nor *Lewis XIV.* cou'd have gain'd one Inch of Ground.¹³

Similarly, on the topic of Moses and God's punishment of tyrants, Richard Sibbes describes the latter as 'those mighty Princes that were in their times, the terrours of the world'.¹⁴ In these reference the term is used in a general context, but nonetheless one connected to tyranny, divine punishment, pride and hubris, the Ottomans, conquest *etc.*

In the seventeenth century, particularly in its late decades, an even further generalised stratum of references emerges. For example, Robert Monro comments of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden 'he that was at this time the terrour of the world', on account

¹¹ Loys le Roy, *Aristotles Politiques* (London, 1598: STC 760), p. 323.

¹² Francisco Quevedo and trs. R.L. *The visions of Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Knight of the order of St. James*(London, 1667: Wing Q196), p. 269.

¹³ Jean Dumont, *A new voyage to the Levant* (London, 1696: Wing D2526), p. 235.

¹⁴ Richard Sibbes, *The sovles conflict with it selfe* (London, 1635: STC 22508.5), p. 543.

of his military prowess.¹⁵ Similarly, John Trenchard describes ‘the mighty Spanish Armado (then the Terror of the World)’ on account of its military power.¹⁶ While John Steven’s *The Portugues Asia* (1695) mentions a galley by the name of ‘The Terror of the World’.¹⁷ Unusually William Petyt’s usage states ‘*France* is become the Terrour of the World’,¹⁸ in the context of French economic power. However, a similar generalised connotation of imperial power and expansion is often present in references which apply this term to England. John Toland expressed hopes that reform would ‘render *England* the Glory and Terror of the World’,¹⁹ while David Lloyd regretted that mid-century regicide had rendered ‘a Nation once the Envy and Terrour of the World, now its Scorn and Contempt’.²⁰

Clearly enough from the preceding argument, the phrase ‘terror of the world’ was common parlance in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. From primarily denoting Tammerlane, or similar historical figures such as Caesar or Brutus, in the early sources the level of generality seems to increase roughly chronologically. It definitely had connotations of ‘barbarian’ empires or conquerors such as Timur Khan, ‘the Scythians’ or, indeed, the Ottomans. When used in such a context it was often collocated with ‘the scourge of god’ or similar and might be read in this light. Following Knolles’ application of ‘terroure of the world’ to describe the Ottomans this is probably the most common usage of this term in English sources, particularly in the mid seventeenth century. I have

¹⁵ Robert Monro, *Monro his expedition*, (London, 1637: STC 18022), p. 140.

¹⁶ John Trenchard, *An argument shewing that a standing army is inconsistent with a free government*, (London, 1697: Wing T2110), p. 18. Note the connection with discussions of tyranny.

¹⁷ Manuel de Faria e Sousa trs. John Steven, *The Portugues Asia*, (London, 1695: Wing F428), p. 367.

¹⁸ William Petyt, *Britanian languens, or a discourse of trade*, (London, 1689: Wing P1947), p. 20.

¹⁹ John Toland, *The militia reform’d or an easy scheme of furnishing England with a constant land force* (London, 1699: Wing T1766B), p. 55.

²⁰ David Lloyd, *Memoires of the Lives*, (London, 1668: Wing L2642), p. 14.

not located an earlier use of 'terror of the world' to describe the Ottomans and it seems likely that Knolles may have coined this. However the phrase retained its association with the Tammerlane story, commonly being applied to Timur's opponent at the battle of Ankara in 1402, the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I, or themes associated in this story such as hubris, the transience of power, divine punishment, and so on. As the seventeenth century progressed the phrases already diverse applications broadened further until it might be used to describe military might, all conquering power, or imperial ambition, even describing English aspirations or Christ risen.

Appendix 2

SARACENS

Saracen may have roots in a Nabataean Arabic term for ‘easterners’ or ‘marauders’, although this etymology is uncertain. What is known is that as early as the second century AD a number of Latin authors adopted the term *Saraceni*, from the Greek, to indicate specifically nomadic inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula, as opposed to *Arabes* which also referred to settled and Christian Arabs. However, with time the term became less specific and came to refer to first the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula generally, Muslim Arabs, then Muslims at large and eventually even non-Muslim peoples perceived as hostile to Christendom.¹ The term *Saracen* therefore does not refer exclusively to any one people or dynasty in the Muslim or pre-Muslim world.

Beckett emphasises the widespread influence, throughout the middle ages and beyond, of an etymology of *Saracen* originating from biblical exegesis on the Old Testament story of Abraham and Sarah (Genesis XVI). Abraham and his wife, Sarah, are unable to conceive. Abraham therefore impregnates his slave woman, Hagar, who gives birth to a son, Ishmael. God intervenes and Sarah conceives Isaac, the ancestor of the Israelites. Hagar and Ishmael are cast into the wilderness, their descendants becoming nomadic and violent desert raiders inimical to civilisation and the descendants of Isaac. St. Jerome, perhaps following earlier authors such as Eusebius, suggested that *Saraceni* was a reference to Sarah (i.e. ‘descendant of Sarah’). Jerome hypothesised that the Northern Arabs were the ‘Ishmaelites’ (i.e. descendants of Ishmael), but in shame at their lowly

¹ Irfan Shahîd, *Rome and the Arabs* (Washington, D.C., 1984), pp. 126-137.

heritage claimed descent from Sarah instead. Ironically there is no evidence that any Arab or Muslim people ever called themselves *Saracen*.²

Biblical exegesis has followed St. Paul's assertion that Christ's covenant conveys the status of chosen people to Christians, and opens up the Old Testament to allegorical interpretation (Galatians 3.29: 'And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abrahams offspring'). By this logic, if Christians are the inheritors of the Israelites, and the Ishmaelites were their enemy, then, as the Saracens are the Ishmaelites, they must be the enemies of Christendom. This typology was extremely useful in opening up large sections of scripture through which the 'Saracens' could be described, castigated and allegorised. Indeed St. Jerome's etymology was so influential that it is common to find Reformation polemic more than a millennium later describing the Ottoman Turks as 'Hagarines', 'the seed of Ishmael' and 'Ishmaelites'.

² Katharine Beckett, *Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World*, pp. 93-95.

Appendix 3

THE REGISTERS OF THE COMPANY OF STATIONERS OF LONDON

The following survey is based upon Edward Arber's *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640* and Eyre and Rivington's *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708*, supplemented for the period 1501-1551 with E.G. Duff's *Hand-List of books printed by London Printers 1501-1554*. This does not claim, or indeed seek, to be a definitive survey of materials relating to the Ottoman Empire printed in Britain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rather, the aim of this section is to examine how the books entered within the *Registers* reflect wider trends relevant to English literature on the Ottoman Turks. However, first it is necessary to examine some of the limitations inherent to the *Registers* as well as outlining the parameters within which this survey defines 'English printed material relating to the Ottoman Turks'.

The *Registers* have several limitations as a source for early modern printed material. Firstly, the registers for the period July 1571 to July 1576 are missing, and thus this period is not covered (indicated with a dotted line on the graph overleaf).¹ Secondly, the *Registers* do not include materials "published under special licenses or more general letters patents",² or books published secretly, or on the continent. Additionally, it is important to note that not all books which were entered in the *Registers* were printed in

¹Edward Arber, Charles Robert Rivington, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, A.D.*, 5 vols. (London, 1894), II, p. 12.

²Arber, *Registers*, II, p. 13. Special licenses and letters patents tended to be issued for law books, catechisms and other profitable books of the like; I am not aware of any book relating to the Ottomans printed under special license in this period.

the form entered, or at the time entered, or indeed at all. Conversely, the *Registers* preserve many records of books printed but no longer extant; this is particularly true of the earlier records. With these points in mind, how far do the *Registers* represent the extant published material of the period? W. W. Greg estimated that around sixty percent of published works had been entered in the *Registers*.³ More recently Maureen Bell has tested this against the revised STC and pared this figure down to 53.4%.⁴ However, following Feather's sensible suggestion that the *Registers* served as a means of confirming existing rights to books as well as conferring new ones Bell's figure rises slightly to 54.7%.⁵

Considerable as these limitations are, the *Registers* are an invaluable bibliographical source for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly in their chronological sweep. A study based on their records cannot claim to be a definitive survey of English printed material relating to the Ottomans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, they do provide a record of works entered by London printers in order to confirm legal ownership. Indeed, there is no major work of English *turcica* absent from these records. This sample is extensive enough, in both size and duration, to reveal general chronological trends and responses to specific events or circumstances in print output of *turcica*. Furthermore, the limitations of the sample source are well known, and can be taken into account when analysing the resulting survey. E.G Duff's material for

³ W. W. Greg, *Some aspects and problems of London publishing between 1550 and 1650* (London, 1956).

⁴ Maureen Bell, 'Entrance in the Stationers' Register,' *The Library: Transactions of the Bibliographical society* 6, no. 16 (1994), p. 54.

⁵ J. Feather, 'From Rights in Copies to Copyright: the recognition of Authors Rights in English law and Practice in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' *Cardozo Arts and Entertainment Law Journal* 10 (1992), pp. 455-73.

the period 1501-1554 is included primarily to show the surprising number of works on the Ottomans printed in the period 1542-46, rather than as an attempt to make a more thorough survey of *turcica* in this period.

Material has been defined as ‘English material relating to the Ottomans’ within the following parameters: material relating to the ‘Turks’ or the Ottoman empire, its history, peoples, ruling dynasty, key figures (i.e. bibliographies of Viziers and Sultans), major opponents (Tammerlane, Scanderberg *etc*), wars and political, military, natural and supernatural events involving the above. I have included works upon lands under Ottoman dominion but not those dealing with the pre-Ottoman history of those lands i.e. histories of Hungary dealing with its conquest by the Ottomans, but not those detailing classical Asia Minor (Anatolia), or the pre-Ottoman history of the Holy land. I have included works on Islam and the ‘Alcoran’ as they were overwhelmingly identified with the ‘Turks’, but not accounts of pre-Ottoman Islamic history (i.e. biographies of the prophet) or accounts of Moorish Spain. Accounts of Barbary piracy and accounts by Christian captives are included. Travel accounts which describe lands within the Ottoman empire are included, even if they also include descriptions of other places such as Persia or the east Indies. Works on the Sherley brothers have been included as their story involves the Ottoman Empire intimately. However, *An Itinerary of some yeares Travale through diuers parts of Asia and Affricke by Thomas Herbert Esquire*⁶ has been excluded, as this account primarily deals with the Persian and Mogul Empires. The only plays included are those which directly involve the Ottomans or ‘Turks’, despite the early modern tendency to elide terms such as ‘moore’, ‘saracen’ and ‘turke’. *Othello the moore*

⁶ Arber, *Registers*, IV, p. 313.

*of Venice*⁷ is not a play about the Ottomans in the way which *Bajazet the raging Turke*⁸ is. Fulke Grevilles *The tragedy of Alaham*,⁹ has not been included even though *The tradgey of Mustapha*¹⁰ has been, as the setting of the former is a generalised ‘oriental’ stereotype featuring ‘eastern’ characters such as ‘Bashaws’ rather than the clear Ottoman milieu of the latter (presumably if Greville had wanted an Ottoman setting in the first play he would have written one). Of news sheets, only those which mention ‘the Turks’ in their titles or clearly refer to events involving the Ottoman Empire are included. This fails to differentiate between longer titles such as *Newes from Poland, wherein is trulie enlarged, the occasion, progression and interception of the Turkes formidable threatening of Europe*,¹¹ and the many *current of newes* items often entered for the same publishers. However, a general survey of the contents of ‘newes’ items contained in the *Registers*, and its comparison to extant items, is not only beyond the scope of the current study, but in practicality impossible because of the low survivability of such ephemera and the resulting difficulties in connecting Register entries to extant copies.

Material conspicuously excluded from this survey includes works on pre-Ottoman Islamic history, the crusades, contemporary non-Ottoman Islamic empires (i.e. Persian and the Mogul), coffee and ‘oriental languages’ (which generally did not include Turkish). I have also ignored general geographical works and cosmographies (including *Purchas his Pilgrimage*),¹² ‘oriental’ Romances and Levant Company documents

⁷ Ibid., I, p. 21.

⁸ Ibid., I, p. 260.

⁹ Ibid., I, p. 288.

¹⁰ Ibid., I, p. 288.

¹¹ Ibid., I, p. 60

¹² Ibid., III, p. 492.

describing the affairs of the Company rather than the Ottomans (such as the Sackville-Crow affair). Religious polemic has not been included on the grounds that it would be impossible to draw the line between works which mention the 'Turk' and those *about* the 'Turk'. Works such as the *Alcoranus Franciscanorum*¹³ and its later English version, *An olde booke called the Alcoran of the bare foote ffreres* (partly a satirical translation of Bartholommeo Albizzi's *Liber conformitatum*),¹⁴ are judged to be religious polemic rather than works on the Ottomans, as such. Often this separation is somewhat artificial. Many a learned treatise on the Turks contains a strong element of religious polemic. On the other hand, while a source such as *De la verite de la religion Chrestienne contre Les Athees, Payens Epicuriens, Juifs, Mahumediste and autres infidels*,¹⁵ later translated as *A vvorke concerning the trevvnese of Christian religion, written in French: against atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetists, and other infidels* by Philip of Mornay, may seem to have little enough to do with the Turks or Islam specifically, it was quoted by Richard Knolles in the first chapter of his *History*¹⁶ and thus, for contemporaries, there may, indeed, have been a clear connection. Nonetheless, a survey such as this cannot decide its categories on a purely case by case basis, and some degree of arbitrariness is a necessary evil.

Items are listed by decade, and only the first mention in the Registers is recorded.

Therefore, records of later editions are not recorded and neither are records of transferred or inherited ownership of copy (or indeed part ownership) i.e. Knolles' *History* (1603) is

¹³ Ibid., II, p. 550.

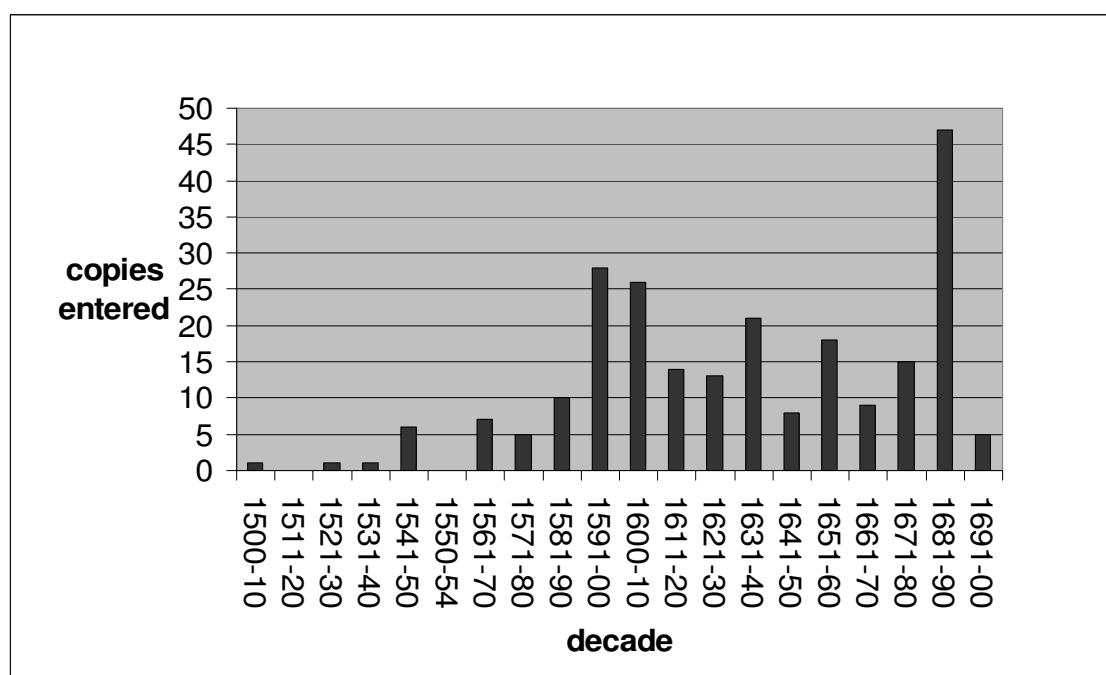
¹⁴ Ibid., III, p. 242.

¹⁵ Ibid., II, p. 402.

¹⁶ Ibid., III, p. 223.

entered for Adam Islip in 1602 and I have not recorded the numerous further entries for subsequent editions and changes in ownership. Items are listed in the survey by the year in which they appear in the Registers, and not necessarily by their actual date of publication. For example, ownership of Rycaut's *Present State* (1666) was not entered into the registers until 1679, and it is therefore listed in the decade 1671-80 in the graph below.¹⁷

Turcica in the Registers 1500-1700



The most obvious features of the above graph are the spikes in entries in the periods 1591-1610 and 1681-90. Through an analysis of the works which make up these high points, I have argued throughout this thesis that they represent major peaks in the

¹⁷ G. E. B Eyre and G. R. Rivington, eds. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708* (London, 1913), III, p. 90.

publication of English *turcica* in response to Ottoman military incursions on the continent, namely the ‘Long war’ of 1593-1606 and the ‘war of the Holy League’ (1683-1699). However, to be certain of the significance of these peaks we must compare them to wider English publishing, to ascertain that they are not merely a reflection of a wider boom within the English book trade at large. Klotz’s ‘Subject analysis of English Imprints for every tenth year’, quantified English publishing across the period 1480-1640, based primarily on the STC.¹⁸

Date	Religion	History	Politics	Total
1560	54	5	27	149
1570	62	17	26	179
1580	111	11	19	<u>228</u>
1590	111	<u>41</u>	23	<u>266</u>
1600	94	25	24	<u>259</u>
1610	173	33	29	323
1620	193	48	37	410
1630	212	31	48	464
1640	251	30	<u>78</u>	577

Klotz’s data shows no corresponding peak in general English book publication in the period 1591-1610. The total number of works published for these years are two hundred

¹⁸ Figures taken from Edith Klotz, “Subject analysis of English Imprints for every tenth year from 1480 to 1640.” *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 1 (1938), 417-19.

and twenty eight for 1580, 266 for 1590 and two hundred and fifty nine for 1600. The figure for historical works is, however, unusually high in 1590 i.e. forty one (see table above, relevant figures underlined).

Other features of this graph are more speculative; nonetheless a few are worthy of mention. Note the small peak during the years 1541-1550 which reflects the chronicle translations of Grafton *et al*, examined in chapter one. The graph illustrates these works status as amongst the first detailed English accounts of the Ottomans, but also their relatively small number and isolation from later works. The dips at 1641-50 and 1661-70 probably represent the civil war and great fire of London respectively. Amongst the items for 1641-50 there is a discernable drop off in news items concerned with the Ottomans as such publications focussed on affairs closer to home, note that Klozt's figures indicate a sharp peak in works on the topic of 'politics' in 1640 (seventy eight).

Appendix 4

CONTENTS OF KNOLLES' *HISTORY* BY EDITION

First edition (1603)

The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. Together with the liues and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours, Faithfullie collected out of the best Histories both ancient and moderne, and digested into one Continuat Historie vntill this present yeare 1603: by Richard Knolles

Printed by Adam Islip 1603

- i. To the high and mightie prince *James*
- ii. Authors induction to the Christian reader vnto the Historie of the Turkes following
- iii. The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. (p. 1)
- iv. The liues and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours, Faithfullie collected out of the best Histories both ancient and moderne, and digested into one Continuat Historie (p. 129)

- v. A briefe discourse on the greatnesse of the Turkish empire (p. 1153 – pagination ends)

The first edition (1603) is prefaced by two short paratexts: Knolles' dedication to James, and his introduction to the reader. The main body of the text is in two books, a 'General Historie of the Turkes' (i.e. pre Ottoman history and the crusades) and the lives of 'the Othoman kings and emperours' (i.e. the dynastic history of the Ottomans to the date of publication). Knolles concludes with a summary description of the contemporary Ottoman Empire as he saw it.

Second Edition (1610)

The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie, together with the lives and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours unto the yeare 1610 Written by Richard Knolles sometyme fellowe of Lincoln College in Oxford.

The Second edition printed by Adam Islip 1610

- i. To the high and mightie prince *James*
- ii. The Authors induction to the Christian reader vnto the Historie following

- iii. The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. (p. 1)
- iv. The liues and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours, Faithfullie collected out of the best Histories both ancient and moderne, and digested into one Continuat Historie (p. 129)
- v. Here followeth a continuation of the Historie with the occrrents during the residue of the rainge of Mahomet the third, and the beginning of the raigne of Achmat the emperour that now liveth (p. 1153)
- vi. A briefe discourse on the greatnesse of the Turkish empire (p.1305 – pagination ends)

Aside from some revisions to the text the major differences from the first edition are a revised 'induction to the reader' and the addition of a continuation authored by Knolles. Knolles did not live to see the edition of 1610 in print and subsequent continuations were composed by a variety of authors.

Third Edition (1621)

The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie, together with the lives and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours unto the yeare 1621 Written by Richard Knolles sometyme fellowe of Lincoln College in Oxford.

The Third edition printed by Adam Islip 1621

- i. To the high and mightie prince *James*
- ii. The Authors induction to the Christian reader vnto the Historie following
(same as 1610 for this and subsequent editions)
- iii. The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to
the rising of the Othoman familie: with all the notable expeditions of the
Christian princes against them. (p. 1)
- iv. The liues and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours, Faithfullie
collected out of the best Histories both ancient and moderne, and digested into
one Continuat Historie (p. 129)
- v. Here followeth a continuation of this Historie, with all occurances which have
happened during the reigns to Achmat, Mustapha to the end of this present
yeare 1620 by Edvvard Grimston, *Sargeant at Armes* (p. 1297)
- vi. A briefe discourse on the greatnesse of the Turkish empire (p.1397 –
pagination ends)

The text of Knolles's continuation to the second edition is included but not demarked, rather the 'lives' simply continues until 1610. At this stage a continuation written by Edward Grimestone is added covering the years 1610 to 1620. Knolles description of the court of Achmat is omitted but sections of it are included verbatim by Grimestone at the

end of his lives of Achmat and Osman as well as in his ‘discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkes empire’ (that is Grimeston’s not Knolles’).

Fourth Edition (1631)

THE GENERALL HISTORIE of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie, together with THE LIVES AND CONQUESTS OF THE OTHMAN KINGS AND EMPEROURS Written by Richard Knolles sometime fellowe of Lincoln Colledge in Oxford. With a new continuation from ye yeare of our Lord 1621 vnto the yeare 1629 faithfully collected

The Fourth edition printed by Adam Islip 1631

- i. To the high and mightie prince *James*
- ii. The Authors induction to the Christian reader vnto the Historie following
- iii. The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. (p. 1)
- iv. The liues and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours, Faithfullie collected out of the best Histories both ancient and moderne, and digested into one Continuat Historie (p. 129)

- v. Here followeth a continuation of this present Historie (containing all occurances which have happened to the Turkish Empire since the yeare of our Lord 1609 vnto the year 1617 & c.) by Edward Grimston, *Sargeant at Armes* (p. 1297)
- vi. A continuation of the TURKISH historie from the beginning of the yeare of our Lord 1620 untill the ending of the yeare of our Lord 1628 collected out of the papers and dispatches of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, his Maiesties Embassadour with the Grand Segniour during that time By M.B. (p.1397)
- vii. A briefe discourse on the greatnesse of the Turkish empire (p.1513 – pagination ends)

The text of the fourth edition is similar to the third. However, Grimston's continuation is somewhat edited and a new continuation is added by the unidentified M.B., purporting to be based on the papers of Thomas Roe, but also containing the text of a large number of documents (28) relating to the Ottomans.

Fifth edition (1638)

THE GENERALL HISTORIE of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie, together with THE LIVES AND CONQUESTS OF THE OTHMAN KINGS AND EMPEROURS Written by Richard Knolles sometime fellowe of Lincoln Colledge in Oxford. With a new continuation from ye yeare of our Lord 1629 vnto the yeare 1638 faithfully collected

The Fifth edition printed by Adam Islip 1638

- i. To the high and mightie prince *James*
- ii. The Authors induction to the Christian reader vnto the Historie following
- iii. The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. (p. 1)
- iv. The liues and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours, Faithfullie collected out of the best Histories both ancient and moderne, and digested into one Continuat Historie (p. 129)
- v. Here followeth a continvation of this present Historie (containing those occvrrents which have happened to the Tvrkish Empire since the yeare of ovr Lord 1609 vnto the year 1917 [sic]& c.) by Edward Grimston, *Sergeant at Armes* (p. 1297)
- vi. A continvation of the TVRKISH historie from the beginning of the yeare of ovr Lord 1620 vntill the ending of the yeare of our Lord 1628 collected ovt of the papers and dispatches of Sr Thomas Roe, Knight, his Maiesties Embassadour with the Grand Segniour during that time and since by Him re-viewed and corrected (p.1397)
- vii. A briefe discourse on the greatnesse of the Turkish empire (p.1501 – pagination ends)
- viii. To the Honourable Sir Thomas Roe (dedication by Thomas Nabbes)

- ix. A continuation of the Tvrkish Historie from the yeare of ovr Lord 1628 to the end of the yeare 1637 collected ovt of the dispatches of Sr Peter Wyche, Knight, Emassador at Constantinople and others by Thomas Nabbes (p. 1- pagination starts over)

The fifth and final Islip edition (although some copies exist of this edition printed by his wife following his death) is different from the fourth edition in the following regards. The M.B. / Roe continuation is heavily edited, purportedly by Roe himself. It contains a smaller number of reproduced documents than the fourth edition. Following Knolles' 'discourse' this edition contains a continuation for the years 1628 to 1637 written by the dramatist Thomas Nabbes and prefaced by a dedication to Sir Thomas Roe.

Sixth edition (1687)

The Turkish History from the original of that nation, to the growth of the Ottoman empire: with the lives and conquests of their princes and emperors by Richard Knolles sometime fellow of *Lincoln-college* Oxford with a continuation To this present year. MDCXXXVI whereunto is added The Present state of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE by Sir Paul Rycaut late Consul at Smyrna. The Sixth EDITION with the effigies of all the Kings and Emperours. Newly engraven at large upon copper.

London, printed for *Tho. Basset* at the *George* near *st Dunstans* church in *Fleetstreet*

MDCXXXVII

- i. The Author to the reader (Vol. I)
- ii. The General History of the Turks, before the rising of the Othoman family, with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. (Vol. I, p. 1)
- iii. The rising of the great and mighty empire of the Turks under Othoman, the first founder thereof: with his life and doings. (Vol. I, p. 91 - followed by lives)
- iv. A Continuation of this present History (containing those occurrences which have happened to the *Turkish* Empire since the Year of our Lord One thousand six hundred and nine unto the Year one thousand six hundred and seventeen & c.) By Edward Grimston *Sergeant at Arms*. (Vol. II, p. 897)
- v. A continuation of the Turkish History from the beginning of the year 1620 until the ending of the year 1628. Collected out of the dispatches of Sir *Thomas Roe*, Knight, his Majesty's Embassador with the Grand Seignior during that time By M.B. (p. 963)
- vi. A brief discourse on the greatness of the Turkish empire (p. 981)
- vii. The HISTORY of the Turkish empire, from the YEAR 1623 to the YEAR 1677 containing the reigns of the Three last emperors Viz SULTAN MORAT or AMURATH IV. SULTAN IBRAHIM and Sultan MAHOMET IV, his son, the thirteenth Emperor, now Reigning. By Sir PAUL RYCAUT, Late CONSUL of Smyrna. LONDON Printed for *Tho. Basset, R. Covel, J. Robinson* and *A. Churchill* MDCLXXXVII (pagination starts over)

- viii. The epistle dedicatory to the King
- ix. To the reader
- x. The Memoirs of Sir Paul Rycaut, containing the history of the Turks, from the YEAR 1660 to the YEAR 1678 with the most remarkable passages relating to the ENGLISH TRADE in the space of eighteen years. (p. 95)
- xi. To the reader (p. 96)
- xii. The History of the Turkish empire continued, from the Year One thousand Six hundred and Seventy Six to One thousand Six hundred and Eighty Six, By Sir ROGER MANLEY Knight. (p. 263)
- xiii. The PRESENT STATE of the Ottoman Empire. Containing the MAXIMS of the Turkish polity; The most material points of the MAHOMETAN RELIGION; their SECTS and HERESIES; their convents and religious votaries; their MILITARY DISCIPLINE: with an exact computation of their forces by land and sea. In three books. By Sir PAUL RYCAUT, late consul of Smyrna and fellow of the Royal society. London, printed by J. D. Anno, MDCLXXXVII (pagination starts over)
- xiv. To the right honorable Henry Lord Arlington
- xv. To the reader

As noted in chapter 2, in 1638, shortly before Islip's death, Andrew Hebb successfully contested Islip's right to copy the *Turkish History* in the Stationers Court. It is likely that this is the central reason for the abeyance of editions between 1638 and 1687. The sixth edition is not merely another edition of Knolles' *Turkish History*. Claiming to be 'edited'

by Paul Rycaut, this edition attempts to synthesise the works of Rycaut, Knolles and the continuers into one two-volume work. The separation of the 'general history' and 'lives' is removed and the later editions edited version of Grimston is kept. M.B. is re-instated as author of the second continuation, but this section also seems to take some account of Roe's edit and is shortened. This is followed by Rycaut's separately published *Turkish History from the year 1623 to the year 1677* (1680), which is essentially a continuation of Knolles and written consciously to the same style and method. Rycaut subdivides this section, entitling the years after 1669 (during which he lived in Turkey) his 'memoirs' and granting them a separate title page and introduction. This is followed by the continuation of Sir Roger Manley, written for the edition of 1687, when Rycaut refused to allow the publishers to use his continuation, written as he believed for a second edition of the *Turkish History from the year 1623 to the year 1677* (which was never published). Finally we are presented with Rycaut's *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, first published separately in 1666.

Appendix 5

KNOLLES' TABLE OF SOURCES AS LISTED IN THE *HISTORY*

Abrahamus Ortelius	Cælius Secundus Curio	Martinus Chromerus
Achillis Traducci	Dauid Chytreus	Nicephorus Gregoras
Æneas Syluius Pont.	Franciscus Sansounius	Nicetas Choniates
Alcoranum Turcicarum	Henricus Pantaleon	Nicholaus Honigerus
Antonius Sabellicus *	Jacobus Fontanus *	Nicholaus Reusnerus
Antonius Bonfinius	Joannes Leunclaius	Paulus Iouius
Antonius Pigafetta	Laonicus Chalcocondilas	Phillipus Lonicerus *
Antonious Guarnerius	Lazarus Soranzi	Petrus Bizara
Augerius Busbequius	Leonardus Chiensis *	Sebastianus Monsterus
Gernard de Girard	Leonardus Goretius	Thomas Minadoi
Blondus Foroliuiensis	Marinus Barletius *	Theodorus Spanduginus
Germanicæ Continuationes Relationum Historiarum : Andreae Strigellii		
Theodori Meureri		
Jacobi Franci		

*Authors included in Phillip Lonicer '*Chronicorum Turcicorum* (1578)

This table, taken from the *History* (1603),¹ states Knolles' most important sources. There are indications that Knolles often used compilations rather than the original printed or manuscript works, which may explain the number of sources - although the rigid

¹ Knolles, *History*, sig. Avi^v.

separation of chronicles and compilations may be somewhat anachronistic as most drew heavily on other writers.

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