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SS. ARTEMEL.

THE IDEA OF TURKEY
IN THE
ELIZABETHAN PERIOD
AND IN THE
EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE DRAMA

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P R E F A C E

This thesis has two principal aims: firstly to survey the ideas of Englishmen about Turks in the second half of the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries, and secondly to provide an analysis of the application of these ideas in the drama of the age. Of the extant plays written during the Elizabethan period and the first half of the XVIIth century, 25 have plots or sub-plots specifically concerned with Turkish affairs. If we include in this group the lost plays and masques which are believed to have made use of Turkish themes, the number grows still larger. Apart from these, there were, of course, many other dramatic works not dealing directly with Turks but containing references and allusions to them.

All this indicates the presence of an interest in Turkey that was also reflected in the literatures of other European nations. The causes of this interest have to be sought in the nature of the special relationship between Europe and Turkey, the establishment of political and mercantile ties with the East, and the stimulation of curiosity in distant lands as a result of the new discoveries and explorations. Consequently the Renaissance witnessed a proliferation of books on Turks - books that were as diverse as they were numerous, covering a wide field of subjects and providing commentaries, from various angles, on Turks and the events connected with them. Historical and geographical

accounts, the descriptions of travellers and other foreign observers, news-publications, all contributed towards increasing the knowledge of European readers about the country, its people and their past. The results of this new body of information and ideas were felt in the moral and philosophical essays, sermons and political tracts, as well as in the creative literature and art of the age.

In attempting to provide a picture of Turkey and the Turks, as seen through the eyes of an Englishman of the period, I have relied mainly on Renaissance sources, written principally in English, but also supplemented, whenever possible and necessary, by information given in Latin and some other European languages. Due to the fact that a comprehensive bibliography of these publications is yet to be written, I have had to give much space to the description of the sources available at the time. The variety and profusion of publications have forced me to concentrate on specific subjects of primary importance and on books that provided basic information on the Turks - namely the historical and geographical books and the news-publications - and to refer to other kinds of writing only when required by the matter in hand.

The second part of the thesis is concerned principally with the way in which the ideas and information obtained from these sources were adapted for use in the drama, and, as far as possible, with tracing the course through which the material reached the final stage in which it is presented in the plays. No attempt has been made to cover every aspect of treatment, or to provide a critical assessment of the literary

merits of the plays involved. My primary object, therefore, has in most cases been limited to providing a summary of the factual information that formed the groundwork of the treatment in the plays and to describing the manner in which the facts and ideas about Turks were used by the playwrights to give expression to their individual ideas and aspirations.

The period covered by this study corresponds roughly to the reigns of Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I and concludes with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. Nevertheless I have not adhered rigidly to these limits and have had to consider works on Turks written prior to 1558 and also works printed after 1642, during the interregnum years, partly because there seemed to be a continuity in the treatment of Turkish themes throughout the whole period extending from the middle ages to the Restoration, and partly also because of practical problems such as those posed by the uncertainty in the dates of the composition and performance of some plays. Similarly, the chronological lists of books and plays have been designed to give a more or less comprehensive view of the publications on Turks printed in England from 1482 (the probable date of the earliest known publication on Turkish history in English - see Appendix II) until the year 1660.

My references to the XVIth and XVIIth century works are mostly to the original editions which I have been able to consult in the British Museum Library and the Library of the Routh Collection in

Durham. My references to Elizabethan dramatists are to standard editions of their works (indicated in the notes and in Section D of the Bibliography) or to the original editions available in the British Museum.

In the preparation of the thesis I have profited mainly from the article of Louis Wann on "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama" (Modern Philology, XII (1914), 423-47), from S. C. Chew's study The Crescent and the Rose, Islam and England during the Renaissance (New York, 1937) and from C. D. Rouillard's The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature, 1520-1660 (Paris, 1941) (see Bibliography, Section E). Professor Berna Moran of Istanbul University has made useful suggestions and his articles on the Turkish theme in English literature have been valuable guides (see Bibliography, Sections C and E). Mr. G. V. Scammell of the Department of Paleography and Diplomatics, Durham University, has enlightened me on details of early Anglo-Turkish relations in the commercial and maritime spheres and has supplied me with several documents of interest.

Finally, I should like to acknowledge here, above all, my particular indebtedness to Professors Clifford Leech, Nicholas Brooke and R. A. Foakes, who have supervised my work and have made invaluable suggestions.

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L I S T O F A B B R E V I A T I O N S¹

<u>Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1509-1519</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy (1202-1668)</u> , ed. Rawdon Brown, G. C. Bentick, H. F. Brown, and A. B. Hinds, London, 1864-1947.
Chambers, <u>E.S.</u>	E. K. Chambers, <u>The Elizabethan Stage</u> , Oxford, 1923.
Chambers, <u>W.S.</u>	E. K. Chambers, <u>William Shakespeare</u> , Oxford, 1930.
<u>C.H.E.L.</u>	<u>The Cambridge History of English Literature</u> , ed. Sir A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1949-53 (a reprint).
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
<u>E.L.H.</u>	<u>A Journal of English Literary History</u>
<u>L. and P. Henry VIII</u>	<u>Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-47</u> , ed. J. S. Brewer and James Gairdner, London, 1862-1910; Addenda, 1929-32.
Lowndes' <u>Manual</u>	W. T. Lowndes, <u>The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature</u> , London, 1864.
<u>M.P.</u>	<u>Modern Philology</u>

-
1. Titles of books are given in full in the first reference that occurs in the text and are subsequently quoted in shorter form. The names of printers have been omitted except in the case of books printed in the XVth or early XVIth century and also in references to news publications. The British Museum Library is indicated by the abbreviation 'Brit. Mus.' but, for the sake of convenience, the shorter form 'B.M.' has been substituted in the Book Lists in citing the catalogue numbers of early editions.

N. & Q.

Notes and Queries

Phil. Quart.

Philological Quarterly

P.M.L.A.

Publications of the Modern Language
Association of America

R.E.S.

The Review of English Studies

S.P.

Studies in Philology

St. Reg.

A Transcript of the Registers of the
Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640,
ed. Edward Arber, London, 1875-94.

T.L.S.

The Times Literary Supplement

P A R T I

THE IDEA OF TURKEY

IN THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

AND IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

Introduction

Relations between Turkey and England were few and incidental before the XVIth century. It was only after the establishment of trade with the Levant that contacts became closer. However, the travels of Englishmen to Turkey and other Eastern Mediterranean countries under Turkish rule were not solely for the sake of trade. It has been suggested that trade was the chief factor in travels to Turkey,¹ but there were quite a number of Englishmen who travelled to Turkey with no other aim than to obtain instruction and pleasure. Some of these travellers, such as Coryat, stopped on their way to more Eastern lands. Others, such as Sandys, made Turkey and Eastern Mediterranean countries the goal of their travels. Of course, at a period when the ideal of serving the interests of one's country was highly prized and when the possibilities of making large amounts of profit through trade were present, a very strict distinction between travel for fun and travel for duty or profit cannot be made. This was, by no means, peculiar to Englishmen alone, but can be seen in a man such as the French traveller Abbé Carre', an ecclesiastic who was employed on a

1. Shakespeare's England, ed. C. T. Onions, Oxford University Press, 1616, i, 220.

secret mission by the government.¹

Diplomatic relations between England and Turkey also started at the same time with commerce. Reports and memoirs of ambassadors contain a great deal of information on the lives and customs of the Turks. In the XVIIth century we hear of Turkish representatives in the English court, an event that found echoes in the drama of the period.² At the same time, under the impact of closer ties and the threatening state of Turkish power, there was great interest in Turkish affairs and the wars in Europe. This is reflected in corantos, ballads and news-pamphlets.

Apart from peaceful relations through trade, travel and diplomacy, Elizabethans came to know the Turks and Turkey through war and captivity.³ Turks had spread in the Mediterranean with amazing rapidity and, with the growth of their power at sea and on land, had also come in touch with English seamen and some English adventurers who fought them in the service of other armies. Some of these men returned

-
1. The Travels of the Abbé Carre, 1672-1674, ed. Sir Charles Fawcett, Hakluyt Society, 1947, I, xiii.
 2. Mustafa Çavuş (Chiaus) arrived in London in 1607, with his retinue. There are references to him in J. Fletcher's The Fair Maid of the Inn, and Ben Jonson's The Alchemist; cf. S. C. Chew, The Crescent and the Rose, New York, 1937, p. 179.
 3. Collections were made for prisoners, and prayers were said for the redemption of Christendom from Turkish threat. cf. A Book of Christian Prayer, 1578, ed. Parker Society, Cambridge, 1851.

and wrote about their experiences.¹ Some remained and settled in Turkey or Barbary, after having become Moslems. Among these were a number of notorious pirates, such as Ward, Dansiker and Jennings.² There were amazing instances of changing religion and nationality at the time. There were Englishmen serving in Turkish ships,³ and at the Turkish Court,⁴ and we hear of at least one Turk serving on an English ship in the XVIth century.⁵

The Elizabethans could have obtained information about Turks and their country not only from books written by Englishmen who had

1. One of these prisoners was Edward Webbe known as 'gunner' Webbe. His experiences were published in 1590: The rare and most wonderfull things which Ed. Webbe ... hath seene and passed in his troublesome travils. Wherein is set forth his extreame slaverie sustained many yeares together in the gallies and warres of the great Turke (etc.) Hakluyt included in The Principal Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation (1598-1600) an account of the enterprise of John Fox, who succeeded in escaping from prison in Alexandria, together with 266 galley-slaves, in 1577. (Cf. MacLehose edition, Hakluyt Society, Extra series, 1903-5, v, 153).
2. G. B. Harrison in A Second Elizabethan Journal, London, 1931, gives a great deal of information on their doings.
3. There is a description of the employment of Englishmen in Turkish pirate ships in Sir Henry Mainwaring's "A Treatise of Pyracie" (British Museum, Sloane MSS. 1010), written in the beginning of the XVIIth century.
4. In Thomas Dallam's 'Diary' (1599-1600), we read about a dragoman at the Court, originally a Cornishman named Finche. Dallam mentions also another Englishman, who was born in "Chorlaye in Lancashier" and had settled in Turkey. Cf. Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, ed. J. T. Bent, Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 79, 80.
5. High Court of Admiralty, 1/33/fol.158 (c. 1539).

been in Turkey, but also from the works of other European writers. Most of these were translated after the middle of the century and, no doubt, many people could read them from their originals or in Latin. Apart from modern works, Elizabethans had also at their disposal the works of medieval travellers, also recently translated and published, or of the classical writers.

Turkey had been much written about by ancient Greek and Latin writers, since Asia Minor and the Mediterranean coast, over which Turkey was to dominate in the XVIth century, had been at the centre of classical civilisation. At a later date, the same lands became the home of early Christianity. Hence Turkey was much better known than the Far Eastern countries of India and Japan. There was far less room for fantasy and exaggeration about Turkey. Mainly on account of its being known through ancient authors, Turkish lands were associated with classical sites. The provinces and cities of Turkey were still referred to under their classical names. The division between the ancient and the modern world was by no means strict. As far as the geographical scene was concerned, the description of Turkey was very much influenced by classical writings. Some authors have commented on the duality of place names in Turkey. One writer used the expressions the 'Turkish division' and the 'other Geography' to emphasise the difference.¹ It is characteristic of the approach of the age towards these countries.

1. Sir Henry Blount, A Voyage in the Levant, 1636, p. 17.

References to Turkey were not confined to classical history and mythology, but also embraced biblical and Christian legends and history.

A. Sources and Means of Knowledge

1. The Boundaries of Turkey

The lands known as Turkey to the Elizabethans extended over a large area and included countries and cities closely associated with the classical and the biblical past. Elizabethans referred to these countries mostly by their ancient names or by the names with which they had been mentioned in Christian writings. However, the word 'Turkey' was used in a general sense to indicate the whole stretch of the Turkish empire or to point out where Turkish rule was in force. It is significant that the only place which was, more or less regularly, described as Turkey was Asia Minor itself. The writer of The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde makes an interesting distinction between the two senses of the name 'Turkey' current in his time:

"And all the countre of Troya is the Turkes owne countre by inherytance, and that countre is properly called now Turkey, and none other. Neverthelasse he hath lately usurped Greece, and many other countreys and calleth theym all Turkey."¹

The term "country of Troya" is somewhat vague, and the inference of inheritance may be due to a tradition of tracing the descent of the Turks from the Trojans.² There is a more exact definition

1. Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde unto the Holy Land, A.D. 1506, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, Camden Society, London, 1851, p. 13.

2. See below p. 155, n.3.

of the boundaries of Turkey in The Manners, Lawes, and Customs (1611)
of Boemus:

"That country which is now called Turcia or Turkie,
hath upon the East the greater Armenia, and extendeth
to the Cilicke Sea, upon the North it is bounded with
the Euxine Sea: Aitonus calleth it Turquia, it consisteth
of many Provinces,¹ as Lycaonia, wherein Iconium is the
chiefe towne; ..."

Botero describes the boundaries of the Turkish empire in the following
way:

"Under the Empire of the Turkes is comprehended the
better part of the ancient threefold diuision of the
earth. He holdeth in Europe the whole sea coast, which
from the borders of Epidaurus stretcheth it selfe to the
mouth of Tanais: whatsoever lieth betweene Buda and
Constantinople, and from the Euxine sea to the banks of
Savus, is his. In that perambulation is contained
Hungarie, all Bosnia, Seruia, Bulgaria, Macedon, Epire,
Greece, Peloponnese, Thrace, and the Archipelago with
the llands. He holdeth in Asia and Afrike all that is
betweene Velez de la Gomera and Alexandria in Egypt,
betweene Bugia and Guargula, betweene Alexandria and
the citie Siene: and from the citie Suez as farre as
Swachen."²

I shall follow the practice of XVIth century writers in using
the word 'Turkey' in the narrow sense of Asia Minor and in the larger
sense of the whole Ottoman territory. However, I shall be mostly
concerned with Asia Minor and to a less extent with Greece and the
islands under Turkish domination, as they formed a unity in ancient

-
1. J. Boemus, op. cit., II, ii, 134.
 2. G. Botero, The travellers breuiat, or an historicall description
of the most famous kingdomes in the world: Relating their situation,
manners, customes, (etc.), trans. R. Johnson, London, 1601, p. 39.

civilisation and shared many regional characteristics. Barbary has a special importance in being closely associated with Turkish power through the activity of its corsairs who were often referred to as Turkish pirates. On the other hand my references to other countries of the Near East, such as Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Egypt, will be relatively few.

2. Early Contacts and Ideas before the XVIth Century

Actual contacts between England and Turkey were comparatively few before the middle of the XVIth century. Until that time there were occasional visits of pilgrims on their way to or back from Jerusalem.¹ The Anglo-Saxon traveller Saewulf is considered to be an early visitor (c. 1100).² He described the ruins of Troy, which were scattered over many miles.³ The author of the Information for Pilgrims (date of the pilgrimage after 1470 and before 1496) and the Chaplain of Sir Richard Guylforde (in 1506) described how they sailed between lands under Turkish rule. The writer of the Information carefully noted down the course of the ship on her way to Jerusalem. At one point she had "the

1. For a short account of the history of English pilgrimages to the Holy Lands, see the Introduction to the Information for Pilgrims, ed. E. Gordon Duff, London, 1893, and the Introduction to the Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, 1851.
2. Saewulf (f. 1102), traveller and a native of Worcester, went on a pilgrimage to Syria in 1102. His narration of his journey has been translated and printed in T. Wright's Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn's Antiquarian Library, 1847.
3. Most of Asia Minor was under the rule of Seljuk Turks at the time.

londe of Corphu on the ryght honde, and the londe of Turkye on the lyfte honde" with eight miles between the two.¹ The Chaplain of Sir Richard Guylforde had more to write about Turkey. He defined its location more precisely and gave some information about the conquests of the Turks.² However, the impression left by the sight of these lands on him, as on his fellow pilgrims, was one of fear and hostility. Caught in a storm off the coast of Morea, they dread to take refuge in "Turkey or Barbary" in "the handes of the Infidels and extreme enemyes of our Cristen fayth".³ On the whole these accounts reflect very little interest in the Turks or in the lands where they lived.

Most of the ideas of Englishmen about Turks, before the XVth century, were formed from the reports of other nations in Europe, who were fighting the Turks, or from tales about the Crusades. Apart from several outstanding figures, Englishmen did not participate in the Crusades on as large a scale as their co-religionists on the continent. A. S. Atiya in The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages⁴ mentions three names as among the earliest to venture against the Turks. A son of William the Conqueror, named Robert, had fought the Seljuk Turks in

1. The Information, ed. E. G. Duff, Sig. Ciiij.

2. Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, p. 13.

3. Ibid., p. 68.

4. A. S. Atiya, The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages, London, 1938, pp. 440 and 447.

1098, at the head of a crusading army, in Asia Minor,¹ and in 1396, two Englishmen had fought in the battle of Nicosia, against the Ottoman Turks. They were John Beaufort, son of the Duke of Lancaster, and John Holand, the younger brother of Richard II.² Wood in A History of the Levant Company mentions Robert Champlayn who fought in Hungary and was wounded and captured by the Turks and finally ransomed (Patent Rolls 1485-94).³

On the whole, however, there was no direct interest in Turkey, on a nation-wide scale, neither during the period of the Crusades nor later during the early years of the expansion of the Ottoman Turks in Europe. The visit of Manuel Paleologus, who had come to England in 1400 to seek aid against the Turks, who were hard pressing Constantinople at the time, produced no important results. He was granted a small sum

1. A group of Anglo-Saxon expatriots, who emigrated to Constantinople after the Norman conquest of England and entered the service of the Emperor as his Varangian-English bodyguard, are known to have participated in the wars of the Byzantines and the Turks in Asia Minor. Cf. A. H. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, Madison, 1958, ii, 429-484. In a letter written by Emperor Manuel Comneni to King Henry II of England, there is a description of the part played by the Varangian-English guard in the battle of Myriocephalon fought with the Turks in Asia Minor in 1176. The letter was reproduced in the chronicles of Roger of Hoveden and Benedict of Peterborough. See below pp. 100-1. The Anglo-Saxon warriors may have also had friendly contacts with the Turks as there were Turkish mercenaries in the Byzantine army known as the 'Vardariots'.
2. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Ondokuzuncu Asır Başlarına kadar Türk-İngiliz Münasebetlerine dair Vesikalar", Belleken, Türk Tarih Kurumu, xii (1949), no. 50.
3. A. C. Wood, A History of the Levant Company, Oxford, 1935, p. 1, n.1.

of money for the defence of the city, supplied partly out of the Treasury and partly out of the King's own purse. Hakluyt relates an incident of refusal to take up arms against the Turks in 1527. When Don Ferdinando, brother of Charles V, visited the Court of Henry VIII to ask for help against the Turks, who had now captured Belgrade and Rhodes and conquered Hungary, Henry VIII replied by saying that he would help with money and men only if "unity and peace" were secured in Christendom among rival princes.¹

The official attitude, and the limitation of personal contacts with the Turks, must have discouraged Englishmen from having direct and up-to-date knowledge of Turkey. The popular medieval notion of the Turkish knight as an adversary of Christendom and a symbol of Mohammedan aggression was mainly inspired by the memories of the Crusades. We see this attitude in some medieval romances, such as Turke and Gowin, and in the Mummings' plays, which included a combat between St. George and the 'Turkish Knight'.²

There were refugees in England from countries occupied by the Turks, who may have enlightened the English about the people and the country.³ However, the influence exerted by such people was

1. R. Hakluyt, op. cit., v, 61.

2. See below pp. 185-9.

3. There were two Greek scribes in England towards the end of the XVth century: Emanuel of Constantinople and Johannes Serbobulos, known to be active in England between 1484-1500. cf. E. F. Jacob, XVth Century, 1399-1485, The Oxford History of England, 1961, p. 108.

probably very limited. We hear of almost no books written in English or translated into English before the XVIth century by people who had an opportunity of observing the Turks and their country by having been in the country either as prisoners or as visitors.

3. Relations between England and Turkey in the XVIth Century:
Trade and its Contributions to Ideas about Turkey

Perhaps the chief factor in the awakening of a strong interest in Turkey was trade, and the first peaceful contacts with the Turks were mainly through trade. Hakluyt relates how between the years 1511 and 1534 "divers tall ships of London" were trading in the Levant.¹ As far back as 1513 there were English consuls at Chios and in Crete.² The trade was in the main carried on with Venetian dependencies; however, there were also direct commercial relations with the Turks themselves, who were already spreading in the Mediterranean and seizing a great many centres of trade into their hands.³

This period of activity was followed by a lapse of interest for about thirty years. The lapse has been attributed to several causes. The Mediterranean was in a state of war between Moslem and

1. R. Hakluyt, op. cit., v, 62.

2. cf. A. C. Wood, op. cit., p. 2. There was an Italian named Justiniano, appointed to be English consul at Chios, and a merchant of Lucca, called Comio de Balthazari, serving in the same capacity at Crete.

3. "Besides, the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places", explains Hakluyt, "they had, even in those days, traffique with Jewes, Turkes, and other forreiners". R. Hakluyt, op. cit., v, 62-3.

Christian powers. Algiers became a tributary state of Turkey in 1519 and Rhodes fell in 1522. As a result the Mediterranean was largely dominated by the Turks, a position confirmed by the Turkish victory of Preveza in 1538. The superiority of the Turks in the Mediterranean lasted for about a quarter of a century, and was not challenged till their defeat at the sea-battle of Lepanto in 1571.

Meanwhile England herself was concerned with her own problems during this period. There was a period of depression after the death of Henry VIII. According to Lynam, it was while searching for remedies against the social ills of the period of 'mid-Tudor depression' that the English fully realised that they had to turn to overseas expansion and trade, in order to secure wealth and prosperity for the nation.¹

Trade with Turkey is part of the general economic and political expansion of Elizabethan England in search of fresh possibilities and new markets. The starting point of the economic expansion is considered to be the founding of the Muscovy company in 1552.² In the same year Anthony Jenkinson obtained privileges for trade from the Russian Emperor³

1. Richard Hakluyt and his Successors, ed. E. Lynam, London, Hakluyt Society, 1946, pp. 18-19. A cousin and namesake of Richard Hakluyt, writing to a factor at Constantinople, says the knowledge and experience he brings back will serve "to drive idleness out of the realm and to winne you perpetual fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more worth than all the golde of Peru, and of all the West Indies." R. Hakluyt, op. cit., i, 239.

2. Richard Hakluyt and his Successors, p. 13.

3. R. Hakluyt, op. cit., iii, 92.

and in 1553 he came to Aleppo and there he secured the permission of Sultan Süleyman (Solyman) to trade in Turkey,¹ and was granted a safe conduct. However, the establishment of a regular trade with Turkey had to wait till the founding of the Turkey Company. Isolated enterprises could not produce permanent results, as merchants were not protected sufficiently against the dangers and risks involved in these ventures. The Mediterranean was harassed by pirates of all nationalities and, furthermore, countries already trading in the Levant did not tolerate any intruders, who threatened to wrest from them their jealously preserved privileges.²

Yet, in spite of all the difficulties and dangers involved, trade with the eastern countries, under Turkish rule, offered great advantages and was too rich a field to be easily discarded. There was a great demand for oriental goods in England, as in all Western European countries. These goods had been brought to England by Venetian ships known as the Flanders galleys from 1317 annually, but these came to a stop as the Venetians gradually lost their superiority in trade.³ For

1. Ibid., v, 105-110. Hakluyt mentions certain other trading enterprises in the Mediterranean even earlier. In 1550 a merchant called Roger Bodenham travelled to Crete and Chios for trade. cf. v, 71-76.
2. As early as 1457, an attempt was made to trade with the Levant by Robert Sturmy of Bristol. However, the ship never returned to England, having been intercepted by the Genoese, who lay in waiting for her off Malta. cf. A. C. Wood, op. cit., p. 2.
3. The last ship, which came after a lapse of several years, was wrecked off the Isle of Wight in 1587, when crew and cargo were lost. A. C. Wood, op. cit., p. 4.

a time Antwerp supplied oriental goods to England. However, this also stopped on account of commercial quarrels with the Dutch and the revolt of the Netherlands. It seemed as though Spain would have complete control over the entire traffic with the East, unless some steps were taken to establish direct commercial relations between England and Turkey.

The initial move in the direction of starting regular trade with the Levant was made in 1579, when three English merchants went out to Constantinople to prepare the grounds for future commerce and obtained special privileges from the Sultan.¹ In 1581 the Turkey Company was founded and it was granted a charter ensuring it monopoly and government protection in return for revenue.²

The first Turkey Company ship, The Great Susan, carried Harebone to Constantinople in 1581 as the first English ambassador to Turkey. In his attempts to secure and maintain privileges for English merchants and to win the favour of the reigning Sultan (Murad III), Harebone had to contend with the rivalry of the French and of the Venetians. Before his arrival, trade in the Levant had been in the hands of the Venetians and of the French, the latter having established

1. The three merchants, William Harebone, Edward Ellis and Richard Staper obtained a letter from the Sultan, permitting them to trade within the Ottoman territory. The letter, dated March, 1579, is in the British Museum, Cotton MS, Nero B VIII, f.45. There is an English version in Hakluyt, op. cit., v, 169-71, and a Turkish version at Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. Or.67.
2. The Company consisted of Sir Edward Osborne, M. Richard Staper, Thomas Smith, Stephen and William Garret. The 'letters patent' are given in Hakluyt, op. cit., v, 192-202.

commercial relations with Turkey in the XVIth century. A treaty of commerce and friendship, arranged by Sieur Foret, had been made between Süleyman and Francis I in 1535.¹ Harebone succeeded in overcoming the intrigues and opposition of the Venetian Bailo and of the French ambassador Germigny, by the help of the Grand Vizir Sokollu and by the Sultan's tutor, the historian Saadeddin.² He then established factories in Turkey and organised English trade in the Levant on a sound basis. The history of the early years of his office is of a continual struggle to maintain the rights conferred to English merchants, particularly in face of the opposition of the 'Pashas' of Egypt and of the Barbary States, who tried to reap as much advantage from the merchants as they could and evaded the orders of the Sultan.³ Hakluyt gives several accounts of unlawful confiscation of ships and imprisonment of merchants and crew, and of the attempts of Harebone, backed by the authorities, to have them

1. The privileges, or 'rights of extraterritoriality' granted by the Ottoman emperors to foreigners trading in their territory, were known as 'capitulations'. The practice of giving capitulations dated back to Byzantine times. The Byzantines granted privileges to foreigners to carry on trade, own their wharves and to govern themselves. Capitulations were granted to Scandinavians as early as the IXth and Xth centuries. The Venetians had obtained them in the XIth century.
2. Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, Introd., p. vi.
3. There are many references, in the travel literature of the age, to the rapacity and pride of the 'Pashas' or the governors of the various sections and countries of the Ottoman Empire. They were notorious in abusing the ordinary Turkish peasants and craftsmen, as well as the members of other nations or foreigners, and very often defied the orders of the central government itself.

restored.¹

In 1595 the Turkey and Venice Companies were merged and were given a new charter under the joint name of the Levant Company. As a result of all these activities, a flourishing trade with Turkey and its dependencies developed. In 1595 the Company employed 15 ships, 790 sailors, and paid customs duties of £5,500.² Wood relates that, in the same year, it had five vessels loading at Scanderoon, two at Cyprus, two at Chios, one each at Venice and Algiers. There were numerous factories all over Turkish territories. That meant that a great number of Englishmen had the opportunity of coming to Turkey as merchants or as people employed by the Company. The Collections of Hakluyt and Purchas contained many accounts of Turkey written by men in the service of the Turkey Company. Merchants of the time recorded their experiences and observations of the countries they travelled in and most of their accounts are colourful and entertaining. One of the earliest descriptions left by a merchant in the Levant (and published by Hakluyt) is that given by Anthony Jenkinson of the entrance of Süleyman into Aleppo, in a procession with his ministers, soldiers, pages and wives, dressed in rich and picturesque costumes.³ A merchant, in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, was expected to be learned and observant as well as being a

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1. R. Hakluyt, op. cit., v, 275, 280-316.

2. A. C. Wood, op. cit., p. 18.

3. R. Hakluyt, op. cit., v, 105-108.

good businessman. In a book by Thomas Gainsford, himself a traveller who had been to Turkey, there is a list of the qualities required from the perfect merchant. He must be versed in "Arithmetic, Cosmographie, Morallitie, Rhetoricke ...". He must be practical and intelligent. In short, an ideal merchant "is a civell and conversable man, rich in money, delicate in apparell, dainty in diet, sumptuous in furniture, elloquent in discourse, secret in his business."¹ Although it might be difficult to decide how far a merchant of the age fulfilled all these requirements, yet many were enlightened and intelligent in their approach and certainly contributed greatly to the ideas and knowledge of the Elizabethans about Turkey.

4. Travel

Another means of contact in the XVIth century was travel. With the new interest in exploration and geography, Turkey, like other parts of the less known world, attracted travellers who were drawn to visit these lands purely or mainly out of curiosity and the desire to increase their knowledge of the world. However, it would be wrong to make too rigid a separation of motives which caused men to come to Turkey, since, in most cases, several objects blended together in their ventures, and very few were completely disinterested or undertaken entirely for self-education.² Even the merchant or the pilgrim could

1. T. Gainsford, The Rich Cabinet, 1616, p. 90.

2. Five travellers to the Levant have been singled out by S. C. Chew as having set off with no commercial or political end in view. They were: Fynes Moryson, George Sandys, Sir Henry Blount, Thomas Coryat and William Lithgow. cf. S. C. Chew, op. cit., p. 43.

not help being extremely curious about the lands he visited or keenly observant of any natural or man-made 'wonders'. The insatiable appetite for strange things and marvels seems to be a dominant tendency in the age.

It is a well known fact that in the XVith century travel was considered to complete the education of gentlemen. However, in most cases the grand tour did not exceed the limits of Europe, the easternmost countries of which were considered to be Austria and Poland. Nevertheless, some ventured further into the East. Among those we can mention are Fynes Moryson,¹ the Cambridge scholar, who was given travelling leave from his college and also received a certain amount of financial help. He made two tours - one of Europe and another tour (December, 1595, to July, 1597) to Constantinople by way of Joppa, Tripoli, Aleppo and Antioch.

Sir Henry Blount, a lawyer and a graduate of Trinity College, Oxford, also made two tours: one of Europe and one of Turkey and of the Near-Eastern countries under her rule.² He is believed to have

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1. His travels were related in his book called An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue and then translated by him into English. Containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelve dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland ... Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland. Divided into III parts, London, 1617.
 2. A Voyage into the Levant. A briefe relation of a journey, lateley performed by Master H. B. Gentleman, from England by way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Scalavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes and Egypt, unto Gran Cairo: with particular observations concerning the moderne condition of the Turkes, and other people under that Empire, London, 1636.

undertaken his journey with no other aim in mind than to see foreign countries and to increase his knowledge of the world.

Another traveller of note who won great popularity for himself in the early XVIIth century was Thomas Coryat. Coryat, who travelled on foot, made a tour of Europe in 1608-1610, and, very soon afterwards, set off on a more ambitious tour to the Near Eastern and the Far Eastern countries. In 1612-1613 he visited Greece, Anatolia, Constantinople and Smyrna.¹ He described the aim of his travels as being a quest of the strange and unfamiliar objects and places of the world.²

Joseph Hall's A Just Censure of Travel, 1617, ridicules the reasons for travelling at the time. A traveller sets out to see such things as:

"Judasses Lanterne at S. Dennises, the Ephesian Diana in the Louvre, the great vessel at Heydelberg, the Amphitheater at Nismes, ... the stables of the Great Mogol, ... the solemnities of Mecha ... the Librarie of the Mountaine of the Moone." 3

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1. Coryat's diary and notes kept during his journey to Turkey were printed by Purchas in shortened form in Purchas his Pilgrimes, 1625 (Maclehose edn., Hakluyt Society, extra ser., 1905, x, 389-447). The original manuscript is lost. cf. M. Strachan, The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate, Oxford, 1962, p. 294.
 2. In his speech addressed to the 'Great Mogol' he said that his travels had been undertaken with four objects in view: to see the Court of the Great Mogol, his elephants, the river Ganges, and the sepulchre of 'Tamburlaine' in Semarcand. cf. Coryat's letter to his mother "From Agra, the Capitall Citie of the Dominion of the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, the last of October, 1616", Purchas his Pilgrimes, iv, 482-488.
 3. Op. cit., pp. 22-23.

Turkey did not come into the picture as it was not associated with anything that was extraordinary or fantastic. It was too well known ever since ancient times to be seen in that light. However, if it were the fabulous wonders of the Mogol Court or a desire to discover Polo's Cathay that lured travellers to the Far East, Turkey and the Mediterranean lands under Turkish rule attracted visitors of more scholarly or humanistic interests. The French traveller Thevet remarked how he had been drawn to visit these countries to see the places about which the classical authors had written.¹ The English traveller George Sandys is the perfect example of the learned traveller who observed the places he visited through the spectacles of ancient literature and mythology.²

Classical and historical antiquities were not the only source of the attraction of Turkish lands. The countries of the Levant offered interesting material to travellers who wished to observe the plants and animals of a different climate. This interest in the zoology and botany of foreign countries was a very common manifestation. Almost every traveller has a note on the animals and plants of the country he visited and the maps of the period contained illustrations of strange fish or animals. The traveller who was best known for describing in

1. F. A. Thevet, Cosmographie de Levant, Lyon, 1554, p. 3.
2. See below pp. 42-3. The account of his travels was published under the title: A relation of a journey begun An:Dom: 1610. Foure bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy and islands adioyning, London, 1615.

detail the plants and animals of Eastern Mediterranean countries and of Turkey was a Frenchman: Pierre Belon du Mans.¹ Belon was a physician and herbalist who illustrated his specimens in carefully drawn pictures and diagrams. His work has been praised for its exceptional accuracy even at later times.² We can contrast his account with descriptions of Mediterranean creatures and plants made by travellers such as Thomas Dallam and John Locke, who make up for the lack of scientific accuracy with an extremely fresh and lively approach to their subject matter.

Another Frenchman, a physician and a travelling companion of Belon, was Pierre Gilles. He had been commissioned by Francis I to collect oriental manuscripts in Constantinople. His book De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus (Lyons, 1561) supplemented by De Bosphoro Thracio (Lyons, 1561) became extremely popular all over Europe and is said to have sown the seeds of the archeological study of Byzantium.³

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1. His book Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables, trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres pays estranges, rédigées en trois livres was first published in 1553 in Paris.
 2. cf. C. D. Rouillard, The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520-1660), Paris, 1938, pp. 199-203; S. C. Chew, The Crescent and the Rose, p. 60, n.1.
 3. On the contributions of Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gillius) and other French travellers to the knowledge of the antiquities of the ancient world and Byzantium, see W. G. Rice, "Early English Travellers to Greece and the Levant", Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature, University of Michigan, x (1933), 215 ff; and see below pp. 47-8.

A common characteristic shared by all these travellers was an almost boundless desire of knowledge and novelty. There was less interest in Jerusalem after the religious impulse of going on pilgrimage had weakened. André Thevet explained, in his Cosmographie de Levant, why he did not wish to write about Palestine alone:

"... vous trouuerez en ce mien petit euure, non tant seulement la peregrinacion faite en la terre sainte, qui est assez commune aux Chrestiens, mais aussi le discours du uoyage de la Grece, de la Turquie, d'Egypte, mont de Sinay, Iudee, iusques en Antioche et Armenie, & plusieurs isles tant fertiles que steriles: ..." 1

We see the same longing for the unknown and the same wish to avoid places which have been much visited by Europeans in Ludovico di Varthema, whose Travels became very famous in the XVIth century. He had turned Moslem in order to wander freely in the Near East and to see Mecca. He stated his purpose in these words:

"There have been many men who have devoted themselves to the investigation of the things of this world ... Others, again, of more perspicacious understandings, to whom the earth has not sufficed, such as the Chaldeans and Phoenicians, have begun to traverse the highest regions of Heaven with careful observations and watchings, ... wherefore I, feeling a very great desire for similar results, and leaving alone the Heavens as a burden more suitable for the shoulders of Atlas and of Hercules, determined to investigate some small portion of this our terrestrial globe; and not having any inclination (and knowing myself to be of very slender understanding) to arrive at my desire by study or conjectures, I determined, personally, and with my own eyes, to endeavour to ascertain the situation of places, the qualities of peoples, the

1. F. A. Thevet, Cosmographie de Levant, p. 5.

diversities of animals, the varieties of the fruit-bearing and odoriferous trees of Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Felix, Persia, India and Ethiopia, remembering well that the testimony of one eye-witness is worth more than ten hearsays." 1

Fynes Moryson in his Itinerary described the attraction of travelling with its novelty and change, as contrasted to the monotony of a life spent at home:

"They seeme to me most unhappy and no better than Prisoners, who from the cradle to old age, still behold the same wals, faces, orchards, pastures, and objects of the eye, and still heare the same voices and sounds beate in their eares ..." 2

A traveller, however, was not expected to enjoy novelty for its own sake but to learn and profit from what he saw and experienced. One could say without exaggeration that all the travel books of the age were introduced by their authors with a statement of the moral and educational objects of travelling. The essayists and 'cosmographers' of the age also included descriptions of the qualities expected from a perfect traveller. He had to be learned in the various sciences and arts; he had to know several languages. He was expected to be wise and judicious and to apply himself with industry to learning the languages and customs of the countries he visited. Richard Eden saw

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1. The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, trans. J. W. Jones, ed. G. P. Badger, Hakluyt Society Publications, 1863, pp. 1-2. A translation made by Richard Eden in 1576 was printed at the end of his book The historie of travayle in the West and East Indies, and other countreys lying either way, (etc.), London, 1577.
 2. cf. An Itinerary, III, i, 10.

no difference between a good geographer and a wise traveller, "skilful in geometry and Astronomy".¹ In this way he could contribute to learning and also be useful to his own country. The benefits brought to the country by travellers as well as merchants were greatly stressed by XVIth century moralists.

5. Other Sources of Knowledge about Turkey

Apart from travel books, accounts of pilgrimages, letters and memoirs, there were various other sources from which Elizabethans could learn about Turkey. Among these the most outstanding were the general books of world geography known as 'cosmographies' and books of maps. Books could be written either from first-hand experience in the countries concerned or they could be abstracts or compilations of the works of other authors. Among the latter we can mention J. Boemus' The Manners, Lawes, and Customes of all Nations (1611),² A Geographical and Anthological Description of all the Empires and Kingdomes (1607)

1. Richard Eden, Historye of Travayle, 1577, p. iv.
2. The manners, lawes and customes of all nations. Collected out of the best writers by Ioannes Boemus Aubanus, a Dutch-man. With many other things of the same argument ... translated into English by Ed. Aston, London, 1611. It was translated from the Latin original: Omnium gentium mores leges et ritus, Antwerp (1520). There was an earlier translation, published anonymously under the title: The Fardle of facions containing the aunciente maners, customes, and lawes, of the peoples enhabiting the two parts of the earth, called Affrike and Asie, London, 1555. E. G. Cox in A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel (University of Washington publications in Language and Literature, 1948) gives the name of the translator as W. Watreman.

by Robert Stafforde, and Richard Eden's Historye of Travayle, completed and published by Willes in 1577. All these books contained a great amount of information on Turkey and Turkish customs and government. A very popular though much later book of 'cosmography' was the Cosmography of Peter Heylyn.¹

Another point which must be stressed in describing the sources of the Elizabethans on Turkey is the fact that these works were equally popular and well-known whether written in England or on the Continent. There was, in fact, a great exchange of learning at the time among the countries of Christendom. Many works were translated into English from European languages, and Latin was still widely used as the common language of scholarship. Writers such as Munster,² André Thevet,³

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1. The first version of 1621 did not contain the section on Turkey. A second version, published in 1625 under the title of Microcosmus; a little description of the great world. Augmented and revised., had a chapter devoted to Turkey (pp. 531-52). Heylyn re-issued the book in 1652 with further additions: Cosmographie in foure bookes contayning the chorographie and historie of the whole world, and all the kingdomes, provinces, seas, and isles thereof.
 2. An English abridgement of Sebastian Munster's (or Muenster) Cosmographiae Universalis Libri VI, Basle, 1550, was published in 1572 under the title of A briefe collection and compendious extract of straunge and memorable thinges gathered out of the cosmographie of Sebastian Munster. A very well-known French collection, La cosmographie universelle de tout le monde ... beaucoup augmentée, ornée et enrichie par F. de Belleforest (etc.), Basle, 1575, was partly translated from Sebastian Munster.
 3. F. A. Thevet, Cosmographie de Levant, Lyons, 1554. Thevet's La Cosmographie Universelle, Paris, 1575, also included a description of Turkey and its dominions.

Nicolas de Nicolay,¹ and Pierre Gilles,² all of whom wrote about Turkey, were known outside the boundaries of their own countries. So great was the interest in distant lands and foreign parts that books dealing with them were almost immediately translated into many languages and reprints appeared one after another.

One of the most popular travel books of the XVth century, though written much earlier was The Book of Marco Polo. It was very little known before the end of the XVth century.³ The first Latin edition appeared in 1485 and the first Italian edition in 1496. It was translated into English by a merchant named J. Frampton, and printed in 1579 under the title of The most noble and famous travels of Marcus Paulus. The book contained a description of Turkey during

1. Nicolas de Nicolay's Les quatre premier livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales avec les figures et les habillements au naturel (etc.), Lyon, 1568, was followed by several reprints and re-editions. It was translated into English by T. Washington and printed in 1585 as The navigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay ... conteining sundry singularities which the author hath there seene and observed ... the diversitie of nations, their port, intreatie, apparell, lawes, religion and maner of living, aswel in time of warre as peace: with divers faire and memorable histories, happened in our time.
2. See above p. 22.
3. Marco Polo's Travels were first written in 1298. cf. B. Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620, Harvard University Press, 1955, p. 15.

the late XIIIth century.¹ Another very popular account of the geographical characteristics of Eastern lands including Turkey, written very early in the XIVth century, was the History of Haiton. Being originally taken down by a fellow monk of Haiton's in 1307, a long time elapsed before new editions and copies appeared in French and in Latin. The English version made by R. Pynson appeared in 1525.²

The Voyages of Huyghen van Linschoten translated in 1598 and the translation of Leo Africanus' History and Description of Africa, by J. Pory in 1600, must be mentioned, not because they concern Turkey directly, but because they are taken to be landmarks in a more realistic description of Eastern countries. Hakluyt and Purchas provided translations of and excerpts from the works of many such famous

1. The compilation known as The Travels of Sir John Mandeville gave some information on Turkish and middle eastern lands mainly amassed from the accounts of medieval pilgrims and Marco Polo. It was first printed in 1499 by Wynkyn de Worde. Other editions followed; the one perhaps best known to the Elizabethans was The Voiage and Travayle of Syr John Maundevile published in 1568. cf. S. C. Chew, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9 and The Travels of Sir John Mandeville, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society, 1953.
2. Haiton (or Hetoum, Prince of Armenia), Fleurs des Histoires de la Terre Dorient, first printed in 1501. The English translation bore the title Here begynneth a lytell cronycle translated and imprinted at the cost and charge of Rycharde Pynson, London, 1525. See below pp. 107-8.

travellers and writers.¹

It must also be noted that the ideas of Elizabethans about Turkey and other countries of the East were not derived solely from contemporary works. Geographical and historical works written by ancient authors were held in great esteem and translated into English. These works contained descriptions of the lands which were later occupied by the Turks. Among the authors who influenced the notions of later travellers and writers of XVIth and XVIIth century 'cosmographies', we can mention Pliny, P. Mela, Solinus, Strabo and Ptolemy. Arthur Golding's translation of Pomponius Mela in 1585² and Solinus in 1587 and Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny³ in 1601

1. R. Hakluyt, The principal navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation, made by sea or over land, to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres: (etc.), London, 1598-1600. Apart from documents and letters relating to the establishment of political and commercial relations between England and Turkey in the XVIth century, it also contains editions of the accounts of journeys undertaken by merchants, travellers or embassy officials. The collection of Samuel Purchas' Hakluytus posthumous or Purchas his pilgrimes. Contayning a history of the world, in sea voyages, and lande travells by Englishmen and others (etc.), London, 1625, was written and published as a continuation of Hakluyt.
2. Arthur Golding translated and published The Work of Pomponius Mela in 1585. He re-published it, together with a translation of Julius Solinus' Polyhistor, in 1590, under the title of The Rare and Singular Work of Pomponius Mela.
3. There was a digest of Pliny's History, translated from French by I. A., and called A Summarie of antiquities and wonders of the worlde, abstracted out of the sixteene first bookes of ... Plinie, London, 1565. There were three editions of it before Philemon Holland's translation of The Historie of the World, 1601.

were very famous. Map-makers and cosmographers gave lists of names of classical authors as their sources. Ortelius named Ptolemy, Strabo and Pliny among his sources.¹ Heylyn also made mention of Pliny and Ptolemy, Strabo and P. Mela.²

B. Ideas about the Country

1. The Influence of Classical Geography

The countries over which Turks ruled in the XVIth century were very well known to the ancient Greeks and Romans. These lands were at the centre of the Greek known world or the "oikumene". In Homer, the known world is said to have been limited to the coasts and islands of the Aegean sea.³ Later the limits of the known world were broadened to include the Euxine and the Caspian in the North. In the South it was bounded by the Libyan Desert and in the West by the Pillars of Hercules. Beyond stretched the unknown realms of mystery and myth. This was the world as described by Herodotus who also gave a full account of the states and peoples of Asia Minor in his History. Eastern Mediterranean countries continued to be very much part of the

1. A. Ortelius, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, trans. W. B., London (printed by John Norton), 1606, fol.112.
2. Peter Heylyn, Microcosmus, p. 11.
3. Cf. E. H. Bunbury, A History of Ancient Geography, New York, 1939, i, 37-9, and J. K. Wright, The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades, New York, 1925, p. 37.

civilised world in Latin times and geographers included detailed accounts of their topographical and ethnological characteristics in their books.

As a result of the stimulation of interest in ancient works and also in books of geography and exploration, these early writings were revived and translated into English in the XVIth century. Hence Greek and Latin authors exerted a great influence on the descriptions of Turkey. The names of writers such as Pliny, Ptolemy and Strabo were frequently referred to by Renaissance geographers and map-makers.¹ It is, in fact, significant that the necessity of consulting classical works, when describing the geographical characteristics of Turkey, was taken almost for granted as late as the middle of the XVIIth century.

The provinces of Turkey were divided, in the XVIth century books and maps, on a basis which more or less corresponded to that of the Latins and the Greeks. If we look at The Naturall History of Pliny and compare his list of the provinces of Asia Minor with that given by a XVIth or a XVIIth century writer, we find that they are

1. Ortelius mentioned the names of Pliny, Strabo and Ptolemy among the sources for his chapter on the Turkish Empire in the Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1606, p. 1. Heylyn's list of sources included those of Pliny, Ptolemy, Strabo and Pomponius Mela (cf. Microcosmus, p. 11).

nearly the same.¹ In some cases, writers give the Turkish names of these provinces together with their ancient equivalents. Heylyn identified 'Caria' with 'Caramania' and 'Ionia' with 'Sarachan'.² In a XVIth century French translation of Pliny, however, 'Caramanie' was given as the Turkish name of 'Cilicia'.³ In fact, the identification of these provinces with their ever disputed boundaries did not always coincide.

Latin divisions into provinces were also used for describing the territory of Turkey outside of Asia Minor.⁴ In the 1582 edition of Batman uppon Bartholome, each province is described under a separate

1. Pliny's list of the provinces of Asia Minor included: Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Phrysia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Armenia. (cf. The Naturall Historie, Table of Contents). Heylyn's list was: Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, Ionia, Lydia, Aeolis, Phrysia Minor, Phrysia Maior, Bithinia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Gallatia, Cappadocia, Lyconia, Picidia, Armenia Minor. (cf. Microcosmus, pp. 284-295).
2. Microcosmus, p. 294.
3. L'Histoire du Monde du C. Pline Second ... mis en François par A. du Pinet (etc.), Lyon, 1566, fol.188.
4. According to Robert Stafforde, the divisions of Turkey in Asia are Natolia or Asia Minor, Syria or Palestine, and Arabia; the divisions in Europe are Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Valachia and Moldavia, grouped together as 'Dacia vetus' and Epirus, Macedonia, Thracia, Achaia and Pelopenosus, grouped under 'Grecia'. cf. A Geographicall and Anthologicall Description, p. 23.

heading as an independent locality. At the end of the section on 'Geography' there is a chapter on 'The Empire of Turkie' where an account of the history and conquests of the Turks is given and the names of the chief provinces and the cities governed by them are mentioned.¹ Most geographers followed the same practice in describing the dominions of Turkey under separate headings and not as sections of the Turkish Empire. This was the case particularly with countries of an outstanding historical heritage, such as Egypt, Syria (comprising Palestine),² Lebanon, Mesopotamia and Greece.

Writers, even when using the later or Turkish names of the provinces in countries outside of 'Turkey proper', referred to their ancient names at the same time. Blount, writing about the city of Sofia, remarked "chiefe citie (after the Turkish division) of Bulgary, but according to the other Geography, it stands in Macedonia, upon the confines of Thessaly".³ The change of the names of places after Turkish conquest often attracted the attention of travellers to Turkey or of the writers of history or geography books. Belleforest

1. Cf. op. cit., fol. 252v.

2. R. R. Cawley refers to the fact that Syria and Palestine were often grouped together in books of geography. Cf. The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama, Monograph series of Modern Language Association of America, Boston, 1938, p. 162.

3. Sir Henry Blount, A Voyage in the Levant, p. 17.

has the amusing remark "Changement du nom de provinces par la mutation des seigneurs"¹ in the margin of his description of Turkey to indicate the difference between classical and Turkish names, and perhaps also to make the readers reflect on the changes in the historical and social structure of society.

2. Mythical Background. Classical and Biblical Associations

Myths and legends dating from classical and medieval times played an important part in shaping the XVIth and early XVIIth century conception of Turkish lands. The mythical material was found not only in literature but entered the geographical writings of the time to an extent that might surprise a modern reader. The Renaissance attitude towards geography was itself not quite free from the domination or influence of fables and mythology. It is said that a copy of the Book of Marco Polo belonged to Columbus and that it had been closely studied by him.² The hold of legendary places such as Cathay and the Garden of Eden on the imaginations of Renaissance travellers and discoverers has been emphasised by Geoffroy Atkinson and others. Atkinson noted how French travellers to China in the late XVIth century were still searching for Cathay.³ When they failed to find a country that could

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1. F. de Belleforest, L'Histoire Universelle du Monde, (etc.), Paris, 1570, p. 69.
 2. Cf. C. R. Beazley, The Dawn of Modern Geography, Part III, 1260-1420, Oxford, 1906, p. 20. Beazley notes that this copy is now at the Colombina in Seville, and contains abundant manuscript notes made by Columbus.
 3. G. Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française, Paris, 1935, p. 50.

be identified with the fabulous kingdom that had been described by Polo, they pursued their search into the less known and unexplored parts of Asia. Similar quests were performed for the localities of the Garden of Eden, the four rivers of Paradise, the land of the Amazons and the country of Prester John and many more mythical regions.

The possibility that there might yet be a place in the world where fables and myths could be found to be true was cherished for long by poets and travellers. One can detect such an attitude in Spenser's lines written in defence of his imaginary 'land of Faery':

"Who ever heard of th'Indian Peru?
Or who in venturous vessell measured
The Amazons huge river now found trew?
Or fruitfullest Virginia who did ever vew
Yet all these were, when no man did them know;
Yet have from wisest ages hidden beene:
And later times things more unknowne shall show.
Why then should witlesse man so much misweene
That nothing is but that which he hath seene?" 1

The voyagers of the Renaissance had been impelled by a similar spirit of romantic optimism and adventure to explore the East, in search of the realms of Cathay and Ophir and had thereby new and unexpected discoveries. Under the impact of these factors the study of geography itself became invested with glamour and novelty. Geography was seen not only as a branch of science but as a key to innumerable curiosities and wonders, one that could open new vistas,

1. The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt, Oxford, 1952, The Faery Queene, Book II, Proem, Stanzas: 2-3, p. 69.

and also resuscitate ancient myths and legends.

This attitude of exuberant optimism could not last for long, however, and already in the early XVIIth century, a trend of scepticism was gaining strength and prominence.¹ In fact, it had never been totally absent even from the geographical writings of the early Renaissance, but became particularly marked after the publication of accounts written by objective observers who travelled to the East and to Africa in the late XVIth and early XVIIth centuries. Cawley thinks that the turning point was made around the year 1600 by the publication of books such as Linschoten's Voyage to the East Indies, Pory's version of Leo's History of Africa and Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations.²

Nevertheless myths still persisted in the works of most Renaissance writers and travellers. In some they were kept under the influence of the authority of ancient writers who had recorded them. Pliny was perhaps the principal classical author whose book helped

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1. Gainsford in The Glory of England, London, 1618, expressed his disbelief in the fables of Mandeville and Munster about the monstrous race of men living in parts of Asia and Africa (cf. p. 9).
 2. Cf. R. R. Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama, pp. 2, 107. Cawley's statement is confirmed by Y. N. L. Baker in A History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration, Oxford, 1931, p. 181.

to perpetuate a great number of ancient fables and misconceptions.¹
Voyagers themselves could not completely cast off the spell of ancient works and were tempted to include the fantasies reported in them in their own books.²

Ancient and medieval fables were also slower to disappear in the descriptions of countries that were less accessible and less well known. Hence accounts of Far Eastern lands and of Africa were more exaggerated and more sprinkled with the fables of Polo and Mandeville than those of the Near East. Even when myths were completely disproved and assigned to the realm of the imaginary, they were kept in books as part of the historical or cultural background of a country or for creating poetical effects.

The reluctance to discard mythical explanations from the descriptions of Eastern lands can be seen in the following example from a late XVIIth century writer. Referring to an ancient myth about the colour of the shores of the Red Sea, Cowley wrote in a note to a poem:

"Because that opinion of the Redness of the shore in some places, has bin most received, and is confirmed even to this day by some Travellers, and sounds most poetically, I allude to it here, whether it be true or not." 3

1. Sir Thomas Browne wrote about Pliny: "... There is scarce a popular error passant in our days, which is not either directly expressed, or deductively contained in this work; which being in the hands of most men, hath proved a powerful occasion for their propagation." cf. Works, ed. Simon Wilkin, London, 1836, ii, 238.
2. Cf. G. Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons, p. 50.
3. The English Writings of Abraham Cowley, Poems, ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1905, i, 238.

After this brief survey of the role of myths in Elizabethan and Jacobean descriptions of the East, we can consider the particular mythological and legendary matter associated with Turkish lands. We have seen that the geographical and travel literature of the Renaissance made constant use of a number of myths and fables dating from early times, and containing elements from Greek and Latin mythology, from the Bible and early Christian traditions and from medieval books of travelling and fiction. These sources combined to provide a stock of conventional allusions. Each country or even locality had its particular legends but there were also certain myths associated with the East in general. In studying the mythical background of Turkey, one has to consider first the legends attributed to it in common with other Eastern countries, and then to note the special group of myths associated with Turkey itself.

All Asian lands were praised for their extraordinary fertility and wealth. They were believed to enjoy a serene and mild climate, to be populous, to have many flourishing cities and to be rich in precious gems, aromatic spices and perfumes. The chief reasons for the ideas of the fertility and wealth were connected with the historical and religious background of the region. The Garden of Eden was believed to have been placed in Asia. It was the continent where all the ancient civilisations had flourished and where Christ had lived and died. Ortelius described it as the noblest part of the world, because:

"therein God created the earthye paradize, wherein man was put ... In this parte law ... was geven. Christe herein was borne lived prached dyed and rose againe, and did so many miracles. Thence are sprunge all the noble sciences which the Greekes have learned of the Hebrewes. There flourished the famous monarchies of the Assirians Medes Persians and Parthes, from this place are brought the most precious jewels of any other parte, therein also grewe the most richest spices and Aromatical drugges and many other rare and excelente thinges." 1

Stafforde and Heylyn followed Ortelius in ascribing all the blessings of nature to this continent.² Turkey was particularly associated with this legendary and historical background as it had inherited the lands that were most closely connected with ancient civilisations and with the rise of Christianity. The eulogy of Turkish lands included by George Sandys in his book is significant for bearing a close similarity to Ortelius' description of Asia:

"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 have been invented and perfited; where wisdom, virtue, policie, and civility have bene planted, have flourished; and lastly where God himselfe did place his own Commonwealth, gave lawes and oracles, inspired his Prophets, sent Angels to converse with men; above all, where the Sonne of God descended to become man; where he

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1. Abraham Ortelius His Epitome of the Theater of the Worlde ... Renewed and Augmented ... By Michiel Coignet, London, 1603, fol. 2v.
 2. Cf. R. Stafforde, A Geographycall and Anthologicall Description, p. 45; Microcosmus, p. 284, and also F. Belleforest, La Cosmographie Universelle, p. 27.

honoured the earth with his beautiful steps,
wrought the work of our redemption, triumphed
over death, and ascended into glory." 1

The descriptions of Polo, Mandeville and other medieval writers had also contributed to the picture of Asia as a land of marvels and of exceptional fertility and wealth. These ideas however were particularly associated with the Far East rather than Turkey itself, perhaps because the countries of the Far East were less known and also no doubt because of the actual climatic and social conditions of these distant regions.² Compared to the Far East Turkey was more closely observed and better known, and it had a smaller share of the abundance and variety of natural specimens associated with parts of Asia and Africa.

The principal attraction of Turkey therefore lay in the cultural roots of the country rather than in any natural wonders it

1. G. Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, Dedication.
2. Information about the Far East had been very scanty in the ancient world. The first significant contribution to the geographical knowledge about this part of the world was made during the time of Alexander the Great. However ideas remained hazy and limited throughout Latin and medieval times. This was followed by a brief span of close relationship between Europe and the Tatar world in the XIIIth century, when European missionaries travelled to Central and Eastern Asia, and wrote reports of the wonderful things they saw and heard. The books of Marco Polo and Mandeville bear the fruits of these travels and reflect the impact left by the marvels of a hitherto almost completely unknown part of the world on the imaginations of medieval men. cf. B. Penrose, Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. 3-17.

might possess. The ancient and Christian background provided a stock of poetical allusions that could be used to create an atmosphere of romance and mystery and to evoke a sense of the past. These lands were associated with myths going back to very early times. Some of these can be traced to the writings of ancient Greeks, such as Ctesias and Homer, others to the Latins, particularly to Pliny and Solinus.¹ These were combined with medieval legends from Christian and patristic sources or from the books of Polo and Mandeville.²

Classical fables were naturally predominant in books about the ancient world, but were never absent from the descriptions of Turkey. Ancient legends about the rivers and mountains of Asia Minor, myths about the Black Sea, the Caspian or the Symplegades were alluded to in almost every account of Turkey included in the 'cosmographies'. Writers, such as Heylyn and Stafforde, devoted great space to the relation of these myths. The usual practice of the geographers was to set down all the legends associated with a particular city or country,

1. Cf. B. Penrose, op. cit., p. 10. Ctesias (c. 400 B.C.), the Greek physician who spent seventeen years at the Persian Court, is said to have been one of the earliest Europeans to penetrate beyond the Euphrates. He collected or fabricated most of the fables about the strange and mythical creatures of the East. These were later incorporated by Pliny and Solinus into their own accounts with additions and elaborations. Information about these ancient writers can be obtained from E. H. Bunbury's A History of Ancient Geography.

2. B. Penrose, op. cit., p. 11.

regardless of whether they were of classical, early Christian or medieval origin.¹

Interest in the classical background was specially prominent in the accounts of travellers who had been trained in the humanistic tradition and who felt a strong sense of admiration and enthusiasm for the achievements of the ancients. We notice this attitude in Sandys who quoted verses written by classical poets on the places he visited and set down the mythology associated with each site he saw. Sandys is said to have probably carried a volume of 'Omnis Poetarum Veterum' on his journeys.² The classical allusions are so completely woven into the main narrative that they give the impression of having merged with the writer's imagination and thought. In Sandys' description of the valleys of Troy, for instance, the classical background and the actual scenery are joined together in this way:

"Through these fore-named vallies glide Simois, and
divine Scamander: so named saith Homer by men; but
Zanthus by celestials. Zanthus, in that the sheepe
that drunke thereof had their fleeces converted into

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1. E.g. P. Heylyn's description of the provinces and cities of Asia Minor is sprinkled with such allusions. We read in the Microcosmus of the river Marsyas which had grown from the tears of the poets lamenting the death of Marsyas at the hands of Apollo, of Perga where Diana was worshipped and of Cappodocia where the Amazons had dwelt. Heylyn also refers to the Ark of Noah, which was believed to have landed on Mount Ararat, to cities traditionally associated with Christian saints, and to many other, ancient and medieval, legends and myths. cf. pp. 531-552.
 2. Cf. R. B. Davis, George Sandys, Poet, Adventurer, London, 1955, p. 51, n.29.

yellow, according to Aristotle: Scamander of Scamander, who therein drowned himselfe. Of this river they made a Deitie and honoured it with sacrifices ..." 1

Another enlightened English traveller, Sir Henry Blount, was also passionately interested in the historical and legendary background of ancient Greece and Rome. During his journey overland to Constantinople, after crossing the Balkans, Blount spent two days at a town called 'Potarzeeke' and read Caesar's Wars. At Philipopolis, where two famous battles of Roman history had been fought, "the first betweene Caesar and Pompey; the other betweene Augustus and Mark Antony, against Brutus and Cassius", he visualised the movement of the armies over the plain and wrote down in his Diary: "... there yet remained the heapes where the slaine were buried, and good part of the trenches ..." 2

Christian sites roused similar responses. Comments were set down for reminding or informing readers about the historical background of Turkish lands or for giving an air of romance and of antiquity to the descriptions of the country. Most of the sites connected with biblical events were in Palestine. Christian localities in Turkey proper had been far less visited and so the traditions associated with

1. A Relation of a Journey, p. 21. He sometimes contrasted the information given by ancient writers and the state of the country as he observed it. He noted for instance that the island of Zante, in spite of having been praised by Virgil as "woody Zacynthus", was not wooded any more. cf. p. 5.
2. A Voyage in the Levant, p. 19.

them still retained a freshness of appeal. Biblical localities in Jerusalem had become fixed as early as the XIth century,¹ and credulous visitors in Mandeville's day were shown Adam's grave² and the footprints of the donkey on which Christ had ridden to Jerusalem.³

XVIth century visitors to the East show less interest in visiting Palestine than their predecessors. Not only was the zeal for performing pilgrimages waning,⁴ but at the same time the country was ceasing to attract the curiosity of travellers as strongly as it had done in the past. Many complained of the staleness of the accounts about Jerusalem and wished to see new or less visited places.⁵ Others expressed their doubt about the identity of the holy cities and

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1. Cf. Anonymous Pilgrims, ed. Abrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, vi, 2; Un Guide de Pèlerin de Terre Sainte au XV^e Siècle, ed. Régine Pernoud, Nantes, 1940, Introduction.
 2. Anonymous Pilgrims, vi, 1-2.
 3. The Voiage and Travayle of Syr John Maundevile (1568), Sigs. D5v-D6.
 4. S. C. Chew, op. cit., p. 55. Fynes Moryson admitted that his purpose in going to Palestine was not that of performing a pilgrimage but that he had visited the country out of curiosity. cf. An Itinerary, p. 217.
 5. Thevet described the accounts of pilgrimages to Palestine as "quite common" and gave a greater place, in his book, to the descriptions of other countries of the Levant. cf. Cosmographie de Levant, p. 5. Varthema was another traveller interested in the less visited parts of the East. See The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, ed. G. P. Badger, 1863, pp. 5-6.

relics.¹

Christian sites in Anatolia were less easily accessible; quite a number were uninhabited or in a state of ruin. These gave writers and travellers an opportunity to lament the decay of Christianity in a country that had once been one of the earliest centres of Christian culture. Heylyn described Anatolia in the words:

"Here once flourished the faith of Christ sealed by the blood of many of this nation. Here were the seaven Churches to which John dedicated his revelation." 2

The cause of the ruin of these churches and the desolation, believed to have come upon the whole country, were attributed to the destruction of the Turks.³ The many cities of Asia Minor, its

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1. See William Lithgow, A most delectable and true discourse, of an admired and painfull peregrination from Scotland to the most famous kingdoms in Europe, Asia, and Affricke (etc.), London, 1614, Sig. Oiv, and Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary, p. 217. Coryat, on the other hand, gave the impression of having been more credulous. He was criticised by Purchas for having written that he had seen "the Pillar of Lot's wife in Salt with her childe in her armes, and a pretty Dogge also in Salt by her ..." Purchas commented in the margin to his edition "He saw not this but tooke the report of another, and seemeth by this childe and dog to be a falsehood in words or in deede." cf. Purchas his Pilgrimes (MacLehose edn., 1905), x, 445.
 2. Microcosmus, p. 533. The "seven cities" particularly attracted attention as the seats of the seven 'primitive' Churches or Bishoprics. Heylyn gave their names as: "Ephesus, Smyrna, Theatrya, Laodicea, Pergamus, Philadelphia, Sardis". Sandys visited some of them in the early XVIIth century. Later in the century Thomas Smith was another English traveller to visit them and to write a pamphlet called "A Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia, As they now lye in their Ruines". (published in Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turkes, London, 1678.)
 3. This was not, however, uniformly accepted. Thomas Smith found the cause in the neglect and ignorance of the Greek population, whom he believed to have been corrupted through the effect of invasions and slavery. cf. op. cit., p. 205.

fertility and wealth were repeated in the conventional descriptions of the country. They were considered to have been characteristics of the land in ancient and Christian times.¹ This picture of Turkey as the once flourishing home of Christian civilisation, fallen under the shadow of Turkish conquest, recurs in the travel books and 'cosmographies'. It is very often accompanied by expressions of grief at the ruin of Christian lands and prayers for their release.

3. Interest in Ruins²

Interest in the classical and medieval background of Turkey naturally went together with an interest in ruins and ancient monuments. It has been said that English travellers were slower to react to the splendour of the ruins of antiquity in Mediterranean countries than the French or Italians. W. G. Rice has remarked:

"During the period of the Renaissance in Italy the revival of the classics and archeological study of the relics remaining from Hellenic and Latin civilisations went on together, as related aspects of a single movement. But in England, naturally enough, there was

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1. Both Polo and Haiton stressed the ideas of the populousness, fertility and wealth. cf. The Most noble and famous Travels of Marcus Paulus, p. 6, and Haiton's Lytell Cronycle, fol.V. See also Herodotus' description of Asia Minor. cf. The Famous Hystory of Herodotus, London, 1584, Book I, passim; and particularly fol.45v.
 2. W. G. Rice gave a detailed analysis of the attitude of English travellers towards Greek and Latin antiquities in his article "Early English Travelers to Greece", ut cit. For the opinions of Chew on the same subject see The Crescent and the Rose, pp. 60-69.

no such close connection between an enthusiasm for the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome and the labors of the antiquary. Men like Stowe, Camden, and Leland were inspired chiefly by a patriotic interest in the ancient monuments of their own country, and were content to tell of its past glories and to narrate the exploits of its old worthies ..." 1

Chew also noted a silence on the part of English travellers on the antiquities of Greece, in contrast to the French, who wrote detailed itineraries of their travels in these countries and gave a careful and systematic account of the ruins and ancient monuments.² But, Chew attributed the lack of interest on the part of the English to political reasons. In fact, France and some Italian states had close political ties with the Porte in the middle of the XVIth century. In this way the travellers of these countries were able to wander through Greece and the other countries of the Mediterranean under Turkish domination, and had the opportunity of observing and noting down the relics of ancient civilisations. Englishmen were able to travel on such an extensive scale only towards the end of the century when official contacts were established between Turkey and England.³ The works of writers such as Biddulph, Sandys, Coryat, Moryson and many

1. W. G. Rice, op. cit., p. 205.

2. S. C. Chew, op. cit., p. 60.

3. Rice also noted the effects of the closer ties between England and Turkey, on English travellers, during the last decades of the XVIth and the beginning of the XVIIth century. cf. op. cit., p. 220.

others, who had gone to the East, during the last decade of the XVIth and the beginning of the XVIIth century, in various capacities and for a variety of purposes, all contain descriptions of ancient ruins and monuments, and reflect the emotions and thoughts roused by these in the minds of the observers. These writers had the books of Belon, Thevet, Pierre Gilles and Busbecq at their disposal as guide books and storehouses of information about the antiquities of Greece and Turkey. They sometimes even carried these books on their travels. One of Coryat's most cherished possessions, for instance, was Pierre Gilles' description of the monuments of Turkey and Constantinople.¹ It may be assumed that in most cases it was felt unnecessary by English writers to repeat what had already been set down at great detail in the books of their continental predecessors. They, therefore, generally contented themselves by giving shorter summaries or by making corrections and additions where it seemed necessary.²

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1. De Topographia Constantinopoleos and De Bosphoro Thracio, both published in 1561. See above p. 22. Coryat, much to his annoyance, lost these books during his travels in Turkey. cf. Purchas his Pilgrimes, iv, 481 (reprinted from Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits, 1616).
 2. Sandys questioned the correctness of Belon's observations on Troy. cf. op. cit., pp. 22-23. As an illustration of the attitude of English travellers to refrain from writing long descriptions of places which had been already fully described in earlier books, see The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667, ed. Sir R. C. Temple, Cambridge, 1907, i, 21 and 27. Mundy recommends Sandys, Michel Baudier, Blount and Purchas on Constantinople and gives only a cursory account of the city; he explains "... there being soe ample and elegant description else where (as in Mr. Sands travells etc.), I forbeare reiteration ..."

In spite of the differences discussed above, the responses and attitudes of Renaissance travellers, towards ruins, whether the observers happened to be French, Italian or English nationals, were essentially alike. In all, interest in ruins was instigated by a sense of curiosity about the actual background of significant episodes in Greek or Latin history. Biblical or the Christian past, although not left completely out of the picture, does not appear to have been as effective in directing travellers to sites of religious importance. When a particular site or ruin was associated with Christian legends, it usually provided material for an additional note, increasing the significance of a certain place already famed for its classical past; for instance, after relating the ancient background of the ruins of Chalcedon,¹ Thevet added the observation that the place was also famous for having been the site of one of the four early Councils of the Catholic Church.²

Troy roused great interest on account of its historical and legendary associations and was one of the places in Turkey which almost

1. Calcedon (or Chalcedon as it is more usually spelt) was a city at the entrance of the Pontus, opposite to Byzantium, and the colony of the ancient Megarians. cf. A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, ed. W. Smith, London, 1878.
2. A Thevet, Cosmographie de Levant, pp. 76-7. A General Council is known to have been held in the city in A.D. 451.

every traveller felt duty bound to visit and to describe at length.¹ The site was wrongly identified, the real Troy not being uncovered till Schliemann's discovery in the XIXth century.² All through the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, however, the ruins of the near-by city of Troas were mistaken for those of Troy itself, and were unanimously revered.

Constantinople also attracted the attention of travellers by its wealth of ancient monuments, the ruins and churches of Byzantium. In the XVIth and XVIIth centuries many of the old buildings and monuments were still in a good state of preservation. Nevertheless, travellers complained that they were being slowly destroyed due to lack of sufficient care and also because of the fact that, unless preserved by superstitions,³ they were used as quarries for the

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1. The Collections of Hakluyt and Purchas are full of accounts of Troy related by English travellers. The accounts of the supposed ruins of the city given by Coryat, Lithgow and Sandys are particularly full and interesting. cf. W. G. Rice, op. cit., pp. 225, 230, 230-6.
 2. See Robert Payne, The Gold of Troy, London, 1959.
 3. There is an interesting description of the monuments of Istanbul and the superstitions attached to them, from the point of view of a Turkish writer of the XVIIth century in Evliya Çelebi's (Chelebi) Narrative of Travels in Europe ... in the Seventeenth Century, trans. J. Von Hammer-Purgstall, London, 1834, 50, I, ii. An incident in which Sir Thomas Roe was involved also shows the reluctance of the population to part with ancient relics on account of the supernatural powers attributed to them. Roe's attempt to obtain the marble reliefs on the Porta Aurea, one of the gates of Constantinople, met with failure because the statues were considered to be 'enchanted'. The ambassador was told that harm would befall the city if they were to be removed. cf. The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, London, 1740, pp. 386 f, 512.

re-erection of new buildings, mosques and palaces.¹

English residents or travellers in Turkey began to be seriously interested in collecting antiquities, coins and manuscripts after the first two decades of the XVIIth century. Sir Thomas Roe (ambassador at the Porte in 1621-1628) is the first important figure to embark on a systematic and assiduous pursuit of collecting ancient works of historical or artistic significance for the benefit of his patrons and friends in England.² Chief among these were the Earl of Arundel and the Duke of Buckingham.³ Roe also succeeded in persuading the Patriarch of Constantinople to let him take some Greek manuscripts, in return for the promise of furnishing a library of classical authors.⁴

1. Sandys complained that the ruins of Troy were "lessened daily by the Turkes, who carried the pillars and stones unto Constantinople to adorne the buildings of the Great Bassas, as they now do from Cyzicus." cf. op. cit., p. 22. This sad practice had started long before the conquests of the Turks. See, in connection with the attitude of the Romans, Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, the article on Chalcedon.
2. See S. C. Chew, op. cit., pp. 67-9, and W. G. Rice, op. cit., pp. 243-256.
3. There is an account of the collections of the Earl of Arundel in John Selden's Marmora Arundelliana, 1628; the history of the antiquities collected by Roe was related by Adolf Michaelis in his book Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, translated by C. A. M. Fennell, Cambridge, 1882.
4. The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, p. 414. Roe collected Greek manuscripts for Archbishop Laud. Another ambassador who had amassed a large collection of Greek manuscripts in Constantinople was Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, the representative of Ferdinand of Austria at Süleyman's Court between 1554-1562. See The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, ed. C. T. Forster and H. B. Daniell, London, 1881, pp. 139, 416-7, and W. G. Rice, op. cit., pp. 217-9.

Foreign residents in the capital spent their time of leisure in visiting the ruins and ancient buildings in the city and noting down their descriptions. They also planned outings to the historical sites outside the boundaries of the city proper. Thevet described how he and Pierre Gilles had gone to see the ruins of Chalcedon¹ and the Pillar of Pompey,² at the entrance to the Bosphorus. Among English travellers, Peter Mundy also related how he had gone to see the Pillar "in the company of some merchants."³

Ruins inspired the writers of the age to contemplate the ravages of time and the mutability of all earthly things. This was, no doubt, a conventional attitude and occurred as a significant trait of the description of Turkish lands. The atmosphere of melancholy and sadness appears to have been genuinely inspired in some accounts of ruined places and cities. It is faintly perceptible, for instance, in the following description given by Belon, a writer characterised by his objectivity and emotional restraint:

"... allasmes premierement veoir les ruines de
Ephestia, ou l'on voit encores le vieil chasteau
quasi tout desrompu. La mer bat tout ioingnant
contre la muraille, et n'y ha pas vne seule
habitation: et toutesfois son port est plus beau

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1. A. Thevet, Cosmographie de Levant, pp. 76-7.
 2. Ibid., pp. 77-8.
 3. P. Mundy, The Travels, pp. 20-1. Sandys (A Relation of a Journey, p. 38), Lithgow (True Discourse, p. 140), and Gainsford (The Glory of England, p. 181) also described the Pillar.

que n'est celluy de Lemnos, et est plus seur a
tous vents en toutes saisons." 1

Thevet, contemplating the grandeur of the former Empire of Greece, was moved by a similar sense of despondence. That the countries that were once "mere & nourriciere de la Filozofie, & maitresse de toutes bonnes sciences" were now ruled over by the Turks made him think not only of the fate of Greece itself but of the transience of all things in the world. He exclaimed: "O inconstance & mutacion des choses!"²

Turks were in fact very often seen as co-agents in the destruction wrought by time. Coryat blamed them for the ruins of the town of 'Ecbatana' in ancient Media and concluded his argument with an invective against 'Time' and 'Mutability' in general. The passage is significant for its reflection of several conventional devices habitually employed in this type of description. It starts with an account of the historical background of the city, followed by an expression of grief at the present condition of the once illustrious capital of the Medes. Then comes a passage where Coryat contemplates "the doleful testimonies of the Turkish devastations." The description concludes with lines from Ovid and Hesiod about mutability and the inconstancy of human fate.³

1. Les Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez, fol. 29.
2. A. Thevet, Cosmographie de Levant, pp. 85 and 86.
3. Purchas his Pilgrimes, iv, 470.

Sandys also attributed the decay of the relics and monuments of the ancient and Christian civilisations of Anatolia and Greece to the combined destruction of time and the Turks. He described the countries under Turkish rule as being in a state of ruin and decay:

"These rich lands at this present remaine wast and overgrowne with bushes, receptacles of wild beasts, of theeves and murderers; large territories dispeopled, or thinly inhabited; goodly cities made desolate; sumptuous buildings become ruines; glorious Temples either subverted, or prostituted to impietie, true religion discountenanced and oppressed; all Nobility extinguished; no light of learning permitted, nor Vertue cherished: violence and rapine insulting over all ... I have not only related what I saw of their present condition; but ... presented a briefe view of the former estates, and first antiquities of these peoples and countries: thence to draw a right image of the frailty of man, and mutability of what so ever is worldly; and assurance that as there is nothing unchangeable saving God, so nothing stable but by his grace and protection." 1

4. Description of Turkish Scenery and Landscape

Although the travellers of the time did not usually note down the impressions left on them by the natural beauty of the countries they visited, and were not drawn to describe full landscapes, they still gave us occasional arresting glimpses of the scenery they saw on their journeys. Dallam's description of the coastland near Algiers, can be quoted as an example:

"This daie being the Laste daye of Marche, it was a wonder to us to se how forward the spring was: trees

1. G. Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, Dedication.

and hedgis wear full blowne, corne, wheate and
barly shott, young oringis and apples upon the
trees; and cominge againe into the towne, we
met Mores and other people drivinge assis laden
with greene beanes, to be sould in the markett." 1

Dallam's description, however, had a functional aim rather than an aesthetic one. His purpose was to comment on the character of Mediterranean climate and to describe the products of the country. Writing about natural sights objectively and with no intrusion of emotion was, in fact, a dominant trait of the travel literature of the time.² Another writer who described the natural products and characteristics of Mediterranean countries was the French physician and traveller Pierre Belon. His account of the view from the top of Mount Athos shows the same domination of the factual over the imaginative, together with the same skill in conveying the vivid impression of the scenery observed. He notes details such as the clarity of vision, the view of the islands appearing much closer than they actually were, the sensation of feeling bitterly cold in spite of the fact that it was mid-day and one of the hottest days of summer. Then as they descend he describes the forests of fir and pine trees at the foot of the mountain, the straight and smooth cones, the unevenness of the ground.³

1. Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, pp. 13-14.
2. G. Atkinson sees this to be one of the most striking characteristics of Renaissance geographical writing. cf. Les Nouveaux Horizons, p. 102.
3. Pierre Belon, Les Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez, fol. 42v.

Belon's interest in nature, however, was mainly a consequence of his preoccupation with botany and zoology, and the aim of his travels was, in fact, to record the plants and animals peculiar to the Mediterranean.¹ His observations of nature cannot be said to be representative of the main trend of descriptive writing in Renaissance literature. The attention of travellers, on the whole, was directed more to towns, cities and cultivated areas rather than to the open or wild country. Famous ancient cities, such as Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo, Constantinople and Alexandria were described over and over again. Partly through the habit Renaissance writers had of borrowing and plagiarising from earlier works, and partly through the tradition of conforming to certain established conventions in writing, there were set ways of describing these cities and towns. A number of epithets, such as "stately", "fair", "beautiful" or "populous", were almost invariably associated with the old cities of the Near East.² Jerusalem was described as the "fair city".³ Damascus was described as being "extremely populous and rich" adorned "with fountains of mosaic and rose-gardens" and with monuments of "marble and porphyry".⁴

1. Ibid., Epistre, Sig. aiii^v.

2. Cf. R. R. Cawley, The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama, p. 169. According to Cawley these epithets were not used at random but were regularly applied to certain places.

3. Cf. ibid., p. 167.

4. The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, p. 11.

Constantinople was called "the most beautiful city of the world", the "imperiall" place; its triangular shape, the magnificence of the monuments and ruins, its seven hills were mentioned in almost every account.¹

Conventional descriptions such as these were common in medieval travel literature. They are found in the writings of Marco Polo, Mandeville and Haiton. These authors aimed at creating impressions of the East by means of set expressions and legends, such as the populousness of a country, its abundance of cities, the fruitfulness and fertility of its soil, the mildness of the climate. Asia Minor, for instance, was famed for its great number of cities. Marco Polo had described the area including 'Turchomania' and Armenia as being full of "many cities & townes, and a great abundance of things."²

Mountains, rivers and deserts received attention in certain Renaissance accounts, particularly in connection with ancient legends or myths. Heylyn described the mountain Chimaera (modern Erciyeş), near Caesareia (modern Kayseri), in his Microcosmus, as a place at the "toppe whereof the Lyons roared, the middle goats grazed, and in the lower parte serpents lurked", and concluded "hence Chimaera is by the

1. Cf. Thomas Gainsford, The Glory of England, p. 262; George Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, pp. 28-37.
2. The most noble and famous Travels of Marcus Paulus, p. 5. It is interesting to note that the same words were inserted in the Catalan world map (1375-1378) over the area representing Asia Minor, as the outstanding 'legend' associated with the place.

Poets famed to be a monster having the head of a Lyon, the body of a goate, the taile of a serpent".¹ Classical writers were again instrumental in the fame of certain rivers such as the Nile, the Danube and the Thanais. The river Meander, in Turkey, had mythological and poetical associations, which played a part in the allusions made to it both in literature and in goeographical books.² Places such as the mountains of Armenia, Mount Ararat, the Hircanian deserts, the hills of Georgia had become as much part of legend as of actual geographical writings.

All this is nature in a mythical context, never quite divorced from the human element. On the whole, when voyagers or writers of descriptive books about foreign countries drew landscapes they almost always included the human aspect. Dallam's description of the Island of Zante derives its charm partly from the delineation of the physical characteristics of the place, recorded in a clear and objective manner, but also more from the relation of the colourful Easter celebrations, the bright clothes and the customs of the inhabitants.³ XVIth century verbal landscapes in fact still show a close similarity to medieval landscape painting with its large canvas and with its comprehensiveness

1. P. Heylyn, Microcosmus, p. 295.
2. Ibid., p. 538 and see for references in literature E. H. Sugden, A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists, Manchester University Press, 1925, under 'Meander', pp. 337-8.
3. Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, pp. 18-26.

and wealth of detail.

We observe this mingling of nature and men in a striking picture of 'the cutting of the banks of the Nile' given by Burton in the Anatomy of Melancholy, to describe the effect of the sight on an awe-struck observer:

"Radzivilius was much taken with ... that solemnity of cutting the banks of Nilus by Imbram Bassa, when it overflowed; besides two or three hundred gilded galleys on the water, he saw two millions of men gathered together on the land, with turbans as white as snow, and 'twas a goodly sight." 1

The combination of nature, both real and mythical, with the human element can be detected in the descriptions of the East in the drama of the time. It might be useful to give some examples in order to show the close connection between the 'geographical' writings of the time and the plays, in this respect. Peele describes the waving of the Turkish banners over the battle-field of Alcazar:

"Our Moores have seen the silver moons to wave
In banners bravely spreading over the plaine,
And in this semicircles have describe
All in a golden field, a starre to rise,
A glorious comet that begins to blase
Promising happie sorting to us all." 2

Marlowe has the following description of the Persian army, its tents pitched under the Georgian mountains:

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1. R. Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. H. Jackson, London, 1936, ii, 78.
 2. The Battle of Alcazar, I, i, 91-6. See the interpretation of John Yoklavich, The Battle of Alcazar, The Dramatic Works of George Peele, Yale University Press, 1961, ii, 350.

localities. In this way it was possible for a writer to infuse variety into his account and, at the same time, to give local colour or exotic and imaginative appeal to his descriptions. Although most of the conventional characteristics attributed to special localities were fictitious or at best highly exaggerated, in the absence of genuine information they could be used to evoke ideas and emotions associated with the East.

As the XVIIth century advances, however, we notice the growth of a more realistic approach and the predominance of the type of description based on the actual observations of travellers. At the same time, the perception of exotic and picturesque elements in the scenery became more marked and writers gave freer expression to emotions of pleasure, wonder and delight at the beauty or novelty of the sights they observed. Accounts of English travellers such as Gainsford, Sandys or Coryat contain many passages reflecting a keen response to the romantic appeal of Mediterranean lands and of Turkey.

CHAPTER II

NEWS ABOUT TURKEY IN THE NEWSBOOKS, CORANTOS AND BALLADS OF THE XVITH AND EARLY XVIITH CENTURIES

A. The Popularity of News about Turkey

The newsbooks, corantos and ballads published in the XVith and early XVIith centuries provided one of the most important sources of information about Turkey. Journalistic works were already becoming very popular in the latter half of the XVith century. Shaaber in his book on Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476-1622 notes a marked increase in the number of newsbooks and pamphlets about the year 1590.¹ The movement gained strength and culminated in the publication of the first regular newspaper in English, the earliest extant number of which was issued on 2nd December, 1620, in the Netherlands.²

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1. M. A. Shaaber, op. cit., Oxford University Press, 1929, p. 325.
L. B. Wright in Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, North Carolina, 1935, also devotes considerable space to the newsbooks and ballads in his discussion of the popular 'ephemeral literature' of the day. cf. pp. 81-98 and 435-436.
 2. The first English corantos were published in Amsterdam by a "well known Dutch map and print-engraver, Petrus Keerius (Pieter van den Keere)". The earliest extant coranto was headed with the words "The new tydings out of Italie are not yet com", and was dated 2 December, 1620. Corantos are known to have been published in London by Thomas Archer during the period February 1620 - September 1621; but none of these have survived. The earliest extant coranto printed in London was published on 24th September, 1621, by N.B. (Nathaniel Butter?): Corante, or newes from Italy, Germany, Hungarie, Spaine and France, 1621. cf. Folke Dahl, A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks, 1620-1640, London, 1952, pp. 31ff.

News concerning Turkey occupied a significant place in these publications. According to Shaaber, in the period 1476-1622, "More news was printed about Turks than about any other people except the French and the Dutch".¹ Newspapers published after that date also contain many reports on Turkish affairs. The situation continued, more or less unchanged, till the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, when the attention of publishers turned to domestic happenings and interest in foreign news was lost.²

There were several reasons for the large output of books and corantos concerned with foreign news, during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. It has been said that publishing news of other countries was much safer than informing the public of what was happening at home.³ The government took very strict measures to stop the publication of pamphlets or books which gave the impression of criticising the State, or which were believed to have been intended for spreading partisan or religious propaganda.⁴ In fact, writers sometimes described the conditions in another country in order to imply a similarity between them and the situation in England. However, this was done mostly in giving news about the religious wars and internal struggles in France

1. M. A. Shaaber, op. cit., p. 181.

2. Folke Dahl, op. cit., p. 19.

3. M. A. Shaaber, op. cit., p. 168.

4. Ibid., p. 80.

and the Netherlands.

The publication of foreign news, on a large scale, was not merely a means of avoiding government censorship. It answered a demand for information about the political and social conditions of other countries. A genuine interest in the development of the political situation of Europe and the Middle East may have been one of the important factors of the popularity of news about Turkey. Finally, one has to mention that sheer curiosity may have played a great part in the demand for news about Turkey. With the new discoveries and inventions and with the expansion of trade, the desire to know about the world and about the customs and manners of the people living on it was very much stimulated. Hence news of a distant and little known people with outlandish manners and strange customs would attract the attention of any "loiterer in Paul's walke", where all the cheap books, popular romances and ballads were on show, and might even induce him to buy the pamphlet for a penny.¹

B. Newsbooks about Turkey and their Sources

News before 1620 was printed mostly in the form of small books or pamphlets or it could also be printed on single sheets or 'broad-sides'. The term 'coranto', with which we meet more frequently in the description of news publications after 1620, was applied to a collection of news

1. One penny was the usual price for a small pamphlet of news or a broadside ballad. cf. L. B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, p. 81.

from various countries, generally covering a period of about a week. For the sake of convenience, I shall first deal with the newsbooks and prose broadsides and then consider the news about Turkey in the corantos of the early XVIIth century. Finally, I shall very briefly mention some themes in the ballads concerned with the Turks.

News circulated in various forms and for various purposes. Letters written home by persons attached to trading companies or by political agents abroad were of great value to merchants and statesmen.¹ The correspondence of ambassadors, such as that of Sir Thomas Roe, gives much interesting and useful information about Turkey.² The collection of state-papers contains numerous letters and reports written by agents resident at Constantinople. Although such official information was generally not published, it is valuable not only for understanding the political history of the time, but also because it reflects an attitude towards Turkey and Turkish affairs prevalent at the Court. Moreover, the fact that at least certain official documents and letters pertaining to Anglo-Turkish relations were published by Hakluyt

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1. The 'Fugger news-letters' is one of the greatest collections of news made by the merchant princes of the Renaissance. They were collected chiefly by Raymund Fugger, who was Privy-Councillor to Emperor Charles V and Ferdinand I, and contain many reports and letters about the Turks. cf. The Fugger News-Letters, ed. Victor von Klarwill, trans. Pauline de Chary, London, 1924, Introd. p. xviii.
 2. See above p. 51. His correspondence was incorporated into the 1638 edition of R. Knolles' The Generall Historie of the Turkes (first pub. 1603) in order to take the history to the year 1630. Roe's letters and reports were printed in 1740 under the title of The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe.

shows also that the knowledge of this form of news was not confined to government circles alone.¹

Among letters and official documents concerning Turkey and published in English, at the time, the letters attributed to Sultans deserve special attention. Mostly translated from Latin or other languages and claiming to be based on Turkish originals, these letters contain too many errors and exaggerations to convince the modern reader that they are genuine. They may have been mostly designed to cause a sensation and rouse patriotic or religious fervour by revealing the pride and ambition of the Turkish rulers.² The same purpose could be served by the publication of Papal bulls and indulgences, asking Christians to help and to redeem the prisoners taken by the Turks.³

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1. Hakluyt published many historical documents and letters concerned with Turkey in The Principal Navigations. Some of these have been analysed by Professor Paul Wittek in his article on "The Turkish Documents in Hakluyt's Voyages", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, November, 1942, pp. 121-139.
 2. In a letter attributed to Ahmed I, there is a reference to Apollo as the God of the Turks. cf. Letters from the Great Turke lately sent unto the Holy Father the Pope and to Rudolphus naming himselfe King of Hungarie ... Translated out of the Hebrue tongue into Italian, and out of Italian into French and now into English out of the French coppie, London, John Windet, 1606. Another famous collection of letters attributed to a Turkish Sultan (Mehmet II) is The Turkes Secreterie, conteining his sundrie letters ... translated out of the Latine copie, London, M. B. (redwood), 1607.
 3. Indulgence in English in favour of the redemption of the children of Lady I. Lascarina, from the Turks. (R. Pynson? 1515?) and, These be the articles of Pope's Bulle under leade, translated from latyn into englisshe, (London, R. Pynson? 1518)

Letters could be the source of travel books, such as The Travels of Certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy ... and to Sundry Other Places, which were compiled by Theophilus Lavender from the letters written home by William Biddulph, who was chaplain to the Company of Merchants at Aleppo in 1600.¹ Sometimes the letters sent home by a traveller were printed to keep the public informed about his adventures. This would be done specially if the traveller happened to be a well known figure, as in the case of Thomas Coryat, whose letters were published soon after their arrival.²

Accounts of the experiences of prisoners also provided material for news-books. In 1590 Edward Webbe, who had served as a galley-slave in Turkish ships, published a relation of his experiences.³ Another famous account of the imprisonment of an Englishman by the Turks and his escape from a Turkish prison was given in a pamphlet entitled

1. The travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Black Sea ... and to sundry other places. Begunne in the yeere of the iubile 1600 (etc.), London, 1609. It was reprinted in 1612 with additions: The travels of foure Englishmen and a preacher into Africa, Asia, Troy ... Begunne in the yeere of iubile 1600 (etc.)
2. His letters to his friends and to his mother mostly written during the autumn of the year 1615, "from the towne of Asmere" in India, were printed in 1616 in a pamphlet called Thomas Coriate, Traveller for the English Wits: Greeting from the Court of the Great Mogul. cf. Michael Strachan, The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate, pp. 294-295.
3. Edward Webbe, The rare and most wonderful things which Webbe ... hath seene and passed in his travils (1590). See above p. 4, n.1.

The admirable deliverance of 266 Christians by John Reynard Englishman from the captivitie of the Turkes, published by Anthony Munday in 1608 (London, T. Dawson). It is significant that the same story had been published in Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations, earlier, in 1598.¹

Apart from these sources, foreign news-books and pamphlets supplied a steady flow of information about Turkey and Turkish affairs into England. Books of news printed on the Continent, specially those written in Latin, are believed to have circulated in England in the early XVIth century and could have been read by the educated classes.² Arrangements for importing books of news from the Continent were made by publishers about the year 1590. They were translated into English and provided the main source of information about other countries, even after the publication of newspapers in England.³

C. News of Battles, Seafights and Piracies

One of the earliest newsbooks in English about Turks is a translation of an account of the unsuccessful siege of Rhodes in 1480 by Turkish forces.⁴ It was written by Guillaume Caoursin, the

1. R. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, v, 153-168.

2. M. A. Shaaber, op. cit., p. 9.

3. Ibid., pp. 168ff. On the activities of the publishers and booksellers and their arrangements for importing or collecting news see: ibid., pp. 257-300.

4. Guillaume Caoursin (T)o the moste excellente, most redoubted and moste crysten kyng: Kyng Edward the fourth Johan Kay hys humble poete lawreate, and moste lowly seruante: sayth salute, (1482).

Vice-Chancellor of the order of St. John of Jerusalem and had been first published in Latin. The English translation was made by John Kay, the poet-laureate of King Edward IV and was printed in 1482. In his dedication the translator draws the attention of the King to the recent conquests of the Turks:

"It ys not out of your knowleche and herty vyte moste prudente prynce: howe that thies fourty yeres passed: the turkes hane vexed the crysten partyes, and hane prevayled, and had of the crysten men the overhande: in so moche that nowe late agaynest al right, and reason were possessours in Italye, in the domynyon and groundes of the most constant kyng Ferrand of Arragon king of Naples: in preiudyce and horryble terroure to the court apostolyque and to al crystendome."

He then expresses his purpose in translating "the dylectable newesse and tithynges of the glorious victorie of the Rhodyans agaynest the turkes" as being due to a wish to give "joye and consolacyon" to the people of England and to remind them of the part played by divine Providence in the preservation of Christianity.¹

News describing the victories of Christian forces over Turks was very popular. In fact much of the published news in the XVIth century consisted of accounts of battles which ended with a Christian victory.

Among these the victory of Lepanto (Turkish 'Inebahti') was one of the most famous and caused much rejoicing in all countries of

1. Guillaume Caoursin, op. cit., fol. (1) (unnumbered text).

Christendom.¹ The news of the Turkish defeat reached England without delay. One of the earliest accounts was a translation from French and published in 1571 under the title of Letters sent from Venice, anno 1571, containing the certaine and true newes of the most noble victorie of the Christians over the army of the Great Turk: and the names of the Lordes and gentlemen of the Christians slaine in the same battel (etc.) (London, Henry Bynneman, (1571)).²

There was also news about sea battles of lesser importance won against the Turks. Among these we can mention a victory of Sicilian galleys in August, 1613, off the shores of Western Anatolia,³ and the victory of the Duke of Florence attained against the Turks "in May last 1613, both by sea and land".⁴

Reports about the failure of the Turks to seize a town or about the defeats they suffered during their numerous campaigns into Austrian territory were published in profusion. We can mention the

1. See below p. 100, n.1; pp. 138-9.

2. Another account appeared in the same year under the title The whole discourse of the victorie that it pleased God to give to the Christians against the Turkes, and what loss hapned to the Christians in the said conflict. Englished by a French copie printed at Paris, by Fleuri Prevost (etc.), London, Henry Bynneman (1571).

3. A famous victorie, atchieved in August last 1613 by the Christian gallies of Sicilia against the Turkes. Wherein were redeemed above a thousand Christians captives, as many Turkes slaine and above six hundred taken. For Th. Thorp, 1613.

4. Good newes from Florence: of a famous victorie obtained against the Turkes in May last, 1613, London, Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter, 1614.

news of the deliverance of Malta in 1565,¹ of the defeat of the Turks in front of the Castle of Jula in Hungary in 1566,² of the victory obtained by Austrian armies at Syssek in Croatia,³ and of the capture of the town of Raab from the Turks in 1598, as some instances of such news.⁴

In almost every book of the time relating to the conquests of the Turks there is regret at the lack of unity among Christian countries, which was considered to be one of the chief causes of Turkish advance in Europe. Among the publications which were designed to rouse the minds of Christians to the danger which threatened the peoples of Europe and to inspire them to join together in a crusade against the Turks, the most effective may have been the newsbooks containing descriptions of the misery and sufferings of Christians under Turkish

1. Copie of the last advertisement that came from Malta of the miraculous deliverie of the isle from the Turkes, 1565.
2. Newes from Vienna the 5 day of August 1566, of the strong towre and castell of Jula, (etc.), London, J. Awdeley, 1566.
3. A true discourse wherein is set the wonderfull mercy of God, shewed towards the Christians, on the two and twenty of June, 1593, (etc.), London, John Wolfe, 1593. There is another account of the same battle appended to the end of a book on The estate of the Christians living under the subjection of the Turks (etc.), London, John Wolfe, 1595.
4. 13 May 1598. True newes of a notable victorie obtayned against the Turkes, (etc.), London, for Richard Olive, (1598).

rule. In a news report printed in 1595 there is a petition purporting to have been signed by the Christians of Bohemia, Hungary, Austria, Poland and Helvetia, in which they ask for help from other states of Christendom and warn them that unless they take immediate action their people will be in the same position as themselves in the near future.¹

The account of the wars between Hungarians and Turks or between Poles and Turks may have often been printed from similar motives. In 1620 a representative of the King of Poland visited the Court of James I to ask for help against the Turks, who were threatening to invade Poland at the time. The message he read out in the King's presence was published in 1621, at the command of James I, both in Latin, which was the language in which it was originally delivered, and in English.²

News about Turkish wars with Persia also interested Englishmen profoundly.³ History and geography books contain many comments on the

1. Newes from Rome, Venice and Vienna, touching the present proceedings of the Turkes, against the Christians in Austria, Hungarie and Helvetia ... Also a true copie of a lamentable petition exhibited in the names of the afflicted Christians in those parts (etc.), London, for T. Nelson, 1595.
2. A true copy of the Latine oration of the excellent Lord George Ossolinsky, (etc.), London, for William Lee, 1621.
3. The following are some of the newsbooks concerned with Turco-Persian wars: A discourse of the bloody and cruell bataille, of late losste by the great Turke Sultan Selim. And also of the taking of the strong towne of Seruan, (etc.), London, T. Dawson (1579); Frauncis Billerbeg, Most rare and strange discourses, of Amurathe that nowe is ... with the warres betweene him and the Persians, (etc.), London, for Thomas Hackett, (1585).

causes of the clashes between the two countries and on the advantages of this situation for Christian powers. The Persians were seen as a possible ally of Christendom. In a book of news published in 1606, there is a prophecy about "two mightie armies", which, it was predicted, would "recover the land of Promise and expell the Turks out of Christendom". It is significant that one of the armies whose coming was expected was that of "the great Sophy".¹

The intrusion of myths and miracles into the actual world of newsbooks was by no means confined to these few instances alone. News about supernatural events which were interpreted as bad omens for the Turks, or 'prognostications' foretelling the ultimate destruction of Turkish sway in all the countries they conquered, must be mentioned here. A pamphlet published in 1641 contained a description of "two cometts or blazing starres with forked tayles. Appearing to the Great Turke, and perpandicularly hanging over his Seraglio".² Another small book, published in 1642, gave news of supernatural visions of armed men appearing in the air in Turkey as a warning of God to Turks to give

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1. Newes from Rome of two mightie armies, as well footmen as horsemen: The first of the great Sophy the other of an Hebrew people ... Translated out Italien into English by W.W., printed by I.R. for Henry Gosson, (1606).
 2. Extraordinary newes from Constantinople, November the 27, 1641 ... Conteyning a most certaine and true relation of the late and strange visions ... Written in French and faithfully translated by W.C., London, Francis Constable and John Thomas, 1641.

up Islam and reform their ways.¹

The reports of battles lost by the Turks were almost always phrased in such a way as to make the readers mindful of divine intervention in Christian victories. They could thus make a strong appeal to the religious and moral sentiments of the public and uplift the morale of the people who may have questioned God's purpose in allowing Turks to triumph over Christians.

When we look at the news of battles with Turks, in which Englishmen took an active part, we find that the stress on Christian sentiments is equalled if not surpassed by an appeal to the latent patriotism of the readers. Newsbooks giving such accounts were extremely popular. The information contained in these books reached England either through Continental sources or were based on current documents and letters in English. The wars of Stukeley in Algiers, where Turkish forces had been sent to help the reigning ruler, were reported in several pamphlets and broadside ballads. Two pamphlets published in 1579 and 1601 deal with the battle of Alcazar, in which Stukeley had fought and lost his life. One is A dolorous discourse of a most terrible and bloody battel, fought in Barbarie (printed by Charlewood and Man, 1579), and the other The strangest adventure that ever happened either in the ages passed or present. Containing a

1. Strange and miraculous newes from Turkie ... Of a woman which was seen in the firmament with a book in her hand ... Also severall visions of armed men appearing in the ayre (etc.), London, 1642.

discourse concerning the successe of the King of Portugal Dom Sebastian, (etc.) (London, for Francis Henson, 1601). The story of Stukeley's life was dramatised in two plays, namely The Battle of Alcazar (1588/9, printed in 1594) and The Famous Historye of the Life and Death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley (?1598, printed in 1605).¹

The adventures of the Sherley brothers and their struggles against the Turks were also constantly described in the news-pamphlets and letters of the time.² In A Handlist of News-Pamphlets 1590-1610, prepared by D. C. Collins, the names of several books dealing with the deeds and fortunes of the Sherleys are mentioned.³

A certain amount of pride may have been felt even at the exploits and daring of notorious English pirates gone over to the Turkish side, such as Ward and Bishop. A pamphlet was published in 1609 called Newes from the sea. Of two notorious pyrats Ward the Englishman and Dansecer the Dutchman. This was followed by a biographical account of Ward's life, written by Anthony Barker, and bearing the title of A new and certaine report of the beginning, proceedings, overthrowes and now present estate of Captain Ward and Dansecer (1609). The life

1. See pp. 271-3.

2. For publications concerned with the adventures of the Sherleys, see below pp. 129-30. There are many reports and letters about the Sherley brothers in G. B. Harrison's A Second Jacobean Journal, London, 1958.

3. Op. cit., London, 1943. See items: CXXXIII, CXLII, CCXXVI and CCXLIX.

and adventures of Ward provided material for several ballads and a play, which will be discussed later. In fact, so great was his fame that he was shown as having taken part in battles which were fought long after his death.¹

Among the news-publications which may have had a strong patriotic appeal, we must mention those which gave news of seafights in which English ships or Englishmen participated. Turkish pirate ships, or ships carrying out piratical expeditions under the Turkish flag, were known to be active in the Channel and the Irish Sea at the time. Two news pamphlets published in the first half of the XVIIth century relate battles between Turkish and English ships off the coast of Cornwall and in the Channel.²

D. News about Turkey in the Corantos: the Policy of Turkey in Europe, Domestic Events, and the Exchange of Ambassadors.

Apart from creating a sensation and rousing religious and patriotic sentiments, news of fighting between Turks and Englishmen or between Turks and the members of other Christian nations may have also deeply concerned a great number of Elizabethans and Jacobeans who

1. An account of a sea-fight which had taken place in 1680 was published under the title of The Famous Sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow. But Ward had died in 1622. cf. S. C. Chew, op. cit., p. 361, n.4.
2. A true relation and description of 2 most strange and true remarkable sea-fights against the Turkes. The one was on the 14. of April last, (etc.), London, 1637; A valorus and perillous sea-fight with three Turkish ships, pirats or men of warre (etc.), London, 1640.

had a stake in overseas trade or who were genuinely interested in the political situation in Europe and the Middle East.

When we look at the corantos and newspapers issued after about 1620, we notice that they reflect a growing interest in the development of the political situation in Europe and in the influence exerted by Turkey on European affairs. Special attention was paid to the part played by Turkey in determining the course of events during The Thirty Years War (1618-1648). The news of the wars of Protestant princes, backed by the Ottomans, against the Emperor, may have roused great interest. It has been suggested¹ that one reason for the prominence of news of this type could have been due to the fact that Frederick, the Prince Palatine, who was married to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I, was also actively involved in these wars. It may thus have been possible for English people to identify themselves more closely with the Protestant cause and to feel a certain amount of sympathy for the Ottomans who were supporting some of the princes

1. This point has been made by Dr. B. Moran in an article dealing with news about Turkey in early English newspapers (1620-1642): "İlk İngiliz Gazetelerinde Türkiye Haberleri", Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi, İstanbul Üniversitesi, XII (1960), 205-18.

fighting Ferdinand.¹

The corantos also gave a great amount of information about the internal situation of Turkey. In the XVIth century this news was sometimes given in books describing the experiences of prisoners or travellers. Books of history or geography also contained accounts of recent important events. These were sometimes added to the end of a book. The Ofspring of the House of Ottomano and Officers pertaining to the Greate Turkes Court, partly written by Bartholomej Georgijević and published in the English translation of Hugh Goughe in 1570, contains an account of the murder of Mustafa (or 'Mustapha') by his father Sultan Süleyman. The news of the murder and its details had been reported in a pamphlet written by Nicholas Moffan and published

1. The Ottomans were particularly concerned with the activities of Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transilvania, whom they wished to instal as King of Hungary. On the other hand B. Gabor had promised to join forces with Frederick in the war against the Emperor. Some of the corantos containing news about these events and about the aid given by Turks to B. Gabor are the following: Corrant out of Italy, Germany, etc., Amsterdam, Petrus Keerius, 21 January, 1621; April 24. Numb. 28. The continuation of our former newes (etc.), London, Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer, 1623; May 12. Numb. 31. The newes of this present weeke (etc.), London, Butter, Bourne and Archer, 1623. For the description of corantos published between 1620-42, see F. Dahl, A Bibliography of English Corantos. For Turkish-English relations at the time, see Sir Edward Creasy, The History of the Ottoman Turks, London, 1854, p. 392, and The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe (1740), pp. 59-60, 121, 152.

in 1555, two years after the incident had taken place.¹ Moffan's account was included in several collections, among these in the collection of Georgijević's works, published in 1560 under the title of De Origine Imperii Turcorum, eorumque administratione (etc.), which was most probably the original version used by Goughe in his translation.²

XVIth century Englishmen were also informed about the wars of Scanderbeg, an Albanian prince, who had revolted against Mehmet II,³ and about natural disasters in Turkey, such as the earthquake of 1509. We find a description of this catastrophe in A Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles of Paolo Giovio, translated into English by Peter Ashton and published in 1546.

It is mainly after the second decade of the XVIIth century, however, that news about the internal affairs of Turkey started to circulate on a large scale and with more promptness and precision. Although, even after the year 1620, we come across newsbooks describing the situation of the country and the Court, yet the main body of domestic news was given in the corantos or the serial papers of the period. The events which figure most prominently in these publications were the

1. Nicholas Moffan, Soltani Solymanny Turcarum Imperatoris horrendum facinus, Scelerato (etc.), Basle, 1555. Mustapha had been killed in 1553.

2. See below pp. 112-3.

3. See below pp. 121-3.

revolts of the Janissaries, the murder of Osman II,¹ the incidents arising from the struggles over the succession to the throne,² and the revolt of the 'Abazas' in 1624.³ News of the plague of 1622⁴ and of the famous fire of Constantinople which lasted seven days was also recorded.⁵

News of the peaceful political relations of Turkey with other countries was mostly published in the corantos of the XVIIth century and was almost completely neglected by the publishers of the newsbooks in the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries. There were some accounts of diplomatic missions in The Principal Navigations of Hakluyt. The most

1. The murder of Osman by the Janissaries on 20th May, 1622, was reported shortly afterwards in a newspaper published by Nathaniel Butter and dated 4th July, 1622. The title of the paper begins with the words: A true relation of the murther of Osman the Great Turke (etc.), London, 1622. A longer account was given in The strangling and death of the great Turke, and his two sonnes ... Printed this fifteenth of July, London, ... Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer, 1622. A pamphlet was also published describing the events called: A true and faithfull relation, presented to his Maiestie (etc.), London, for Bartholomew Downes, 1622.
2. The 25 September. Newes from most parts of Christendome, Especially from Rome, Italy, Spaine, France (etc.), London, printed for Nathaniel Butter and William Sheffard, 1622; and corantos mentioned in A Bibliography of F. Dahl, numbers: 79, 111, 133.
3. January 15. Number 10. The newes and affaires of Europe. The rebellion of the Basshaw of Asia who yet came to revenge the murther of Osman and slew 15000 Janizaries, (etc.), London, for Nathaniel Butter and William Sheffard, 1624.
4. The 27 of September. A relation of letters, and other advertisements of newes (etc.), London, Nathaniel Butter and Thomas Archer, 1622.
5. Nov. 25. Numb. 5. The proceedings of Bethlem Gabor in Hungary (etc.), London, for Nathaniel Butter, 1623.

important among these is a relation of the journey of Harebone to Constantinople and his reception by the Sultan as the first official English ambassador.¹ On the other hand, no news was published about the adventures and reception of Mustafa Çavuş in England. This person, who claimed to have been sent as an ambassador from the Porte, was distrusted on account of certain rumours circulating at the time about his being an impostor. Most of the information about him is gleaned from private letters and reports.²

The corantos and newspapers published after 1620 show a marked change in this respect. News about the relations of the Ottomans with members of the other countries of Christendom in a state of peace occupy a great deal of space in such publications. The descriptions of the ceremonies which were performed during the reception of an ambassador were often given in a colourful and lively manner, bringing out the splendour and impressiveness of the occasion. Among these we can mention the account of the reception of the first Turkish ambassador, Ahmed Bey, in Austria, as recorded in a coranto published on 28th February, 1623,³ and the relation of the arrival of the Polish

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1. R. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, ii, 165.
 2. G. B. Harrison includes a number of such documents, most of them from Collections of State Papers, in his Second Jacobean Journal; cf. pp. 44-46, 48, 51, 52, 55-6, 61, 63, 147.
 3. February 28. Numb. 20. The newes of forraine partes, lately received (etc.), London, Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne, and William Sheffard, 1623.

ambassador in Turkey, published in another coranto dated 19th February, 1623.¹

E. The Ballads about Turks

The popular reaction towards Turks and Turkish affairs may have found its strongest expression in the ballads of the period.

H. E. Rollins distinguishes "the black-letter broadside ballad", giving a verse narrative of recent important events, from the lyrical ballad or song.² The news ballads were often written as a commentary on sensational incidents or moving public events. In the words of M. A. Shaaber:

"The simple jog-trot ballad reveals the restated event of public moment and the virtues of national heroes in terms fit for their comprehension, shouting huzza at each new glory ... and opening the inexhaustible vials of its indignation on all traitors, enemies and ill wishers." ³

It is significant that a great number of the ballads written about Turks reflect the qualities mentioned above by Shaaber in this passage. We may give, as examples, those ballads written to praise the victories of Christians over Turks, such as Ye overthrowe of the Turke, entered in the Stationers Register on 12th November, 1953, and

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1. February 19. Numb. 19. A relation of the late horrible treason intended against the Prince of Orange, (etc.), London, Nathaniel Butter, Bartholomew Downes and Thomas Archer, 1623.
 2. H. E. Rollins, "The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad", P.M.L.A., XXXIV (1919), p. 265.
 3. M. A. Shaaber, op. cit., p. 321.

originally written in German;¹ and A new relation of 40 Englishmen that brought into Saint Lucars Turkish pirates and their ship (etc.) (10th December, 1638).² These ballads were very often published together with pamphlets about the same subject. The ballad of the capture of Baghdad by the Turks was published at the same time as the pamphlet describing the event.³ A ballad on The Seafight with Three Turkish Piratts was licensed on the same day as the prose account of the fight written by a person named Jno. Taylor.⁴ Sometimes the ballads were followed by plays on the same subject, as in the case of the ballads and plays written about Ward and Stukeley. Although it is not always possible to determine the exact order of the publication of these works, yet the points of similarity between them are at times striking. In 1609, in the same year as the publication of a pamphlet on Ward and Dansiker,⁵ two ballads were printed entitled The Seamens Songe of

1. Cf. St. Reg., ii, 636, and under the entry on 14th September on the same page. For this and most of my following references to entries on ballads, I am indebted to H. E. Rollins, "An Analytical Index to the Ballad Entries, 1557-1709", S.P., XXI (1924), No. 1.
2. St. Reg., iv, 447.
3. Husain Aga. Captain of ye great Turke ... of the taking of Babilon, entered on 30th May, 1639, together with a newsbook about the same subject. St. Reg., iv, 467. The town was captured by the Turks on 24th December, 1638.
4. Book and ballad were entered together on 13th July, 1640. Cf. St. Reg., iv, 515.
5. For pamphlets giving news about the activities of these pirates, see above pp. 75-6.

Captayne Warde, famous Pirate of the World an Englishman, and The Seamens Songe of Danseker the Dutchman his Robberyes and Fighes at Sea, respectively.¹ These ballads have a great deal in common with Robert Daborne's A Christian turn'd Turke: or, the tragicall lives and deaths of the two famous pyrates, Ward and Dansiker (c. 1610, printed in 1612).² The same relationship between ballad and play can be seen in the publications about Stukeley. A ballad entitled The Life and Death of the Famous Thomas Stukeley gives an account of the background and adventures of Stukeley, which were dramatised in the play The Life and Death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley (c. 1598, printed in 1605).³ It is probable that in this case the ballad might have been written later than the play and might have even been based on it.⁴

Another ballad about Stukeley and the part he played in the wars of Don Sebastian in Africa had been published in 1579, together

1. These were both entered on 3rd July, 1609. There is another entry on 13th March, 1656, of the ballad called The Seamans Song of Captaine Ward. cf. St. Reg., iii, 414, and ii, 37.
2. See pp. 270-1.
3. See pp. 202; 271, n.1.
4. Roxburghe Ballads, ed. W. Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth, London, 1869-97, vii, 575. The ballad, which was published by F. Coles (or Coules), is not dated. However, as F. Coles was not active as a publisher before 1625 (cf. St. Reg., V, lxxxviii), it must have been published after the play.

with a pamphlet written and published in the same year.¹ The ballad is entitled A briefe Rehersall of the bloodie Battel fought in Barbary and was licensed for publication by Ed. White on 19th February, 1579.² The story of this war and of the exploits of Stukeley was turned into a play known as The Battle of Alcazar, printed in 1594 and written by Peele. Although it is disputed³ whether the author made use of the pamphlet and the ballad on the subject in writing the play, nevertheless his choice of subject may have been determined by the fact that the story was already well known and popular, thanks to the influence of these works.

When we glance at some of the entries of ballads written about Turks, we notice that, apart from the ballads describing important battles or commemorating the deeds of famous heroes, there were several describing the plight of prisoners in Turkish lands. Among these we can mention A relacion of one taken captive by the Turkes, licensed in 1639 for Henry Gosson,⁴ The lamentacon of Morgan a captive in Turkie,

1. For newsbooks about Stukeley, see above pp. 74-5.
2. St. Reg., ii, 347.
3. W. W. Greg, Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements: The Battle of Alcazar and Orlando Furioso, Malone Society Reprints, 1922, extra volume.
4. St. Reg., iv, 457. It was entered on 23rd February, 1639. A pamphlet called A true and strange relacion of seaven yeares slavery under the Turkes of Argeere suffered by an English captive merchant, (etc.), published in 1640, relates the adventures of the same man, an English merchant named Francis Knight.

licensed in 1586,¹ A Ballad of the delivery of 266 prasoners from the Turkes (1579),² and a ballad in two parts describing the ordeal of an English widow and her seven sons at the hands of the Barbary pirates.³

A ballad did not always have to be based on fact. In one,⁴ believed to have been written before 1598, there is an account of the adventures of a London apprentice who sailed away to Turkey, fought and overcame all Turkish warriors to defend the honour of the Queen of England, and finally married the daughter of the Sultan and lived happily ever after.

The numerous newsbooks, corantos and ballads which I have so far been considering and which form an important part of the ephemeral

1. 1st August, 1586, for Ed. White. St. Reg., ii, 451.
2. 4th September, 1579, for Jno. Alde. St. Reg., ii, 359. For the prose accounts of the event, see above pp. 67-8.
3. The first parte of the widowe of England and her seven sonnes who for the faythe of Jesus Christe were all most straungelie tormented to deathe by the Turkes in Barbary, and Item the second parte of the poore wyddowe of England shewing howe strangelie God revenged her seaven sonnes deathe uppon the Kinge of the Turkes. They were entered on 4th September, 1600. St. Reg., iii, 172. The pirates of Barbary were usually referred to as Turks.
4. The honour of a London 'prentice. Being an account of his matchless manhood and brave adventures done in Turkey, and by what means he married the King's daughter (etc.), London, W.O. (Onley) (1598?), Roxburghe Ballads, vii, 589.

literature of the time indicate, as a whole, the existence of a fairly strong interest in Turkey. The prose publications of news are especially valuable for understanding the extent and accuracy of the knowledge about Turks. The ballads, on the other hand, can be said to be significant in so far as they reflect some of the basic emotional responses and reactions of the public towards Turks and Turkish affairs, in the period.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE

A. Background of the Age

Interest in History

Importance of Translations

Libraries

In studying the sources of knowledge about Turkish history in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, one is struck by the abundance of books and pamphlets available on the subject. These works reveal a strong interest in Turks, an interest which must have been stimulated through new possibilities of trade and travel and made keener by a sense of anxiety and concern about the fate of Christendom faced with the threat of Turkish expansion. At the same time, they reveal an interest in history itself. In fact, the proliferation of 'histories' of Turkey was also a by-product of the great flowering of historical and antiquarian literature that took place in the XVIth century.

History, at the time, received almost unanimous praise as one of the most useful and exalted branches of human learning. Prefaces of historical books are particularly interesting for giving an expression to the dominant ideas on this matter. History was seen as "a glass" or a mirror, in which each man "could see things past", and

"respect and learn about divine providence."¹

The praise of history, moreover, was not confined to historical works alone, but could be found in the prose collections,² geographical writings³ and the creative literature of the period. It commanded a set of ready responses and reactions, which could be used by writers to create a certain effect. Nashe appealed to these accepted values when he set out to defend the stage against Puritan attacks. Writing about plays, he said:

"First for the subject of them, for the most part is borrowed out of our English Chronicles, wherein our forefathers' valiant acts, that have lien long buried in rusty brass and worm-eaten books, are revived, and they themselves raised from the grave of oblivion and brought to plead their aged honours in open presence." 4

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1. Preface of Grafton's Chronicle at Large, London, 1569, by T.N. (identified as Thomas Norton). The analogy of the "glass" or "mirror" occurs also in Stow's preface of The Chronicles of England, London, 1580. In the dedicatory Epistle of Peter Ashton's translation of P. Giovio's A Short Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, London, 1546, we meet with the same images and ideas; cf. fols. iv - ii.
 2. G. Fenton in his prose collection Certain Tragical Discourses, London, 1567, describes history as "that excellent tresore and full librarye of all knowledge". The Epistle dedicatorie.
 3. The preface of the English edition of A. Ortelius, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1606, defends geography by stressing its importance for history.
 4. Thomas Nashe in his Pierce Penilesse, ed. G. B. Harrison, London, 1924, pp. 86-7.

In considering the conditions under which historical literature about Turks flourished in the XVIth century, the part played by translations should not be neglected. V. de Sola Pinto has remarked in his book on The English Renaissance, 1510-1688:

"The most interesting and significant work of the early part of Elizabeth's reign was not ... that of the poets, we must look for it rather in the works of the Chroniclers and the translators who amassed rich stores of materials for the dramatists and poets of the future." 1

The debt of the dramatist or poet, who used Turkish themes in his work, was no less profound to the historians and translators in his special field.

Most of the books on Turkish history, printed in England, were translations of works written on the Continent. The XVIth century witnessed a striking efflorescence of European literature about Turks.² GÖllner notes a significant increase after the battle of Mohacs (Turkish 'Mohaç') in 1526, which secured the domination of Hungary to the Turks and increased the apprehension and interest of

1. V. de Sola Pinto, op. cit., London, 1951, p. 66.
2. In Les Nouveaux Horizons, Geoffroy Atkinson says that during the years 1480-1609 the number of publications on Turks, in France, was double that of the books on America. cf. p. 10. In the list appended by Hammer to his classical history of the Ottoman Empire, there are 1743 titles of works on Turkish history, from the beginning of the XVth century until the year 1646. cf. Von Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, Pest, 1827-1835, vol. X. This list is not included in the French translations of either J. J. Hellert (Paris, 1835-43), or of M. Dochez (Paris, 1840).

Christendom.¹ He describes the popularity of books about Turkey, in the European countries of the time, with the words: "The spread of 'Turkish' publications knew no boundaries whether of state or language".² So great was the demand for information that no sooner was a book printed in one language than translations and reprints appeared one after another.³

Translations into English seem to have increased towards the middle of the century. In 1542 two books about Turks, The Order of the Great Turckes Courte, written by Antoine Geuffroy, and, A Godly Consultation ... By what meanes the cruell power of the Turkes both may and ought for to be repelled of the Christen people (etc.), written originally in Latin by the Swiss theologian and orientalist Theodorus Bibliander, were printed in English translation. They were followed in 1546 by the English version of Giovio's A Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles. Several other works of importance - among them the

1. Carol Güllner, Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI Jahrhunderts. 1. Band, 1501-1550, Berlin, 1961.
2. Turcica, Vorwort, p. 6.
3. Bartholomej Georgijević's De Turcarum Ritu et Caeromoniis was first printed in 1544, in Latin. It was translated and printed in French in the same year, in German in 1545, and in Italian in 1548. It was reprinted several times in all these languages before 1550. cf. Turcica under B. Georgijević. An English translation was published in 1570. See below pp. 111-3.

histories of Andrea Cambini, Bartholomej Georgijević, A. Curio, Giovanni-Thomaso Minadoi, Philippus Lonicerus - were turned into English and printed before the end of the century.

On the whole, these translations appear to have been printed in a cheaper and less attractive form, as compared to their originals, particularly to those in Latin.¹ The latter were published in beautifully illustrated volumes, printed with care and artistic skill. The English versions are usually issued on poorer paper, with small and congested print, and the engravings in the original or Latin version were rarely reproduced. The translators aimed at presenting popularised versions. The scholarly tone of the original texts was generally lost; the lists of authorities and references to particular sources were dropped.² In some cases, translators even confess that they do not know the author or authors of their work.³ In others, they

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1. For an account of the decline of printing in the period 1550-1650 and of the inferiority of vernacular books as compared to books printed on the Continent, see McKerrow's article in Shakespeare's England, II, xxiii, and also E. M. Albright's Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640, New York, 1927, chap. vi.
 2. This can be seen by comparing the first few pages of Philippus Lonicerus' Chronicorum Turcicorum: Tomus Primus, Frankfort, 1578, and the beginning of The Policy of the Turkish Empire, London, 1597, which is an English translation of the former, but has no list of authorities and makes no mention of its sources.
 3. Cf. R. Carr, The Mahumetane or Turkish History, London, 1600, Dedication, sig. Aii.

claim that the book they have prepared has been compiled from various sources, while it is an almost literal translation of an earlier collection.¹

However, these characteristics do not necessarily prove that the standard of the translations was low. They were, in a way, specially made and printed for the general public, and details of scholarship may have been dispensed with to increase the book's appeal for the ordinary reader. Even the style and language had to be suitable for popular reading. The translator of Giovio's A Shorte Treatise explained in his preface that he had chosen his idiom from among "the most playn and famylier English speche", and also that he has avoided the use of "inkhorne termes which the common people, for lacke of Latin, do not understand".²

Looked at from this angle, the English copies of continental histories of Turkey are an evidence of the intellectual curiosity and alertness of a wide section of the Elizabethan public, who could buy these books and enjoy reading them. It must, nevertheless, be stressed that these were not the only source of knowledge about Turks. Histories of Turks written in Latin or other European languages were available

1. Cf. The Policy of the Turkish Empire, Dedication to the reader.

2. P. Giovio, op. cit., The Epistle.

in the English libraries of the time from very early days,¹ and could be used by those who were interested and able to read and understand them. The number of people who could understand Latin was quite large in the XVIth century; teaching in schools and universities was mostly conducted in Latin, and there were Englishmen who wrote and published works in Latin. There were books on Turks, written in Latin by Englishmen and published in England;² there were also Latin books about Turks, not written by Englishmen, but printed in England.³

Most of the continental books on Turks could be read in the private or university libraries of the period. An outstanding collection of great influence was Archbishop Parker's bequest of books to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Archbishop Parker, one of the most remarkable men of the early Tudor period, is chiefly known for his antiquarian interests. These interests had not been confined solely to the past of his own country, but had led him to amass a rich treasure of books about the history of other countries including

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1. Sears Jayne, in the introduction to the Library Catalogues of the Early Renaissance, California, 1956, draws attention to the fact that books in other European languages formed a part of English libraries in the early XVIth century. cf. p. 53.
 2. E.g. M. Sutcliffe, De Turco Papismo, London, 1604.
 3. E.g. Johann Faber, Oratio de Origine, Potentia ac Tyrannide Thurcorum, London, 1528. It was dedicated to Henry VIII.

Turkey.¹ Similar bequests were made to Oxford colleges as well. Among them, Archbishop Grindal's collection, donated to the Queen's College in 1583, is described as containing "besides works of Protestant reformers and the Fathers, the Novus Orbis, Matthew Paris, William of Tyre, and standard histories of Turks, Hungarians, Germans and Scots."²

Apart from university libraries, the collections of wealthy men could also act as a storehouse of information. Dramatists and writers could consult the libraries of the people whose friendship or patronage they enjoyed. One of these private collections, that of Lord Lumley, was particularly rich in oriental histories, and it has been suggested that Marlowe made use of the library in writing Tamburlaine and The Jew of Malta.³

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1. The rough list of Parker books, in the library of Corpus Christi, has many titles of Turkish histories. Cf. John Bakeless, The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe, Cambridge, Mass., 1942, i, 205, 220, 287. Bakeless has pointed to the possibility of Marlowe's having consulted this collection; op. cit., i, 47, 59ff.
 2. N. R. Ker, "Oxford College Libraries in the Sixteenth Century", The Bodleian Library Record VI (1959), No. 3, pp. 500-1.
 3. Cf. Ethel Seaton, "Fresh Sources for Marlowe", R.E.S., V (1929), p. 394. The catalogue of the Lumley collection has been edited by Sears Jayne and Francis R. Johnson (The Lumley Library. The Catalogue of 1609 Edition, British Museum Publications, London, 1956).

B. Survey of the Sources

Bibliographies

Kinds of Books

Extent and Accuracy of the Information Given

I have already commented on the profusion of European publications that were, to a greater or lesser extent, concerned with the political and social history of Turkey. Unfortunately, a complete bibliography of these works has not yet been published. The only guide so far was a list of titles appended to Von Hammer's History, to be found only in the original German version. But, this is not absolutely reliable¹ and does not give any description of the works cited. There is fuller information in a series of articles issued by Hammer in the Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst (Wien, XIV-XVIII, 1823-28). In this respect, Carol Göllner's bibliography of European publications on Turkey in the XVIth century (of which only the first volume, covering the period 1501-1550, has so far come out) is providing a much needed source of

1. Cf. A. H. Lybyer, The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent, Cambridge, Mass., 1896, p. 307, and Turcica, Vorwort, p. 9.

reference.¹

There were many kinds of books giving historical information on Turks. Some were devoted to rendering a general account of Turkish history. Others aimed at giving descriptions of significant battles or sieges and bore a close relationship to the news-pamphlets of the day, from which they cannot always be clearly distinguished.² Still others consisted of collections of anecdotes and episodes related in

1. Göllner is not complete for books in English. John Yoklavich, in his edition of Peele's The Battle of Alcazar, has pointed to the little work done in this field. After referring to S. C. Chew's The Crescent and the Rose as a book dealing with the subject, he adds "but a great many books and manuscripts have not yet been studied or, indeed catalogued". cf. The Dramatic Works, ed. cit., p. 276. The following books give information on some outstanding European books about Turkey. There is a short bibliographical description in A. H. Lybyer's The Government of the Ottoman Empire, Appendix, pp. 307-322. J. W. Thompson's History of Historical Writing, New York, 1942; E. Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1896; and A. H. Vasiliev's History of the Byzantine Empire contain information about early European (mainly XVth century) books about Turks; Geoffroy Atkinson's Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance Française and his bibliography, La Littérature Géographique Française, Paris, 1927, are very useful as a source for XVIth century writers.
2. Charles Whibley, in his article on the "Chroniclers and Antiquaries" of XVIth century England, remarked on their closeness to journalism. cf. C.H.E.L., ii, 314. It is significant that a translator of the age, Peter Ashton, described both history and news as "tydinges", the only difference being that history was the "tydinges teller of all antiquytte", and news was concerned with recent happenings. cf. P. Giovio's A Shorte Treatise, The Epistle, fols. iv - v.

an entertaining manner with a moral object in view. A very important and a comparatively more reliable source of information about Turkish affairs were the diaries, reports and descriptive books of persons who, in some capacity or other, had actually been in Turkey. The degree of accuracy of these works varied. It was determined by the position, experiences and personal attitude of the informer. A factor of great significance was also the writer's own opportunities for learning the language and institutions of the country, either before or during his stay. However, these reports have been of immense value for historians and writers.

In surveying the bulk of these publications, one realises that there was a great amount and variety of material at the disposal of a man of the XVIth century who wished to learn about the past and the institutions and customs of Turkey. It would be possible for a reader of Elizabethan England or of Renaissance Europe to have a considerable degree of correct information in this field. However, there were certain set-backs to complete accuracy. It would be difficult for the reader, in view of the general lack of knowledge of the Turkish sources themselves, with very few exceptions, to choose judiciously between the correct and the false, from the mass of publications that confronted him. It would also be practically impossible for an ordinary reader to sift the right from the wrong in a book that had a mixture of both. If one adds to these difficulties the prejudices and lack of religious tolerance, natural in such an

age, one can realise the obstacles that stood in the way to perfect understanding.

There was another factor which determined the quality and nature of an ordinary reader's knowledge of Turkish affairs. It can be described as the tendency of the age to see history in a set pattern.¹ It might have been an outcome of the impulse, dominant in Renaissance learning and philosophy,² to syncretise all the known facts and ideas to create one single expression of truth. We meet with this attitude in a number of historians and writers of XVIth century England. Tillyard has shown the existence of such a pattern or convention in the interpretation of the facts of English history. A similar notion of a set pattern can, I think, be traced in the contemporary accounts of Turkish history, whether written by Englishmen or by the members of the other European nations. I shall attempt to describe the main outlines of this historical convention later. I must now give a description of the principal sources of information that were available to an Elizabethan of the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries.

Before proceeding to these periods, however, it would be helpful to cast a look back at some of the earlier descriptions of the Turkish political and social scene, as these early accounts must

1. E. M. W. Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays, London, 1944, pp. 63-4.
2. Cf. C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the XVIth Century, Oxford, 1954, pp. 321-322.

have had a significant role in influencing the opinions and attitudes of the times we are chiefly concerned with.

C. Early Sources of Information

1. Information on Turkish History in the English or European Chronicles of the Late Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance

Although Elizabethan chronicles do not give much place to Turkish affairs, apart from a few occasional references,¹ we can find interesting and fairly long accounts in the earlier chronicles. One of these is the Chronicle of Roger of Hoveden.² This writer is particularly informative on the early wars of Byzantines and Turks. There is a long and detailed description of the battle of Myrioccephalon, where Turks had defeated the Byzantine army, led by Emperor Manuel Comneni, in 1176, and so ensured their ascendancy in Asia Minor. The battle is described in a letter written by Manuel to King Henry II of England. This letter is of special importance for the student of English and Turkish relations, as it contains information about the

1. There is a detailed description of the battle of Lepanto in R. Holinshed's The Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, London, 1577, pp. 1860-1. In Richard Grafton's Chronicle at Large there is an extract from S. Munster's description of the Turks followed by an account of the siege of Vienna in 1529 by Süleyman I and a reference to the sieges of Rhodes and Malta; cf. Grafton's Chronicle, London, 1809 edn., ii, 426-30.
2. Roger of Hoveden, probably a native of Howden near Durham, was educated at the monastic school in Durham, at the time of the bishopric of Hugh de Puiset. He became a clerk of Henry II in 1174. His chronicles were edited and translated by William Stubbs, under the title: Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene, London, 1868.

Varangian-English forces in the Byzantine army that had taken part in this historic battle.¹

Manuel's letter is reproduced in a shortened form in the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough.² This chronicle has also many references to Turks. It contains an interesting description of the geographical features of Turkey and a definition of its boundaries at the time.³ One can find several other passages about Turks in both these chronicles in connection with the wars of Richard I and Philip II.⁴

Although these chronicles must have been known to some Elizabethan scholars,⁵ there is no evidence of their having been widely read at the time. Of the earlier European chronicles, Froissart was certainly better known, particularly in the English translation of Lord Berner, which was published with a dedication to Henry VIII.⁶

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1. Roger of Hoveden, op. cit., ii, 102-4.
 2. Benedict of Peterborough, The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I. A.D. 1169-1192, ed. William Stubbs, London, 1867, i, 128.
 3. Ibid., ii, 198.
 4. Another English chronicle having fairly lengthy references to Turks is the Chronicon Adae de Usk, A.D. 1377-1421, first printed in this century, in an edition prepared by Sir Edward M. Thompson, Royal Society of Literature, 2nd edition, London, 1904.
 5. Hoveden is mentioned by Stow as one of his sources in the list of authors given at the beginning of his Chronicles.
 6. The Chronicle of Froissart, translated by John Bouchier, Lord Berners, 1523-5.

Froissart has several important passages on Turks. There is an account of Beyazid's character, of his sense of justice and discipline, as related by the French noblemen who were entertained at his Court as distinguished prisoners taken at the battle of Nicopolis.¹ Froissart also described the battle and the action of French forces under the leadership of the Duke of Burgundy.²

One of the most fascinating contributions made by Froissart was perhaps the description of Turkey given by Leo, the King of Armenia. Leo had come to France in the XIVth century when forced to leave his country through Tatar invasions. At the French Court he was asked a number of questions on Turkey. Leo's replies cast a very favourable light on the relations between the young Ottoman State and the vassal countries:

"... when he (Murad I) hath wonne a countrey, towne, or sygnory, he desyreth nothyng but truage, and leveth styll every man in his owne byleve, and he putteth never no man fro his herytage; he desyreth nothyng but the soverayne domynacyon ..." 3

It is interesting to know that Leo was sent to Britain on a mission of peace between France and England and received a pension

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1. The Chronicle of Froissart, translated by Sir John Bouchier, Lord Berners, with an introduction by W. P. Ker, Tudor Translations, London, 1902, vi, 282-3.
 2. Ibid., vi, 177, 230ff.
 3. Ibid., iv, 231. Other passages containing references to Turks are: iv, 232-37, giving an account of Turco-Hungarian relations and of Turkish invasions of Hungary under Murad's leadership, and iv, 231, where Murad is praised for his wisdom and justice and is said to be very fond of the "Frensshe language".

from Richard II. The reason for the employment of Leo in this task was to convince Richard that the main object of the two princes should be to achieve a peaceful relation between the two countries and then set out on a joint expedition against the real enemy of Christendom - the Turks.¹

One should, perhaps, note as an evidence of Froissart's influence on writers of Turkish histories that he was given as one of the authorities in the English translation of Antoine Geuffroy's The Order of the Great Turckes Courte, London, 1542.

2. Early English Books containing a Description of Events related to Turkish History

One of the earliest translations of a book on an event from Turkish history was Caoursin's Siege of Rhodes (translated into English by Johan Kay). This work, also described by some writers as one of the earliest specimens of news in the English language,² is an instance of a pamphlet where it is not possible to distinguish clearly between history and journalism. The Siege of Rhodes was ascribed to Caxton's press. It is significant that a reference is made to the event in another work printed by Caxton: The History of Godfrey of Boulogne, printed in 1481. The preface contained a short account of the rise and expansion of Turkish power in the Middle East, in a manner closely

1. The Chronicle of Froissart, vi, 40.

2. M. A. Shaaber, op. cit., p. 182, and see above pp. 68-9.

reminiscent of Johan Kay's preface to The Siege of Rhodes. Godfrey of Boulogne, itself, has several references to Turks, given in the semi-legendary framework of the story, based on the events of the first Crusade. It has been described as a translation of Günther's Solymanorum,¹ and was originally written in Latin. Caxton's third book concerned with Turks, in a more indirect way, was The History of Charles the Great (1485). The main interest in this book is not on the relations of Turks and Europeans, but on the conquest of Jerusalem, and the account is sprinkled with supernatural happenings and miracles.

With the exception of Caoursin's Siege of Rhodes, these books, translated and printed by Caxton, cannot be called 'historical' in the proper sense of the term. They were more in the tradition of the medieval romances.

D. XVIth and Early XVIIth Century Books of Turkish Social and Political History

1. Translations of Byzantine and Armenian Historians.
The Influence exerted by them.

Most of the standard XVIth century books on Turkish history were based on the work of Byzantine historians. These writers had great fame in Renaissance Europe. They were cited as authorities by

1. Cf. Joseph Ames, The Typographical Antiquities of Great Britain, London, 1810, i, 186-7. Ames derives this information from Walton's History of English Poetry.

the leading historians of the time. Chalcondylas¹ may have been perhaps the best known of the Byzantine historians. His account of the foundation and rise of the Ottoman Empire and of the wars between Byzantines and Turks was translated into Latin and copies could be found in English libraries early in the second half of the XVIth century. A collection in the Lumley collection, containing the Latin translation of Chalcondylas' History, made by Conrad Clauser and known under the title of Rebus Gestis Turcorum (Basle, 1556), is mentioned by Ethel Seaton as a probable source of Marlowe's Tamburlaine.² Quite a popular version of Chalcondylas could be found in Blaise de Vigenere's translation of the history into French. It was reprinted several times in the XVIIth century, together with a continuation by

1. Laonicus Chalcocondylas (or, in the abbreviated form, Chalcondylas), an Athenian of the XVth century, is said to have chosen as his main topic "the extraordinary evolution of the young Ottoman Empire which was rising on the ruins of the Greek, Frankish, and Slavonic States". His work has been praised for tolerance and impartiality. cf. A. H. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, ii, 648-9 and 690.
2. "Fresh Sources for Marlowe", ut cit., p. 394. E. Seaton gives Chalcondylas as Marlowe's source for the taunting scene between the wives of 'Tamburlaine' and 'Baiazeth'. We can also find a reference to Tamburlaine's love for his wife in the same history. The work was printed in some other compendiums of Turkish or Eastern history as well, e.g. Historia Rerum in Oriente Gestarum, Francof. ad Moenum, 1587. The Latin version of Chalcondylas' History was also included in some collections of Byzantine history in the Lumley library. cf. The Catalogue, ed. Sears Jayne and F. R. Johnson, nos. 1025 and 1342.

Thomas Artus.¹

Other distinguished Byzantine writers who had written about Turkish affairs, such as Ducas, Phrantzes and Critobulus, were scarcely known at all.² Two better known writers who were not Byzantine, but who had been in Byzantium at the time of the siege and capture of Constantinople by the Turks, were Cardinal Isidore and Leonardus Chiensis. The works of these writers were in Latin. Leonardus, a zealous Catholic and the Archbishop of Chios, attributed the cause of the fall of Constantinople to the refusal of the Byzantine Church to submit to the Pope. There was a handsome copy of this history in the Lumley collection, with an engraving of Mehmet II (Mahomet the Conqueror) on the title page. This copy was one of the books which were originally

1. L. Chalcondyle, Histoire de la décadence de l'empire grec, et établissement de celui des Turcs, traduite du grec par Blaise de Vigenère, Paris, 1577. It was reprinted in 1584 and there is a copy of this edition in the British Museum. The edition prepared by Thomas Artus was published in 1620. Artus' edition was more in the form of a collection of Turkish histories and contained a translation of Georgijević's Prophecy of the eventual downfall and destruction of the Ottoman Empire. This version also included an account of the murder of Mustapha by his father Sultan Süleyman (Solyman), and was referred to by G. Bullough in his discussion of the sources of Fulke Greville's The Tragedy of Mustapha; cf. Poems and Dramas of F. Greville, London, 1939, ii, Introd., 17.
2. Hammer complained about the slightness of knowledge about these authors as compared to the popularity of Chalcondylas. Cf. Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, trans. J. J. Hellert, Paris, 1835-43, Preface. However, Johannes Löwenklau refers to Ducas and Phrantzes among his sources in the Index to his Pandectae Historiae Turcicae, 1596.

in the collection of Cranmer, and is therefore very valuable for showing that histories of Turkish conquests would be found in English libraries in the early XVIth century.¹

Cardinal Isidore's description of the fall of Constantinople² was referred to, quite often, by XVIth century writers. It is significant that the book is mentioned by Johan Kay, the Poet Laureate of King Edward and the translator of Caoursin's Siege of Rhodes, as the principal source from which he had learnt about the capture of Constantinople.³

A history of the Turkish people was included in a book written by a prince of another Christian country, bordering on and having close contacts with Turkey: Fleurs des Histoires de la Terre Dorient of Haiton, an Armenian prince. He became a monk and visited Clement V in Avignon where he dictated a history in French, which was translated immediately into Latin. It was translated into English and printed by R. Pynson in 1525.⁴ Haiton is one of the authors to whom later

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1. Historia Captae a Turca Constantinopolis, Descripta a Leonardo Chiensi Theologiae Professore, & Mitylenes Archiepiscopo, (etc.), Norimbergae, 1544. The copy in Lumley's Collection bears the signature of Cranmer; it is item 1305 in the Catalogue of the Library; cf. Brit. Mus. 1313, c.13.
 2. Ad universos Christifideles de expugnatione Constantinopolis, Isidori Rutheni Cardinalis, Sabinsis Episcopi.
 3. W. Caoursin, op. cit., Dedication of J. Kay.
 4. See above p. 28.

writers on Turkey referred very often.

The works of Byzantine and Armenian historiographers and chroniclers were naturally of great value not only to historians, who based their books on the accounts given by them, but also to writers, who wished to recreate the past for artistic purposes.

2. Books written by first-hand Observers of Turkish Life and Institutions, containing Information on the social and political History of the Country

The reports and descriptions of these persons were given an important place in the historical collections of the time. They were frequently mentioned as authorities on Turkish affairs and their works went into many editions and reprints both in Latin and in European vernacular tongues.

The book of an unknown Transylvanian writer, referred to as 'Captivus Septemcastrensis', who had served as a slave in a number of Ottoman houses, had great vogue, particularly after the year 1509, when the first XVIth century edition of the work came out.¹ It was reprinted several times under various titles and was included in

1. It was published together with an anti-Mohammedan tract written by Riccolde Montecroce. The title of the book gave a description of its contents: Contenta. Ricoldi ordinis praedicatorum contra secta Mahumeticam non indignus scitu libellus. Cuiusdam diu captivi Turcorum septemcastrensis de vita & moribus eorundem (etc.), Parisiis, 1509. cf. Turcica, no. 35. For the importance of the book as a standard source of Turkish histories, see Lybyer, op. cit., p. 309f.

collections available in English libraries.¹

The account given by 'Captivus Septemcastrensis' is particularly useful for learning about the popular notions and superstitions of the ordinary Turkish people of the time. It shows evidence of the author's knowledge of colloquial Turkish and contains a Latin transcription of two folk poems of the XVth century, together with a Latin translation.²

Among the books of first-hand observers, that of Menavino is of special importance and interest. Giovanni Antonio Menavino, the son of a Genoese merchant, was captured by Corsairs when he was twelve years old, and taken to the Court of Beyazid II. He was admitted to the Court school of pages and was given the traditional education of the time, which consisted chiefly of proficiency in the languages of Turkish, Arabic and Persian, as well as training in Islamic law and theology.³

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1. It was printed in a collection on the Historiae de Saracenorum sive Turcarum origine (etc.), 1550, entered in the Lumley Catalogue under the title of Kuran. Cf. no. 1192.
 2. Ibid., col. 55. The poems are by Yunus Emre, an eminent Turkish folk poet of the XIVth century, and perhaps the earliest specimens of Turkish literature published in any European language. Cf. Turcica, no. 853.
 3. A. H. Lybyer, op. cit., pp. 71-8. Menavino describes his experiences in the Court at the beginning of his book. Cf. Trattato de Costumi et Vita de Turchi, Firenze, 1548, p. 11.

After his escape and return to Italy, Menavino wrote a description of the Court, army and customs of the Turks. His book, generally known under the title of the Trattato de Costumi et Vita de Turchi,¹ had great vogue in the XVIth century and was translated into several European languages. There were copies, both in the original Italian and in Latin, in the English libraries of the time.² A translation into English was made in the late XVIth century and published as part of the anonymous book The Policy of the Turkish Empire (1597). Menavino presented a favourable picture of life and customs in Turkey. His account may have, in many instances, helped to create the conception of the well-ordered and well-behaved community that could be held up as an example of emulation to Christendom. His description of the Turkish code of morality, for instance, is very similar in main outline to the ethical code of the XVIth century Europe, while the maxims enumerated, such as love of God, obedience to one's parents and superiors, courtesy and unselfishness towards all men,³

1. The first edition of Menavino's book was published under the title of I Cinque Libri della Legge, Religione et Vita de Turchi, Vinegia, 1548. The second and enlarged edition, printed in the same year, bore the title of Trattato de Costumi et Vita de Turchi, Firenze.
2. There were copies in both languages in the Parker collection and in one case Ethel Seaton has shown that Marlowe has used the Latin version for some particular information on Islamic traditions. cf. "Fresh Sources for Marlowe", pp. 386-8.
3. A. G. Menavino, Trattato de Costumi et Vita de Turchi, Firenze 1548, pp. 25-6.

were qualities which were urged by the contemporary Christian moralists as well.

Menavino's account was generally printed, together with that of another well-known writer and ex-prisoner in Turkey: De Turcarum Ritu et Caeromoniis of Bartholomej Georgijević.¹ Georgijević shows a darker side of life in Turkey - more harsh and severe than Menavino had depicted and full of suffering and hardship for the Christians under Turkish thralldom. This might have been partly due to the different nature of the experiences of the two men. Georgijević had been taken a prisoner as an adult and had been made to serve as a slave in Turkish households. He succeeded in escaping after several futile attempts and returned home with the memories of a painful and arduous flight "through the most dangerous places and desarts of Caramanie and Siria",² and through the Holy Land, where he was helped by the Friars of Saint Francis of Jerusalem and finally became a pilgrim.

His object is above all to rouse Christian nations to fight and redeem all Christians from slavery. In his address to the 'Christian reader', he says:

"I came unto my brethren the Christians as an undouted messenger of their punishmentes, that they may do worthy penance for ther errors and offences, ... that they may understande also in what hatred thei ought to

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1. Bartholomej Georgijević (or Bartholomeus Georgievitz) was a Hungarian by birth. His work was first published in 1544 in Antwerp.
 2. The Ofspringe of the House of Ottomano... Englished by Hugh Goughe, London, 1570, Georgijević's Epistle.

be, which hinder from that moste holy and longe desired expedition the christian sworde, in time to come, to be the revenger of our miseries, ..." 1

De Turcarum Ritu became a standard book of reference for Turkish affairs in the middle of the XVIth century. It was considered particularly valuable for the information it gave about Ottoman organisations and the army, and for its analysis of the causes of the defeat of Christians in their wars with the Turks.

The book consists of five chapters. The first two, on the rites and ceremonies of the Turks, are said to have been abridged from Spandugino.² The third is accepted by historians as having been written by Georgijević himself. It is an account of the military organisation of the Ottomans. The fourth chapter gives a glossary of Turkish expressions and greetings. The fifth chapter is concerned with the treatment of Christian slaves and citizens under Ottoman rule. This chapter was originally published as a separate pamphlet.³

De Turcarum Ritu was translated into English by Hugh Goughe and printed in 1570 in London. Goughe based his translation on an

1. B. Georgijević, op. cit., The Epistle.
2. A. H. Lybyer, op. cit., p. 317. However, Georgijević made some original contributions. His quotation of a Turkish folk-poem is particularly interesting, as it was transcribed in Latin letters and was accompanied by a translation. The poem was reproduced in the English version of Goughe, and can be considered as one of the earliest specimens of Turkish literature to be published in English.
3. De afflictione tam captivorum quam etiam sub Turcae tributo viventium Christianorum, Antverpiae, 1544.

enlarged and revised edition of the work prepared by the author.¹ It included not only the chapter on the affliction of Christians mentioned above, but another tract containing the text of a prophecy in Turkish, foretelling the ultimate defeat of the Turks,² and a description of Mustapha's murder translated from Nicholas Moffan appended to the end. It has been suggested that in this form the book was one of the sources of Greville's Mustapha.³

Before concluding this short survey of writers who described the social conditions, customs and institutions of Turkey from direct observation and knowledge, we must shortly mention the works of two more writers who wrote similar books based on their own experience and who enjoyed popularity and esteem in XVIth century Europe. These are: Christophe Richier's Des Coustumes et Manieres de vivre des Turcs, Paris, 1540,⁴ and Luigi Bassano's I Costumi et i Modi Particolari de Vita de Turchi, Roma, 1545.⁵

All these writers, 'Captivus Septemcastrensis', Menavino, Georgijević, Bassano and Richier had the opportunity of observing

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1. The House of Ottomano, Georgijević's Epistle. The work used by Goughe was most probably the 1560 edition of the author's writings: De Origine Imperii Turcorum, Vitebergae, 1560. See above pp. 78-9.
 2. Prognoma sive praesagium Mehemetanorum, Primum de Christianorum calamitatibus (etc.), 1545.
 3. See below pp. 242-4, 245-8.
 4. Cf. Turcica, nos. 671 and 672.
 5. Cf. Turcica, no. 845.

Turkish life from within.¹ Their books contained social description as well as historical information and aimed at presenting a complete picture of the country, with its people and its history. Göllner considers Septemcastrensis, Georgijević and Bassano as the best writers on Turkish customs and social conditions.² The influence exerted by all these writers on the XVIth century ideas about Turkish political and social history was certainly very great.

3. Translation and Use of the Turkish Sources

The desire for historical veracity and for first-hand information about Turks gave rise to the composition of a number of books which were based on some or other authentic Turkish document. A German translation of the chronicles of a Turkish historian, Muhy'l-Dīn Muhammad, was made some time about the middle of the XVIth century. It became best known to Europe in the Latin version of Löwenklau published in Frankfort in the year 1588.³ The manuscript was brought to Germany in 1551 and was translated into German by

1. All except Bassano were prisoners. Cf. Turcica, no. 845.

2. Turcica, no. 845.

3. Muhy'l-Dīn Muhammad (Alī Al-Djamali), a Turkish theologian and historian of the time of Selim I (1512-1520) and Süleyman I (1520-1566). Löwenklau's (Loewenklau, or in the Latinised form: Leunclavius) Annales Sultonorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti (Frankfort o.M., 1588) is known to have been based on the original manuscript, as well as on the German version prepared by Spiegel. Löwenklau had been in Turkey and had learnt the language. See Biographie Universelle under 'Loewenklau'. On Muhy'l-Dīn's Chronicle and its translations, see Hammer, Archiv für Geschichte XVI (1825), 143-146, and The Encyclopaedia of Islam.

Jean Gautier Spiegel. Another Turkish chronicle which received fairly early recognition in the West was Saadeddin's ('Sa'd al-dīn) Tādj-al-Tawarikh. It was partly translated into English by William Seaman in 1652, entitled The reign of Sultan Orchan second King of the Turks. Translated out of Hojah Effendi, an eminent Turkish historian.¹

A Turkish document is also considered to have been the basis of two books written in Italian, i.e. Libri tre delle Cose de Turchi (Venice, 1539) by Benedetto Ramberti and Opera Nova la quale dichiara tutto il Governo del Gran Turco (Venice, 1537).² These books were used extensively by eminent European historians, such as Guillaume Postel, Paolo Giovio and Antoine Geuffroy.

Englishmen of the time could have known about this material not only through the original copy of Ramberti, which had wide circulation, but also through the English translations of the histories

1. Saadeddin (or Khodja Efendi. Sa'd Al-Dīn), an eminent XVIth century historian, wrote the history of the Ottoman state from its foundation till the reign of Selim I. The work was finished in the reign of Selim II (1566-1574).
2. For information on Yunus (or 'Iunis) Bey and Ramberti, see Lybyer, op. cit., pp. 314-316. Lybyer believes that both these writers used a Turkish manuscript in the possession of Alvise Gritti, natural son of the Doge Gritti and a friend of Ibrahim Pasha, the renowned Vizier of Süleyman. Yunus Bey, 'the chief dragoman', was in Venice in 1532 and in 1537 and the book may have been written during his residence. It was in broad Venetian dialect.

of Giovio and Geuffroy. In fact, Geuffroy's Briefve Description de la Court du Grand Turc (Paris, 1542), turned into English by R. Grafton during the same year,¹ was in parts an almost literal translation of Ramberti.

Another writer who is said to have used authentic Turkish material in his work was Theodoro Spandugino, an Athenian writer of the early XVIth century, who had been in Constantinople for some time and who had also collected information about Turks from two high renegade officials: Hersek Zade Ahmed Paşa and Mesih Paşa.² His book³ was used as a standard source on Turkish organisations and customs by well-known writers such as Giovio, Geuffroy and Georgijević.⁴

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1. Antoine Geuffroy, The order of the Great Turckes courte, of hys menne of warre, and of all hys conquests, with the summe of Mahumetes doctryne. The British Museum general catalogue gives it as a translation of Ramberti; Lybyer describes it as "a sound, intelligent description of the Empire, built upon the information in Ramberti and Iunis Bey." cf. op. cit., p. 317.
 2. A. H. Lybyer, op. cit., p. 310.
 3. Theodoro Spandugino della casa regale de Cantacusini ... delle historie & origine de Principi de Turchi, ordine della Corte, loro rito, & costumi (etc.), Lucca, 1550.
 4. A. H. Lybyer, op. cit., pp. 310, 317.

4. General Histories of Turkey:

Guillaume Postel; Paolo Giovio; Andrea Cambini

The history of Guillaume Postel¹ was not available in English translation but we know from references in the text of Geuffroy and Giovio that it was well known in the XVIth century. It has in fact been suggested that Postel was one of the writers who may have influenced Marlowe in his treatment of Turkish history. This French historian, renowned as a great scholar and linguist, had lived in Constantinople for some time and had also been to Arab countries, then under Ottoman dominion. His history is striking for its tolerance and objectiveness. His humanitarian ideals are evident in the foreword of his book where he explained why he had chosen to write a history of Turks and other oriental peoples. His main object was to enlighten his countrymen and co-religionists about the customs and religions of other peoples so as to make the union and agreement of all mankind possible.² Postel's reasons for writing his history were, in fact, quite unlike those given by most of his contemporaries. An ordinary historian of the age, although the content of his work may have been objective or even friendly towards Turks, generally included a 'defence' in the

1. L'Histoire memorable de la Republique des Turcs, Poitiers, 1560. It was reprinted in 1575 with additions and changes under the title Des Histoires Orientales et principalement des Turcs.

2. G. Postel, Des Histoires Orientales, Paris, 1575, pp. 1-2.

preface or dedication, where he sought to justify his having been engaged in a work about a people who were, by and large, considered enemies of Christendom.

It might have been on account of his daring and defiance of conventional values that Postel was considered almost a diabolical figure by his contemporaries.¹ Nevertheless, his history was one of the most popular books of the century² and his name is cited by almost every historian as an authority on the history of Turks and of other Eastern nations.

It is significant that another very famous historian of the XVIth century, Paolo Giovio,³ was also censured for taking a too lenient attitude towards Turks. In A Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany, Ascham wrote about Giovio, "his whole study and purpose is spent on these points, to deface the emperor, to flatter France, to spite England, to belie Germany, to praise the Turk, to keep up the pope, to pull down Christ and Christ's religion, as much as lieth in him".⁴ Ascham's statement was made particularly with reference to the Historiarum sui temporis ... ab anno 1494 ad anno 1547

1. G. Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons, p. 245.

2. Ibid., p. 28.

3. Paolo Giovio (Paulus Jovius, Paulus Jovius, Paul Jove), Bishop of Nocera (1483-1552).

4. Op. cit., The Whole Works, ed. Dr. Giles, London, 1864, iii, 30.

(Florentiae, 1550-52), which was one of the most printed books of the time.¹ Giovio's main work on Turkish history was Commentario de le Cose de' Turchi², considered as one of the principal authorities on Turkish affairs by his contemporaries. It was translated into several European languages and reprinted many times.

The English translation was made by Peter Ashton and printed in 1546 under the title of A Shorte Treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jovius.³ The book consisted of three parts:

1. 'The begynnyng of the turkyshe empyre'.
2. 'The lyues of all the Turkyshe Emperours'.
3. 'The araye and discipline of the Turkish warfare'.

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1. It was translated into French in 1552: Histoires de Paolo Iovio ... sur les choses faictes et avenues de son temps (etc.) cf. G. Atkinson, La Littérature Géographique Française, no. 87. Atkinson includes the book among the five most printed books of the period 1480-1609, the others being the histories of Haiton, Postel, Castenheda, Le Roy and Palma Cayet, cf. Les Nouveaux Horizons, p. 28. Giovio is also criticised in the Biographie Universelle for not always giving a true picture of events, particularly when to do so conflicted with his personal interests.
 2. Commentario de le Cose de' Turchi di Paulo Jovio, Vescovo di Nocera, Roma, 1531. It was dedicated to Charles V. The book was translated into Latin in 1537, into French in 1538, into German in 1535. cf. Turcica, under Giovio.
 3. The full title is: A shorte treatise upon the Turkes Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Iovius byshop of Nucerne, and dedicated to Charles V Emperor. Drawen oute of the Italyen tong into Latyne, by Franciscus Niger Bassianates. And translated out of Latyne into Englysh by Peter Ashton, London, 1546.

According to Lybyer, Giovio incorporated into his book information given by Ramberti and Spandugino on Turkish institutions and the army.¹ From references given by Giovio himself and by comparing his work with that of the other writers of his time, it is evident that he must have also made extensive use of the works of earlier historians, such as Sabellicus, Sagundinus, I. B. Egnatius and Johann Cuspinianus.²

Another early XVIth century history of the origin of Turks and of the lives of the Emperors was that of Andrea Cambini, whose Libro Delle Origine de Turchi (Firenze, 1528)³ was translated into English, together with an account of George Castriotis (Scanderbeg's) exploits in his fights against Murad II.⁴

E. Histories of Significant Battles

Memorable Figures and Events

Wars with Particular Countries

Apart from general histories of Turks, there were a great

1. A. H. Lybyer, op. cit., p. 317.
2. Johann Cuspinianus (or Spiesshammer, 1473-1529). cf. Turcica, no. 679, and Biographie Universelle under Cuspinianus. His history of the Turks, De Turcorum Origine, Religione (etc.), Burgundiae, 1541, was published posthumously. He is described by GÖllner as a learned historian of the time, who had read widely and had incorporated the results into his work in a scholarly manner.
3. Cf. Turcica, no. 294.
4. The English version bore the title of the Two very notable commentaries the one of the originall of the Turcks and Empire of the house of Ottomano, written by Andrew Cambine, and th'other of the warres of Turcke against George Scanderbeg ... translated ... by John Shute, London, 1562.

number of pamphlets and books describing famous and significant battles, or concerned with the wars of Turkey with a particular country. We must also include in this group the books which were devoted to relating the martial deeds and life of an important historical figure. The most outstanding instances were the 'histories' of the life and wars of Scanderbeg, of the wars of Turks in Hungary, Poland and Persia, of the victories and defeats of Christian forces in various battles both on sea and land. The last were of more topical interest and bore closer relationship to the news publications of the day. Nevertheless these shorter tracts became part of the historical literature of the time and were printed in collections or as appendices to books of general history.

1. The Wars of Scanderbeg with the Turks

Among books on particular events and people, those on Scanderbeg deserve special interest. The most popular account about the famous Albanian leader who had rebelled against Murad II and had withstood Turkish invasion for nearly twenty-five years was written by a Catholic priest called Marino Barlezio.¹ Barlezio had been an eye-witness of the wars of George Castrioti and his book became well

1. The translator of P. Giovio's A Shorte Treatise expressed his admiration for the book: "Is it possible I praie yow for mans wit to deuise or inuent any other thinge, whiche can so effectually moue princes and noble men, bothe to loue and also folow the worthy and valiaunt christien Capitain, George Castryote (kinge of Epirus and Albany) as the historie, whiche marinus Berletius hath most eloquently and clerkly writen of ye same prince;" cf. 'The Epistle' of the translator.

known in the XVith century.¹

We can find an early account of Scanderbeg's life, in English, in a collection of historical writings on various countries, printed in 1560, with the title The orations of Arsanes agaynst Philip ... of Scanderbeg prayeng ayde of Christian princes (etc.) The author of the original text, which contains a very short relation of the life and deeds of Scanderbeg, is not mentioned. Another account by an unknown writer was appended to the English translation of Andrea Cambini's Libro delle origine de Turchi et imperio delli Ottomanni (Firenze, 1528). The two works were printed together, under the title of Two Very Notable Commentaries.² Finally, Barlezio's account could also be read in English through the translation of Zacharias Jones, from the version of Jacques Lavardin.³ The English translation of

1. It was first printed in 1474 in Latin. The title of the first XVith century edition is De Obsidione Scodrensi, Venetae, 1504. Other XVith century writers who described the deeds of Scanderbeg were Giorgio Merula, N. Sagundinus, F. Filelfo and Marino Becichemi. Barlezio's version was included in many XVith century collections of Turkish history, and was translated into French by Jacques Lavardin in 1576 and into Italian by F. Sansovino in 1564. cf. Turcica, no. 25.
2. See above p. 120. This may be a translation of the 1541 edition of Cambini's history, which contained two more works: that of Giovio and the history of Barlezio, and was entitled Commentarii delle Cose de Turchi, Vinegia, 1541.
3. The historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albania. Containing his famous acts, his noble deedes of armes, and memorable victories against the Turkes ... by Jacques de Lavardin ... Newly translated out of French into English by Z.I. (Zachary Jones, according to the Brit. Mus. catalogue), London, 1596.

Giovio's A Shorte Treatise and the historical work of Richard Knolles were also places where it was possible to learn about the deeds of Scanderbeg.¹

Scanderbeg's fame as a champion of Christendom is reflected in the creative literature of the time. Nashe ranked him together with Alexander, Caesar and Frederick Barbarossa.² His life was the subject of a lost play, attributed by Fleay to Marlowe.³ The source of all this attention was no doubt the admiration and gratitude felt by Christendom towards the prince of a small kingdom who, to the surprise of all, had successfully defied and withstood the Turks for over half a century. His courage and skill at arms were magnified when set against the hitherto almost invincible strength of the Ottoman army.

2. Timur and Beyazid

The life of Timur and the defeat of Beyazid (Baiaseth, Bajazet, etc.) at his hands constituted a theme on which many tracts and books were written. The work of some modern historians in the field has revealed the existence of a certain Renaissance 'legend' of Timur, a legend that originated mainly in the writings of the Italian

1. P. Giovio, op. cit., fol. 22. R. Knolles, The Generall Historie of the Turkes, 1603. cf. chapter 'Amurath II' (fols. 255-333), *passim*, and chapter on 'Mahomet II': fols. 365-404 are particularly concerned with Scanderbeg. Knolles stated in the preface that he had based his account mainly on the history of Barlezio.
2. Cf. Lenten-Stuffe, Works, ed. R. B. McKerrow, London, 1904, iii, 191.
3. Cf. St. Reg., iii, 187. See below pp. 216-7.

humanists, beginning with Poggio Bracciolini's (1380-1459) De Varietate Fortunae Libri Quattuor (Milan, 1492), where Timur was presented as the symbol of the perfect prince - the Renaissance ideal of 'virtu'.¹ The image of Timur given in Poggio was elaborated by the addition of further details, and a standard 'Vita Tamerlani', repeated in the accounts of succeeding writers and historians, developed. The principal descriptions of Timur's life were to be found mainly in Latin until about the last quarter of the XVIth century. Accounts of writers such as Eneo Silvio Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), Andrea Cambini, Paolo Giovio and Perondinus were reprinted in the standard historical collections published in Latin.²

Translations found their way gradually into the English historical books. One of the earliest to be published in English was

1. Cf. Eric Voegelin, "Machiavelli's Prince: Background Formation", Review of Politics, xiii (1951), 142-168; and the same author's "Das Timurbild der Humanisten", Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht, xvii, no. 5. See also I Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, Princeton, 1957, pp. 64-5, and Hallet Smith, "Tamburlaine and the Renaissance", Elizabethan Studies and other Essays in Honour of George Fulmer Reynolds, University of Colorado, 1945, pp. 126-31.
2. Hammer gives a long list of European authors who wrote on Timur during the Renaissance. cf. Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, vol. x. There is a bibliography attached to Harold Lamb's Tamerlane the Earth Shaker, ed. Thornton Butterworth; Ellis Fermor's Introduction to her edition of Marlowe's Tamburlaine (cf. The Works, Methuen edn., 1930-33, 24ff.), John Bakeless' The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe (cf. i, 200ff.) and Ethel Seaton's "Fresh Sources for Marlowe" (cf. ut cit., pp. 385-401) all contain descriptions of the sources available in the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries. See also the Encyclopaedia of Islam, art. on Timur.

Pedro Mexia's Silva de Varia Leccion (Seville, 1540), turned into English by Thomas Fortescue from a French version.¹ Mexia and Perondinus are of particular significance for giving a summary of many of the current Renaissance myths and ideas about Timur. Their accounts were considered standard sources of reference for the Tatar conqueror's life and adventures. Although Perondinus' Vita Magni Tamerlanis (Florence, 1551) was not translated into English, it could be read in Latin collections such as that of Conrad Clauser. There were abstracts of Mexia and Perondinus in George Whetstone's The English Mirror (1586) and John Bysshup's Beautiful Blossoms (1577).²

Knowledge about Timur and his conquests appears to have been fairly widespread in the West at the time. His picture was one of the engravings in the frontispiece of Purchas his Pilgrimes; Coryat claimed in his speech to the 'Great Mogol' that 'Tamburlaine' was no less famous in Europe than he was in Asia.³ Many of the accounts of persons who had visited his Court or travelled to the lands under his rule had been printed; and there was a floating stock of lore derived from a variety of sources: the reports of travellers and prisoners, accounts of Byzantine and oriental historians, anecdotes founded on little or no historical evidence.

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1. The foreste or a collection of histories, no lesse profitable, then pleasant and necessaire, dooen out of French into Englishe, London, 1571.
 2. Perondinus and Mexia are thought to have been the principal sources of Marlowe's Tamburlaine. See below p. 254, n.3.
 3. Cf. Coryat's letter "From Agra, the capitall Citie of the Dominion of the Great Mogoll", Purchas his Pilgrimes, iv, 482-488.

One of the earliest and most interesting descriptions of Timur and his Court is that supplied by a person referred to as John, the Archbishop of Sultaniya. John had been appointed 'Archbishop of the East and Ethiopia' by the order of Pope Boniface IX in 1398. The see was Sultaniya in Timur's territories. His memoirs were taken down by the courtiers of Charles VI in 1403 during an ambassadorial mission to Europe in the company of Timur's special envoy, Haji Muhammad. According to some sources John was an English Franciscan named John Greenlaw.¹ He brought letters from Timur to various sovereigns in the West, among whom were Charles VI of France and Henry IV of England.²

Another source for Timur's life and his war with Beyazid was Johann Schiltberger's Ein Wunderlich und Kurtzweilige History (Frankfort o.M., 1549). Schiltberger had been taken prisoner first by Beyazid at the battle of Nicopolis (1396), and then by Timur, on the former's defeat at the battle of Ankara (or Angora, in 1401). He returned to his native Bavaria after having been away for more than thirty years and wrote a description of the events he had witnessed. His work provided one of the sources used by Löwenklau in his account of Timur in Pandectae.³ Although knowledge of the German language does not seem to have been widespread at the time, there is no reason to suppose that

1. Cf. Hilda Hookham, Tamburlaine the Conqueror, London, 1962, p. 218. John wrote a history entitled Libellus de Notitia Orbis. See Memoire sur Tamerlan, ed. H. Moranville, Paris, 1894, and Libellus de Notitia Orbis, trans. in part by A. Kern, Paris, 1938.
2. Cf. Hilda Hookham, op. cit., 258ff.
3. Cf. The Bondage and Travels of Johan Schiltberger, 1396-1427, trans. J. B. Telfer, London, 1879, p. xvii.

his account could not have been known to Elizabethans at all, particularly as the book had roused sufficient interest for it to be printed twice in the same year in different towns of Germany.¹

A contemporaneous description of Timur's Court was written by the Spanish ambassador, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who was sent to Samarcand at the head of a Spanish mission, in the company of Timur's envoy, Haji Muhammad. Clavijo is believed to have written his memoirs shortly after 1406. His book circulated in manuscript and was widely known in the XVth and XVIth centuries. It was first printed in 1582 and published by Argote de Molina and might have been read by some Elizabethans in the original Spanish.² Clavijo's history is particularly useful for the information it gives about Timur's life and character. It is also significant for the vivid way in which it depicts the splendour and fascination of Timur's Court and country.

1. Cf. Turcica, nos. 885 and 886. There is a copy of the Frankfort edition of 1549 in the British Museum Library. Some details of Timur's life as dramatised by Marlowe in Tamburlaine have been traced to Schiltberger. The question whether Marlowe could have seen Schiltberger's History was put forward by Bakeless. He believed that this was unlikely as he thought that the work was in manuscript in Marlowe's lifetime, and that it was not printed until the XIXth century. cf. op. cit., p. 227.
2. There is a copy of the 1582 edition in the British Museum. cf. Historia del gran Tamorlan par Argote de Molina, Seville, 1582, (Brit. Mus. 814.1.21). For a discussion of certain resemblances between Clavijo's text and some passages in Marlowe, see U. M. Ellis Fermor's edition of Tamburlaine, pp. 290 and 258 n. Ellis Fermor finds a similarity particularly in the descriptions of Timur's camp and capital but she suggests that this might be traced back to Mexia who could have taken the description of these places from Clavijo. On Clavijo's account and its popularity, see Clavijo. Embassy to Tamerlane, 1403-1406, trans. and introd. Guy le Strange, London, 1928.

Original Eastern accounts reached the West only towards the middle of the XVIIth century. A long biography of Timur, written in 1595 in French by Jean du Bec-Crespin, 'Abbot of Mortimer', was introduced by its author as being based on the "auncient monuments of the Arabians" and chiefly the history of a person named Alhacen. The identity of Alhacen, considered to be a pseudonym, has not been established.¹ Du Bec says that the manuscript fell into his hands during his trip to the Levant and that he had the help of an Arab translator for turning it into French. Du Bec's Histoire du Grand Empereur Tamerlanes was translated into English and published in 1597 under the title of The Historie of the Great Emperour Tamerlan ... Newly translated out of French into English ... by H.M. Du Bec's biography was used extensively by Knolles in his Generall Historie and reprinted in the Collection of Purchas.²

Apart from these sources, there were also accounts of Timur's conquests and of his victory over Beyazid in the general histories of

1. See Brit. Mus. Gen. Catalogue and Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, under 'Du Bec-Crespin'. In the Introduction to her edition of Tamburlaine, Ellis Fermor expresses doubt about the authenticity of the work. cf. ed. cit., p. 17, n.2.
2. Cf. Purchas his Pilgrimes, iii, 140ff. The earliest identifiable translation made from an original Eastern source was the Latin version of the chronicle of Arabshah, an Arab historian who had been captured by Timur and taken by him to Samarcand. It was entitled: Ahmedis Arabsia de Vitae et Rerum Gestarum Timuri, Lugduni Batavorum, 1636. English translation: J. H. Sanders, Tamerlane the Great Amir, London, 1936.

Europe or of particular European countries, in popular encyclopaedic works, such as François Belleforest's La Cosmographie Universelle or Pierre de la Primaudaye's The French Academie (translated into English in 1586), and in prose collections containing moral, historical or philosophical writings. These books do not add much to the basic facts and traditions inherited from the earlier accounts or reports. Their chief value lies perhaps in showing the popularity of the Timur and Beyazid story and also in revealing the moral or philosophical undertones attributed to the event by Renaissance writers.

3. The Persian Wars

The conflict of Turks and Persians was seen principally as a means of distracting the attention of Turks away from Christendom and was therefore of immense importance in European politics. Hence the wars of these two rival nations, professing different sects of Islam, and the nature of their relations attracted much interest. The Persians were even considered as possible allies of Christendom against the common enemy.¹ Two English brothers, Sir Robert and Anthony Sherley, were particularly active in trying to achieve such an alliance between Persia and the Christian states of Europe. The part played by them in the politics of the time, together with the adventures of the

1. Cf. E. S. Creasy, History of the Ottoman Turks, p. 131; S. C. Chew, op. cit., pp. 223ff. Chew also discusses the commercial links of England with Persia; cf. pp. 205-338.

third and youngest brother, Thomas Sherley, who was involved in a piratical expedition against the Turks in the Mediterranean, stimulated the curiosity and captured the imagination of writers. The exploits of the three brothers were very much in the news.¹ Two accounts of their adventures were published in the first decade of the XVIIth century: A New and Large Discourse of the Travels of Sir Anthony Sherley (London, 1601), written by William Parry, and The Three English Brothers (London, 1607), written by Anthony Nixon.²

Apart from the publication of news and letters on Persian affairs, histories, devoted to surveying the relations of the two countries, were also written and printed. One of the most famous of these was the Historia della Guerra fra Turchi et Persiani (Roma, 1587) of Giovanni-Thomaso Minadoi,³ translated into English by Abraham Hartwell and printed under the title of The History of the Warres betweene the Turkes and the Persians (London, 1595).

1. See above p. 75.

2. Sir Thomas Sherley was captured and kept as a prisoner in Turkey for several years. He described his experiences in a work entitled "Discourse of the Turks". The work remained in manuscript until its publication by Denison E. Ross (cf. Camden Miscellany, xvi, 1936). On the play by Day, Rowley and Wilkins on the travels of the Sherley brothers, see pp. 262-3.

3. Minadoi had been in Constantinople and Syria as a doctor of the Venetian Consulate and had collected material for his history of the wars between Persians and Turks during his sojourn in these countries, from 1576 till 1588. cf. Biographie Universelle, under 'Minadous (Jean-Thomas)'.

Knolles mentioned Minadoi in his Historie as one of his sources. Another well-known writer on Turco-Persian relations, referred to by Knolles, was the historian Pietro Bizari.¹ Bizari, who came to England towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII and was admitted as Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge (1542), wrote books about the wars of Turks with the Venetians, Hungarians, Austrians and the Persians. His Historica Persica, included in collections of oriental histories,² gave some account of Turco-Persian contacts and conflicts, and served as an important source for the history of the relations of the two countries.

4. Wars in Hungary and Eastern Europe

Books about the wars of the Turks with the Austrians, Poles, Hungarians and various other European nations with whom they came into conflict in their advance westwards are too numerous to describe fully in a general survey. Most of these publications were in the form of small books or pamphlets devoted to the description of one significant battle or siege and were often reprinted in the larger collections of histories.

We have already seen that wars with Hungary occupied a large

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1. Pietro Bizari (or Petrus Bizarus), an Italian historian and poet who lived about the years 1530-1586, was an exile in England, where he remained for a long period. For an account of his life, see D.N.B., art. on Bizari.
 2. Cf. Historia Rerum in Oriente Gestarum, Francoforti ad Moenum, 1587.

place in the news publications of the time. A comprehensive history of the relations of Turkey and Hungary was translated from French into English in the year 1600: The historie of the troubles of Hungarie: containing the pitifull losse and ruine of that kingdome ... by Mart Fumee (Martin Fumée) Lord of Genille, newly translated out of French into English, by R.C. The name of a historian who recorded the battle of Varna should be also mentioned here as his account and interpretation of the defeat of the joint European forces acting under the command of Ladislaus, King of Hungary, became well known in the XVIth century and exerted a certain amount of influence on the moral treatises and the creative literature. Philippus Callimachus, in his Historia de Rege Vladislao seu Clade Varnensi, described how Ladislaus had been defeated by Murad II, after having broken a solemn oath to keep the treaty of peace with the Ottomans. The event was dramatised by Marlowe in Tamburlaine with some changes.¹ The history of Callimachus was included in the historical collections of Clauser and Lonicerus.² References to the event could be found in the popular English collections of essays and historical writings. Thomas Beard refers to the battle in The Theatre of God's Judgements (1597), in his chapter

1. 2 Tamburlaine, I, i; II, i and ii. See below p. 280, n.1.
2. P. Lonicerus, Chronicorum Turcicorum, ii, lff.; C. Clauser, De Origine Rebus Gestis Turcorum, 249ff. The account of Callimachus was also printed in A. Bonfinius' Rerum Ungaricum Decades Tres, Basle, 1543. There is a fairly long account in Giovio's A Shorte Treatise, fols. 17-21.

on 'Of Periurors'.¹

Closely connected with the wars in Hungary were the wars in Pannonia, an area that roughly corresponded to the eastern part of Austria and the part of Hungary between the Danube and the Save.² The country was part of the Austrian duchy in the early XVIth century and came within the Imperial circles. The wars of Turks in this region were carried out mainly with the representatives of the Holy Roman Empire. The most significant events in these wars were the two memorable and unsuccessful sieges of Vienna. However, other battles and sieges of minor importance caused no less stir and excitement among the public. News books and letters probably kept the people informed about recent happenings. Among comprehensive histories, Melchior Soitier's Bella Pannonica may have been a standard book of reference. It could be read in the collections of Lonicerus and Clauser.

5. The Wars in the Mediterranean

Mehmet II's clashes with the Venetians and the Genoese on the mainland of Greece, as well as on the islands of the Aegean, were the theme of several pamphlets, published either separately or in the Latin and vernacular historical collections. Among such publications, a history of the conquest of the island of Euboea (or Negroponte) by

1. Op. cit., pp. 166-8.
2. For a full description of the boundaries of the area, see Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, London, 1873, and Shepherd's Historical Atlas, London, 1956.

Mehmet II became very well known.¹ It contained a reference to an episode which was used by European writers to show Mehmet's cruelty and ferocity. It described how Mehmet became enamoured of the fair daughter of Paul Erizzo, the Venetian commander of the island, but failing to persuade her to yield to him caused her to be murdered. This episode, for which a reliable historical basis has not been discovered, is suggested as one of the possible origins of the Renaissance fable of 'Irene and Mahomet', about which plays and stories were written in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.²

Mehmet II's unsuccessful siege of Rhodes and Stüleyman's capture of the island in 1522 were described by a number of Western writers. I have already referred to Caoursin's account of the failure of Mehmet to take the island; descriptions of the conquest of

1. De Capta Chalcide, sive Negroponte, incerto autore. Lonicerus, Tomus II in the 1574 edition, and Tomus I in the 1584 edition; Clauser, De Origine Rebus Gestis, fols. 330-331. It is also found in Le Huen's edition of Breydenbach's Le grant Voyage de Jherusalem divise en deux parties (etc.), Paris, 1517, fols. clxiii-clxiv. It is interesting to note that Johan Kay in his translation of G. Caoursin's Siege of Rhodes refers to a history of the capture of Negroponte, written by a certain 'Balthazar Perusyn'. Cf. The translator's Dedication.
2. Hammer accepts the truth of the story; cf. Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, ii, 99f. In the French translation of Hammer's history by J. J. Hellert, there is a note giving La Presa di Negroponte da un autore incerto (Sansovino 322), as a source for the incident. This was the same account printed earlier in Lonicerus and Clauser. The siege and the story of Anne Erizzo is repeated in Sir Edward S. Creasy's History of the Ottoman Turks, p. 90. See below pp. 223-34.

Rhodes by Süleyman and of the fighting during the siege were printed in the form of tracts and pamphlets. These were later included in the standard collections of Lonicerus and Clauser.¹ Hakluyt published in The Principal Navigations a translation made from a French version called Loppugnation de la noble et chevaleureuse cite de Rhodes (etc.) (Paris, 1525) by Jacques batard de Bourbon. He did not, however, give the name of the writer and called the chapter in which the translation was printed:

"A briefe relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motion of the Reverend Lord Thomas Dowkwray, great Prior of the order of Jerusalem in England, in the yeere, 1524" 2

Süleyman's attempt, in 1556⁶⁵, to capture Malta from the Knights of St. John, which caused the Turks to incur great losses and which met with eventual failure, was also a popular subject of XVIth century pamphlets and tracts. In his dedication, Knolles referred to a history of the siege, written by a historian named Caelius Secundus in Latin and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The author, also known as Curio, was an Italian scholar of the XVIth century, who was in constant conflict with the Church of Rome and who had been imprisoned on several

1. P. Lonicerus, Chronicorum Turcicorum (1578 edn.), Tomus II, fols. 113-183; C. Clauser, De Origine Rebus Gestis, fols. 444-501.
2. Hakluyt, op. cit., v, 1-60. The date of the original French version, and the date of the copy in the British Museum, is 1525 (cf. Turcica, no. 230). Therefore unless the translation was made from a hitherto unknown earlier edition, or from an earlier manuscript copy, there must be an error in the date given by Hakluyt.

occasions, on account of his Lutheran opinions. The dedication to Queen Elizabeth, accompanied by Latin verses in her praise, was not printed in the first edition of his history of the wars of Malta,¹ but was inserted in a later edition, in Caelius Augustus Curio's Sarracenicae Historiae, Libri Tres (Basle, 1568). Although Sarracenicae Historiae was turned into English and published by Thomas Newton in 1575, together with another work, also included in the 1568 edition of the history, De Bello Melitensi was not included. The earliest English version of this work appeared in print in 1600 in R. Carr's Mahumetane or Turkish History, under the caption heading "The historie of Celimus Secundus: of the warres and siege of Malta". The mistake in the name may have been due to a printing error. It was perhaps on account of this mistake that the source of the translation was not identified.²

Selim II's wars with the Venetians were also known through several books. The chief event in these wars was the siege and conquest of Cyprus. The fortunes of the island certainly occupied a central place in the tracts and books concerned with the subject. Among such

1. The original Latin title of the work was De Bello Melitensi a Turcis gesto, Historia Nova (etc.) Basle, 1567.
2. There is a modern English translation of Curio's history: A New History of War in Malta, translated and introduced by Granville Pacha, Rome, 1928. The author makes no mention of the earlier translation of Carr and does not refer to the dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

books, Nestore Martinengo's account of the capture of the city of Famagusta was translated into English and printed in 1572, under the title of The true report of all the successe of Famagosta ... In which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries ... may plainly appeare (etc.)¹ It contained a glossary of Turkish words and gave a hair-raising account of the murder of Bragadine, the Venetian commandant.

Two books of the time contained a survey of the history of Turkey's wars with Venice; these were the Historia delle cose successe dal principio della guerra mossa da Selim Ottomana a' Venetiani of Pietro Contarini, published in Venice in 1572 and reprinted in the collections of Lonicerus² and of Sansovino, and Pietro Bizari's Cyprium bellum, inter Veneto et Selymum Turcarum imperatorem, published in Basle in 1573. Bizari's history was translated into French³ by Belleforest, the writer of the well-known and popular collection La Cosmographie Universelle, and reprints in Latin were included in Honiger's Aulae Turcicae.⁴

The accounts of the war of Cyprus given by both Contarini

1. The Italian original was L'assedio et presa di Famagosta (etc.), Verona, 1572. It was also translated into French in the same year. Martinengo's account of the fall of Cyprus was included in Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations, v, 118-52.
2. It was printed in the second edition (1584) of Lonicerus' Chronicorum.
3. Histoire de la guerre contre les Turcs, pour l'isle de Cypres (etc.), Paris, 1573.
4. It is included in the 1573 and 1583 editions of this collection.

and Bizari are also significant in that they contain an episode which gave rise to a particular interpretation of the origin and causes of the siege of the island by the Turks. According to this, Selim II had been led to attack Cyprus at the instigations of his Jewish physician and companion, Juan Micques.¹ The event was related not only by Contarini and Bizari, but by some other historians of the period, such as Uberto Foglietta. The truth of the episode and the importance of its effects have been discussed by Hammer in his History.²

There are two translations, made from Bizari and Contarini, of the battle of Lepanto in John Polemon's collection of All the famous battels that have bene fought in our age throughout the worlde (etc.) (London, 1578), and in its continuation published as The second part of the booke of battailes, fought in our age (London, 1587). This famous battle, where the Turks had been defeated by the joint forces of the Venetians and other Christian nations, under the command of Don John of Austria, was seen as a retaliation for the Turkish conquest of Cyprus. Coming as it did immediately after the capture of the island, and being the first major disaster suffered by the Turks on the sea, it was acclaimed as an important victory and roused great interest. Bizari's account was printed under the heading of The battell of Lepanto fought be sea ... betwene the navy of the

1. It has been said that 'Barabas' in Marlowe's Jew of Malta might have been based on Juan Micques. Cf. Ethel Seaton, "Fresh Sources for Marlowe", ut cit. See below p. 264, n.2.
2. Cf. vii, 51-59.

Christian league ... and the Turkish fleete ... Anno 1572 (etc.),¹ and that of Contarini bore the title The battaile of Pescherias, ... betweene the nauie of the Christian league ... and the Turkish fleete, the viii, of Octobar, 1572 (etc.)²

Wars of Turks on the African continent attracted no less interest and attention. Western histories and news publications mainly centre round three major topics: the wars of Selim I with the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt,³ the clashes of the population of the piratical states of Northern Africa and the Turks with European forces striving for the domination of strongholds, such as Tripoli, Goletta and Algiers,⁴ and the Tunisian wars of succession, in which

1. All the famous Battels, pp. 320-37.
2. The second part of the booke of battailes, fols. 35-63.
3. Chapters were devoted to the wars with Egypt in Lonicerus' Chronicorum Turcicorum, I, i, 33f; R. Knolles, Generall Historie, fols. 533-50. The last Sultan of Egypt, Tuman Bey, known to the Elizabethans as Tomumbey (Tomombey, Tomombeius or Tomumbeio), was an important figure in the literature of the time. A chapter was devoted to his description in P. Giovio's Les Eloges et Vies Descrites, Paris, 1559; cf. fols. 51v - 53.
4. There is an account of the capture of Tripoli, published in Knolles' Generall Historie (fols. 752-56) and based on the description given in Nicholas de Nicolay's Navigations. Clauser's collection contains two tracts on expeditions to Tunis and Goletta, and one on an expedition to Algiers. For publications on Goletta, see Turcica, nos. 513 and 572. R. C. Chew gives some information on the literature about Goletta in his study The Crescent and the Rose.

Turkey and Portugal became involved as supporters of two rival princes. The wars of Tunis culminated in the disastrous battle of Alcazar where both the claimants to the throne were killed and thousands perished. Sebastian, the young king of Portugal, himself fell fighting and his army was utterly routed and destroyed. A large body of literature grew around this battle, both original and translated from continental sources.¹ One cause of the interest felt in the event in England was on account of the participation and death in this battle of the well-known English adventurer Thomas Stukeley, whose life and exploits were celebrated in popular ballads and plays.

F. Collections of Histories

1. Continental Collections

An established way of publishing or reprinting short historical pamphlets and tracts was by including them in collections of Turkish history. These collections were extremely important in the dissemination of the knowledge about Turks and deserve special study and attention. It was a very common practice of the historians of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries to collect a number of tracts or short books together and publish them as one work. The editor's role was significant, as he was expected to present the works he chose in a particular order, with alterations and additions, if need be, and with

1. For a description of this literature, see The Battle of Alcazar, ed. John Yoklavich (Dramatic Works, Yale edn., ii, Introduction and Special Bibliography).

some commentary and notes, generally inserted in the margin. The editor had also to translate where necessary and to impose a certain unity of purpose to the whole collection.

A standard collection included a selection of writings on almost every conceivable aspect and period of Turkish history. Although the arrangement of material followed no uniform pattern, editors usually preferred to put works of a general historical character at the beginning of the book. Then came descriptive works about Turkish customs, institutions and religious practices, accounts of important battles and wars, and polemical or moral tracts on Turkish affairs. In short, the aim was to present, as far as possible, a comprehensive picture of all the known facts and ideas about Turks.

A very typical collection of the time, that of Philippus Lonicerus, can be given as an example. The 1578 edition of Lonicerus' Chronicorum Turcicorum consists of three tomes. Tome I is, in its turn, divided into three books, the first book containing an account of the origin of the Turks and a general history of the Empire, the second the description of Turkish customs and institutions by Menavino, followed by reports of internal troubles and domestic affairs of Turkey, and the third tracts of a generally polemical nature by Georgijević and Aventinus. Tomes II and III are devoted to accounts of particular battles, sieges and wars.

Most of the famous collections of Turkish history, such as those compiled by Philippus Lonicerus and Conrad Clauser were in

Latin. However, collections were also published in the vernacular languages of Europe and became known both on the Continent and in England. Among such works, that of Francesco Sansovino¹ achieved fame outside the boundaries of Italy. Copies of this 'history' existed in the English libraries of the XVIth century.²

2. English Collections. Short Collections. Imitations of Continental 'Histories'. Richard Knolles.

The practice of publishing shorter histories or tracts together in a single volume was common in England as on the Continent. Although such works are too short to be termed proper historical collections, after the fashion of those published by Lonicerus or Clauser, nevertheless they also played an important part as a source where works concerning Turks could be found.

Quite often the English translator did not make his own selection or compilation but used a continental model. He did not,

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1. Dell'historia uniuersale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi ... libri tre, Venetia, 1560. Le Huen's version of Breydenbach's Le grant voyage de Jherusalem (Paris, 1517) contained several items on Turkish history. Another useful French collection was T. Artus' edition of Chalcondylas' L'Histoire de la Decadence de l'Empire Grec, Paris, 1620.
 2. There were copies in the libraries of Lord Lumley (cf. op. cit., no. 1116), and of Sir R. L. Harmsworth (cf. A Short Title Catalogue of the printed Books in the Library of Sir R. L. Harmsworth ... to the year 1640, 1925, p. 292).

however, feel bound to reproduce it exactly. I have already mentioned that the well-known Turkish history of Andrea Cambini's was translated into English and published together with Barlezio's account of Scanderbeg's life.¹ The original Italian book on which John Shute's translation was based was most likely the 1541 edition of Cambini's work in a collection which also included the Turkish history of Paolo Giovio called Commentarii delle Cose de Turchi. It is possible that John Shute may have decided to leave out the history of Giovio as it had already been published in English earlier in the century.

The sources of all the works printed in a collection were not always indicated. Thomas Newton's translation of Augustus Curio's Sarracenicae Historiae, published in 1575 under the title of A Notable History of the Saracens² had another work included at the end. This was a chronological outline of Turkish history, written by Wolfgang Drechsler. It was printed in the original 1568 edition of Curio's history, which may have been used by Newton for his translation.³

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1. Two Very Notable Commentaries (trans. John Shute), London, 1562. See above p. 122.
 2. A notable historie of the Saracens. Briefly and faithfully descrybing the originall beginning, continuance and successe as well of the Saracens, as also of Turkes, Souldans, Mamalukes, Assassines, Tartarians and Sophians ... Drawen out of Augustine Curio and sundry other good authours by Thomas Newton, London, 1575.
 3. In C. A. Curio's Sarracenicae Historiae Libri III, it is published as Wolfgangi Drechsleri ... Chronicon, sive Breviarum (cf. op. cit., pp. 248-294). The chronicle was also published in Conrad Clauser's collection.

Providing translations of continental collections appears to have been part of the larger process of making the most significant and well-known European histories of Turkey available in English. I have already mentioned that there were English translations of the works of the leading writers of Turkish affairs, such as Giovio, Antoine Geuffroy and Georgijević. The English version of Georgijević's The Ofspring of the House of Ottomano (London, 1570)¹ was, strictly speaking, a small collection of histories. The translator, Hugh Goughe, included a brief account of Turkish history at the beginning and inserted a description of the murder of Mustapha, translated from Moffan,² at the end. The translation of the works of Georgijević himself was based on a special collection of his works prepared by the author himself, who, seeing that his pamphlets published separately had won popularity, decided to gather "the whole into this one bondell and ... brought and reduced it unto a more compendius order."³

Perhaps the earliest English translation of a continental Latin collection of Turkish history was the incomplete rendering of the first tome of Lonicerus' Chronicorum Turcicorum into English, published anonymously in 1597 as The Policy of the Turkish Empire. The First Booke. Although described as "a collection of Turkish Histories",⁴

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1. See above pp. 78f. and 1125.
 2. Nicholas Moffan, Soltani Solymanny Turcarum Imperatoris horrendum facinus, scelerato (etc.), Basle, 1555.
 3. The House of Ottomano, Epistle to the reader.
 4. The Dedication.

the source of the work was not mentioned. If we compare it with the original version of Lonicerus, we notice some differences. The English writer begins his history with an account of the origin of Turks and of Islam, translated from Lonicerus; he then leaves out the description of the Ottoman kings and the growth of the empire and goes on to translate Menavino's description of Turkish customs and religion, given in Lonicerus under the heading of Mahometicae Leges, Religio, Vita (etc.) The rest of the book is taken up by an English version of this tract and does not include the works of Georgijević and of others, contained in the original Tome I of the Chronicorum Turcicorum.

The next significant attempt at imitating the continental historical collections was made in 1600 by Ralph Carr, and bore the title of The Mahumetane or Turkish historie, containing three bookes ... Translated from the French and Italian tongues (etc.) (London, 1600). The sources of the particular works included in the collection are not specifically mentioned, except for the final piece, a moral tract by Uberto Foglietta on The Causes of the Greatnesse of the Turkish Empire.¹ In fact only this work has so far been identified.² Carr's collection does not appear to have received much attention from scholars and the translations he has made have not been studied in

1. The original version of the work was called De Causis Magnitudinis Turcarum Imperii, ed. D. Chytraeus, Leipzig, 1593.
2. It is cited in H. E. Mayer's Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, Hanover, 1960, and in the Brit. Mus. Gen. Catalogue.

relation to their sources. However, a comparison of this collection with the continental Turkish histories of the period reveals some interesting results.

The first two books, giving a general account of Islamic and Ottoman history, may have been made from a slightly enlarged version of Lonicerus' history of the origin of Islam and of Turks in his Chronicorum Turcicorum. Book III in Carr's collection Of the Warres and Seege of Malta, which Solyman the Great made to the Great Maister and Brothers of that Order was, as I have shown, translated from C. S. Curio's De Bello Melitensi.¹ Of the remaining two tracts, one is Uberto Foglietta's pamphlet on the causes of the greatness of the Ottoman Empire; the other tract, containing a description of the wars of Cyprus waged against the Venetians by Selim II, was also based on the history of these wars written by Foglietta. However, in this case the original version used by Carr was an abridgement of Foglietta's history, printed in a volume of collected histories, published in Latin, called De Causis Magnitudinis Imperii Turcici (Leipzig, 1595).²

The most significant English contribution of the period in the field of Turkish history was no doubt Richard Knolles' Generall

1. See above pp. 135-6.

2. The abridgement was made by the editor, David Chytraeus, from Uberto Foglietta's De Sacro Foedere in Selymum, Genoa, 1587. Chytraeus' collection contained Foglietta's polemical tract De Causis Magnitudinis, and may have derived its title from it.

Historie of the Turkes,¹ published in 1603. The book became immediately popular and was reprinted many times throughout the seventeenth century.² Later writers, such as Dr. Johnson, Byron and Southey, were strongly affected by the beauty and power of the style and narration. Dr. Johnson praised the Generall Historie very highly and expressed his regret that it was not read as much as it deserved.³ Byron confessed that Knolles' Generall Historie had a profound influence on his life and works.⁴ However, the attitude towards him was not one of unmixed admiration. His work has been severely criticised by Gibbon and by some modern writers for being digressive,

1. The generall historie of the Turkes, from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Ottoman Familie, with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them, together with the lives and conquests of the Ottoman Kings and Emperours (etc.), London, 1603.
2. It was reprinted in 1610 with corrections and additions made by Knolles himself. Reprints were made in 1621, 1631, 1638 (together with The Correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe). Paul Rycaut's editions (1679, 1700) brought the history up to date. In 1701 John Savage published a shortened version of the work.
3. Johnson wrote: "But none of our writers can, on my opinion, justly contest the superiority of Knolles, who, in his History of the Turks, has displayed all the excellencies that narration can admit." cf. Rambler, no. 122. He went on to add "Nothing could have sunk this author in obscurity, but the remoteness and barbarity of the people whose story he relates."
4. Shortly before his death at Missolonghi Byron wrote (Byron, Works, ed. John Wright, London, 1832, ix, 141): "Old Knolles was one of the first books that gave me pleasure when a child, and I believe it had much influence on my future wishes to visit the Levant, and gave perhaps the oriental colouring which is observed in my poetry."

verbose and biassed.¹

The merits of Knolles' work might be disputed in the light of modern historical research. However, when seen within the framework of the theories of historical writing dominant during his time and compared with the standard histories of Turkey written on the Continent, it stands out as a work of importance and value.

The Generall Historie was written and printed in the manner of the scholarly histories and translations of the age such as Holinshed's Chronicles or Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny. It had a long list of authorities at the beginning and contained references to particular sources. It was described on the title page as having been "faithfullie collected out of the best histories, both auntient and moderne, and digested into one continual historie until this present yeare 1603". In fact, it was not only closely based on the earlier sources but at times reproduced almost literal translations from them. This was, of course, quite in keeping with the conventions of Renaissance historiography, according to which the aim of the historian was not so much to make an original contribution to knowledge as to combine and present all the known facts and statements in a

1. Gibbon in The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire said "I much doubt whether a partial and verbose compilation from Latin writers, thirteen hundred folio pages of speeches and battles, can either instruct or amuse an enlightened age, which requires from the historian some tincture of philosophy and criticism." cf. vii, 24, no.66.

skilful and effective way.¹

Knolles explained in the preface that in writing his history he had relied primarily on the works of first-hand observers, such as those of Barlezio on the life and wars of Scanderbeg, of Leonardus Chiensis on the fall of Constantinople, and of Jacques Fontaine (Jacobus Fontanus) on the siege of Rhodes. Where eye-witnesses were not available he had consulted the works of historians who had set down what they had heard, from people who had taken part or become involved in such events. On more recent affairs, he had resorted to news-reports published in the German and Italian languages.²

In spite of its popularity and the recognition it received from his contemporaries and from the writers of later times, the influence of the Generall Historie on the drama and literature of the period was not as great as might be expected. This was remarked by

1. Cf. E. M. W. Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays, pp. 54-5. Charles Whibley in his article on the "Chroniclers and Antiquaries" comments on the reverence of Tudor historians for authority and their tendency to accept and repeat unquestionably whatever had been set down by their predecessors (C.H.E.L., iii, 314).
2. Knolles is said to have made extensive use of J. J. Boissard's Vitae et Icones Sultonarum Turcicorum, Frankfort, 1596. cf. C.H.E.L., iii, 89; Sir Edward Creasy, op. cit., p. 73 and D.N.B., art. on Knolles. Although the general outline of the two works is similar, Knolles' account is incomparably larger and more full, and incorporates a great amount of material taken from a number of sources. Another work on Ottoman history, following the same basic pattern of arrangement, was P. Bertelli's Vite degli Imperatori de Turchi, Vicenza, 1599. With the exception of that of 'Tamerlane', all the engravings in the 1603 edition of Knolles were copied from Boissard's book. cf. D.N.B., same article.

Louis Wann in his article on "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama" where he stated that, out of a total of forty-six plays on oriental themes written during the period 1579-1642, only four took their plots from Knolles:

"It is surprising to find that Knolles was no oftener used, especially in view of the frequently met assertion on the part of scholars and historians of the drama that Knolles was the common source for plays dealing with oriental matter." 1

This was partly a consequence of the comparative lateness of the date on which the book was completed (the Turkish plays of Marlowe, Greene and Peele were written and performed long before the book was finished), but may have also been due to the fact that it made no original contribution of note to the knowledge of Turkish history. Most of the matter in it had already been published on the Continent and some had even been translated and published in English, either as separate pamphlets or in collections. Pamphlets and books in English had appeared on the majority of the events and episodes related in the Historie, and a steady flow of news-publications printed both on the Continent and in England kept the public informed of the most recent happenings.

G. General Ideas about Turkish History

The foregoing survey of the historical sources reveals that there was sufficient printed matter available in the late XVIth and early XVIIth centuries to give a fairly comprehensive idea about

1. Cf. M.P., xii (1914), 432.

Turkish history to the English reader. Not only were continental, Latin or vernacular books of Turkish history included in the private or university collections of the period, but already by 1575 the works of some of the most outstanding European historians, such as Giovio, Cambini and Barlezio, had been translated into English. The trend of publishing translations of Turkish histories continued in the XVIIth century. This was accompanied by the appearance of a number of works written by Englishmen.¹

The conception of Turkish history obtained through these sources was predominantly determined by the ideas and presentations of continental historians. When we look at the accounts given in these books we notice the recurrence of a certain pattern. Certain episodes receive emphasis; the sequence of crucial events follows the same outline; interpretations of the rise of Turks to power and of their motives and actions reflect similar basic conceptions with only exceptional and slight variations. There are certain traditional ways of describing well-known rulers, significant episodes and famous battles and sieges.

Similarities in treatment were no doubt partly due to the respect for authority and tradition. The statements of earlier historians were accepted unquestioningly and incorporated into the new

1. There were also several histories of Turkey that were not printed but may have circulated in manuscript form. See Brit. Mus. Class. MSS Catalogue, iii, 443, for a brief list of possibly some of these works.

accounts. Different interpretations were reconciled and harmonised to produce a coherent picture of the history of the nation. Moreover, the picture had to reveal historical events in the light of Christian doctrines and principles. It has been pointed out that the idea of a pattern in history presupposes belief in a definite and logical world order.¹ Turkish events were also fitted into a world picture that was essentially Christian in character and pro-European in outlook.

The advance of the Turks in Europe and the success of their armies had to be explained with such a context. Turks presented a challenge not only to Christendom but to the validity of Christianity itself. Burton mentioned, among blasphemous thoughts, questions such as, "Why doth He suffer Turks to overcome Christians, the enemy to triumph over His Church, ...?"² Knolles gave the following picture of Christendom under the threat of Turkish invasion and of the havoc caused by the Turks in Christian countries:

"The long and still declining state of the Christian commonweale, with the utter ruine and subversion of the Empire of the East, and many other most glorious kingdomes and provinces of the Christians, ... might ... moove even a right stonie heart to ruth: but therewith also to call to remembrance the dishonour done unto the blessed name of our Saviour Christ Iesus, the desolation of his Church here millitant upon earth, the dreadfull danger daily threatened unto the poore remainder thereof, the millions of

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1. For a discussion of the idea of a pattern in Renaissance historiography, see I. Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, p. 23.
 2. The Anatomy of Melancholy (London, 1936 edn.), iii, 417.

soules cast headlong into eternall destruction,
the infinit numbers of wofull Christians (whose
grievous gronings under the heavie yoke of
infidelitie, no tongue is able to expresse) ...
might give iust cause unto any good Christian to
sit downe, and with the heavie 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 heaven unto the earth the beautie of Israel,
and remembred not his footstool in the day of
his wrath?" 1

The most common interpretation of the victories and the
power of the Turks was that God had chosen to punish Christian nations
for their sins and was using the Turks as a scourge. The idea of
Turks as 'Flagellum Dei', the Scourge of God, was repeated by many
historians and men of letters. It was one of the stock themes of
Turkish history in the Renaissance.²

The ceaseless wars and struggles of the Christian rulers of
Europe and their inability to join forces against the Turks were also
given as a traditional explanation of the victories of the Turks.

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1. R. Knolles, op. cit., 'The Authors Induction to the Christian Reader'.
 2. For a discussion of this idea and its repercussions in political
and religious tracts, see Dorothy Vaughan, Europe and the Turk,
Liverpool, 1954, pp. 135-6. It is interesting to note that a
saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad described the Turks in
similar terms. According to some sources, God is said to have
told Muhammad: "I have a host which I have called a Turk and
settled in the east; if any people shall arouse my wrath, I shall
give them into the power of this host." Cf. Mahmud Kashgharī,
Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk, Baghdad, 1077, i, 294, as quoted from
W. Barthold's article on the "Historical and Ethnographical
Survey of the Turks" in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

Pope Pius II described the situation in the words:

"Christianity has no longer a head: neither Pope nor Emperor is adequately esteemed or obeyed; they are treated as fictitious names and painted figures. Each city has a king of its own; there are as many princes as houses. How might one persuade the numberless Christian rulers to take up arms? ..." 1

Attempts at explaining the causes of the victories of the Turks, from a rational and objective point of view, were also made. The writings of Lusinge and Postel, two very important figures of Renaissance historical learning, are particularly valuable for revealing the beginnings of a scientific approach to Turkish history. Of the two, Postel was exceptionally tolerant and fair-minded, particularly in his discussion of Islamic tenets and traditions, and had a high regard for Arab culture.² Lusinge's study of the Ottoman government and institutions, on the other hand, was primarily aimed at detecting the causes of the growth of the empire and to suggest realistic methods of curbing their advance.³

Apart from speculating about the reasons behind the rapid expansion of Turks in Europe and other Christian countries, historians

1. From a letter of Aeneo Sylvio Piccolomini quoted from A. H. Vasiliev's History of the Byzantine Empire, ii, 656.
2. See above pp. 117-8.
3. Cf. René de Lusinge, The beginning, continuance and decay of estates, wherein are handled many notable questions concerning the establishment of empires and monarchies ... translated into English by I(ohn) F(inet), London, 1606, translated from the original French version, De la Naissance, durée et cheute des estats (etc.), Paris, 1588.

were also engaged in discussing theories about the origin of the Turks and the foundation of their state. The origin of the Turks was particularly puzzling to Renaissance historians. Heylyn described them as "a nation not so much dreamt of".¹ Knolles voiced the same conventional idea when he called the Turks "an obscure and base people, before scarce knowne unto the world ..." and said that this kingdom had "from a small beginning become the greatest terror of the world, ..."²

Turks, as a race, were traced by some to the ancient Trojans,³ by others to a lost tribe of the Israelites forced to migrate beyond the Caucasian mountains;⁴ they were called the descendants of Ishmael⁵ and of Japhet.⁶ Most historians, however, held the view that they were related to the Tatars and that both were the descendants of a group

1. Microcosmus, p. 317.
2. Op. cit., the 'Induction'. This view was, to some extent, shared by the Ottoman historians themselves, who wished to attribute a miraculous nature to the foundation of the Empire; Paul Wittek in The Rise of the Ottoman Empire, London, 1939, has shown the falseness of this theory.
3. Hammer gives Eneo Silvio and Leonardus Chiensis as the originators of this view. Cf. Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, i, 2f.
4. The Policy of the Turkish Empire, p. 7.
5. P. Giovio, A Shorte Treatise, The 'Epistle' of the translator.
6. According to Hammer this view was supported by Tatar historians. Cf. op. cit., i, 5. Hammer also mentions two other sources suggested for the origin of the Turks: 'Targetaos' of Herodotus and the 'Togharma' of the Bible.

of people known as the Scythians to the ancient Greeks and Romans.¹

The word 'Turk' itself was a matter of speculation.

Renaissance historians referred to ancient sources where it had first appeared as the name of certain tribes inhabiting the lands that stretched between Northern Caucasus and the river Tanais.² It was also noted that the word 'Turk' was used in a pejorative sense by the Turks themselves. In the anonymous English translation of Lonicerus, we find the explanation "in whose language the worde Turke being a Tartarian word signifieth one that is accursed and a vagabond".³ Postel suggested another hypothetical etymology of the name of 'Turc', in the Arabic verb 'terc', meaning to abandon, and concluded that 'Turc', therefore, signified one who was 'abandoned'.⁴

The special pattern of Turkish history emerges particularly

1. Policy of the Turkish Empire, p. 7; P. Giovio, A Shorte Treatise, fol. 1.
2. Cf. The Policy, Sig. C₃. Lonicerus, Egnatius and Cuspinianus referred to Pliny and Mela as having first mentioned the Turkish tribes inhabiting the region. This is confirmed by Hammer (cf. op. cit., i, 2.)
3. The Policy, Sig. C₃. The original meaning of the word, according to some scholars, was 'strength'; (cf. Islamic Encyclopaedia, art. on Turks). However, it had acquired a depreciatory sense by about the XIIIth century, possibly under Persian influence, and was applied by the Persian-speaking Turkish citizens of the Seljuk state to mean a boor or a nomad.
4. Des Histoires Orientales, p. 18.

in the accounts of the foundation and growth of the Ottoman state itself. It is here that we observe what can perhaps be described as the Renaissance legend of Turkey. Although the events recorded in these sources were, in the main, fairly accurate, the overall impression and the general picture of Turkish history were different from those that would be obtained from reading modern historical works. Certain events, not necessarily those that would be stressed in modern accounts, were emphasised as being of crucial importance in the development of Turkish affairs and were set down in an order that was fixed by tradition.

The main landmarks generally kept to the following pattern: the penetration of Turks into Asia Minor in the XIth century and their clashes with Godfrey of Bouillon, the foundation of the Ottoman state by Osman I towards the end of the XIIIth century, the capture of Gallipolis by the Turks in 1345, the battle of Ankara and the defeat of Beyazid by Timur (1402), the victory obtained by Murad II over Ladislaus, the King of Hungary, at the battle of Varna (1444), the revolt of Scanderbeg and his successful resistance to the Turks, the capture of Constantinople (1453), followed by a number of battles and sieges, some though not all of which are now considered to be comparatively insignificant.

The foundation of the Ottoman state, the stages of the advance of Turkish forces in the Middle East and Europe, the personalities and achievements of the Ottoman rulers and of the leading persons they came

into conflict with, were all related according to certain established conventions.¹ The result was the projection of Turkish affairs in relation to European political or religious interests and aspirations. Another point that influenced the nature of Renaissance accounts of Turkish history was the practice of combining fact and fiction in the narrative. Fictitious incidents and accounts having little or no historical basis were recorded as true. Timur's treatment of Beyazid or the episode of 'Mahomet and Hirene' are instances of such fictitious matter, referred to and repeated by many historians of repute.

1. The characters of the Sultans were described in almost identical phrases. The qualities of 'wisdom', 'subtiltie' and 'valiance' or 'towardness' are attributed to Osman I by Cambini (Two Very Notable Commentaries, Sig. Aiv), and Giovio (A Shorte Treatise, fol. 2v); Batman refers to the legend of his mean birth and makes mention of "his wit and martiall prowesse", (cf. Batman uppon Bartholome, fol. 252v). Geuffroy also reports his mean parentage (The Great Turckes Courte, p. lxxxi). His 'good fortune' is mentioned both by Giovio (cf. loc. cit.) and by Georgijević (The House of Ottomano, sig. Biiiv).

C O N C L U S I O N

THE CONCEPTION OF TURKS

General Ideas

The variety of theme and treatment in Renaissance publications of Turkey were equalled by the range and complexity of the ideas about Turks and their customs. The nature of the ideas about Turks was, in a way, determined by the character and purpose of the work in which they occurred. The writer's personal outlook and the circumstances under which he had come to know the Turks and write about them also naturally influenced the picture presented in his book. Historical and geographical books, ballads, crusading tracts, memoirs of prisoners and travellers, all stressed different and varied aspects of Turkish character and society.

Nevertheless, in spite of differences due to choice of theme or the attitude of individuals, there were certain basic characteristics shared by most of these publications. One principal feature that emerges from reading these works is the ambivalence of contemporary European attitudes towards Turkey and the Turks. On the one hand Turks were denounced as infidels and the enemies of Christendom; on the other hand they were praised for their military skill and their respect for law and order. This was partly due to a fundamental paradox in the Renaissance conception of the Turks. Turks were seen as

evil by reason of their religious beliefs and the danger they threatened to Europe and not because of their way of life or conduct. They were a hostile nation professing a faith that rejected some of the basic tenets of Christianity, and, as such, were universally condemned and grouped together with 'Jews and pagans' as representatives of the forces opposing and undermining the power of the Church.¹

This attitude was largely a legacy of the medieval crusading tradition. Although the zeal for undertaking crusades had weakened considerably by the XVIth century, the values and ideals associated with the movement had still a strong hold on the imagination of many. Even those who did not succumb to the spell of the tradition felt the need of paying lip-service to it. Certain stock phrases and epithets with derogatory implications occurred in writings that were unbiased and at times clearly pro-Turkish. The preface was generally the place for stating the conventional platitudes against Turks, and it could be

1. E. H. Sugden gives a number of examples of the usage of the word 'Turk' as synonymous with 'infidel' and 'heretic'. (Cf. A Topographical Dictionary, under 'Turk'). For the attitude to see Turks as followers of Antichrist and for similar interpretations, see D. Vaughan, Europe and the Turk, pp. 24-25, 134ff., and S. C. Chew, op. cit., pp. 101, 396. In the same way Turks were associated with the Catholics by Protestants and vice versa. Shakespeare in 1 Henry IV has a reference to Pope Gregory as "Turkish Gregory" (cf. I, v, 46). Religio-political tracts published at the time emphasise points of similarity between Turks and the papacy to bring out the harm caused by both to Christendom. We see this in a Latin tract written by an Englishman, Matthew Sutcliffe (De Turco-Papismo, 1599); see also S. C. Chew, op. cit., p. 101, n.1, and D. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 134ff.

followed by an account that reflected the presence of an enlightened and more objective spirit at work.

Along with the idea of the Turk as the enemy of Christendom and the antithesis of all that was good and civilised was the idea that Turks had many commendable virtues and qualities that should be studied and even copied by their neighbours in Europe. These ideas were sometimes stressed in books and pamphlets, the object of which was to analyse Turkish institutions and customs with a view to devising means of undermining their strength and efficiency.¹

It has been noted that the crusading tracts published in the century defeated their own purposes by raising admiration for the enemy.² At the same time there were the pamphlets that appeared to have been penned with the sole objective of extolling the Turks and praising the Ottoman administration to an extent that may seem surprising to a modern reader. In fact, it was held by some that the Ottoman Sultans maintained "what would now be called a fifth column in Europe", whom they used for propagating the advantages of their own rule as opposed to the ills of contemporary Christian governments.³

1. This was the professed aim of R. de Lusinge in his book on The Beginning, Continuance and Decay of Estates. The book contained a full study of the administration and the military system of the Ottoman Empire and gave practical suggestions for bringing about its ruin.

2. C. D. Rouillard, op. cit., p. 362.

3. D. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 27.

Administration and Institutions

The qualities for which Turks were praised in such works were above all their skill in organising the institutions and the government of the country and the adherence of the people to the rule of law and order. Montaigne wrote, "The mightiest, yea the best settled estate, that is now in the world is that of the Turkes, a nation equally instructed to the esteeme of armes, and disesteeme of letters."¹

Montaigne particularly admired the discipline of the army, a characteristic of the Ottoman military system which attracted the attention of most European observers and was considered to be one of the chief causes of the success of Turkish campaigns. The extent to which Turks obeyed and respected the rules set by custom or their superiors met with some criticism. Their obedience to the will of their leaders was condemned by some writers as being 'slavish' and 'despicable', while it was praised by others as a quality that should be copied by the members of Christian nations. Montaigne noted as an advantage of the perfect discipline of the Turkish forces their ability to preserve order and security in the newly conquered lands:

"I have beene amazed, reading the story of Selim, the cruelllest Conqueror that ever was, to see, at what time he subdued the Country of Aegypt, the beauteous gardens round about Damasco, all open and in a conquered country; his maine army lying encamped

1. Essays (translated by J. Florio), ed. J. M. Stewart, 1931, i, 184. For his comment on the disrespect of letters, see below pp. 173-4.

round about, those gardens were left untouched and unspoiled by the hands of his Souldiers, only because they were commanded to spoyle nothing, and had not the watch-word of pillage." 1

In spite of the disconcerting implication of the last clause, the description of the state of law and order that prevailed in a newly conquered country could not but fail to impress people harassed by civil strife, religious feuds and the interminable wars of succession between rival European princes. Montaigne himself thought of the discipline of Selim's soldiers when he saw the pillage and riot of the French soldiers at Périgord, and remarked with grief: "On one side, I had the enemies at my gates; on the other the Picoreurs or free-booters, farre worse foes".² Among his suggestions for improving the standard of the army and imposing order and discipline into its ranks was the proposal that young men should be made to spend a period of time "in learning and surveying the discipline of the Turkish armies".³

The toleration of different religions and the freedom given to peoples to choose their faith and live according to its precepts

1. Essays, ii, 464. See also P. Giovio, Histoires sur les Choses Faictes et Avenues de son Temps (trans. into French by Denis Sauvage, Lyon, 1558), fol. 472, and Rouillard, op. cit., p. 366.
2. Essays, ii, 461-2. The importance of booty for the Ottoman financial system and the regulations governing it, see Lybyer, Ottoman Empire in the Time of Süleyman, pp. 175-8.
3. Essays, ii, 462.

so long as they fulfilled certain obligations¹ was mentioned as being one of the good aspects of Turkish life. The prevalence of law and order and religious tolerance were stressed to such an extent in some works that it was feared that these writings might have a subversive effect on the peoples of Europe and induce them to take a lenient attitude towards Turks.

Luther wrote in 1541 that "the oppression of the nobles had reduced the poor to such straits that they might well prefer Turkish rule to that of such Christian lords".² A similar view had been expressed in a letter written by the King of Bosnia to Pope Pius II, where the king complained that the Turks were gaining the favour of the peasants by promising them freedom. In a satirical shrove-tide Carnival play, Hans Rösenblüt's Türkespiel, performed in Nurnberg in 1456, the 'Türkische Kaiser' is shown as having come to Germany at the

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1. The chief obligations were 'haraç', a form of tax, and 'devsirme', tribute of children (see below pp. 166-7). For a discussion of tolerance in the Ottoman Empire, see D. Vaughan, op. cit., pp. 26-7. The Ottoman system of administrating the country through the system of different 'peoples', see A. H. Lybyer, op. cit., pp. 33-35. The tradition of tolerance in Islamic society has been analysed by P. Wittek in an article entitled "Le Sultan de Rum", Annuaire de l'Institut Oriental, Brussels, vi (1956).
 2. Summarised from the Vermahnung zum Gebet of Luther by D. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 139.

request of the peasants and merchants looking for a way of putting an end to the injustice and strife in the country.¹ Another factor that may have contributed to winning over the sympathy of the peasants was the fact that Turks did not have a class of nobility and did not tolerate its existence in the countries they conquered - a point to which Grafton drew the attention of his readers in his Chronicle.²

It was perhaps on account of their concern for the effects that this type of propaganda might have on Christendom that some writers wished to restore the balance by emphasising the ills of Turkish administration and by dwelling on the faults and vices of the Turks. Grafton explains his reason for taking up his pen against Turks:

"And forasmuch as here is a good occasion geuen somewhat to speake of the vile tiranny of the Turkes, and namely for that I haue heard diuers say (but I trust they did not so inwardly think, as they outwardly spake) that it were no great

1. Cf. Dorothy Vaughan, op. cit., pp. 27-8.

P. Wittek gives an account of the manner in which the Turkish invaders of the XIII-XIVth centuries were helped by the peasants of Anatolia alienated from the Byzantine cause "by the agrarian and financial policy of the Paleologoi, which favoured the great landlords, such as the nobility and the Church, but weighed heavily on the small peasant landowners". cf. The Rise of the Ottoman Empire, Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, xxii (1963), 32.

2. A Chronicle at Large (London, 1809 edn.), ii, 312. Mercia MacDermott notes, in A History of Bulgaria (London, 1962), that although theoretically there were no class divisions among the Turks, there were great differences of wealth, and discusses the position of the Bulgarian population under Ottoman rule, saying that "the theory that conditions improved immediately after the Turkish conquest, is at best, a very debatable one". cf. p. 24.

matter if the great Turke were prince of all Christendome, for we should liue vnder him in a better and quyeter state of life then we do now, into the which error God forbid that any Christian person shoulde be carried: ..." 1

It is curious that among the list of atrocities, murders and cruelties attributed to the Turks by Grafton there is scarcely any mention of some of the institutions that would be condemned by modern observers as being cruel and unjust. One of these was the periodical levy of Christian children, aged between 8 and 15, to be trained as janissaries or government officials - a practice established as an institution by Murad II at about 1430 and continued until 1638.² The historians of the age described the institution in detail and with surprising objectivity. It was pointed out that it offered great opportunities to the children and that the highest posts of the government were usually filled by men who had been chosen in this way. It was very rare for anyone of Moslem parentage to rise to high governmental post, except that of the 'Miftis', that is the religious leaders.³ Some writers used this as proof that the best elements in

1. A Chronicle at Large, ii, 427.
2. See P. Wittek, The Rise of the Ottoman Empire, p. 49, and Lybyer, op. cit., p. 50ff.
3. Dorothy Vaughan writes that "so brilliant were the prospects which it offered to Christian children only, that resistance to it was practically unknown and it ultimately aroused jealousy among Moslems, who sometimes fraudulently attempted to palm off their sons on the commissioners". cf. op. cit., p. 26.

Turkish administration and the army came from Christian stock, while others condemned it as a practice that reflected the cruelty and tyranny of the Turks.¹

Conduct and Morality

After this glance at some of the aspects of Turkish administration, we can briefly note the significant traits of conduct and morality as observed by European writers of the Renaissance. The moral precepts of the Turks were, again, more often praised than denounced. It has in fact been said by some modern scholars that such emphasis on the virtues of the Turks may have been intended as a means of inciting Europeans to reform their way of life.²

Some writers who wished to reconcile the current hatred of Islam with an admiration for the moral principles of the Turks gave curious explanations. Menavino attributed the good sides of Turkish

1. Thomas Gainsford describes it as a government based on slavery. Cf. The Glory of England, p. 178; compare with A. Geuffroy, The Great Turckes Courte, p. lxxviii.
2. G. Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons, pp. 188 and 377. The qualities for which the Turks were praised by Renaissance travellers were their civility to one another and to foreigners (cf. G. Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, pp. 75, 2f., Biddulph, The Travels of Foure Englishmen, p. 267, Dr. Covell's Diary, ed. Bent in Early Voyages to the Levant, p. 205, T. Smith, Remarques upon the Manners, p. 3), their endurance and hardihood (cf. S. Munster, Straunge and Memorable Thinges, fol. xxxiv), simplicity of diet, frugality and obedience (cf. R. Knolles, The Generall Historie, the 'Induction'), and their honesty and loyalty, (cf. Postel, De la Republique des Turcs, 1560, i, 69).

morality to the reforms of Mehmet II and said that they were foreign to Islam itself.¹ This attitude gave rise to the platitude that Turkish character was compounded of irreconcilable extremes, described by one writer of the time as "this strange union and conjunction of so rare vertues with so notable Barbarisme".²

The 'barbarisme' of the Turks, as we have seen, was a conception that had its origin mainly in the special relationship of Turks and Christendom. There is another explanation given by Sir Thomas Smith at the beginning of his book, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks:

"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, which their natural fierceness, not otherwise to be restrain'd renders necessary and essential to ther 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, ... But to the intolerable Pride and Scorn wherewith they treat all the World besides." 3

The pride of the Turks was traced to their confidence at their repeated glories, to a sense of security in the knowledge of their unity and strength as opposed to the divisions and strife in

1. The Policy of the Turkish Empire, Sig. E.

2. Ibid., Sig. A3v.

3. Op. cit., p. 3.

Christendom and to the belief that they were the chosen custodians of a superior religion. Knolles criticised the same state of mind when he described the Ottoman Empire as:

"Wonderinge at nothing but at the beautie of it selfe, and drunke with the pleasant wine of perpetuall felicitie, holdeth all the rest of the world in scorne, thundering out nothing but still bloud and warre, with a full persuasion in time to rule over all, presiding unto it selfe no other limits than the uttermost bounds of the earth, from the rising of the sunne unto the going downe of the same." 1

Other vices frequently associated with the Turks were their lasciviousness, mostly on account of the Mohammedan law of marriage which allowed the taking of four wives,² and the rapacity and covetousness of the officials in responsible positions. Ideas about the sensuality and depravity of the Turks were strengthened by colourful accounts of the Harem, and by tales of the addiction of the Turks to sodomy.³ The rapacity of the officials and the habit ministers had of expecting large bribes or presents from foreigners and merchants

1. R. Knolles, The Generall Historie, The 'Induction'.
2. Several observers noted the fact that in practice it was very rare for an ordinary man to have more than one wife at a time. See Joseph Smith, A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans, London, 1731, pp. 39-40, and C. D. Rouillard, op. cit., p. 325.
3. References to the sodomy of the Turks occur frequently. Thomas Gainsford describes Turkish character as "solid, tyrannous, warlike, and knoweth nothing but obedience, ... in his matters of incontinency, he runneth also a strange race, with a more impudent violence then the Persian, as if the Satyre were exemplified: ..." and adds that they have learnt sodomy from the Greeks. cf. The Glory of England, p. 26.

trading in the country roused strongest criticism. In fact, the corruption of government officials, particularly those occupying high positions, became increasingly marked as the XVIIIth century advanced. In spite of the fact that such offences were punishable by death, they continued to be committed to the detriment of foreigners and natives alike.¹

Perhaps the most interesting and entertaining sections of Renaissance books on Turkey, for a modern reader, are those describing the customs and traditions of the people. The colourful clothes of the inhabitants, the festivals, religious ceremonies and various other striking details of Turkish life were recorded by English and other European writers with zest and pleasure. Their accounts are strewn with vivid images and realistic descriptions, most of which reflect the sympathy felt by the observers towards Turks and a mingling of naive curiosity and delight. Coryat's impressions of the celebration of the 'bairam', the feast marking the end of the Ramazan, his surprise at seeing the way in which:

"the steeples belonging to all the Mosnies in
Constantinople and Galata shined suddenly with
Lamps, a shew indeed very glorious and refulgent,
some of their Steeples having onely one row of
Lampes ... some three rowes, which make a very

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1. Mercia MacDermott traces the causes of this social disease to the disadvantages of the Turkish economic system, basically feudal in character, and to the fact that due to the granting of special privileges to foreign trading companies, by the Capitulations, there could be no capital accumulation in the country and hence the governors were driven to exploit the peasantry. cf. A History of Bulgaria, p. 39.

beautiful shew ..." 1

his description of the dance of the Mevlevi dervishes, among whom:

"there was one little Boy of some twelve yeares
of age, that turning in a corner of the roome
strucke no small admiration in all the Spectators
that were Strangers," 2

all remain vividly in the memory after reading his book. Royal
ceremonies provided another subject for careful recording. We find
several descriptions of the Sultan and his train on the way to the
mosque or entering a city at the head of his army. A trait of these
processions and festivities noted by all observers with surprise was
the silence and solemnity of the audience. Sandys described the effect
of the scene on himself, in the words:

"But what most deserveth admiration amongst so great
a concourse of people, is their generall silence:
in so much, as had you but onely eares, you might
suppose (except when they salute him with a soft
and short murmer) that men were then folded in
sleepe, and the World in midnight." 3

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1. From Coryat's 'Diary', cf. Purchas his Pilgrimes, x, 436.
 2. Ibid., ed. cit., x, 419.
 3. G. Sandys, A Relation of a Journey, p. 76. The aversion of Turks
to noise and tumult was frequently noted. Robert Withers in
The Description of the Grand Signor's Seraglio writes that the
children who were educated in the school at the Seraglio were
taught 'silence', as the first step of their training (cf. Purchas
his Pilgrimes, ix, 355). This etiquette came under ridicule in a
play of Fletcher and Massinger, where one of the characters exclaims
to another: "This senseless silent courtesy methinks shows like two
Turks saluting one another". cf. Double Marriage, 1620, I, iii, 2,
(The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. G. Darley, London, 1862).

Certain habits created surprise and amusement - 'the frequent bathings' of the people,¹ their aversion to spitting,² their excessive kindness to animals,³ particularly towards dogs and birds, drew comment and were set down and repeated in many accounts, thus helping to establish a colourful picture about Turks. Other aspects of Turkish life, such as the manner of entertainments, plays and puppet-shows and oriental music attracted interest, but here the observers were at a disadvantage due to difficulties of mastering the language and obtaining sufficient

1. The baths in Turkey were discussed at great length. Sandys mentioned this habit as one of the causes of the beauty of the children and women. His description of the children is particularly interesting, as it is perhaps his most enthusiastic statement of praise for Turks: "They have generally the sweetest children that ever I saw; partly proceeding from their frequent bathings, and affected cleanliness. As we beare ours in our armes, so they do theirs astride on their shoulders". cf. A Relation of a Journey, p. 69.
2. Moryson notes the cleanliness of the Turks, which he considers too excessive, and adds that they are "curious in keeping their Churches in which it were no small trespass so much as to spet, which in common conversation they take for an offence, as if he that spets were wearie of their company". cf. An Itinerary, iii, 128.
3. Busbecq expressed his surprise at the kindness with which horses, dogs and birds were treated. cf. The Life and Letters (ed. C. T. Forster and H. B. Daniell), i, 216-222. Sir Francis Bacon ascribed this to the natural "inclination of goodness" present in all men; "in so much that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures". Essays (Philosophical Works, ed. J. M. Robertson, London, 1905), p. 749. Thomas Smith wrote down in his Remarks upon the Manners: "Some buy birds ... to let them fly away and return to the liberty of the woods and open air". cf. p. 103.

familiarity with an alien culture.

It was held by many that Turks had no interest in artistic and intellectual pursuits; their lack of learning became a stock phrase that was joined with the conception of the barbarousness of the Turks to enforce the image of a nation that was crude and uncivilised. Some even gave this as a cause of their success in arms. Lusinge wrote:

"... Turkes fashion their whole dessignes to the war, and bend all their thoughts and studies to the exercise of armes, reiecting all other courses, and pleasing themselves onely in what may stand them in stead for that profession." 1

The reason given for the apparent neglect of learning in Turkey was the theory that it made people "tender, effeminate and altogether unfit for the use of armes".²

It is ironical that the age described by these writers as being totally deficient in learning and letters was one of the most productive periods in the history of Turkish literature and art.³ It may be that

1. The Beginning, Continuance and Decay of Estates, Sig. A2v.
2. Loc. cit. The opinion was echoed by Thomas Smith who wrote that Turks discouraged study and accomplishment in artistic and technical activities because "they look upon all this as a curiosity, that not only may be spared, but what ought to be carefully avoided, and kept out of their Empire, as tending to soften men's minds, and render them less fit for arms". cf. op. cit., p. 3. The same explanation was given by Montaigne (cf. Essays, i, 138), and Bacon (cf. Essays, Philosophical Works, p. 610).
3. The age produced many notable poets, historians and prose writers; see the article by Kâprülî Zâde Mehmed Fua'd on XVIth century Turkish literature in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

most foreign residents were prevented from responding to the intellectual and artistic activities of the country by the basically Islamic and non-European character of XVIth century Turkish culture.¹ There were some writers, however, who had closer knowledge of the institutions and learning, either through having learnt the language or through having been trained in the country when young or else through sheer keenness of critical faculty and perception. Belon's description of the village schools,² the remarks of Postel³ and Du Loir⁴ on the subjects taught to Turkish children give us interesting glimpses of the cultural background of the country.

A subject that interested some European writers of the time

1. P. Wittek describes the character of Turkish culture in the XVIth century as a combination of "the indigenous cultural traditions of the old Byzantine orbit, and even already of occidental influences, with the traditions of Old Islam." cf. The Rise of the Ottoman Empire, p. 51. The limitation of the knowledge of Greek and Latin classics received some comment. Biddulph noted that few people could read Latin (The Travels of Four Englishmen, p. 265). Postel drew attention to the fact that classical histories were not studied. cf. De la Republique des Turcs, p. 11. However, we also come across references to the knowledge and translation of the classics. Geuffroy refers to Süleyman's liking for reading the works of Aristotle in Latin. cf. The Great Turckes Courte, p. lxviii. There is an interesting reference in the 'dedication' of the English translation of Herodotus, to Selim's having had "the actes of Caesar to be drawne into his mother tongue, and by his example, subdued a great parte of Asia and Africa". cf. The Famous Hystory of Herodotus, 1584, Sigs. Aijv - Aiiij.
2. Les Observations de Plusieurs Singularitez, p. 398.
3. De la Republique des Turcs, i, 38.
4. Les Voyages du Sieur Du Loir, Paris, 1654, pp. 102-3. We must add the account given by Robert Withers in The Description of the Grand Signor's Seraglio.

was the learning of the Ottoman Sultans. Süleyman was described by Geuffroy as being very fond of history, philosophy and theology ("of his owne law"). Geuffroy wrote that the Sultan had the history of his predecessors read to him three times a week, and that he encouraged historical writing and demanded that only the truth should be stated without lies or flatteries.¹ Ramberti said that Süleyman was versed in the Turkish, Greek, Latin and Italian languages.²

Turkish literature, particularly folk poetry, appears to have also attracted attention. Perhaps the earliest specimens of Turkish literature to be published in any European book were the two poems included in the account of Turkish institutions given by Captivus Septemcastrensis.³ The English translation of Georgijević's The House of Ottomano contained another example, a short verse in Turkish transcribed in Latin letters and accompanied by an English translation. It was described by Georgijević as being of an 'amorous' character and was followed by a brief and imperfect explanation of the rules of

1. The Great Turckes Courte, pp. lxxxiii - lxxxiiii.
2. Libri tre delle Cose de Turchi, iii, 79. On Mehmet's learning, see A. H. Vasiliev, op. cit., ii, 645.
3. See above p. 109, n.2.

versification.¹

These references to Turkish literature, together with some remarks on Court entertainments,² and on Turkish music,³ constitute almost the entire body of information on the art and literature of the

1. Op. cit., sig. D5v. I am quoting the translation below:

"Of on, fifty, I have mad, in my tribulation
Of my creatour, I have required, succour
I have neglected, of my countrey, the visitation
What shall I do, I can not subdew, my minde."

The curious punctuation is designed to indicate the word or group of words that correspond to the words of the Turkish original. The text is corrupt and I have not been able to identify its author. The versification and the language clearly point to a source in folk poetry. Towards the end of the XVIIth century, Sir Thomas Browne published another Turkish poem in English translation. This was also taken from folk literature. The translation is far superior to that of Georgijević and it is not hard to identify the poem, as being one by Yunus Emre, a poet and mystic of the XIVth century (cf. Certain Miscellany Tracts, 1684, Works, London, 1835, iv, 191-2).

2. For the description of dances, "little plays or interludes" and other entertainments performed during weddings or circumcision ceremonies, see Dr. Covell's Diary, ed. J. T. Bent, Early Voyages and Travels, pp. 205-222.
3. There is an account of Turkish military music given by Sebastian Munster. cf. Straunge and Memorable Thinges, p. 35. Covell describes some of the musical instruments and relates his impressions at hearing it played. "They play mournful tunes but seldom any poynt of musick" is his remark on hearing the 'Nâi', a type of flute particularly associated with 'tekke' or mystical music. He finds the 'tones' produced by the 'Tympanum' (or 'Tambour') "very passionate", and the sound produced by a particular musical instrument which he describes as a "Pan's pipe of 20, 25, 30 (at most) 32 reeds, placed in order", "most ravishing tone in nature". Op. cit., pp. 153, 170, 216. Finally it should be noted that Henry VIII is said to have taken an interest in Turkish music and to have had it performed in his Court to a group of Hungarians. cf. D. Vaughan, op. cit., p. 27.

country, given by writers of the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries.¹

Yet, no matter how limited they may have been, these allusions and remarks are valuable as showing that the Europeans of the age were not completely uninformed about, or lacking interest in, the cultural and artistic activities of the Turks.

The picture that emerges from these accounts is a complex, but by no means a merely derogatory, one. Certain modern scholars have in fact expressed their surprise at the adulatory tone of many of the Renaissance publications on Turkey. According to Sir Godfrey Fisher, "Among the surprises that emerge from a perusal of the Christian records and narratives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are testimonials to the Turks as a highly civilized people, from both a moral and practical standpoint".² Fisher contrasts the ideas expressed in these books with the prejudices and misconceptions of later works, particularly those that were written at the close of the last century. He attributes the change in attitude to the creation of a certain 'legend' about eastern nations "to satisfy the racial and religious prejudices, the chauvinism, conscious rectitude, and imperialistic impulse of the late nineteenth century".³

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1. For references in Renaissance books to other arts and crafts, see Rouillard, op. cit., pp. 319-20.
 2. The Barbary Legend. War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830, Oxford, 1957, p. 9.
 3. Op. cit., p. 8. He added "Even writers of expert works on our Eastern possessions and policy spoke of 'Asiatics' as a single unit and the working of the 'oriental mind' as a uniform phenomenon. The connotation of the term 'Moslem' primarily included despotic government, fanatical intolerance, and almost sadistic cruelty. 'Turk' was an epithet of opprobrium used in our nurseries."

Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the Renaissance picture of Turkey was itself not free from acrimonious statement and sweeping abuse. The existence of different and at times contradictory attitudes in the writings of the time has been noted by scholars of Turkish and European relations. It is certainly true that in many cases publications attacking the Turks can be explained as having been written under the influence of prejudice or a sense of animosity. Yet, it could also be questioned how far the books praising and exalting the Turks gave an accurate representation of the actual situation itself. Atkinson and Rouillard have suggested another interpretation of the laudatory attitude observed in many of these books. They have said that in some cases writers may have deliberately exaggerated the virtues of the Turks in order to create a figure of emulation for Christendom, to give them a shock and lead them to reform their ways. They also believed that these accounts of Turks, given in travel books and in the geographical literature, had inspired new ideas in European philosophy, politics and morality.¹ This information broadened the horizons of Renaissance writers and thinkers and induced them to create new theories and principles. The Turks and what they stood for, their way of life, their values had to be taken into account as much as, and at times even more than, the facts of the newly discovered continents. They revealed that men could still lead moral and orderly lives in spite of professing

1. G. Atkinson, Les Nouveaux Horizons, pp. 367ff. and C. D. Rouillard, op. cit., pp. 354ff.

alien customs and faith. It was a sobering and stimulating thought.

Atkinson drew attention to the fact that one third of Bodin's La République (1579) was concerned with an analysis of the Ottoman Empire and that Montaigne had made no less than fifty references to the Turks.¹

The essays of Bacon, the correspondence of Sidney and Languet, the didactic writings of Greville reflect the same tendency to apply the results of the information gained from the accounts of travellers and other writers on Turkish affairs, to problems of statecraft, morality and political theory. However, in England the impact of ideas and knowledge about Turks was, perhaps, felt most strongly in the sphere of the theatre, and it will be the object of the second part of the thesis to analyse and indicate the manner in which 'Turkish themes' were used in the plays of the Elizabethan period and of the early XVIIth century.

1. G. Atkinson, op. cit., p. 322.

P A R T I I

THE TREATMENT OF
TURKISH THEMES IN DRAMA

CHAPTER I

THE TREATMENT OF TURKISH THEMES

IN PLAYS WRITTEN BEFORE 1587

A Glance at the Presentation of Turks in Medieval and Early Renaissance Drama. Religious Plays. The Secular Romantic Drama. The Pageants and Masques.

In England, as well as on the Continent, Turks were made the subject of artistic creations long before the Renaissance. The literature which has come down to us from the Middle Ages, however, is mainly of a non-dramatic nature, although it is believed - and there is evidence to support this claim - that dramatisations of tales about the Crusades and chivalrous romances involving adventures with Turkish characters were made from the XIVth and XVth centuries onwards.¹ In these works Turks were shown mainly as the traditional enemies of Christendom and as figures symbolising evil and destruction, and were not clearly distinguished from the other Moslem nations of the Middle East.

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1. See C. R. Baskervill, "Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England", M.P., xiv (1916), 229-251, 467-512; E.K. Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1947, p. 65; I. Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, p. 61; A. Harbage's The Annals of English Drama 975-1700 (revised edition by S. Schoenbaum, London, 1964) gives the titles of some lost English romantic plays of the XVth century. cf. pp. 10, 14. The term 'romantic' has been used in this chapter to designate the particular type of play adapted from a romance or based on episodes and motives prevalent in the romances.

These works helped to establish patterns of treatment - conventions of plot and characterisation, certain motifs and devices - that lived on into the Renaissance and influenced the presentation of Turkish themes in the literature of the later age. It would be useful to note some of the dominant characteristics of the medieval approach, particularly in the field of drama, before proceeding to concentrate on the attitudes of Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists. The use of Turkish types and themes in romance literature is a subject that requires independent study and so has to be left out of this brief survey, which will be concerned only with the dramatic productions.¹

A. Religious Plays

The English miracle plays reveal a certain amount of interest in Islam and the nations of the Middle East. Turks are not specifically

1. Mohammedans - Turks, Moors or Saracens - figure in many medieval romances, such as the Charlemagne romances of Otuel, Sege of Melayne, Sir Firumbras, Sowdone of Babylone, The Four Sons of Aymon, Huon of Bordeaux, Song of Roland. They were also included in the romances of Godefroy of Bologne, Richard Coeur de Lyon, Flores and Blanchefleur, King of Tars, Sir Isumbras, Sir Eglamour of Artois. Turks or Saracens were brought into some romances about the adventures of English knights; among this group we can mention Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick and The Turcke and Gowin. Some of the stories in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales included Moslem if not specifically Turkish characters, e.g. The 'Syrians' of the 'Man of Lawes Tale'. Specific reference to Turkey occurs in some instances, such as in the allusion to The Knight's adventures in Turkey, where he fights either as a warrior on the side of the Christian forces, as in the capture of Ayas in Armenia from the Turks (in 1367), or as a mercenary in the service of a Turkish 'Bey' in his wars "agayn another hethen in Turkye". (cf. 'The Prologue', ll. 57-66).

mentioned by name except in some rare instances. The writers of these plays do not appear to have aimed at presenting Moslem nations specifically, but merely at evoking the spiritual values and popular reminiscences currently associated with Turks, Moors or Saracens, and so to bring them to bear on the depiction of the struggles of heathen and Christians in biblical times. Hence, Muhammad was frequently referred to as the god and evil genius, not only of Moslems, but also of ancient pagan tribes, of Jews and of the 'enemies' of Christ. This meant the grouping of the forces of good and evil into two separate camps, on a basis of spiritual or moral affinity, irrespective of differences of time or place. As was noted by Craig, the "wicked eminence" of Satan was shared by "Turks, pagans and heretics".¹ Pilate, Herod and his soldiers, Jonathas the Jew are all shown as praising 'Mahounde' and as appealing to him for help and support.² Herod was

1. H. Craig attributed this to the effects 'combative and defensive instincts' of the people. cf. English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1955, p. 12.
2. In "An Index to the Non-Biblical Names in the English Mystery Play", Antoinette Greene finds nearly three hundred references to Muhammad, spelt variously as Mahound(e), Mahown(e), Mahond(e), and also Mahometes in the compound 'Mahomets idols'. cf. Studies in Language and Literature in Celebration of the Seventieth Birthday of James Morgan Hart, New York, 1910, pp. 313-350. The appeal of Jonathas to Muhammad occurs in the Croxton miracle play of The Sacrament (cf. J. Q. Adams, Pre-Shakespearian Dramas, Cambridge, Mass., 1924, p. 246). Examples of Pilate's and Herod's allusions to Muhammad occur in the plays of The Crucifixion and The Massacre of the Innocents, cf. The Wakefield Mystery Play, ed. Martial Rose, London, 1961, pp. 222, 223, 329-330.

represented as an oriental potentate and was dressed as a Saracen: he wore a turban and carried a curved sword ('fawchon') in his hand.¹ In many ways he bears a notable resemblance to some later portrayals of the tyrannical, ranting and barbarous Eastern ruler on the Elizabethan stage and, indeed, in some cases to the representations of the 'Great Turk' himself.² He claimed kinship with Muhammad and was praised by his attendants as "kyng of kyngs" and "chefe lord of lordyngys, chefe leder of law".³ In the Wakefield play of The Massacre of the Innocents, Turkey is mentioned as one of the countries under his sway.⁴ Anachronisms such as these were not confined to the religious cycles alone but were found in the secular and folk drama as well.

B. Secular Drama

Although records of early non-religious dramatic productions

1. The Wakefield Mystery Play, pp. 260-262, and A. W. Ward, History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queene Anne, (1899 edn.), i, 61.
2. Chambers has pointed to the importance of Herod as a prototype of the tyrant in Elizabethan plays. cf. The Medieval Stage, Oxford, 1903, ii, 90. Shakespeare's satirical attack against the player who overacts his part, "... I could have such a fellow whipped for o'erdoing Termagant, it out-herods Herod", in Hamlet (cf. III, ii, 12-13) is significant also for drawing attention to another figure of early popular drama: 'Termagant' or 'Tervagant' - a deity frequently associated with Mohammedanism in medieval Europe.
3. The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle, ed. A. C. Cawley, Manchester University Press, 1958, p. 64, ll. 37-8.
4. The Wakefield Mystery Play, pp. 222.

are very few and incomplete, performances of a secular nature are known to have been presented in Europe and England towards the end of the Middle Ages. These performances ranged from primitive folk entertainments and pageantry to plays adapted from the romances. In spite of the fact that knowledge about the non-religious drama of the middle ages is very limited, it is still possible to learn about the manner of performance from odd references and occasional descriptions in contemporary records and documents. The secular drama of the Continent has been better preserved, and is often of help for providing information about the content of lost English plays on similar themes. These plays were frequently based on tales and adventures made famous in the romances and often included Turkish or other Middle Eastern characters as protagonists or minor figures.

Studies of folk-lore carried out in the late XIXth and early XXth century have brought to light information about folk-entertainments and games that are believed to have come down from medieval, and perhaps from even earlier, times.¹ Chief among these are the Mummers' plays, which were performed until quite recently in parts of the country, mainly as Christmas entertainments, and included a combat between St. George and the Turkish knight, which generally followed St. George's

1. On these plays, see E. K. Chambers, The English Folk Play, Oxford, 1933. In this book Chambers revises the earlier accounts he had given in The Medieval Stage (published in 1903) and considers the effects of the contemporary information on the subject, in the light of subsequent research.

fight with the Dragon, and was one of the principal motifs of the play.

The Turkish champion was defeated and slain, but was restored to life by the doctor, at the request of St. George and the Presenter, who, in some versions, is the father of the Turkish knight. The play could also include a figure known as 'the mother of the Turkish knight'. Both the Presenter and the mother mourn the death of the champion. In a number of versions, St. George expresses grief at what he has done, but defends himself saying:

"He gave me a challenge, no one denies,
How high he was, but see how low he lies". 1

In some other plays St. George laments his deed, saying that he has killed his own brother or 'only son'. The play generally concluded with dancing and revelry.

Chambers considered the combat to be the culminating point of the action, and found a connection between it and the episode of the 'renouveau' of primitive fertility rites, symbolising "the annual death of the year and the fertilization spirit and its annual resurrection in Spring".² In various extant English versions, the Turkish champion is also called by other names, the Turkish knight, Turkey Snipe (possibly a corruption of Turkish champion) and Captain Slasher. He is also

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1. Quoted from the text prepared by Chambers and published in The English Folk Play (cf. p. 38).
 2. cf. The Medieval Stage, i, 218. In The English Folk Play, Chambers reasserted the same opinion and supported it with evidence from recent research, which revealed similarities between the English Mummers' Plays and some folk representations of the Balkan people with clearer ritualistic implications of a fertility cult. cf. pp. 27-8.

sometimes confused with Moors and Bulgarians.¹ In the forms in which they were taken down during the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries, the plays reflect a mingling of motifs and contain an accumulation of characters representing historical enemies or notorious figures.²

Extant medieval records reveal that plays and pageants about St. George were presented during festivals or on special occasions, both in the towns and at the Court. Harbage's The Annals of English Drama, 975-1700 (revised edn. of Schoenbaum) cite the titles of several lost plays.³ Both Chambers and Hardin Craig hold the view that there may have been a medieval miracle play of St. George, having a plot not very unlike its modern popular versions. The subject of this fifteenth century play (or plays)⁴ might be inferred from a number of continental examples recorded in the Golden Legend.

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1. Chambers notes that there was a 'Bulgard' at Hamstall Ridware and a 'Bold gier' at Repton, both described as coming "from Turkey land". Cf. The English Folk Play, p. 28.
 2. Some versions include 'Bold Bonaparte' among the adversaries of St. George; cf. ibid., p. 60.
 3. Op. cit., pp. 8, 10, 12, 14. See also detailed description of the available records and information on medieval pageants and plays on the subject in C. R. Baskervill's "Dramatic Aspects of Medieval Folk Festivals in England", S.P., xvii (1920), 19-87, and Chambers, The English Folk Play, pp. 160-174.
 4. Harbage quotes three references to a lost 'miracle' of St. George, recorded to have been performed in 1456, 1490-1497, and 1511. Cf. op. cit., pp. 10 and 12.

In the legend, St. George fights and vanquishes a dragon threatening the life of the daughter of the King Silene (or Cyrene) in Libya, the dragon becomes as tame as a lamb and the princess leads him into the town. On seeing this miracle, the whole city becomes converted to Christianity. The legend - the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine - was translated and printed in English by Caxton in 1483. Towards the end of the XVIth century, it was retold, with some changes and additions by Richard Johnson in his book called The Seven Champions of Christendome.¹ In his version, St. George's adventures after killing the dragon are described at length and in detail. St. George fights a series of battles with a number of 'heathen' or 'Saracen' kings, among whom there are The Black Prince of Morocco and the Soldan of Persia. Chambers believes that at some point of the development of the tale, the figure of the Persian king must have been replaced by the figure of the Turkish knight.² The change could have taken place much later, in the

1. The first part (including the tale of St. George) was printed in 1596.
2. Op. cit., p. 176. In Johnson's version, although St. George is shown as fighting the Persian king, the struggle between a Christian and a Moslem champion is, in fact, the key motive. It is possible to think that the references to Eastern types were made in a general and vague way, reminiscent of the treatment in the medieval romances. It is significant, for instance, that in the tale the Persian king is waited on by 'janissaries', who were frequently referred to in contemporary writings as the soldiers of Ottoman Sultans and had no connection with the historical Persians. cf. op. cit., sig. Ei.

XVIIth century as a result of the Elizabethan vogue of Turkish plays; or it could have come about gradually as a consequence of the spread of the power and influence of the Turks. In fact, with the establishment and growth of the Ottoman state, Turks had come to the foreground, and were very often seen as the representatives of Islam, to the degree of eclipsing the other Moslem nationalities of the East. Already in some late medieval and early Renaissance romances, Turkish champions or knights were taking the place of the Moorish or Saracen knights.¹

The inclusion of Eastern figures in popular entertainments, plays or pageants was not confined to the St. George plays alone. C. R. Baskervill noted that the "Vogue of the Oriental" seemed to have "developed early in Great Britain", and mentioned, as an example, the following description of the masqued dances of the Scottish peasants early in the XVth century, given by the author of Colkebie Sow:

"Sum The Cane of Tartary
Sum The Soldane of Surry
All his dansis defynd
Sum Pretir Johnie of grit Ynd
Sum As the Ethiopis vsit
Sum futit and some refusit

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1. In the XVth century romance of Turke and Gowin, the Turkish champion played a significant role. The motive of the combat between the Turk and Gawain, and the transformation of the champion into a Christian knight, after receiving a death blow from Gawain, present parallels with the St. George story, as performed in the Mummers' Plays. See for the possible connections of the theme with other Gawain romances: Chambers, The English Folk Play, p. 161.

Sum had dansis mony ma
Wt all the dansis of Asia
Sum of the Affrickis age
And principals of Cartage." 1

Most of the characters mentioned in this poem were figures popularised by the romances or by semi-fictional travel accounts, such as that of Mandeville. Similar figures may have been represented in the early romantic plays, particularly as a number of these plays are believed to have been adaptations of romances incorporating Eastern, if not always specifically Turkish, characters.² A lost play of the XVth century mentioned in the London Chronicle as having been performed in 1444 at St. Albans, and described as "a play of Eglemour and Degrebelle",³ was adapted from the romance of Sir Eglamour of Artois.⁴

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1. "Early Romantic Plays in England", ut cit., p. 510, and Laing, Early Popular Poetry of Scotland, ed. Hazlitt, London, 1895, i, 194.
 2. Baskervill suggests that some of the lost plays of the late XVIth century on romantic themes, such as Godfrey of Boulogne, The Four Sons of Aymon and Huon of Bordeaux (cf. Henslowe's Diary, ed. R. A. Foakes and R. T. Rickert, pp. 22-31, 208, 211 and 20), may have been adaptations of earlier plays of which no records have been preserved. These plays bear the names of well-known romances on oriental themes; cf. op. cit., p. 511.
 3. The Chronicle was published by Ralph Flenley in the Six Town Chronicles of England, Oxford, 1911, and quoted in Baskervill's article, "Early Romantic Plays in England" (cf. p. 229) and Chambers' English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages (cf. p. 65).
 4. C. R. Baskervill, in a short article called "An Elizabethan Eglamour Play" (M.P., xiv, 1916-17, pp. 759-60) has given the description of an Eglamour play, now also lost, but known to have been performed in Germany during the XVIIth century by English comedians. The play included episodes about Eglamour's fights both against and together with the Moors.

The romance contained an account of adventures taking place partly in Eastern countries, and involving Turks and Saracens. The London Chronicle has another reference to a play performed in the same year at Bermondsey about "a knight cleped fflorence", the source of which is not definitely known. However, it is interesting to note that one of some possible sources that have been suggested, namely the romance of Floris and Blaunchefleur, has as its central theme the love of a Christian girl and a Mohammedan prince.¹

C. Romantic Dramas on the Continent

Continental records of the period are comparatively richer with respect to extant romantic plays on Turkish and oriental themes. Baskervill mentions a number of plays and pageants, produced in various other countries of Europe, from about the middle of the XIVth century. Pageants about Godfrey of Boulogne and Richard Coeur de Lyon were performed in Belgium and in Paris during the second half of the XIVth century.² In Germany, France, Italy and the Netherlands, plays were continued to be written and acted, during the XVth and XVIth centuries,

1. Baskervill quotes several early dramatisations of the romance of Floris and Blaunchefleur in Italy, the Netherlands and Germany. cf. "Early Romantic Plays in England", p. 230, and Creizenach, Geschichte des neueren Dramas, Halle, 1893-1916, i, 330, 373 and iii, 424. For a discussion of the sources of the play, see Baskervill, loc. cit., and Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages, p. 65.
2. A pageant about the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Godefroi de Bouillon was performed in Belgium in 1378, in front of Charles V and Emperor Charles IV. Another pageant, about the Crusades, taken from Le Pas Saladin, was presented in Paris in 1389. Its main theme was the combat of Richard with the Saracens. cf. Baskervill, "Early Romantic Plays in England", pp. 509-11.

on themes taken from the medieval romances and containing episodes related to the struggle of Christendom with the Moslem peoples of the Middle East.¹ Gradually, also, a new element was being introduced into the field, one that was to influence and transform the treatment of oriental and Turkish themes in European literature. This new feature was the use of recent political and historical events as subject matter for dramatic works.²

It would appear that the European literature of the Continent may have already possessed, by the late XVth and early XVIth centuries, a tradition of dealing with oriental themes, and that Turks also figured in this tradition. There is some evidence to support the view that these traditions were also known and applied in the English drama. It has been pointed out that the relations of Britain and the mainland were very close at the time.³ Pilgrimages, commercial traffic, the 'Great Fairs', the exchange of dramatic troupes or groups of players,

1. Cf. Baskervill, op. cit., pp. 233, 509-11
2. Among the earliest European plays making use of historical material we can mention as examples: a play called L'Histoire ou Jeux de la Ville de Constantinople, performed in 1460 at Arles and concerned with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 (cf. Creizenach, op. cit., i, 376); Jacob Locher's Latin tragedy Tragedia des Thurcis et Soldano (1497, cf. ibid., ii, 3f.); Gabriel Berenin's Soltane (1561), about the murder of Mustapha (cf. ibid., ii, 455-6) and Pamphilus Gengebach's Nollhart, performed in Basle in 1515 (cf. ibid., iii, 239f.)
3. Ward, op. cit., pp. 212ff., Baskervill, "Early Romantic Plays in England", p. 234.

may have all contributed to creating strong cultural bonds that were reflected in a common corps of literary conventions and subject matter.

D. The Masques

Although a large number of the XVIth century masques dealing with Turks are lost, it is possible to learn about their content and their manner of production from the description of contemporary observers and the accounts of the Revels Office.¹ These sources are of great help in revealing certain points of interest about the treatment of Turkish themes in the English dramatic productions of the first half of the XVIth century and the early part of Elizabeth's reign. They are also particularly valuable in providing detailed information about the costumes and accessories used in the presentation of Turkish characters and setting.

The records of performances at the Court during the first half of the XVIth century contain several masques concerned with Turks.

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1. Two sources are of particular importance for the period extending from 1509 to 1522; they are the Chronicle of Edward Hall, 1548, (1809 edn., pp. 505ff.), and the 'Diary' of Richard Gibson, in the Revels Accounts (Public Record Office, Excheq. Treas. of Receipts Misc. Bks., 217, 228, 224). L. and P. Henry VIII contains abstracts from the 'Diary', cf. i, ii and iii; it has also been printed in the Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1509-1519. For later periods, the Loseley MSS contain much valuable material, a great part of which has been incorporated in A. Feuillerat's Documents relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas, ed. Bang, xliv, 1914), and Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth (Materialien, ed. Bang, xxi, 1908); see also C. W. Wallace, The Evolution of English Drama, Berlin, 1912.

Henry VIII himself took part in a 'Masque of Turks' presented in 1509¹

- the year of his coronation. Henry and the Earl of Essex were:

"appereled after Turkey fasshio, in long robes of Bawdkin, powdered with gold, hattes on their heddes of Crimosyn velvet, with greate rolles of Gold, girded with two swordes, called Cimiteries, hangyng by greate bawderikes of gold."

Others were disguised as Russians and the torch-bearers were "lyke Moreskoes, their faces blacke".²

In 1518 an elaborate masque, prepared by "Mayster Cornyshe of the Chapel" and containing "sundry Turks with drums" was presented at Court on the occasion of the engagement of Princess Mary and the Dauphin of France. The Turks refuse to join in the general rejoicing, and a battle takes place between them and the Knights of Christendom.³ We notice here the persistence of the 'romantic' theme of combat between Christian and Saracen warriors, ending with the defeat of the Moslems. This motive, which Baskervill describes as being "less as one theme of the plays than as the motivating force" of the early romantic plays of Europe,⁴ was, as we have seen, dramatised in some pageants of the XIVth

1. See Hall, Chronicle, pp. 513f. The masque was presented on 3rd February, Shrove Sunday.
2. Loc. cit. It is clear from the descriptions of the masques that Turks were not represented with blackened faces. A distinction appears to have been made, nearly always, between Turks and the Moors, who were generally visualised as negroes. See also, S. C. Chew, op. cit., p. 521.
3. Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1509-1519, pp. 464-67; L. and P. Henry VIII, ii, 1479; Hall, op. cit., fol. 595f.
4. Op. cit., p. 509.

and XVth centuries acted on the Continent, such as the pageants of Godefroi de Bouillon and Le Pas Saladin.¹

As the century advances, the records and descriptions of the masques on Turkish themes reveal the gradual encroachment of new and possibly 'historical' matter into the framework of traditional and romantic elements. A group of masques performed in Court early in the reign of Mary contained Turkish characters.² Although the texts are not extant, the descriptions given in the Revels Account reflect closer knowledge about details of clothing. The distinction of Turkish figures into 'Magistrates', 'Archers', 'Turkes Commoners' and 'ffawkeners',³ is also interesting.

The use of recent historical events as subject matter for a masque can be illustrated from George Gascoigne's A devise of a Maske for ... Viscount Montacute,⁴ written in 1573, and based on fictitious

1. See above p. 191, n.2.
2. The Christmas revels of 1554/5 included several masques and "certaine plaies set forthe by Nicholas Udall". Cf. Wallace, op. cit., pp. 99-100. The masque "of Venetian Senators with galley-Slaves for their Torchbearers", "of Turkes Magistrates with Turkes Archers for their Torchbearers" and "A Masque of Goddesses huntresses with Turky women for their torchbearers" all had Turkish characters among the 'personnae'. Cf. A. Feuillerat, Documents relating to the Revels, 166, 7-17 and 172, 5-12.
3. See A. Feuillerat, ibid., 172, 5-12.
4. It was written on the occasion of the double marriage of the son and daughter of Anthony Brown, first Viscount Montacute. See George Gascoigne's A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres, ed. with introd. and notes by C. T. Prouty, The University of Missouri Studies, xvii, No. 2, 1942, pp. 172-181 and 308-320.

happenings connected with the capture of Cyprus by the Turks and with the battle of Lepanto. The hero is a young English nobleman whose father has been killed while fighting the Turks and who is himself liberated from slavery by a group of Venetian nobles, after the Christian victory at Lepanto. In a long narrative speech, he relates his adventures and gives an impassioned description of the fall of Famagusta and the torture and execution of Bragadine, the Venetian commandant. The account of the battle and its aftermath was taken from Malim's pamphlet on the capture of Cyprus, The true report of all the successes of Famagosta (1572), translated into English from a book written by Nèstore Martinengo in Italian.¹ Malim had been in Turkey in the 1560's, presumably as an agent of Leicester's;² it is known that he was in Cyprus at the time of the siege and conquest of the island. His purpose in translating the pamphlet into English was primarily to enlist the support of Christian leaders in the wars of the Venetians with the Turks, a policy defended by Leicester, perhaps mainly because of his interest in the Venetian trade. One way in which this could be done was by inducing the Christian nations to join in a crusade against the Turks.³ Gascoigne was also closely associated with the Leicester

1. See above p. 137 and R. R. Cawley, "George Gascoigne and the Siege of Famagusta", M.L.N., xliii (1928), 296-300.
2. See E. Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters, New York, 1955, p. 99.
3. On Leicester's share in the monopoly of the import and export trade of Venice, see ibid., p. 98n.

group and his masque (written ostensibly for providing certain noblemen with an excuse to disguise themselves in Venetian costumes at the joint wedding of the son and daughter of the Viscount Montacute) may be said to reflect the political ideas of Leicester and his circle about the Ottoman Empire.¹

The long narrative speech of the 'young Montacute', modelled on the speeches customarily delivered by the figure generally known as the 'Presenter' or 'Tronchman' in the masques of the period, formed the central and most significant part of the masque. It had the function of describing the events prior to the arrival of the noblemen in the house where the wedding was being celebrated. As has been emphasised by Prouty in his biography, Gascoigne used 'the speech' for giving his masque a new character and for informing it with a serious political objective.² The significance of the masque for us lies chiefly in the fact that it constitutes the earliest extant treatment of recent

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1. According to Rosenberg, the object of the movement was to rouse the Protestant powers against Moslems, in a league excluding Spain. The history of the War of Cyprus was written by another protegee of Leicester, the well-known historian and Italian expatriot, Pietro Bizari. cf. above p. 137. Among the famous writers associated with the same group we can name Giacomo Concio (generally referred to by the name Jacobus Acontius), Castiglione, Grafton, Stow, Holinshed, Arthur Golding and Sir Thomas North. cf. Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 98, n.1 and pp. 103-4, 113.
 2. Cf. C. T. Prouty, George Gascoigne, Elizabethan Courtier, New York, 1942, p. 121.

Turkish history in a piece of writing having a dramatic character and designed not only to entertain but also to persuade the audience to adopt a particular attitude towards a religio-political issue.

C H A P T E R I I

PLAYS ON TURKISH THEMES WRITTEN BETWEEN 1587-1642

A. General Characteristics of Treatment. Short Chronolgical Survey

Towards the end of the XVIth century we notice the emergence of a group of plays on Turkish themes, written in quick succession by some of the leading dramatists of the Elizabethan era. The vogue persisted during the Jacobean and Caroline ages and, in fact, lived on to exert some influence on the Restoration period. We have seen that a certain amount of interest in Turks was present in the writings of the medieval period and of the early Tudor age. The medieval attitude towards Turks had been largely dominated by the memories and ideals of the Crusades. These ideals and notions were, to a great extent, the chief factors that determined the presentation of Turks in the plays and pageants of the XIVth and XVth centuries. In the early works Turks were depicted in a vague and general way and were often confused with other Moslem nations of the Middle East. There is very little evidence of specific interest in the Turks themselves as a distinct people or of knowledge about their customs and history. References to localities are mostly indeterminate and Turkish figures often appear to have been introduced with no other object than that of providing a colourful foil to the virtues and prowess of Christian champions.

With the advent of a more enlightened and objective attitude during the Renaissance and under the influence of increased knowledge gained through close contacts, Turkish themes were treated in a different way in literature and drama. The Renaissance treatment was characterised, above all, by greater accuracy about Turkish customs and affairs and by the exhibition of a specific interest in Turks for their own sake, rather than as symbols of evil or as representatives of anti-Christian forces. This meant that more attention was being paid to the history of the Turks and to the fortunes of individual Ottoman Sultans. Plays, making use of incidents in the lives of the Turkish Sultans, were written in Europe from the middle of the XVIth century.

Nevertheless, the older traditions did not disappear completely and lived on side by side with the new motives and ideas. A number of lost English plays and masques written and performed during the early and middle years of the XVIth century are known to have had chivalric themes involving adventures with oriental or sometimes Turkish characters. The real development of plays on Turkish themes, however, took place in the last quarter of the XVIth century. Certain masques and plays of the late 70's and early 80's (such as Gascoigne's A Devise of a Masque for ... Viscount Montacute, and the anonymous Latin play called Solymannidae) may be taken as forerunners of this type of drama, and serve to show that the transition from the earlier vague and romantic treatment to the new motives and themes introduced at the

Renaissance may have come about gradually and slowly. The new attitude towards the Turks, however, found its first definite expression in the plays of a group of writers writing for the popular stage during the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign.

Chief among the writers of this group who wrote plays about Turks were Marlowe, Kyd, Peele and Greene. Marlowe's Tamburlaine, performed sometime during 1587/8,¹ marked a turning point in the treatment of Turkish and oriental themes in Elizabethan drama. Although mainly concerned with the life and conquests of Timur, it was closely involved with Turkish history. Almost simultaneously Kyd made use of the pseudo-historical 'Soliman and Perseda' episode as the subject of a masque performed within a play, in his Spanish Tragedy. He was later to develop the story into the plot of a full-length tragedy entitled Soliman and Perseda (c. 1590).²

In their treatment of Turkish matter, as in their contribution to the development of Elizabethan drama, it is difficult to determine who was the first to initiate and popularise the new themes. Although Kyd's treatment in The Spanish Tragedy was very brief and limited, it

1. Parts 1 and 2 were printed in 1590. On the date of performance, see Chambers, E.S., iii, 421-2; Tamburlane the Great, ed. U. M. Ellis Fermor, pp. 6-11 and J. B. Steane, Marlowe. A Critical Study, Cambridge, 1964, p. 13. Steane argues that both Parts 1 and 2 may have been produced by November, 1587, on the evidence of an allusion to the play in a letter written by Philip Gawdy and dated 16th November, 1587.
2. Printed: c. 1592; cf. A. Harbage, Annals of English Drama 975-1700, revised edn. by S. Schoenbaum, London, 1964, p. 54.

was basically different from that of Marlowe in Tamburlaine. Marlowe's interest was directed more towards the dramatisation of history for its own sake, for the sake of the heroical action and for its ethical and political undertones, while Kyd used historical incidents as the framework of a personal tragedy, involving the motifs of revenge, intrigue and horror.

Both playwrights exerted great influence on their successors. Tamburlaine was imitated in a number of plays, some of which - though not all - made use of oriental and Turkish themes. Examples of plays influenced by Tamburlaine and including Turkish characters are: The Tragicall Reigne of Selimus (Part 1 first performed probably in 1592, printed in 1594), Greene's Alphonsus King of Aragon (1587/1588, print. 1599), and Peele's Battle of Alcazar (1588/9, print. 1594). Those dealing with oriental or Asiatic types are: Greene's Orlando Furioso (c. 1591, a fragment print. 1594) and Captain Thomas Stukeley (first performed in 1596, print. 1605).¹ Kyd's influence, on the other hand,

1. There were numerous references to Tamburlaine in the plays and in the non-dramatic literature of the age. Tamburlaine also exerted an influence on plays not concerned with oriental or Turkish types. cf. Tucker Brooke, The Tudor Drama, Cambridge, Mass., 1911, pp. 301-3; Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare, pp. 66, 89-90; M. C. Bradbrook, Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy, Cambridge, 1952, p. 95. Tucker Brooke called Tamburlaine "the source and original of the Elizabethan history play", and drew attention to its importance as being the play which "first popularised" the treatment of Turkish history on the stage. cf. op. cit., pp. 301 and 310.

can be observed on plays such as John Mason's The Turke (c. 1607)¹ and on Marlowe's The Jew of Malta (1589/1590).² In fact, it is not possible to attribute the popularity of Turkish themes in the age to the success and fame of one particular play or to define their treatment by reference to the patterns established by one play alone. Elizabethan and Jacobean plays present a large variety of treatment and of genre. These are by no means quite distinct from one another and often overlap and mingle. The same variety and mixture of forms and stylistic elements can be observed in the dramatisation of the Turkish matter, which was one of the many stock subjects that were used by playwrights in their search for plots to meet the large demand for new plays. Consequently the adaptation of the Turkish matter in the plays reflects the changes in literary fashion, the influence of the many artistic and social trends that shaped the drama of the long period extending from 1580 to 1642. It was also naturally determined by the personal inclinations and ideas of the writer. A strictly chronological discussion of the plays would therefore be impracticable. Nevertheless, one may note the existence of certain basic lines of development in the treatment of the themes through the period.

The plays on Turks, written during the last fifteen years or so of Elizabeth's reign, are characterised by the dominance of historical

1. The Turke. A Worthie Tragedie, 1610. cf. Harbage, Annals, p. 92; Chambers, E.S., iii, 435.

2. Printed in 1632.

subjects and by an emphasis on the political and ethical import of history, a trait that constituted one of the most striking features of the Elizabethan history play.¹ Plays which were concerned either directly or indirectly with Turkish history, such as Tamburlaine, Selimus, Alphonsus, King of Aragon or The Battle of Alcazar,² raised issues concerning statecraft, monarchy and the role of Providence in history - questions which were being currently debated by statesmen, divines and writers alike. Nevertheless, the historical or political purpose did not dominate the plays to the extent of excluding all other interest; elements of pure romance and adventure were never completely absent and at times appear to have been the main motifs of the drama. This is particularly marked in the plays of Peele and Greene.³

In plays like Robert Daborne's A Christian Turn'd Turke (c. 1610)⁴ and The Travailes of the Three English Brothers (performed and published in 1607) written by Day, Rowley and Wilkins, the element

1. On the conventions of the Elizabethan history play, see Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays, and I. Ribner, op. cit.
2. Turks were indirectly involved in The Battle of Alcazar. See below pp. 272, 273.
3. The romantic matter is particularly striking in Greene's Alphonsus. cf. I. Ribner, op. cit., p. 10. The Turkish sub-plot of John of Bordeaux (a play most probably written by Greene) also gives a large place to romantic elements. Peele's Battle of Alcazar is significant for its emphasis on heroic adventure (cf. I. Ribner, loc. cit.)
4. Printed in 1612. cf. Harbage, Annals, p. 96; Chambers, E.S., iii, 271.

of adventure and heroism dominates over the historical purposes. On the other hand, in the oriental plays of Fulke Greville (a member of the Pembroke circle and the author of two closet plays on Eastern themes, one of which was specifically concerned with Turkish history)¹ the influence of Seneca was combined with an equally marked emphasis on historical affairs and on political and ethical questions. It must be noted, in fact, that the genres employed in the dramatisation of the Turkish material cannot be very strictly distinguished, and it is sometimes only possible to fit a play into one or another group barely by noting the dominance of certain motifs over others of less significance. This is also helpful in defining the purposes to which Turkish material were put and the manner in which it was treated in different plays. Greville's play, Mustapha, is also significant for being an example of the application of the 'academic'² adaptation of Senecan motifs to Turkish themes. It reflects the influence of French Senecan writers, such as Garnier and Bounin. The use of Turkish history in this type of drama may have been pioneered by Bounin's Soliman, a play having many points in common with, and the same plot as, Mustapha.

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1. The Tragedy of Mustapha, London, 1609; cf. Harbage, Annals, p. 62, Chambers, iii, 331. The other play is based on a pseudo-historical episode involving Persian characters: Alaham, printed in 1633 but probably written sometime between 1598-1600 (cf. Harbage, Annals, p. 76 and Chambers, E.S., iii, 331).
 2. The work of Pembroke's circle is described by Tucker Brooke as being a continuation of the plays of the academic Senecans; cf. op. cit., pp. 197-203.

Two Latin plays on Turkish history may be mentioned here as coming within the sphere of the academic Senecan plays on Turkish history, presumably also intended for the scholarly stage. These are the anonymous Solymanidae (? 1581/2) based on the murder of Mustapha by his father Sultan Süleyman I, and Tomumbeius sive Sultanici in Aegypto Imperii Eversio (c. 1590), written by George Salterne and concerned with the conquest of Egypt by Selim I and the tragic death of the last Mamluk prince, Tuman Bey.¹

Although interest in the history play itself began to wane shortly after the accession of James I to the throne,² historical matter did not completely disappear from the plays but continued to be treated until the closing of the theatres. The plays of Goffe³, written in the reign of James I, are striking mainly on account of the sensational atmosphere, and the

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1. On these two plays see F. S. Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age, Oxford, 1914, p. 288, n.2., and for a summary of the plots see the article of G. B. Churchill and W. Keller, "Die lateinischen Universitäts-Dramen", Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, xxxiv (1898), 241-9.
 2. Cf. Ribner, op. cit., pp. 266ff., and Tucker Brooke, op. cit., p. 345.
 3. Thomas Goffe's The Courageous Turk or Amurath the First was first performed in 1618 to the students of Christ Church, Oxford. It was printed in 1631. His other play, called The Raging Turk, or Bajazet the Second, was probably performed sometime in the years 1613-18. It was printed in 1632. Cf. G. E. Bentley, The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, Oxford, 1941-56, iv, 491-2. Goffe is known to have enjoyed considerable fame in his age. See Bentley's reply to S. C. Chew's contention in The Crescent and the Rose that Goffe was unknown in his time; cf. loc. cit.

incidents involving bloodshed, cruelty and murder. Writers such as Carlell or Davenant,¹ on the other hand, used history as a basis for constructing a plot that gave scope for the development of the themes of magnanimity, heroic love and honour. These themes were also dominant in some of the Restoration plays, and may be observed in Dryden's plays on oriental and Moorish history, such as The Conquest of Granada and Aureng-Zebe.² They are important for showing the existence of a continuity of treatment between Caroline plays on Eastern subjects and those of the Restoration.³

The plays on Turks written during this period also include a number of works based on stories derived from the romances or the modern Italian or Spanish fiction. Dramatisations of romances involving Turkish or vaguely oriental figures had been popular, perhaps, ever

1. Lodowick Carlell, The Famous Tragedy of Osmond the Great Turk, 1657 (date of composition: either 1622 or c. 1638); cf. Bentley, op. cit., iii, 119-122 and Harbage, Annals, pp. 114-136. Davenant's The Siege of Rhodes, Part 1, was printed before the Restoration, in 1656; Part 2, although probably written about 1659, was printed in 1663, together with Part 1 and some additions. Cf. Bentley, op. cit., iii, 216.
2. On the oriental in Dryden's plays see introd. of Montagu Summers in his edition of The Dramatic Works, London, 1931-32, pp. xl-li; and W. S. Clark, "The Sources of the Restoration Heroic Play", R.E.S., iv (1928), 49-63.
3. On the treatment of oriental themes in the Restoration period, see L. Wann, "The Oriental in Restoration Drama", University of Wisconsin Studies, No. 2, 1918, pp. 423-447. On the similarities of Jacobean and Restoration drama in general, see Tucker Brooke, op. cit., p. 280, and W. S. Clark, "The Sources of the Restoration Heroic Play", ut cit.

since the late XVth century.¹ Nevertheless the appeal of these was more restricted to the broadly popular taste and the genre was almost completely outmoded by the end of Elizabeth's reign.² Heywood's Four Prentices, probably written before 1600 but printed in 1615, may be considered as a survival of the earlier type of romantic drama.³ Its use of oriental themes and chivalric motifs was combined with the currently popular glorification of the London tradesmen and apprentices.

The romantic plays on Turks written during the Jacobean and Caroline periods included those which were, in many respects, different from the early dramatisations of romance literature and from their latter day imitations.⁴ The plays of Massinger and Fletcher on Turks

1. See above pp. 181, 184-5.
2. The genre came under increasingly strong attacks from the literary and learned circles: the earlier type of romantic plays had been ridiculed in Peele's Old Wives Tale. Beaumont and Fletcher's Knight of the Burning Pestle (1609?) is believed to have been a satirical attack directed against Heywood's Four Prentices. cf. Tucker Brooke, op. cit., p. 242. For parodies made by Sidney and Ben Jonson, see: C. R. Baskervill, "Early Romantic Plays in England", ut cit., p. 491, and M. C. Bradbrook, The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy, London, 1955, pp. 103-4.
3. Cf. Tucker Brooke, op. cit., pp. 241-2. Chambers, E.S., iii, 340-1, and Harbage, Annals, p. 76. The date given in the Annals is 1592 - c. 1600.
4. See above pp. 190-1 for late XVth and early XVIth century dramatisations of romances involving oriental or specifically Turkish figures and setting. A lost play containing Turks and described by Stephen Gosson as having been performed in London at the time he was writing The School of Abuse (printed in 1579), i.e. The Blacksmith's Daughter, may have belonged to the same type of 'romantic drama'. cf. below p. 212. Some lost plays on romantic incidents possibly involving Turks or other oriental nations were recorded by Henslowe as having been performed during the decade beginning in 1592. These plays (such as Huon of Bordeaux, Godfrey of Boulogne and The Four Sons of Aymon) are believed by Tucker Brooke to have been revivals of early works. cf. op. cit., p. 240; and also above p. 190, n.2.

- Massinger's The Renegado licensed for performance on 17th April, 1624,¹ and The Knight of Malta written jointly by the two authors together with Nathan Field and performed sometime in 1616-19² - reflect the adaptation of chivalric motifs and romantic themes to the ideals and literary fashions of the XVIIth century. They were based on the pattern of the current genre of the tragi-comedy, and were influenced by the vogue of the Spanish chivalric romances.³ These romances were translated into English from 1578 onwards and won great popularity.⁴ Many of them, such as Amadis of Gaul and Palmerin d'Oliva or the Palladine of England, contained descriptions of chivalrous adventure taking place in Eastern lands and very often included Turks among the characters who were presented. The influence of the Spanish chivalrous romance penetrated England mainly towards the end of the XVIth century and stimulated a revival of romantic literature.⁵

1. Printed in 1630. cf. Bentley, op. cit., iv, 811-15.

2. Printed in 1647. cf. ibid., iii, 351-54.

3. On the influence of the Spanish romances on these plays, see ibid., pp. 811 and 351 respectively.

4. Portions of Amadis were translated and printed in 1568; but the complete Book I was first translated by Anthony Munday and printed c. 1590. cf. H. Thomas, Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry, Cambridge, 1920. On their popularity, see Ian Watt, "Elizabethan Light Reading", The Age of Shakespeare. A Guide to English Literature, ed. Boris Ford, London, 1961, pp. 117-8.

5. Cf. R. S. Crane, The Vogue of Medieval Chivalric Romance During the Renaissance, University of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, 1919, p. 1.

These romances, to a large extent, replaced the earlier type of medieval romance, and came to exert an influence on the depiction of Turkey and of the East in the plays.¹

It may be seen from this short survey that the presentation of Turkish themes in the drama of the period 1587-1642 did not conform to a single pattern and was influenced by many forces and motives. Writers belonging to different generations and of different levels of artistic and intellectual capacity took an interest in these themes and used them in ways that reflected not only their own ideas and outlook, but also the social and cultural traditions dominant at the time they wrote.

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1. Another importance source of influence on the presentation of the East in some plays of the period was the pastoral romance, particularly in the form in which it was treated in the Spanish romances of Montemayor and his followers. The chief example in English was Sidney's Arcadia (published in 1590). These romances combined chivalric themes and Eastern setting with pastoral motifs. (cf. W. Greg, Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama, London, 1906, pp. 50-60 and 150). The East as depicted in these works, however, is often vague or idealised or it is conceived as part of the world of antiquity. The references to Eastern lands - often to places that actually came within the confines of Turkey - in some of the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, such as A King and No King or The Maid's Tragedy, are strongly reminiscent of the treatment in these romances.

B. Lost Plays on Turks. Sources of Information:

Contemporary Records and Allusions.

A large number of the recorded plays on Turkish or oriental themes are lost;¹ others are extant in manuscript alone.² Still others have survived in fragments (e.g. The Great Cham)³ or can be known from their theatrical plots which have been preserved by chance (such as those of Frederick and Basilae and Tamar Cham I).⁴ Allusions to plays which are now non-extant, and odd accounts or descriptions given by contemporary observers constitute an important source of information. Through such references it is possible to know the extent of the popularity enjoyed by a particular work at a certain time, and also to

1. See Appendix I (B).
2. Almost no work has been done on these plays. Two undated manuscripts entered in F. Madan's Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1922) are concerned with Turks. One of these, Antonio of Ragusa (cf. op. cit., iii, 301) has been included by L. Wann in his list of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays on oriental themes. (cf. "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama", ut cit., 426, n.l.) The other is a manuscript of a play on Scanderbeg, entitled The Siege of Croja (F. Madan, op. cit., iii, 307) and has not received any notice so far. Both MSS are mentioned in the Annals of Harbage. (Supp. List I, pp. 202 and 203, Appendix, pp. 317, 320).
3. Undated manuscript (Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. X.d. 259), containing the first sixty-one lines of the play. cf. Bentley, op. cit., v, 1345.
4. Cf. Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses, ed. W. W. Greg, Oxford, 1931, pp. 123-129 and 160-170, and Dramatic Documents ... Reproductions and Transcripts, nos. 3 and 7.

have an idea about its subject and form. Gosson's description of the lost play called The Blacksmith's Daughter, "containing the treachery of Turks, the honourable bounty of a noble mind, the shining of vertue in distresse",¹ was included in his account of the plays performed in London at the time he was writing: The School of Abuse (published in 1579). It was a play that escaped Gosson's censure perhaps on account of its high moral tone, and may have belonged to the currently popular genre of romantic drama.

Satirical sketches and parodies of some of the romantic plays, involving oriental or Turkish characters, show the existence of a demand for these works as late as the XVIIth century. Sidney's outline of the plot of a play believed to have been the lost Eglamour and Ben Jonson's parody of another play containing oriental figures and making use of incidents and themes derived from the romances,² reflect not only the discontent of some of the critics and artists, but at the same time the continuing preference of the people for this type of drama.

The critical remarks and attacks of writers were not directed against the romantic plays alone but were extended to the Conqueror plays involving Turks or other nationalities. The famous line "What

1. The School of Abuse (1579), Shakespeare Society Publications, ii, 30.

2. See above p. 208, n.2.

have we not Hiren here?", generally accepted to be an allusion to Peele's lost play The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek, and Tamburlaine's exclamation to the captive kings "Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia" were used for the purpose of parody.¹ The text of Mahomet and Hiren, thought to have been written sometime prior to 1594, has unfortunately not been preserved; there is, however, a short but very interesting account of its plot in an early XVIIth century book written by Thomas Gainsford.²

Lists of plays such as those given by Henslowe include titles which have not been identified with certainty, but which indicate the names of dramatic works on oriental or Turkish matter. The reference to a play called 'Mahomet' by Henslowe,³ for instance, has given rise to several conjectures. It has been identified variously with The Battle of Alcazar, with Alphonsus of Aragon and

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1. Cf. M. C. Bradbrook, Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy, p. 95. Another phrase used for purposes of parody and taken from Tamburlaine was "Feed then, and faint not, fair Calipolis", loc. cit. and Tucker Brooke, op. cit., p. 312.
 2. The Glory of England (1618), pp. 178-9. See article by John O'Connor, "A Jacobean Allusion to the Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek", Phil. Quart. xxxv (1956), 427-9. The play is ascribed to Peele on the basis of an allusion in the book The Merry Conceited Jests of George Peele (ed. Bullen, ii, 394); cf. Chambers, E.S., iii, 462.
 3. Henslowe's Diary, ed. Foakes and Rickert, p. 23. First listed on 14th August, 1594.

with The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren.¹ References to these plays and to some others with possible oriental or Turkish themes have been traced in another source - Peele's poem of Farewell to Norris and to Drake, written in support of Don Antonio and printed in 1589. The lines:

"Bid Theaters and proude Tragaedians,
Bid Mahomet's Poo, and mightie Tamburlaine,
King Charlemaine, Tom Stukeley and the rest
Adiewe: ..."

have been taken to refer to well-known plays that were being performed on the London stages at the time. Not all the allusions in the poem have been identified with certainty, yet the names mentioned (with the exception of the unidentified 'Charlemaine')³ point to plays with oriental connotations. The phrase 'Mahomet's poo' has roused much interest among the students of the poem.⁴ It is now generally accepted

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1. Cf. W. W. Greg, Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements, p. 8; S. C. Chew, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-5. David H. Horne notes (cf. The Life and Works of George Peele, Yale edn.) that Henslowe's references to "mulamulluco", "stewtley" and "mahomett" might refer to The Famous History of Captain Thomas Stukeley (St. Reg. entry in 1600 but written before), Greene's Alphonsus and Peele's The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren.
 2. Ll. 20-24.
 3. Cf. Chambers, E.S., iii, 260.
 4. "Mahomet's 'Poo' or 'Pow' is supposed by Fleay and others to refer to Mahomet's head which ... plays a part in Alphonsus ..." Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, i, 393, n.2. See also Greg, Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements, p. 8, and Chew, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-5.

- largely as the result of an analysis made by Chew - that the words may have referred to the brazen head through which the Prophet Muhammad was believed to speak.¹

Another play, mentioned by Henslowe and about which nothing definite is known, is The Vayvode, either written or revised by Chettle for the Admiral's Men in 1598.² It is included in Louis Wann's list of oriental plays.³ Nevertheless, the suggestions made by various scholars about the subject of the play are not substantiated by any conclusive proof. Greg notes that 'vaivode' or 'voivode' is a title meaning a general or governor in some Slavonic countries.⁴ The title was, in fact, very commonly used in the XVIth century European (as well as Ottoman) documents in the sense stated by Greg. It is possible, though by no means certain, that the play may have referred to incidents taking place in these countries and Turks may have been involved. Books and pamphlets on the relations of the Turks and the peoples of Eastern Europe were quite numerous at the time, and it is

1. The 'brazen head' was a device also used in Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. It is interesting to note that an idol of Muhammad was usually brought on the stage in the popular Basque plays of the Renaissance. Cf. G. Herelle, Les Pastorales Basques, Bayonne, 1903, pp. 309-11.
2. Cf. G. M. Sibley, The Lost Plays and Masques, 1500-1642, New York, 1933, p. 170, and Harbage, Annals, p. 64.
3. L. Wann, "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama", p. 424. See G. M. Sibley for the suggestions made by Collier, Hazlitt and Greg on the title. Cf. op. cit., p. 170.
4. Henslowe's Diary, ed. W. W. Greg, ii, 197.

known that there was at least one play, a comedy, on the wars of Turks in Northern Hungary performed in London during the autumn of the year 1602. This play is of interest for indicating that contemporary incidents taken from Turkish history were being dramatised almost immediately after the events had taken place. The play was described by a foreign visitor in England, Philip Julius of Stettin-Pomerania, as having been performed on 13th September, 1602; it was concerned with the manner in which the city of Stuhlweissenburg changed hands between Christians and Turks.¹

The wars of Turks and East European nations formed the subject of another Elizabethan play, about the Albanian hero George Castrioti, or as he was commonly known at the time Scanderbeg. The resistance of the Albanian warrior against the Turks had been made the subject of several continental 'histories' and biographies, some of which were translated into English.² "Scanderbarga as yt was lately playd by the right honorable the Earle of Chambers" was entered in the Stationers Register on 3rd July, 1601.³ The play was attributed by Fleay to Marlowe on the basis of a somewhat vague allusion in Harvey's satirical poem on

1. Cf. The Diary kept by Frederick Gerschow of the visit of Duke Philip Julius, ed. G. von Bulow (cf. Royal Historical Society Transactions, vi (1892), 6, 10.) See Chambers, W.S., ii, 328 and E.S., ii, 367; and E. M. Albright, Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640, p. 106.

2. See above pp. 121-3.

3. St. Reg., iii, 187.

Marlowe and Nashe written immediately after the former's death.¹

Titles such as The Tartarian Cripple, The Emperor of Constantinople,² A Turke's Too Good for (Him)³ and many others with similar oriental or Turkish connotations are cited in various Elizabethan and XVIIth century records. It is possible for some of these to have been alternative names for plays known to us under other titles, and suggestions have been made by various scholars for identifying them.⁴ Indeed, if we were to accept each single title that has been set down in the period to denote the existence of a separate work, the number of plays on oriental and Turkish themes would run to hundreds. Eastern or Turkish titles occur frequently in contemporary lists of advertised books, dramatic documents of the play-houses or special play lists

1. This theory is rejected by Chambers; cf. E.S., iii, 420.
2. Entered in the Stationers Register on 14th August, 1600. See G. M. Sibley, The Lost Plays and Masques, p. 169.
3. The play was included in a list of plays of the Revels Office: F. Marcham, The King's Office of the Revels, 1610-1622, London, 1925, p. 15; Chambers, E.S., i, 479; Bentley, op. cit., v, 1424. The date suggested for the play is c. 1619-20.
4. Many of these can be found in the lists of Bentley, Chambers and Sibley. Other titles about which nothing definite is known are: The Hystory of the Soldan and the Duke of ... (entered in a Revels list of payments for plays performed during the years 1571-1585. cf. Wallace, op. cit., p. 208), Roxolana or the Ambitious Stepdame (Bentley, op. cit., v, 1404), Osman the Turk (ibid., v, 1384).

prepared by individual publishers or collectors.¹

Another source of information about plays on Turkish themes and one which is particularly interesting for this study is to be found in the accounts of foreign spectators in Germany and elsewhere on the continent where English companies of actors travelled and performed in the late XVIth and early XVIIth centuries. Records of performances reveal that among the four plays acted by Spencer and his company in June, 1613, at Nuremberg were two on Turkish or oriental themes: The Destruction at Constantinople² and The Turk.³ Spencer's company is

1. These have been mostly incorporated into the lists of Fleay, Schelling, Chambers and Bentley. The revised edition of Harbage's Annals (ed. Schoenbaum, 1964) is perhaps the most comprehensive summary guide to tracing the plays. The supplementary section at the end gives some information about Elizabethan and Jacobean play-lists and includes titles of unidentified plays not mentioned in the main part of the book. Bentley refers to two play-lists belonging to the second half of the XVIIth century, but also containing names of plays written in the pre-Restoration period: these are Abraham Hill's list (cf. Bentley, op. cit., iv, 864-866; Harbage, Annals, Supp. List II, m, p. 207) and Killigrew's list (cf. Bentley, op. cit., iv, 824). The lists include titles of oriental or Turkish plays.
2. Cf. Chambers, E.S., ii, 289-90 and Harbage, Annals, Supp. II, (K). The Destruction at Constantinople may have been related to Jacob Ayrrer's play on the fall of Constantinople and the story of 'Mahomet and Hirene'. (cf. Chambers, E.S., iii, 462). The play was performed again by Spencer's company in October, 1613, at the Reichstag held by the Emperor Mathias at Regensburg, and in July, 1614, in Strassburg.
3. Cf. Chambers, E.S., ii, 289 and iii, 435. The Turk might have been identical with John Mason's play of the same name.

also known to have presented "an elaborate Turkish 'Triumph Comedy'" before the Elector, at Konigsberg in the year 1611.¹ The repertoire of another travelling company headed by Robert Browne and John Greene also included Alphonsus, and plays on East European and Mediterranean history which may have contained Turks among the characters or may have made allusions to contemporary or past Turkish history.²

1. Cf. Chambers, E.S., ii, 289-90.

2. Cf. Chambers, loc. cit., and Harbage, Annals, Supp. II, (K).

C H A P T E R I I I

ADAPTATION OF MATERIAL

Plots and Historical Cycles. Use of Stock Tales and their Adaptation by Various Playwrights.

The plots of most plays about Turks were taken from history, although medieval romances and the modern French and Italian fiction also furnished material. Plays such as Tamburlaine, Tomumbeius, Mustapha and Selimus were based on well-known incidents in Turkish history; others such as Soliman and Perseda and the lost tragedy of Mahomet and Hirene had as their themes pseudo-historical events which had become incorporated into the accepted canon of historical matter. Even in plays not directly based on history, it was not unusual for the action to take place against a historical background, or for the characters to make allusions to the Turkish political scene and to evoke memories of historical happenings with which the audience was taken to be to some extent familiar.

One reason for the dominance of historical plots in the plays on the Turks may be traced to the fact that history provided the chief means of knowledge about a people with whom everyday relations had not yet been thoroughly established. The treatment of historical matter may have also been due to the current interest in history in general and the new curiosity about the Turks. As has been mentioned earlier, the Renaissance had brought about a broadening of horizons and stimulated

curiosity in the affairs of other nations. The treatment of historical themes in the drama was not confined to plays on native history alone, but included the dramatisation of incidents taken from past and present European and Asian history. It has been suggested by Tucker Brooke and others¹ that the popularity of these subjects may have owed much to the awakening of political consciousness consequent on the growth of nationhood accompanied by a deeper sense of involvement in European and world politics.

Turkish and oriental history came to be used for a number of purposes. Apart from its intrinsic value for answering the curiosity about past or contemporary Turkish affairs in particular, and history and politics in general, history provided material to dramatists who were searching for plots. It could be adapted to write plays on a variety of themes and could be blended with Senecan, heroic or romantic motifs. Finally it could be employed as an allegorical framework for discussing general doctrines of politics and statecraft, or for voicing social and political criticism.

The subjects chosen for dramatic treatment were generally striking and sensational episodes, matters of topical interest or those that concerned English or European policy. There was a certain selection of Turkish matter available in the historical collections and the prose

1. Cf. Tucker Brooke, op. cit., pp. 298-301 and pp. 310-313; Tillyard Shakespeare's History Plays, pp. 100-101.

treatises of the period. If we compare a list of the titles of the plays with the chapter headings of a standard history (such as the Chronicorum Turcicorum of Lonicerus) we see that the most outstanding figures and incidents of Turkish history were covered by the plays. The wars of Beyazid and Timur, the battle of Ladislaus and Murad II, the conquest of Constantinople, anecdotes and legends that had grown round significant figures, such as Mehmet the Conqueror, Beyazid II and Selim I, Süleyman the Magnificent and Selim II, stories about the clashes of the Turks and Christian nations in East Europe, and in the Mediterranean, were all either incorporated into the action of the plays or alluded to in the text. General references to the treatment of Christian slaves or of the galley-slaves by the Turks, to topical events, such as the exchange of ambassadors, letters, gifts and to the trade relations of England and Turkey, also found their way into the plays.

Although a dramatist's choice of theme may have been largely directed by his personal moral and political tendencies and by the purpose of his play, nevertheless the material used by playwrights falls into certain basic categories. It appears that certain episodes in Turkish history had gained significance and writers - probably for commercial as well as artistic reasons - decided to treat them in preference to others. Hence we find the recurrence of a certain pattern in these plays - a pattern that is mainly copied from the prose sources. Certain figures of Turkish history receive more attention than others,

and some events are repeatedly stressed, chiefly on account of their moral or political significance.

A. Plays about the Sultans

1. The Story of 'Mahomet and Hiren'

The two largest groups of plays centred round the personalities and deeds of the Sultans Süleyman the Magnificent and Mehmet II. Mehmet was known in the West principally through his conquest of Constantinople. He was portrayed as a tyrannical and cruel ruler; tales about how he had struck off the head of a slave in his retinue to give the painter Bellini a lesson in anatomy, how he had commanded fourteen of his pages to be ripped open in order to discover the one who had stolen a cabbage from his private garden, found their way into the histories and the moral and political treatises.¹ One of these - the story of Irene and her execution - became particularly well known, mainly through the account given in Bandello's Novelle (1554). It was translated into French by Pierre Boaistuau and then into English by William Painter in his Palace of Pleasure (1566). According to Bandello, Irene, "a Greke maiden of

1. Gibbon was among the earliest Western writers to question the truth of these allegations; cf. The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, VII, chap. lxviii. Mehmet II is pictured in Ottoman sources as a just and magnanimous ruler, distinguished for his learning and artistic talents. For a discussion of his personality, see A. H. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, ii, 645ff. and F. Babinger, Mahomet II, le Conquerant et son Temps, 1432-1481, Paris, 1954, chap. vii.

such rare and excellent beautie that she allured the eyes of every wight",¹ had been captured by the Turks during the conquest of Constantinople and presented to the Sultan. Mehmet became so deeply enamoured of her that he started to neglect the affairs of state, to the great discontent of his ministers and of the janissaries, and in order to prove that he could overcome his passion for her, he summoned Irene in front of his soldiers and ministers and, while they were gazing in admiration at her beauty, he seized her by the hair and suddenly struck off her head.

We have already seen the interpretation given by Hammer that the tale may have originated in the episode of the murder of Anne Erizzo at the fall of Negroponte, allegedly because of her refusal to yield to become Mehmet's concubine.² Another explanation of the origin of the tale is that put forward by L. Thuasne in his book on Gentile Bellini et Soltan Mohammed II (Paris, 1888). According to Thuasne the story could have been based on an episode related in the memoirs of a XVth century Italian prisoner in Turkey, Giovanni Maria Angiolello, who reported that Mehmet had killed a slave girl, in his seraglio, called Anna, in order to show that he could overcome his

1. William Paynter, op. cit., i, fol. 107.

2. See above pp. 133-4 and 134, n.2.

passion for her.¹

Although its authenticity is doubtful, the story became incorporated into the historical books of the time, among others into the Generall Historie of Knolles. The appeal of such a sensational story, about a well-known and somewhat dreaded oriental ruler, was naturally great. Another reason for the popularity of the tale may have been the fact that it could easily be adapted to illustrate moral themes, such as the conflict of love and duty or the value and significance of chastity. A long narrative poem entitled Hiren the Fair Greek (1611) and written by a minor poet of the XVIIth century named William Barkstead attests to the existence of considerable interest in the subject. The story is also known to have been the source of the plot of The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek, a lost play believed to have been written by Peele.² It is generally accepted that the play - to which there are many allusions in the writings of the time - had become widely popular.³ It was suggested by

1. L. Thuasne, op. cit., p. 56; Angiolello had been captured by the Turks and detained in Turkey as a slave for about fifteen years. He wrote down his memoirs after escaping back to his native Vicenza. They were published by Donado da Lezze in a collection entitled Historia Turchesca di Giovanni Maria Angiolello schiavo et altri schiavi (ed. and introd. I. Ursu, Bucharest, 1909).

2. See above pp. 213-4.

3. Cf. Chambers, E.S., iii, 462; The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene, ed. J. C. Collins, Oxford, 1905, i, 63.

Chew that the satirical tag "What have we not Hiren here!"¹ was probably aimed at parodying the rhetorical exclamation of 'Mahomet' in the scene of the murder, when he saw Hiren appear, richly attired for the display that was to precede her death.

It has been pointed out by another scholar that an account of the 'Mahomet and Hiren' episode given in The Glory of England by Thomas Gainsford may have been based on a stage version of the story, possibly on a production of Peele's lost play.² One of the scenes which appears to have impressed Gainsford greatly was the one where "Mustapha, the principall Bashaw vnder Mahomet the first, who when hee saw the great Emperour effeminately ouercome with the loue of Hyrene the faire Greeke" kneeled before him and, disregarding all thought of personal safety, warned him of the harm that might be caused by his passion for Hiren.³

The earliest extant dramatisation of the 'Mahomet and Hiren' story is to be found in The Tragedy of Amurath third Tyrant of the Turkes, written by Thomas Goffe and "publiquely p^resented to y^e: Vniversity

1. The line is from Pistol's speech in Shakespeare's 2 Henry IV, II, iv, 172. Other allusions to it occur in Eastward Hoe (written by Jonson, Marston and Chapman, II, i, 115) and in Middleton's The Old Law, IV, i; cf. Chew, op. cit., p. 483.
2. John O'Connor, "A Jacobean Allusion to Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek", Phil. Quart., xxxv (1956), 427-9. John O'Connor points to the divergence of the play from the story as related by Painter and Barkstead.
3. T. Gainsford, op. cit., pp. 178-9.

of Oxon: by y^e: students of Christ church Mathias day (21st September) 1618."¹ Thomas Goffe was a fellow of Christ Church, Oxford; his play was based on the Turkish history of Knolles who was himself an Oxford scholar. Goffe's plays won considerable fame in his time and his name was associated by his contemporaries with those of Davenant, Shirley, Beaumont and Massinger.² Another play, The Raging Turk or Bajazet the Second (1613?-18?), possibly his first, was also based on Turkish history and his main source was once again Knolles.³ In both plays, although the treatment of each particular episode reflects considerable faithfulness to detail, the historical material was taken out of context and freely adapted. In Amurath the incident of 'Mahomet and Hiren' is transposed to the life-time of Murad I (1359-1389) who takes Mehmet's place in the story, and is represented as the victorious conqueror of Byzantium and the lover of Hiren. Hiren (or Irene) herself is called 'Eumorphe', perhaps as an allusion to the epithet with which her name was traditionally associated - the 'beautiful'

1. From the title given in the MS in the library of John Leicester-Warren, Esq., Tabley House, Knutsford, Cheshire. It was published in 1632 under the title of The Courageous Turk, or Amurath the First.
2. Cf. Samuel Sheppard, The Times Displayed, 1646, Sixth Sestiad; and other laudatory poems. See Bentley, op. cit., iv, 498-511 and compare with S. C. Chew, op. cit., pp. 491-2.
3. Cf. Bentley, op. cit., iv, 509, and see below pp. 251-2.

or the 'fair'.¹ The incidents connected with the loves of Amurath and Eumorphe take place in the first two acts of the play; after the death of Eumorphe the action shifts back to the XIVth century. In this way the play shows the events of a century of Ottoman history in a reversed order. Amurath is warned on his wedding night, first in a masque prepared by his tutor Lala Schahin and then by a speech delivered by his tutor disguised as the ghost of Amurath's father, 'Orchanes', about the danger into which his infatuation for Eumorphe could lead both the country and himself. Upon this Amurath decides to overcome his love for Eumorphe and going into the bridal chamber kills her in her sleep. There are some divergences between Goffe's version of the story and that given in Knolles. According to Knolles, Hirene was Mehmet's mistress at the time of the murder. In fact, one of the reasons for the complaints of his councillors and soldiers was that Mehmet was devoting all his time to her: for, "the day he spent with her in discourse, and the night in dalliance".² In Goffe's version, on the other hand,

1. Bentley notes that the names of 'Mahomet' and 'Hiren' of the original story were changed to those of Amurath and Eumorphe in Goffe's version. (cf. op. cit., iv, 498-9). The name 'Hirene', however, occurs in the Argument of the play; and the name Eumorphe (derived from the Greek word meaning 'beautiful') may have been intended as a special form of address, rather than as a new name. Goffe may have expected the learned audience in front of whom the play was performed to note the connection at once. These were various spellings of the name Hiren: 'Ireneae' in Bandello; 'Hyrenée' in Boaistuau; 'Hyrenee' or 'Hirenee' in Painter and 'Irene' in Knolles.

2. R. Knolles, op. cit., fol. 350.

Eumorphe is killed on her wedding night, before the consummation of the marriage, and the manner of her death is different from that recorded both in Knolles and in Painter.

A presentation of Hirene which was closer to the traditional picture of the Greek heroine is that given in Carlell's dramatisation of the story in his play Osmond, the Great Turk or the Noble Servant (c. 1624).¹ In Carlell's version, the names of the protagonists are changed to Melcoshus and Despina and a heroical lover called Osmond is introduced. Melcoshus is described as the 'King of Tartary' and his soldiers are called 'Tartars'. The play again starts with the conquest of Constantinople. Despina is saved from rape and death by Osmond, a brave and faithful follower of Melcoshus. Osmond gives up his love for Despina for the sake of his loyalty to Melcoshus and presents her to the king. After a period of courtship Despina yields to the persuasions of Melcoshus and consents to become his mistress. Her weakness in having yielded to surrender herself to Melcoshus is an important element in the play. She confesses in her last breath "Oh me, my fault lay in my blood, let that expiate my sin against heaven".² Nevertheless, her weakness and susceptibility to persuasion are balanced with kindness and a certain quality of innocence. She is a champion of Christian

1. Cf. Bentley, op. cit., iii, 119, and Harbage, op. cit., pp. 114 and 136. Allardyce Nicoll is in favour of a much later date: 1637-1642. See Osmond, the Great Turk, ed. A. Nicoll, Berkshire Series, ii, 1926, Introduction, p. xi.

2. Osmond, ed. Allardyce Nicoll, v, 20-21, p. 46.

prisoners in distress and exerts a good influence on Melcoshus' temperament and beliefs.

The violence and cruelty of Melcoshus are likewise emphasised and contrasted with his love for Despina. Melcoshus is not portrayed as a man devoid of all feeling; he is not a crude version of the medieval stage tyrant; his emotions are shown as being at war with his strict sense of justice and honour. A great emphasis is placed on his repentance and deep sense of guilt; the conflict between the claims of love and duty is not resolved with the death of Despina but continues to torment his mind.¹ The play concludes with the death of Melcoshus, during a revolt, and the suicide of Osmond; the Chief Visier Odmer takes over the government of the country.

Gilbert Swinhoe's The Unhappy Fair Irene (published in 1658) is the third extant play that dealt with the story in pre-Restoration drama.² Swinhoe's treatment is in many ways similar to that of Carlell in Osmond, the Great Turk. Despina is saved by a 'Captain', who resembles Osmond in his admiration for Irene and in his faithfulness to 'Mahomet' (the Turkish Emperor). He presents Irene to the Emperor because, like Osmond, he finds Irene too far above his own deserts.³ Irene, on the

1. Osmond, V, 3ff, p. 53; 12ff, pp. 55-57.
2. Cf. Bentley, op. cit., v, 1214. According to Bentley there is no indication that it was acted or written before 1642. Compare with statement made by Chew, op. cit., p. 489. Bentley classes it as closet drama of the interregnum years.
3. The similarity is particularly marked in Act I. Both the writers blame the fall of the city on the negligence and selfishness of the leading Byzantine families, and in both plays the criticism is made by looting soldiers who give this as an excuse for their sacking the town. cf. Osmond, I, 1-4, p. 1, and Irene (1658), p. 1. There are no regular act or scene divisions in Irene.

other hand, never yields to Mehmet but preserves her chastity by finding numerous excuses for putting off the day of the marriage. Swinhoe introduces another figure into the story - Paleologus¹ - the Greek nobleman with whom Irene is in love. Irene is killed by Mahomet during an assault of the janissaries to the Palace, in order to prevent her from falling into their hands. Meanwhile Paleologus, who had been away trying to muster a band of Hungarian warriors so as to kidnap Irene from the palace, arrives outside the city gates to learn of her death and commits suicide.

In this play, Irene's chastity is shown as triumphing above Mahomet's tyranny and lust. The conflict between love and duty is present in all the three plays. Amurath's words, "I conquered Greece, but a Grecian conquered me"², uttered as an expression of his love for Eumorphe, may perhaps be taken also as an expression of the way in which his courtiers see his relationship with Eumorphe - one of total subjection to a woman; one, moreover, who is a Christian. They are therefore determined to exert every pressure to free him from her

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1. The name 'Paleologus' may have been derived from the account in Knolles immediately preceding the Irene story: see Bentley, op. cit., v, 1215. The incident was however an original one. Harbage suggests in Cavalier Drama that the idea of introducing a heroic lover may have come from Carlell's Osmond (cf. Harbage, op. cit., p. 219). However, the 'heroic lover' in Carlell's play was 'Osmond', a Turkish captain; Paleologus is on the other hand a Greek nobleman to whom Irene had pledged herself before the fall of the city.
 2. Amurath, I, i; (Three Excellent Tragedies, 1656, p. 136).

influence; their efforts, in fact, lead him eventually to murder Eumorphe. Melcoshus is also criticised for having "forsooke Mars to become the slave of Venus",¹ and complaints are made by the ministers and the military:

"... the Emperour throws by all care of Subjects,
addicting himself wholly to pleasure; daies, weeks
and months he spends with Despina, that painted
Sorceresse, ..." 2

He decides to overcome his weakness and promises Odmer, the faithful and honest councillor:

"... ere long thou and those of thy opinion shall
know that I am able to govern my passion, perhaps
to their amazement." 3

Similarly, in Swinhoe's Irene, Mahomet is accused by his soldiers of having been bewitched by Irene into a state of stupor and self-indulgence:

"She hath fetter'd your heroick spirits,
Imprisoned your freedome
And even reduc't you to a sluggish carelesness." 4

However, unlike the treatment of the story in the preceding two plays, Mahomet's reason for killing Irene is to save her from falling into the hands of the soldiers:

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1. Osmond, V, 2-3, p. 44.
 2. Ibid., II, 9-12, p. 20.
 3. Ibid., IV, 11-13, p. 38.
 4. Irene, p. 27.

"She's not for common Butchers:

This my own hand shall give enlargement to her Soul,
To tower the Heavens to invoke revenge upon murd'rous heads". 1

The theme of the conflict of love and honour or duty was treated in some other plays of the Elizabethan and Jacobean era, such as Lochrine and King John and Matilda, The Reign of Edward III. In Edward III² the king is presented as struggling between his sense of honour and responsibility to the state and his passion for the Countess of Salisbury. The Countess persists in opposing Edward's love and thus succeeds in preserving both herself and Edward from sin and dishonour. Edward overcomes his feelings for her and embarks on an expedition to France in which he obtains victory.³

The theme of the conflict of love and honour formed the central motif of the Alexander and Campaspe legend, which found allusions in the drama and poetry of the age. Lyly's Alexander, Campaspe and Diogenes (performed first in 1581, printed in 1584) gave full treatment to Alexander's magnanimous surrender of the woman he loved to his rival. Thus, the difference between the magnanimity and self-sacrifice of the Macedonian conqueror and the selfish tyranny of Mahomet would be immediately clear to the XVIth century play-goer or reader. In a later

1. Irene, p. 28.

2. Anonymous play, written sometime in 1592/3, and printed in 1596 and 1599.

3. Edward III (ed. C. F. T. Brooke), Shakespeare Apocrypha, Oxford, II, i and ii.

treatment of the story, in the anonymous Irena, A Tragedy (printed in 1664),¹ Mahomet is characterised as a magnanimous ruler who, like Alexander, resigns the woman he loves to his rival, the Greek nobleman with whom she is in love. The story continued to be treated through the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, and was dramatised by Dr. Johnson in his play Irene (first performed and printed in 1749), where the main interest centred once again on the personality of Irene and on the theme of chastity.²

2. Stories about 'Soliman the Great'

The conflict of love and honour and the temptations besetting chastity formed the central themes of another group of plays woven round the personality of one of the most illustrious Sultans of Turkish history, Süleyman II, or, as he was commonly called in XVIth century English writings, 'Soliman the Great'. A pseudo-historical story about his love for a beautiful Christian girl named Perside (or Perseda), related in a French collection of the XVIth century³ and translated into English by Henry Wotton in A Courtlie Controversy of Cupids Cautels (1578), gained fame and became the source of an anonymous play called

1. Licensed for publication on 13th October, 1664. The only extant copy of the play is in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino.
2. It is noted in the Introduction to the play in the edition of The Poems of Samuel Johnson (ed. Nicol Smith and E. L. McAdam, Oxford, 1951, p. 336) that in Irene "a record of senseless cruelty" was converted "to a study of temptation". Among other later dramatisations of the tale may also be mentioned Neville Payne's The Siege of Constantinople (printed in 1675) and Charles Goring's Irene Or The Fair Greek (printed in 1708).
3. Jacques Yver's Printemps d'Iver (1572).

Soliman and Perseda.¹ The play is now generally accepted to have been written by Kyd who had already shown an interest in the theme by treating it briefly in The Spanish Tragedie as the plot of Hieronimo's masque.²

The story relates how Soliman falls in love with Perseda,³ a maid "borne in the Isle of Rhodes", and, realising that she has pledged herself to Erastus, her countryman and former lover, he resigns her to his rival and shows his favour and friendship for Erastus by appointing him the governor of the recently conquered island; but he soon regrets his decision and, prompted by the arguments of his intriguing Councillor Brusor, he gives his permission to have Erastus killed on a false charge of treason so as to win back Perseda. However,

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1. See above p. 201. On sources and authorship, see The Works of Thomas Kyd, ed. F. S. Boas, Oxford, 1962 (revised edn. of 1955), pp. liv-lxii; and Gregor Sarrazin, Thomas Kyd und sein Kreiz, Berlin, 1892.
 2. On being requested to prepare a masque for the entertainment of the Portuguese Vice-Roy in the Spanish Court, Hieronimo replies that he has a play in his possession which would be suitable for the occasion - a 'Tragedie' which he had written while a student in Toledo. He mentions as his source 'The Chronicles of Spaine' (cf. The Spanish Tragedie, IV,i,107). However, no other source has been discovered for the episode, except the account given in Yver and Wotton. The source of The Spanish Tragedie itself is unknown; but it has been suggested by Boas that a lost romance may have provided the plot (cf. The Works of Thomas Kyd, ed. cit., p. xxxi).
 3. The name of the heroine is given as 'Perside' by Jacques Yver, 'Persida' by Wotton, and 'Perseda' by Kyd in both The Spanish Tragedie and in Soliman and Perseda.

Perseda's constancy is unshaken and, rather than yield to the Sultan, she disguises herself in her husband's armour and dies by exposing herself to the guns of the Turks.

There are several changes between Kyd's version of the story in Soliman and Perseda and that of Wotton; the most significant of these is in the presentation of Perseda's death and in the arrangement of the final denouement. In Wotton's book, Soliman survives the death of the lovers and has them buried in a magnificent tomb. He declares a day of mourning in their memory and grants pardon to all the islanders for their part in the revolt. In Soliman and Perseda, on the other hand, the heroine confronts Soliman in single combat, disguised in her husband's armour, and, not realising the true identity of his adversary, Soliman gives her a mortal wound. Before her death, she takes her revenge from the Sultan by granting him a kiss from her poisoned lips. This change provided the play with an ending which was perhaps more in keeping with the dominant tragic mood of the melodrama than that of the original story, with its essentially romantic and even sentimental character. At the same time, it had the additional effect of enhancing Perseda's stature as a heroic character. In Wotton's account, Perseda is delineated as the gentle and sensitive maiden of traditional romantic fiction, one who was quicker to think of suicide than of martial requital on her enemies. Even the manner of her death indicated her reluctance or inability to harm her enemies. She was roused to oppose the Sultan by the exhortations of her servant 'Pistan',

but when the city could no longer hold out against the Turks, she put on Erastus' armour and, mounting "to the top of a vault" in the castle:

"she advanced hir head and breast above the battlementes of the wall, making semblance to discharge this Canon shot agaynst the Turkes: who taking hir for some souldier, loosed a volue of shot, among the which two bullets sent from a Musket stroke her through the stomach, ..." 1

In Kyd's play, on the other hand, Perseda's first reaction on learning about Soliman's betrayal of her husband is to stab Lucina for her part in the tragedy and then to close the gates of the city against Soliman. She leads the revolt against the Turks and, disguised in her husband's armour, challenges the Sultan to fight her:

"And in Erastus name ile combat thee;
And heere I promise thee on my Christian faith,
Then will I yeeld Perseda to thy hands,
If that they strength shall over match my right,
To use as to thy liking shall seeme best." 2

The same capacity for unshaken devotion in love and of passionate determination in seeking revenge for injustice were stressed in the depiction of the heroine of the masque in The Spanish Tragedie. The ending of the story is again slightly changed to enable Hieronimo and Bel-Imperia to execute their objects. Under the guise of killing Soliman, Bel-Imperia, masqued as Perseda, stabs her suitor Balthazar,

1. Wotton, op. cit., p. 68.

2. Soliman and Perseda, V, iv, 29-33.

who was responsible for the murder of her lover, Horatio, and then dies by stabbing herself. Hieronimo, acting the part of Brusor, is shown as outliving all the other characters in order to address the 'Apologia' to the Court and to reveal the truth.

The story of the chaste and constant woman, who refuses to yield to the lust of a tyrant and prefers death to dishonour, is one that occurred in many different forms in the literature of the age. The theme of chastity versus tyranny appeared in the stories and legends woven round figures such as Lucrece, Appius and Virginia, King John and Matilda, Cyrus and Panthea. Although no historical source has been discovered for its particular treatment in the 'Soliman and Perseda' plays, the events dramatised bore a striking resemblance to those recorded in Jacques Fontaine's De Bello Rhodio (Roma, 1524),¹ where he described how the Greek mistress of the Governor of the island, seeing that her lover was killed and that the city was lost to the Turks, first killed her two children so as to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy and then, putting on her lover's blood-stained armour, died fighting. The incident is also shown as the source of the Olympia episode in Tamburlaine, Part 2,² where the wife of the Governor of Belsara in

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1. Printed in Conrad Clauser's De Origine Rebus Gestis Turcorum (481ff.) and in Belleforest's Cosmographie Universelle (ii, 750ff.)
 2. 2 Tamburlaine, III, iv; IV, ii. Cf. E. Seaton, "Fresh Sources for Marlowe", *ut cit.*, pp. 385-401.

'Soria' kills her son, after the death of her husband, and tricks Tamburlaine's general, Theridamas, who is entreating her love, into killing her.

The second important theme in the story of 'Soliman and Perseda' - that of Soliman's treachery to his friend Erastus - had its origin in the relationship of Süleyman and his Grand Vizier and companion, Ibrahim Pasha.¹ Just like Erastus, Ibrahim was a Christian by birth, who had won the love and confidence of Süleyman. He rose to a position of great influence and power in the empire, his eminence and wealth exciting the envy of his rivals who began to plot for his downfall. Chief among his enemies was Süleyman's favourite wife, Hürrem (commonly called Roxolana by European historians), who found Ibrahim's influence on the Sultan an obstacle to achieving her own objectives.² Ibrahim was accused of treachery to the state and of

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1. The parentage and original nationality of Ibrahim (?1494-1536) are not definitely known. According to P. Giovio he was the son of a Greek sailor of Parga (cf. Les Histoires (1570 edn.), ii, 277-79 and 287-88). This view was shared by some of the Turkish chroniclers as well. Ibrahim was of the same age as Süleyman and the two were constant companions from their boyhood onwards. After Süleyman's accession to the throne, Ibrahim was married to the Sultan's sister, Hatice Hatun, and by a special charter, was granted powers and privileges which gave him the right of exercising almost unlimited control over the management of the affairs of the country. (cf. I. H. Uzünçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi, Ankara, 1949, ii, 343-346; Hammer, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, v, 229ff.
 2. The reason for Hürrem's enmity against Ibrahim was above all the support which he was giving to Mustapha, Süleyman's son from his first wife and heir to the throne. Hürrem wished to secure the succession for her eldest son, Beyazid. There is an account of the accusation made against Ibrahim in Rouillard's The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature, pp. 441ff. For Hürrem's intrigues against Mustapha, see below pp. 242-3 and 243, n.1.

plotting to overthrow the Padishah and was executed by Süleyman's command.

The story of Süleyman's rivalry with 'Erastus', arising from their love of the same woman, though not based on any historical fact, became so closely associated with the incident that it was incorporated into almost all the stories and plays based on the relationship of Ibrahim and Süleyman. Yver's version of the tragedy of Soliman, Perseda and Erastus became the source of several French plays on the theme, all written later than the English Soliman and Perseda.¹ The story was retold with elaborations and some changes by Madeleine de Scudéry in her heroic romance, Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa (1641) which was printed in English translation in 1652,² and exerted some influence on the treatment of the event in the theatre of the Restoration.

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1. Pierre Mainfray's La Rhodienne ou la Cruauté de Solyman (1621) and N. M. Desfontaine's Perside (1644). George de Scudéry's Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa (1643) was based on his sister's (Mlle de Scudéry's) romance bearing the same title.
 2. Ibrahim or the Illustrious Bassa. An excellent new Romance ... now Englished by Henry Cogan, London, 1652. Orrery's Mustapha was based on Scudéry's Ibrahim. For an analysis of the Soliman and Perseda episode in European literature, see Ernst Sieper's Die Geschichte von Soliman and Perseda in der neueren Litteratur, Weimar, 1895; this is a study of the prose work of J. Yver and its influence on the drama in Paul Lohr's Le Printemps d'Yver und die Quelle zu Fair Em, Berlin, 1912. According to Paul Lohr, Yver's plot also shows the influence of Bandello's "Istoria della continenza del Re Ciro (Cyrus), ed Amore Conjugale di Pantea", Novelle, Parte III, Novella IX, and Rouillard, op. cit., pp. 441ff. The novel was translated into English by William Painter and published in the Palace of Pleasure.

Before concluding this section, however, we must mention very briefly another pre-Restoration play making use of the theme. The story of the relationship of Soliman, Perseda and Erastus (i.e. 'Ibrahim') received a much freer treatment in Davenant's The Siege of Rhodes (Part 1, 1656; Part 2, 1659?).¹ It contained an operatic version of the siege and capture of Rhodes, combined with other episodes, such as Süleyman's relationship with his wife Hürrem and his son Mustapha. The story is given a happy ending and the themes of love and honour are stressed in its dramatisation. The play paints a romantic and idealised picture of the Turkish Court and of the clashes of the Knights and the Turks.² Süleyman is presented as a just and merciful ruler, an 'Alexander' figure, where magnanimity and sense of honour override all selfish concerns or mean desires. Alphonsus and Ianthe (who take the place of Erastus and Perseda) are a newly married couple, separated from each other by the outbreak of war. Ianthe, hearing the news of the

1. Part 1 was performed at Rutland House in September, 1656. Davenant called it an 'opera' and combined his dramatic writing with operatic devices. He included scenery and actresses. Elizabeth Davenport is known to have achieved 'phenomenal success' in the role of Roxolana. The Siege of Rhodes is also of interest historically for being described by Dryden as the earliest heroic play. Cf. A. Harbage, Cavalier Drama, pp. 210-12.
2. Davenant described his object in the words: "The story represented ... is Heroicall, and notwithstanding the continual hurry and busie agitations of a hot siege, is (I hope) intelligibly convey'd to advance the characters of virtue in the shapes of Valor and Conjugal love". (Cf. The Siege of Rhodes, 1663, Address 'to the Reader', Sigs. A3 - A3v.)

siege, fits out a ship and comes from Sicily to join her husband and to bring provisions to the besieged knights. She is captured by Süleyman, who admires her beauty and chastity and liberates her to join her husband, allowing her to take the ship and the provisions through. Süleyman's generous act, however, excites Alphonsus' jealousy, and the two men are reconciled only after many skirmishes, on the eve of the fall of the city. As a final gesture of magnanimity, Süleyman allows Ianthe to set her own conditions of peace for Rhodes.

The study of Süleyman's character, and of the motives that inspired his deeds of cruelty as well as his acts of magnanimity, formed a significant aspect of the plays about him. His susceptibility to the influence of his favourites - particularly of his wife Hürrem - was shown as being the cause of the murder of Ibrahim (in the Soliman and Perseda plays), and later of the execution of his son Mustapha. The murder of Mustapha, for alleged designs upon his father's crown, roused much attention in Europe. Mustapha was a well-known figure in diplomatic circles and had won the esteem and admiration of foreign observers, who looked upon his succession to the throne as a fact.

The intrigues of Hürrem and her son-in-law Rüstem Pasha,¹ leading to the execution of Mustapha and followed by the death of his grief-stricken brother Cihangir,² were related in books published in Europe soon after the incident. The earliest among these was Nicholas Moffan's Soltani Solymanni Turcarum Imperatoris horrendum facinus scelerato (etc.), Basle, Nov. 1555, translated into English by Hugh Goughe and published in 1570 as part of The House of Ottomano.³ It was also included in collections such as the Chronicorum Turcicorum of Lonicerus and was one of the tragic stories related by William

1. Hürrem ('Khourrem' or Roxolana) is known to have conspired with Rüstem, her son-in-law, and deceived the Sultan, by means of false reports, into thinking that Mustapha was plotting the overthrow of his father. Mustapha was Süleyman's eldest son, from his first wife Gülbahar Hatun. Hürrem, believed to have been captured by the Crimean Tatars in Southern Russia, had been brought to the palace as a slave and had become the Sultan's favourite wife. According to some accounts, she had prevailed on the Sultan to have his first wife removed from the Seraglio and it is said that she had no rivals to share Süleyman's love and attention. She bore the Sultan four sons, Beyazid, Selim, Mehmet and Cihangir, and one daughter, Mihrimah, who was married to Rüstem Pasha. Cf. Uzunçarşılı, op. cit., ii, 391-2; Danişmend, Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi, pp. 187-8; Hammer, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, v, 422-24.
2. According to the information given in the Turkish chronicles, he fell ill with shock and died shortly afterwards. Moffan and Löwenklau attribute his death to suicide; Busbecq repeats the official Ottoman interpretation that it was due to grief.
3. See above pp. 78-9.

Painter in his Palace of Pleasure.¹

The incident was one that gave moralists occasion for contemplating the ills of tyranny and the harmful effects of a king's subjection to the rule of favourites; it also offered possibilities for adaptation into a drama of intrigue and bloodshed. Gabriel Bounin's La Soltane² was perhaps the first play to make use of the episode for dramatic purposes. Bounin, a French Senecan writer of the School of Garnier, is also believed to have been the first person to set the example of treating a topical oriental theme in a Senecan play.³ His tragedy dwelt particularly on the psychological and moral conflict of the Sultan and on the character and motives of Hürrem.⁴

The event was dramatised in England as early as 1581, in the play Solymanndae, a tragedy in Latin modelled on Seneca and incorporating

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1. Op. cit., vol. II (1575), Novel xxxiv. Painter wrote that he had translated the account from Moffan about 22 years ago. Painter's version missed notice until quite recently. It was not included in the list of references given by Bullough on the sources of Greville's Mustapha (cf. Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, ed. Bullough). Painter's account has been noted by G. A. Wilkes, who has suggested that it may have served as a source for Mustapha (cf. "The Sources of Fulke Greville's Mustapha", N. & Q., 1958, pp. 329-30).
 2. Printed in 1561. It was performed before Catherine de Medici in 1560-61, when Süleyman was still alive. For other performances of the play in European countries, see Bullough's edition of the Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, ii, 20.
 3. Ibid., ii, 3.
 4. Bullough mentions the influence of Seneca's Medea on the depiction of 'Rossa' in Bounin and Greville respectively. cf. Plays and Poems of Fulke Greville, ed. cit., ii, 20 and 21.

devices such as the appearance of the ghost of Selymus (the father of Soliman 'Solymanus') in the Prologue to foretell the doom and punishment awaiting the Ottomans, and the comments of the Chorus on the action and on its moral implications. The play makes several departures from the historical accounts. Mustapha's impending marriage with the daughter of the King of Tartary is shown as being one of the causes that aggravate Süleyman's suspicions. The incident may have derived from an allegation said to have been directed against Mustapha by his step-mother, namely that he was considering marriage with a Persian princess.¹ It also contains a dramatisation of the death of Ibrahim. The writer emphasises Süleyman's remorse by showing him as trying to revoke the order for his son's execution, when it is too late.

The most significant contribution to the theme came from Fulke Greville, in his closet play Mustapha (printed in 1609). The play contained a minute analysis of the motives and emotions of Süleyman, his wife and his visiers and, at the same time, a study of the dangers of tyranny and the question of rebellion. Greville was a thinker and statesman of the Sidney group - a friend of Languet - who was acquainted with and influenced by the political writings of the French

1. Cf. Moffan, op. cit., trans. Goughe, The House of Ottomano, Sig. k5.

Huguenots.¹ He was interested in the Renaissance theories of tyranny, statecraft and had acquired first-hand knowledge of European problems and conditions (among the rest those arising from the clashes with the Turks) by participating in active political service.²

His choice of a theme from recent history for his play Mustapha may have been determined by his interest in the contemporary political situation, and perhaps also by Bounin's example. Greville's plays were produced as part of his contribution to the literary activities of the Pembroke circle - a group of writers, headed by the Countess of Pembroke, and influenced by the French Senecan writers associated with Robert Garnier.³ We have already mentioned that Bounin himself was a member of Garnier's circle and that his play marked an attempt at adapting the

1. The works of Protestant writers such as Languet and Du Plessis Mornay were directed at revealing the ills of tyranny and at defining the sources and limits of monarchic authority. The anonymous pamphlet entitled De Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos, the authorship of which was attributed variously to Languet and Mornay, defended the lawfulness of rebellion against the tyrant. On the influence of these writers on Greville, see Bullough, Plays and Poems of Fulke Greville, i, 3-4.
2. In 1577 Sidney and Greville took part in a foreign mission together, during the course of which they visited the Court of Don John of Austria, and of the Protestant princes, Lewis, Cassimir and the Prince of Orange; cf. Plays and Poems of Fulke Greville, i, 1-2.
3. The Countess of Pembroke, also called Lady Mary Sidney, to point to the fact that she was Sir Philip Sidney's sister, initiated the movement with her translation of Garnier's Marc Antoine in 1592. Samuel Daniel and Samuel Brandon were writers belonging to the same coterie. Thomas Kyd contributed a play and four other plays written by Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, are also associated with the work of the group. Cf. Tucker Brooke, op. cit., pp. 197-203.

treatment of oriental themes to the pattern of Senecan tragedy.

Greville made considerable alterations in the dramatisation of the story: he added the character of Camena (Mustapha's sister) and presented her as being in love with Mustapha;¹ he also included the episode of Cihangir, which had been left out in Bounin's version. 'Rossa' (i.e. Hürrem) is still the centre of the action and a parallel is drawn between her part in the tragedy and that of Phaedra in the story of Theseus and Hippolytus.² Soliman wavers for a time between her evil influence and the good guidance of his Visier Achmet and his daughter Camena, but evil triumphs and in the end he makes the wrong choice.

The moral and political significance of his crime finds expression in the comments of the characters and in the declamations of the Chorus. Isolated and particular incidents thus assume universal meaning and become symbols of general truths. Heli's denunciation of tyranny and defence of rebellion evokes a counter attack from Mustapha:

"Shall I Sonne, and Subiect seeme to dare,
For any Selfeness, to set Realmes on fire,
Which golden titles to rebellion are?" 3

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1. Camena or Chameria is given as the name of Hürrem's daughter in some Renaissance accounts (e.g. Löwenklau, Annales Sultanorum, 1588, and Natalis Comes, Universiae Historiae, 1581). The name of Süleyman's daughter appears as 'Mihrimah' in Turkish sources. Her love for Mustapha and her death at the hands of her mother, because of her protection she gave to her brother, are pseudo-historical.
 2. Mustapha, II, iii, 186-7.
 3. Ibid., IV, iv, 125-7. This was the official Elizabethan attitude towards rebellion - that revolts were unjustifiable no matter how great the oppression of a tyrant could be. It was defended by orthodox apologists such as Hooker and was widely advertised by means of the famous Homily Against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion (prepared in 1571).

Upon the death of Mustapha at the hands of his father's mutes, the janissaries march to the palace, seeking justice and revenge. Achmet is hesitant about what course to follow. Although he decides to defend order against anarchy, he cannot take any measures to quell the insurrection.¹ Soliman has escaped and Zanger has committed suicide. The play ends while confusion is still rife, on a note of revolt rather than of submission. The final word is given to the Chorus Tartatorum and Sacerdotum, who reflect tyranny and the "vast" edifice of "superstition" framed to keep men's minds in subjection.²

3. The Wars of Selim I

The intrigues of the Turkish Court and the murders committed by the Sultans provided matter for several plays; chief of these were the plays about Selim I (1512-1520). Selim's murder of his father Beyazid and of his brothers, Korkut and Ahmed³ was dealt with by an anonymous writer of the XVIth century, in a play entitled The first parte of the tragicall raigne of Selimus, sometime Emperour of the Turkes, and grandfather of him that now raigneth. Wherein is showne how hee most

1. Mustapha, V, iii, 115-120.
2. Chorus Quintus, ll. 1-9.
3. Beyazid II (1481-1512) favoured Ahmed as his heir to the throne, but was defeated by his youngest son Selim and had been forced to abdicate. He died soon afterwards, according to some Renaissance historians, through poison administered at his son's orders. His death was followed by a series of fierce battles between the three brothers, at the end of which Selim vanquished his opponents and had them executed (cf. Uzunçarşılı, op. cit., ii, 230-242, and Hammer, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, iv, 105ff.

unnaturally raised wars against his owne father Bajazet, and prevailing therein, in the end caused him to be poysoned; also with the murthering of his two brethren Corcut and Acomat, printed in 1594. The play has been ascribed to various authors, among whom were mentioned Goffe, Marlowe and Greene. Of these the authorship of Greene has been considered to be possible though by no means certain. It was attributed to Greene by Grosart, mainly on the evidence of two selections from the play which were published in England's Parnassus (1600) under Greene's name. This theory was, however, rejected by J. C. Collins and T. H. Dickinson in their introductions to their editions of Greene.¹

As the title itself reveals, the play aims at painting a gory and sensational picture of life at the Ottoman Court and at presenting 'Selimus' as a monstrous tyrant, devoid of natural human feelings and virtues. His opponents, on the other hand, particularly his aging father and his younger brother Corcut, are drawn with sympathy and endowed with a certain degree of nobility and rectitude. The picture of Selim and of his opponents, in fact, conformed with that given in the standard historical accounts. In Thomas Beard's The Theatre of God's

1. On the problem of authorship, see Tucker Brooke, Shakespeare Apocrypha, Oxford, 1908, pp. xviii-xxiii, and B. Maxwell, Shakespeare Apocrypha, New York, 1956, pp. 66-7. Close similarities between Selimus and Locrine, pointing to either community of authorship or of imitation, have been pointed out. Cf. The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene, ed. J. C. Collins, i, 64-7.

Judgements, Selim's life was discussed under the chapter heading 'Of Parent Murderers'.¹ Beard emphasised his cruelty and described his behaviour as being contrary to nature itself. The same aspects of his character were stressed in the accounts given in Giovio and Lonicerus.² These two writers dwelt also on the civil strife and disorder created by Selim's inordinate ambition and his usurpation of the throne. By dwelling on the evils resulting from tyranny, the author of Selimus was performing a function similar to the one carried out by the writers of moral and political treatises on the theory and practice of kingship. The play has been seen by some as a reply to Marlowe's ideas on kingship and tyranny in Tamburlaine. In his book on Marlowe. A Critical Study (Cambridge, 1964), J. B. Steane compares the two plays and draws attention to the importance of Selimus for understanding the views expressed by Marlowe in Tamburlaine:

"The play (Selimus) might in fact have been written as a commentary on Tamburlaine, showing the path of the conqueror as unequivocally evil by allowing plenty of weight to the 'opposition', not glamorising the 'scourge' and not underplaying his strength of character either... If a reading of Selimus brings the truth about Tamburlaine any nearer, it is because there is every dramatic and poetic pointer to the intention's being different and so the resemblance only serves to emphasize the contrast." 3

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1. Op. cit., p. 345.
 2. P. Giovio, A Shorte Treatise, fols. 54ff. and Lonicerus, Chronicorum Turcicorum, ed. 1578, i, 38-97.
 3. Cf. p. 345. Irving Ribner suggests in his article on "Greene's Attack on Marlowe: Some Light on Alphonsus and Selimus", (S.P., lii (1955), 162-171) that the play had been written by Greene as a reply to Marlowe's opinions on statecraft and tyranny.

Selim's wars in Egypt and his defeat of the last Mamluk Sultan, Tuman Bey, who was put to death at his command, were treated in a Latin play of Elizabeth's reign entitled Tomumbeius.¹ The play dwelt on the pathos of the Egyptian Sultan's downfall, brought about by the combined effect of his own incompetence as well as the treachery of his followers, and contrasted the cruelty and tyranny of Selim with the nobility and gentleness of his victim.

Tuman Bey was a well-known figure of Renaissance history. He was given an important place in the Turkish histories and was also included as one of the memorable figures of world history in Giovio's Les Eloges et Vies Descrites (1559).² The death of Tuman Bey and Selim's conquest of Egypt were also incorporated into Goffe's The Raging Turk, or Bajazet the Second (1613?-18?). This play - like his other Turkish play Amurath - aimed at giving a comprehensive view of the events of Turkish history, linked together round the personality of the emperor.³ It contained an amalgamation of historical episodes presented in a non-chronological order and used as a framework for a Senecan melodrama

1. Tomumbeius. Tragoedia auctore Georgio Salterno Bristoënsi (Bod. Rawl. MS. Poet 75); cf. Boas, University Drama, p. 288, n.1, and Chambers, E.S., iii, 474. It is not dated but the dedication to Elizabeth shows that it must have been written sometime before 1603.
2. Op. cit., fol. 59.
3. Goffe appears to have dramatised sections of Knolles, without making any contribution of note to the historian's far superior presentation of his narrative. The poorness of the dramatic structure of his plays, particularly of The Raging Turk, has been justly censured. cf. Bentley, op. cit., iv, 498-511.

of intrigue, bloodshed and hatred.

B. Plays on the Conflicts of Turks and Other Nations

The dramatisations of the lives of the Sultans which we have so far seen formed the main group of plays concerned directly with Turkish history. There was also another group of dramatic works based on plots taken mainly from historical sources, and in which Turks played a secondary though no less significant part. These were the plays in which Turks were presented as adversaries of various nationalities: Tatars, Persians, Africans and the peoples of Europe and the Mediterranean. For the sake of convenience, the subject matter of these works can be considered in three basic divisions:

1. the wars of the Tatars and Persians with the Turks,
2. the clashes of Christian forces with the Turks in the Mediterranean, and
3. the Turco-European wars and leagues.

1. The Wars of the Tatars and Persians with the Turks

(a) Timur and Beyazid

These wars were considered by many Renaissance historians and statesmen of Europe to be a means of diverting the attention of the Turks away from Christendom and an outlet for their destructive force. Ever since the days of Pope Innocent IV and Rubruck, the Western world had contemplated the possibility of a league with the Eastern neighbours of the Turks

which could act as a check against the westward advance of the Turks and at the same time secure a footing for European nations in Asia. Timur's battles with the Turks and his final defeat of Beyazid owed their fame partly to these considerations. It has been shown by recent historians that a 'Timur legend' had come into existence during the Renaissance, devoted to explaining the Tatar Emperor's rise to power and his career, as an example of the deeds of the ideal ruler.¹ His victories over the Turks contributed greatly to his fame. His defeat of Beyazid in 1402 at the battle of Ankara halted the advance of Turks in the West and postponed the fall of Constantinople for half a century. His treatment of Beyazid, exaggerated and misrepresented by the addition of non-historical details such as his having kept Beyazid in a cage and used him as a mounting block or a footstool, were repeated in almost every account and formed one of the best known anecdotes about the Tatar Emperor.² In fact, some moralists such as Beard explained the role of Timur as Scourge of God by referring to this episode alone. Beard wrote that 'Baiaset' had been punished by Timur for his hatred

1. See above pp. 123-4.

2. The story of the cage was first related in the account of Timur's life given by Pope Pius II. According to an explanation given by Hammer, he took this detail from the Chronicle of the Greek historian Phrantzes. The word 'cage' was probably a misinterpretation of the Turkish term 'kafes' which has the meaning of both a cage and a 'litter'. cf. Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, ii, 96ff.

of Christians and for his designs on Constantinople, that he was bound with chains of gold and put in a cage as a 'spectacle' and that Timur used his back as a footstool. He summed up the moral of the story in the words: "And thus God plagueth one Tyrant by another, and all for the comfort of his chosen".¹

These legends were incorporated by Marlowe in his play on the life and conquests of Tamburlaine, where Tamburlaine (i.e. Timur Lenk)² was exalted to the status of a hero and his Turkish adversaries were shown as being completely at his mercy. In his delineation of Tamburlaine's personality and the presentation of his career, Marlowe kept to the outline of events set down in the standard accounts of Timur's life, such as those of Poggio, Piccolomini, Perondinus and Mexia.³ His plot was a combination of

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1. Cf. The Theatre of God's Judgements, pp. 38-9.
 2. Timur was nicknamed the 'Lank' or 'Lenk' from the Persian name 'the lame'.
 3. Perondinus and Mexia (in Fortescue's translation) were cited as being the main sources of Tamburlaine in an article written by Professors Herford and Wagner, in the London Academy, xxiv (1883), 265-266. See above pp. 124-5. It is most probable that Marlowe had made use of several other sources, among which were the Latin chroniclers of Timur's life such as Poggio Bracciolini, Mathias Palmieri, Johann Cuspinianus, etc. Cf. Tamburlaine, ed. Una Ellis Fermor, introd., pp. 24-28; Ethel Seaton, "Fresh Sources for Marlowe", ut cit., 385-401; J. Bakeless, The Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe, i, 200ff. See also article by Hugh G. Dick, "Tamburlaine. Sources Once More", S.P., xlvi, 1949, 154-166, on the possibility of Marlowe's having consulted the manuscript of Knolles' Generall Historie. On his use of popular romance literature, see Ethel Seaton, "Marlowe's Light Reading", Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies Presented to Frank Percy Wilson, Oxford, 1959, pp. 17-35.

romance motifs (such as that of chivalrous warfare against the Turks and the love interest), history and Renaissance moral and political theory. The Turkish wars of Tamburlaine, although not the main centre of interest in the play, still had an important part in the development of the action and in the depiction of the personality of Tamburlaine himself. This was in keeping with the emphasis placed on Timur's role as a defender of Christendom in Marlowe's sources, and with the popular image of the Tatar ruler as a 'Scourge of God'.

The role of Tamburlaine as a befriender of Christendom is brought out in the play on the eve of the war with the Turks. Act III, Scene i (of Part 1) shows Beyazid embarking on his siege of Constantinople. In Scene ii of the same act, we are informed that Constantinople is in danger of imminent fall; in the same two scenes there are references to the might and vastness of the Turkish armies.¹ Popular conceptions about the destruction and desolation wrought by the Turks and their enmity towards Christian nations find expression in the speeches of Beyazid and his followers:

The words of Morocco spoken to Baiazeth:

"The spring is hindred by your smothering host,
For neither rain can fall vpon the earth,
Nor Sun reflexe his vertuous beames thereon.
The ground is mantled with such multitudes."

contain an imaginative rendering of the popular proverb: 'No grass

1. Cf. 1 Tamburlaine, III, i, 925-930.

grows where the Turk's horse has trod'. It is confirmed by
Baiazeth's reply:

"All this is true as holy Mahomet
And all the trees are blasted with our breathes." 1

which has almost a bathetic effect - no doubt one that was intentional. The element of bathos - the reduction of the sublime to the ridiculous - had an important function in the depiction of Baiazeth and of the Turks; it appears to have been frequently used by Marlowe to bring out characteristics commonly attributed to the Turks, such as their pride, boastfulness, their invincibility and their enmity towards Christians. The result is a caricature of a caricature - not of the persons presented, who somehow retain their humanity to a surprisingly convincing degree, but of the popular myths and exaggerations about the Turks. The practice of inflating our misconceptions in order to hold them to ridicule seems to have been employed by the dramatist in The Jew of Malta, where Barabas boasts:

"As for my selfe, I walke abroad at nights
And kill sicke people groaning under walls..." 2

where we may observe the same practice of displaying the popular myths about the 'Jew' in terms that cannot be accepted other than being ironical and grimly humorous.

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1. 1 Tamburlaine, III, ii, 968-973. The proverb is known to have been current in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. See G. L. Aperson, English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, London, 1929.
 2. The Jew of Malta, II, 939-965.

Similarly, Baiazeth's challenge before the battle with Tamburlaine (as of Orcanes before his encounters with Sigismund and Tamburlaine in Part 2) gives expression to common notions about the enmity of the Turks towards Christians and about the vastness of their forces. Hence when Tamburlaine appears on the scene and speaks his challenge to the Turks and promises protection to Christians, he immediately assumes the stature of a hero and a champion of Christendom. His speech beginning with the lines:

"I that am tearm'd the Scourge and Wrath of God,
The onely feare and terrour of the world,
Will first subdue the Turke, and then inlarge,
Those Christian captiues, which you keep as slaves," 1

shows the way in which Marlowe used the traditional idea of the 'Scourge' to define Tamburlaine's relationship with the Turks. In the conventional Christian view, the Scourge was a person employed by God to exercise His Wrath and Vengeance on mankind for their sins and errors. Baiazeth's defeat and his torture at the hands of Tamburlaine were partly presented as a confirmation of this historical function attributed to his conqueror and persecutory. In a scene which has been described by J. B. Steane as "a violation of everything

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1. 1 Tamburlaine, III, iii, 1142-1158. The passage has been described by Kocher as an "opportunistic afterthought" inserted by Marlowe to disguise the basic unorthodoxy of his religious and political views. (cf. Christopher Marlowe, A Study of his Thought, Learning and Character, New York, 1962, p. 79). But, when seen in the context in which it occurs, it represents Tamburlaine's reply to a standing challenge, prepared by the preceding two scenes, and well integrated into the action of the play.

civilised",¹ Tamburlaine is shown as exulting over his foe and giving vent to a flood of vituperation, insult and savage ridicule, which was, in a way, a fulfilment - howsoever exaggerated and overblown - of the aspirations of many a hero of popular literature.² Baiazeth and Zabina, however, are not made to look degraded or humiliated in their fall. As contrasted to Mycetes, or the Governor of Babylon in Part 2, who pleads for his life to Tamburlaine's soldiers, Baiazeth retains a spirit of defiance in the face of death and torture, and possesses a striking air of dignity. The pathos in his fall and in his terrible death was perceived by Marlowe's contemporaries such as Raleigh,³ who saw it as an example of the inconstancy of fortune and the transience of earthly glory.

The conflict of Tamburlaine and the Turks is not confined to Part 1 alone but continues to be treated as a basic motif of Part 2. The sons of Baiazeth and his tributary kings make several attempts at wresting superiority from Tamburlaine and avenging the death and humiliation of Baiazeth, but are punished in ways which

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1. Marlowe. A Critical Study, p. 84.
 2. The writers of the ballads and of the popular propagandist pamphlets often indulged in scurrilous attacks against the Sultans and the Turks. We may note in this connection Henry V's promise in Shakespeare's Henry V to beget a son who will go to 'Constantinople and "take the Turk by the beard"'. (V, ii, 222).
 3. Sir Walter Raleigh, History of the World, London, 1614, 'The Preface', Sig. D₂. The same element finds expression in the play in the speech of Zenocrate on the deaths of Baiazeth and Zabina (cf. I, V, ii, 2151ff.) It reflected the view dominant in 'De Casibus' tragedy.

are even more extravagant and grotesque in cruelty.¹ They are deceived by portents and their plans are foiled at every turn. Before the final encounter with Tamburlaine, one of Callapine's generals has a vision of 'Mahomet' promising them victory:

"Clothed in purple clowdes, and on his head
A Chaplet brighter than Apollo's crowne,
Marching about the ayer with armed men," 2

Yet the battle proves a complete fiasco. It is sufficient for Tamburlaine to show his face for the Turks to flee. This is almost farcical in effect.

The irony in the depiction of the situation is made keener by the repetition of phrases in which Mahomet's inability to help the Turks is stressed. The invective against Mahomet builds up from accusations and curses of Baiazeth and his wife, "sleepie Mahomet", "cursed Mahomet", to the taunts of Tamburlaine's followers at the scene of the banquet, where, remarking on the sight of Baiazeth displayed in his cage and subjected to gross insults and ridicule, one general remarks to another:

"Doost thou think that Mahomet will suffer this?"

and his companion replies:

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1. Orcanes, 'King of Natolia' and the other 'tributary kings' are yoked to Tamburlaine's chariot, fed on 'provander' and kept in a stable (2 Tamburlaine, III, v, 3605-9; IV, i, 3856-3865; and IV, iii.)
 2. 2 Tamburlaine, V, ii, 4365-4368.

"Tis like he wil, when he cannot let it".¹

Finally, Tamburlaine's defiance of the 'god' of the Muslims reaches its climax in the scene of the burning of the Korans.² The scene reminds one of similar situations in medieval romances and chivalric epics, such as the *Chansons de Geste*, where the 'idols' of Islam were broken and its deities denounced, sometimes by the Saracen or Moslem warrior himself who blamed his defeat on the powerlessness of the idol to help him. The burning of the Koran could not be condemned by a XVIth century audience, because it was customarily accused of being a book of falsehoods and fabrications. In this way Marlowe could allow Tamburlaine to express unorthodox and defiant views of religion and remain safely within the prescribed limits of current religious decorum. That his contemporaries were quick to seize on the larger implications of his comments could not do away with the legitimacy of the attack against Mohammedans in general and Turks in particular.³

The world of the Turkish and Tatar peoples which Marlowe revealed in his play was therefore one that was suited for giving expression to ideas or theories that might otherwise have been too

1. 1 Tamburlaine, IV, iv, 1691-1692.

2. 2 Tamburlaine, V, i.

3. For Greene's reference to "Atheist Tamburlan", see Perimedes the Blacksmith, 1588, 'Address to the Gentlemen Readers'; and Ribner, "Greene's Attack on Marlowe: Some Light on Alphonsus and Selimus", pp. 162ff.

unorthodox to be safely presented on the stage. It had been used for a similar purpose by humanist historians, such as Poggio Bracciolini, who had dealt with Timur's life and conquests as an example of the personality and exploits of the ideal prince - one who is victorious and fortunate till the end, who is never punished for his crimes, because his is a world where there is no distinction between good and ill according to the standards of Christian morality, and whose career represents:

"the naked fanaticism of expanding power, the lust and horror of destruction, the blindness of fate which crushes one existence in its march and thereby perhaps saves another one".¹

Marlowe's picture of Tamburlaine conformed with this view of his role in history.²

The theme of Turkish wars may be said to have been employed by Marlowe as a compensation for the basically non-Providential scheme of history presented in the play. The conflicts of the Tatars and Turks played an integral part in the plot by giving unity and continuity to the two parts of the play and by heightening Tamburlaine's stature as a hero.³

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1. Eric Voegelin, "Machiavelli's Prince: Background Formation", ut cit., p. 162.
 2. For a discussion of Marlowe's views on history, see I. Ribner, "The Idea of History in Marlowe's Tamburlaine", E.L.H., xx (1953), 251-266.
 3. Tatar history provided the plots of two other lost plays; Tamar Cham (Part 1), the 'plot' of which is extant, and the Great Cham, of which only a fragment has survived. See above p. 211.

(b) The Persian Wars

The most significant figure of the Turco-Persian wars was Sir Robert Sherley, whose adventures and enterprises against the Turks were dramatised, together with the exploits of his two brothers, Anthony and Thomas, in the play entitled The Travailes of the Three English Brothers (1607) and written by John Day, William Rowley and George Wilkins. The writers could have resorted to a number of sources on the lives of the three adventurers, in particular to a recently published book by Anthony Nixon called The Three English Brothers (1607).¹ The play is interesting not only for being an adaptation of a travellers' account into the form of a play, but also for presenting historical incidents, such as the war of Shah Abbas with the Turks, within the framework of a chivalric romance. Sherley is presented as an 'English Knight' who is fighting for fame and honour.² He persuades the Shah to join with the Christians against the Turks:

"To joyne with them, great Emperor you shall be,
A Captaine for the highest, and in your warre,
Have Angels bands to guard and fight for you." 3

He becomes the commander-in-chief of the Persian forces in the battle

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1. For some of the other accounts of the lives of the Sherleys, see above pp. 75-6, 83-4.
 2. The Three English Brothers (1607), Prologue and Sig. C3.
 3. Ibid., Sig. B4.

of Casbiñ fought against the Turks. His success wins him the favour of the 'Sophy' and the hand of his niece in marriage. He is given permission to found a Church and a school for Christians in Persia. This ending - very similar to that of a popular chivalric romance where the hero is victorious over the 'Moors', marries the beautiful princess and converts her people to Christianity - brings out the basically romantic approach to a hero who gains fame and success through his wars with the Turks. Anthony and Thomas are no less active in their designs against 'the Infidells', and all three brothers not only succeed in winning honour and rewards for themselves but also for their country and Christendom.

2. The Wars in the Mediterranean

The attempts of the Turks to capture Malta and their defeat by the Knights of St. John provided plots or background for several plays. The island was regarded as a very important stronghold in the Mediterranean. Queen Elizabeth is reported to have drawn attention to its strategic importance with the words:

"If the Turks should prevail against the Isle of Malta, it is uncertain what further peril might follow to the rest of Christendom." 1

Although the most important and decisive siege of the island by the Turks was the one which was undertaken by Süleyman in 1565, and which ended with the eventual defeat of the Turks, clashes and battles

1. Quoted from Ernle Bradford's The Great Siege, London, 1961, p. 194.

between the Knights and their Turkish adversaries went on almost all the time. During these clashes Turks captured and held small forts on the neighbouring islands for brief periods.¹ Towns on the African continent such as Tripoly and Tunis itself changed hands between the Knights and the Turkish and Algerian seamen and pirates.

These battles and the sieges of the island provided matter for Marlowe's The Jew of Malta (1589/1590),² and Fletcher's and Massinger's tragi-comedy The Knight of Malta (1616-19).³ Both the plays

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1. Cf. I. H. Danışmend, İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi, ii, 264-266, 319. The island came under Turkish attacks in 1551 and 1560; and the near-by island of Gozzo was captured and raided.
 2. No definite source has been discovered for the play, though some suggestions have been made for the Turkish background, e.g. Contarini, Della Guerra Mossa da Selim a' Venetiani (1572), Belleforest, La Cosmographie Universelle (1575), Foglietta, De Sacra Foedere (1587), Nicolas da Nicolay, Navigations (trans. Washington, 1585). See above pp. 137-8, on publications on the wars of the Turks and the Venetians. It is quite conceivable that the particular siege which Marlowe had in mind was one of the earlier sieges during which the neighbouring island of Gozzo was won by the Turks and held for some time; or again, as has been put forward by L. Kellner, that the events were connected with the siege of the island may have originated in incidents related to the fall of Cyprus. cf. Englische Studien, x, 80ff., Ethel Seaton, "Fresh Sources for Marlowe", Tucker Brooke, "Jew of Constantinople, David Passi", T.L.S., June, 1922; and also Arthur Freeman, "A Source for the Jew of Malta", N. & Q., April, 1962, pp. 139ff.
 3. The plot was taken from several sources, e.g. the story of the Duchess of Savoy and that of Katherine of Bologna from Painter's Palace of Pleasure and the tale of Romeo and Juliet; cf. Bentley, op. cit., iii, 353. The background of the wars came from the standard histories of the siege and from Knolles. The description of the Mediterranean and its peoples was probably taken from contemporary travel literature.

deal with fictitious situations connected with the attempts of the Turks to take possession of the island. The plays, however, give two totally different views of the Knights and use the theme of the conflict for achieving different ends. In The Jew of Malta, we see the Knights of St. John in their capacity as the shrewd and wordly governors of an island situated in a favourable place in the Mediterranean, the meeting point of trade routes that lead into all corners of the world. They manage to preserve a footing on the island by balancing the powers around them. In hypocrisy and craftiness they exceed the 'Jew', who is in the end outdone in 'policy' by the Christians and the Turks, who are thus turned out of Malta. In this play, as in Tamburlaine, Marlowe makes use of a foreign setting to provide an analysis of the motifs and actions of non-Christian nations, so as to bring out the evil in Christian society itself. The words of the Turkish 'Bashaw' in reply to the question of the governor give expression to the real aim of all the three nations:

"Governor: Welcome, great Bashaws, how fares Callymath,
What wind drives you thus into Malta rhode?

Bashaw: The wind that bloweth all the world besides,
Desire of gold." 1

The result is a world where only greed of gain rules and where power is achieved through a knowledge of the hard facts of Machiavellian 'real-politic', stripped of all sensational and melodramatic flourish

1. The Jew of Malta, III, 1420-23.

commonly associated with the popular image of Machiavelli's 'Prince', an image which had such a fatal appeal to the rich imagination of Barabas, and thus proved his undoing by enticing him to play a trick too many.¹ The device of comparing Christians with Turks and Jews with the object of criticising the moral standards of the Christians themselves was one that had been employed in sermons and satirical treatises ever since medieval times.² It appears to have been used by Marlowe for a similar purpose.

In the Knight of Malta (1616-19), written jointly by Fletcher, Massinger and Nathan Field, the emphasis is less on the evils of a society where the greed of gain and the lust for power are the only forces that govern the actions of men than on the chivalric aspects of the mission of the Knights. Although individuals are presented as succumbing to temptation and being guilty of envy, greed, lust and treachery, the Knighthood itself is free from taint. It is in fact often shown to be the only resort from the temptations and pitfalls of the world, and it constitutes the equivalent of an active monastic life for a man of dedication and courage. The emphasis on the religious

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1. Barabas relishes the role of 'Machiavelli' and delights in the sensational intrigues and volte-faces of the traditional villain. This is reflected in his boast to Ithamore about his evil deeds (II, 939-966) and in his exultation after having been installed as governor of the island (V, 2127-30 and 2211-2216).
 2. G. R. Owst's Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, Oxford, 1961, contains some examples of this practice. cf. pp. 251, 333, 418-9, 555.

ideal was indeed quite marked in the work of Massinger: as has been noted by Boas, his plays reveal "a preoccupation with religious problems, almost unique among Stuart playwrights".¹

The conflict of the Knights and the Turks enters the play mainly as a theme that serves to exalt the calling of the Knights.² It also plays a part in the actual construction of the plot. The events of the play take place against the background of the siege of the island by the Turks. Oriana, the sister of the Grand-Master of the Order, is wooed by three suitors, Mountferrat, Gomera and Miranda. Like Camiola in The Maid of Honour, she rejects Mountferrat's suit because he is a Knight of Malta and is bound by the vows of the Order never to marry. His intrigues against her involve the Turks in the action and result in her being condemned to death for treason. She is saved by Gomera and is obliged to marry him, although her heart is given to Miranda. The central theme of the play is the conflict of love and the ideal of chastity. Oriana remains faithful to her husband and Miranda is rewarded by being admitted into the ranks of the Order.³ Meanwhile the Turks

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1. F. S. Boas, An Introduction to Stuart Drama, Oxford, 1946, p. 306. His plays on religious themes include The Renegado, The Maid of Honour, first perf. 1625, pub. 1632, and The Virgin Martyr, written with Dekker, c. 1620, first printed in 1622.
 2. This is also the case in The Maid of Honour, where the hero Bertoldo is presented as a Knight of Malta, struggling between his love for Camiola and his sense of dedication to the Order.
 3. The Maid of Honour has a similar ending in a scene where the hero, Bertoldo, is re-admitted into the Order.

have been defeated and forced to leave.

The conflict of the Turks and other nationalities in the Mediterranean formed the background of another play written by Massinger: The Renegado (1624). The plot of The Renegado involved Turks and the Moorish pirates of Africa even more closely than that of The Knight of Malta.¹ In a series of adventures, mishaps and miraculous deliveries, the Venetian Vitelli makes his way to Tunis, wins the heart of Dorusa, the niece of the Turkish Sultan, Amurath, converts her to Christianity and returns with her to Venice. The play contains several more strings of action: episodes about the capture of Christians by the renegade corsairs of Tunis, the love of the Viceroy of Tunis for Paulina (Vitelli's sister who has been captured and taken to his harem), her refusal to yield to him, and the final escape of all the prisoners in the ship of the repentant 'Renegado' (the Venetian pirate Grimaldi) after whom the play is named.

Both The Knight of Malta and The Renegado were based on romantic stories taking place against the background of Turkish activities in the Mediterranean. Both the plays treat themes of

1. The main plot of The Renegado was taken from Cervantes' Comedia de los Banos de Argel (c. 1585) and Don Quixote de la Mancha (1605). See Bentley, iv, 811-15.

chivalric literature and exalt the ideals of the Counter-Reformation.¹ The chief value of the play lies mainly in the vivid and informative details by means of which life in XVIth century Mediterranean and bordering countries is depicted. The colourful background of the Mediterranean, with its mingling of races and peoples, its hazards and its legendary wealth, appears to have attracted and fascinated Elizabethan playwrights. The literature of the age is full of allusions to the piracies, the sea-battles and the suffering of the Christian prisoners and galley-slaves.

Several plays include allusions to episodes in which the hero or heroine of the play is at one time reported to have fallen into the hands of the pirates of Algiers. In Day's Law Tricks (c. 1604, printed in 1608) Emilia, the daughter of Count Luido, is taken prisoner by Turkish galleys raiding Pisa. She and her page, Joculo, manage to escape from the Turks and return incognito to her father's court. Antonio in Massinger's A Very Woman (printed in 1655), Bonavent in James Shirley's Hyde Park (1632) are captured by Turkish corsairs. There is an interesting reference to the famous Turkish admiral 'Dragut'

1. Professor C. Leech has drawn attention to the fact that the tragi-comedies of Massinger written in imitation of popular chivalric literature were far from being representative of the dramatist's best output: "Massinger should be thought of, not as simply another writer of tragi-comedy in Caroline years, but as the inheritor of Jonson's and Chapman's masculine outlook. He is at his worst when he apes the anaemic complexion of fashionable romance". cf. T.L.S., 23rd March, 1940, p. 147.

in A Very Woman (V, v). In Davenant's Fair Favourite (1638), Torrenti refers to a crowd of slaves redeemed from "Turkish chains" (IV, i). Finally, among the numerous references to the Turkish activities in the Mediterranean, one must mention the use made by Shakespeare in Othello of Mediterranean setting and of the background of the Turco-Venetian clashes as a backdrop to the central tragedy.

An English pirate whose life became well-known through his exploits in the Mediterranean was the notorious Captain Ward, who had settled in Algiers and 'turned Turk'. His adventures and the circumstances of his conversion were dramatised in a play called A Christian Turn'd Turke: or the Tragical Lives and Deaths of the two Famous Pyrates, Ward and Dansiker (c. 1610) by Robert Daborne. The play is of interest for its topicality and for being an example of a work based on journalistic literature. It is known to be an adaptation of the account of Ward's life and exploits given in two pamphlets published in 1609 and to have also probably incorporated certain details from two broadside ballads published in the same year.¹ It has the same combination of scurrilous attack, jingoism and love of adventure that characterises this type of popular writing. In spite of the sensational manner in which his cruelty and unscrupulousness are described, Ward is still pictured as an Englishman and a hero. His courage and prowess are exalted and there is an attempt at portraying the temptations which

1. See above pp. 75-6, 83-4.

led him to forsake his religion and settle in Algiers. The life in Algiers with its Turkish courtesans, slave merchants and renegades is once again brought vividly to the fore.

Another English hero whose exploits and character elicited sympathy as well as condemnation was Thomas Stukeley, an adventurer, soldier and freebooter,¹ whose fortunes took him to the Mediterranean to be involved in the battle of Alcazar and to lose his life there. The story of the battle was dramatised by Peele in his play: The Battell of Alcazar, fought in Barbarie, betweene Sebastian King of Portugal, and Abdelmelec King of Morocco, with the Death of Captaine Stukeley (1588/9). The play was mainly based on an English narrative of the battle given in J. Polemon's The Second Part of the Booke of Battailes fought in our Age (1587).² Peele dwelt on the

1. Thomas Stukeley had become an almost legendary figure in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. For an account of his life and adventures, see The Battle of Alcazar, ed. J. Yoklavich, Dramatic Works, Yale edn., ii, 247ff. The play The Famous Historye of the Life and Death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley (? 1598, published 1605) gave a dramatisation of his life and several scenes on the battle of Alcazar itself. Nevertheless this play is not included here as it did not include Turkish characters and made no allusion to the participation of the Turks in the battle.
2. The caption of the narrative was: "The Battaile of Alcazar, fought in Barbarie, betweene Sebastian King of Portugall, and Abdelmelec ... Taken out of a namelesse Portugall auctor, translated into Latine by Thomas Freigins"; (cf. op. cit., fols. 63-83). The author of the Latin version on which Polemon's translation was based was discovered in 1905 to be a Spanish writer named Luis Nieto. Cf. The Battle of Alcazar, ed. Yoklavich, pp. 227ff. and Special Bibliography.

heroical aspect of the action and the tragic consequences of the battle.

The theme of the play is given in the Presenter's speech in the lines:

"Sit you and see this true and tragicke warre,
A modern matter full of bloud and ruth
Where three bolde kings confounded in their height
Fall to the earth contending for a crowne
And call this warre The battel of Alcazar." 1

The fall of the three kings was one that had captured the imagination of Elizabethan writers and had been stressed in the news pamphlets and chronicles on the battle. Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of Peele's treatment was that the tragedy was not confined to the depiction of the deaths of the three kings alone but gave a vivid and moving picture of the sufferings and destruction of all the armies involved in the battle. King Sebastian's decision to join arms with 'Muly Mahamet', the villain of the piece and the pretender to the throne of Morocco, and to embark on a war against 'Abdelmelec', the ruling king of Morocco, and his ally the Turkish Sultan 'great Amurath' is presented as a disastrous error. His arrival in Africa is described in the words:

"In fatall houre ariv'd this peerelesse prince,
To loose his life, his life and many lives
Of lustie men, ..." 2

Although the young king's idealism and his object of planting "the Christian faith in Affrica" are praised, the crusading theme itself is

1. The Battle of Alcazar (ed. Yoklavich), I, 'The Presenter's Speech', 49-53.
2. Ibid., IV, 'The Presenter's Speech', 985-7.

not exalted in the play. The dramatist takes no sides and the dominant tone of the play is one of the epic tragedy. The presentation of Abdelmelec and the Turkish janissaries sent by Amurath to help in the war displays a similar tone of neutrality. They are shown as supporting the right cause and they are endowed with qualities such as nobility, courage and loyalty.¹

3. Wars in Europe

There were numerous allusions to the wars of Turks in Europe. The siege of Vienna, the wars in Poland, Hungary and Austria, the Turkish threat to Italy - all these events found references in the plays or were used to reflect the atmosphere of contemporary Europe. The conflicts of Turks and Poles are mentioned in Marlowe's Massacre at Paris, where the Polish envoy is presented as visiting the French Court to request the Duke of Anjou (the future King Henry III) to lead an army against the Turks and the Muscovites.² In Fletcher and Massinger's The Spanish Curate (1622) there is an interesting description

1. The favourable picture of Abdelmelec and his Turkish allies was present in Peele's source, and has been attributed to the fact that its original writer Luis Nieto was a Spaniard and may have been led to give a critical picture of Sebastian's action out of political exigency; cf. op. cit., ed. Yoklavich, p. 237.
2. The Massacre at Paris, ll. 956-485. The interest in Polish affairs may have been inspired by the part played by the political activities of Elizabeth over securing peace between the two nations. Cf. William Camden, The History of Elizabeth, London, 1675, p. 44lf. A letter written by the Sultan himself to Elizabeth pointed to the establishment of good relations between the Turks and the Poles through her mediation. Cf. R. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, vi, 69ff.

of a political discussion on the topical problems presented by the Turkish onslaught in Eastern Europe:

"..... 'Tis now in fashion
To have your gallants set down, in a tavern,
What the Archduke's purpose is the next Spring, and what
Defence my lords the States prepare; what course
The Emperor takes against the encroaching Turk;
And whether his moony standards are designed
For Persia or Polonia: and all this
The wiser of state-worms seem to know
Better than their own affairs." 1

The relationship of the Ottoman Empire with Italy was another source of interest and apprehension. There were surmises as to the possibility of a Turkish invasion of Italy.² The correspondence of Sidney and Languet reflects the opinions of the two writers on this danger; in a letter written by Languet on 26th March, 1574, there is the following note:

"These civil wars which are wearing out the strength of the princes of Christendom are opening a way for the Turk to get possession of Italy; and if Italy alone were in danger, it would be less a subject for sorrow, since it is the forge in which the causes of all these ills are wrought. But there is reason to

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1. The Spanish Curate, I, i (ed. J. S. L. Strachey, London, 1950, p. 221). References to the siege of Vienna occur in Marlowe's Tamburlaine, in the speech of Orcanes to Sigismund; cf. 2, I, ii, 2411-27; and in Barnabe Barnes, The Devil's Charter (1607), where Frescobaldi boasts "At Vienna I did unhorse three Turkish Janizaries" (cf. III, iii). In Shirley's The Impostor (1640) Pandolfo receives a pension from the Pope for having fought in Transylvania (cf. V, i).
 2. Mehmet II (the conqueror of Constantinople) had made an attempt to secure a footing in the peninsula by landing forces there in 1479 and capturing the city of Otranto.

fear that the flames will not keep themselves within its frontier, but will seize and devour the neighbouring states." 1

The Italian affairs formed the background of two plays:

Greene's Alphonsus King of Aragon (1587/1588) and John Mason's The Turke (c. 1607). Alphonsus was based on a fictitious story built into the framework of the relations of Turks with the historical king of Naples and Aragon, who lived between 1385-1458 and came into conflict with the Turks chiefly because of the support he gave to Scanderbeg, the revolted Prince of Albania.² It is believed that he may have made use of the accounts of the life of the king given by two Italian chroniclers, Bartolommeo Fazio and Vespasione da Bisticci.³ The Turkish theme itself, however, was treated in an imaginary and romantic manner; the battles of Alphonsus and 'Amurack', Alphonsus' eventual defeat of 'Amurack' and his marriage with the daughter of the Turkish

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1. Correspondence of Sidney and Languet, ed. and trans. W. A. Bradley, Boston, 1912, p. 49f.
 2. Cf. Uzüncarsili, op. cit., ii, 64-69. It is noted by J. C. Collins, in the introduction to his edition of the play, that Alphonsus had "like James IV of Scotland, so little relation to historical fact that it is scarcely possible to identify the Alphonsus who gives it its title. There can, however, be little doubt that Greene's hero, so far as he corresponds to reality, is Alphonso the First of Naples and the Fifth of Aragon (1385-1454), though Greene was quite capable of confounding him, as perhaps he did, with Alphonso I, King of Aragon and Navarre, surnamed El Batallador, who died in 1134". Cf. The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene, i, 75.
 3. Cf. ibid., p. 76, and I. Ribner, "Greene's Attack on Marlowe: Some Light on Alphonsus and Selimus", ut cit., p. 165.

Sultan are pseudo-historical events combined with romance motifs, and incidents involving magic. The language is imbued with mythological references and the religion of the Turks is presented as being a species of paganism. History appears to have served basically as a backdrop against which the main story could be acted.

The character and actions of Alphonsus, as depicted by Greene, bore a remarkable similarity to those of Tamburlaine in Marlowe's play. Greene's imitation of Marlowe in Alphonsus was indeed a remarkably close one. Not only is there a striking parallelism in the careers and wars of the two kings but at the same time the text of Alphonsus itself follows that of Tamburlaine in many details of speech and action.¹ The play has been described by Ribner as a reply to Marlowe's heretical ideas on kingship and the meaning of history as expressed in Tamburlaine.² In contrast to 'Tamburlaine', 'Alphonsus' is exalted as Christian king, who is guided and helped by Divine Providence to overcome his enemies, defeat the Turkish Sultan in pitched battle and win the hand of his daughter in marriage, which in turn is to secure him the crown of Turkey after the death of 'Amurack'.

As compared to Tamburlaine, the presentation of Turkish customs and religion is exaggerated and often incorrect. Greene appears either not to have been as well informed as his rival, or to

1. For a discussion of some of these similarities, see Collins, ed. cit., Intro., pp. 72-3.
2. Cf. I. Ribner, "Greene's Attack on Marlowe: Some Light on Alphonsus and Selimus", ut cit.

have deliberately perpetuated the myths and misconceptions of medieval chivalric literature. Thus Turks are shown as worshipping idols and consulting oracles; Mahomet is made to speak through a brazen head and Amurack falls into prophetic trances caused by the magic spells of a conjurer employed by his wife Fausta.

The combination of the elements of history, romance and magic is also present in the abridged text of a play entitled John of Bordeaux (1590-1594),¹ and probably written by Greene. The sub-plot contains farcical incidents in which Amurath, the Turkish Emperor, is charmed by Friar Bacon. The events of the play take place against a background of an imaginary siege of Ravenna by the Turks.

John Mason's The Turke (c. 1607) is similar to Alphonsus in being the dramatisation of a fictitious story on a slight historical framework. However, it embodies a totally different approach to the Turkish theme and is dominated by Senecan intrigues, horror and bloodshed. The character of Mulleasses himself may have been based on the figure of the historical king of Tunis, who had been forced to leave his country and to take refuge in Sicily and Naples in 1543.²

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1. See above p. 204, n.3, and John of Bordeaux or The Second Part of Friar Bacon, ed. W. L. Renwick, Malone Society Reprints, 1935, Introduction.
 2. Mulleasses or Muleases (i.e. Mevlay Hasan) had won notoriety for his cruelty and intrigues; after murdering his brothers, he had been forced to abdicate and finally entered the service of the Emperor Charles V. His life and exploits were described in P. Giovio's Les Histoires (cf. ii, 840ff.) and in Knolles' Generall Historie (cf. fols. 642-749).

C. Treatment of Material

1. Selection and Alteration of Material. Combination of Romance Motifs, Fiction and History.

In all these plays the role played by historical or pseudo-historical material was very great. The ordering of the events and the presentation of leading figures in the main kept to the set patterns established by contemporary historical treatises and prose compilations. The material was, however, altered and adapted to suit the dramatic needs of particular plays. Changes in the plot could be made for reasons of construction, or to bring out certain ideas and themes which the writer wished to emphasise. The condensation of material was particularly necessary in the case of the dramatisation of incidents related in the historical chronicles. The rambling and episodic structure had to be knitted and drawn closer together, such as in the accounts of the episodes related to the battle of Alcazar or in the description of Timur's battles. Nevertheless, it must at the same time be noted that the chronicles themselves were not completely devoid of the discipline of form and purpose, and the incidents they recorded had been, in most cases, grouped round certain basic themes and motifs, in order to allow the historian to express his particular moral or political interpretation. Hence, in a way, Elizabethan dramatists found in these sources a material ideally suited to meet their ends and to provide ready-made plots for their

plays.¹

Condensation of material was done in several ways.

Complicated happenings and involved relationships were generally simplified, the time lapse between one action and another was shortened and the number of the characters were reduced. A typical example is The Battle of Alcazar, where Peele avoided having to give lengthy explanations about the complex shifts of accident and intrigue which gave rise to the conflict between Abdelmelec and his nephew Muly Mahamet. It has been pointed out by Yoklavich that Peele's use of the dumb-show may have been one way, in which the playwright could simplify and condense the events which preceded the battle, and avoid having to burden the comprehension of his audience with the recital of a "long and confusing series of fratricides and broils that eventually brought Muly Mahamet to the throne".² A similar device was employed by Rowley and Wilkins in The Three English Brothers, where the events of a long adventure story were knitted together and given dramatic form by means of employing the mechanism of the Chorus and the dumb-show.

Changes in historical material were also effected through altering the time, or the actual setting, of a particular incident and

1. D. M. Benington has illustrated in his book From Mankind to Marlowe (Harvard University Press, 1962) the use made by Marlowe of the form and order in which the events of Tamburlaine's life had been recorded in his prose sources; cf. pp. 202ff.
2. The Battle of Alcazar, ed. Yoklavich, p. 238.

then using it in a completely different context. The battle of Ladislaus and Murad II, which had taken place in 1444 was transposed by Marlowe into the lifetime of Timur and shown as having been fought between Sigismund and Orcanes on the eve of the latter's confrontation with Tamburlaine. The moral significance and the essential framework of the incident were retained but presented against a different historical setting.¹ In Goffe's Amurath the events of the reigns of Mehmet II and Murad I were combined perhaps to give a comprehensive view of Turkish history and also to provide the play with a moral ending by showing the death of Amurath at the hands of a Servian prisoner of war, as a suitable punishment for the murder of Hiren.

History was also often combined with purely fictitious tales or romance motifs. We have seen how romance motifs entered both Marlowe's Tamburlaine and Greene's Alphonsus. The blending of history and romance was quite common and appears to have been introduced at the very inception of the genre with Tamburlaine.² The romance elements are more dominant in Alphonsus; indeed, there history itself has receded into the background. Romance themes and motifs were also in

1. Cf. 2 Tamburlaine, I, i; II, i and ii. Steane interpreted the significance of the episode in the following way: "It undermines Christian assumptions of superiority, for here you have heathens acting more admirably (by Christian standards) than Christians themselves; and it again works pyramidically, establishing a scale of manhood, in which Sigismund is placed appreciably lower than Orcanes who, in turn, becomes as nothing when brought face to face with Tamburlaine." Cf. op. cit., p. 67. On the battle of Varna and its accounts, see above pp. 132-3.

2. Cf. I. Ribner, op. cit., p. 63, and Tucker Brooke, op. cit., p. 235.

the foreground in a group of Elizabethan plays that were the direct descendants of the medieval romantic drama (and which dealt with stories of chivalric adventures or the history of the Crusaders), such as Heywood's Four Prentices (c. 1600). Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign romance appears to gain once again the upper hand. In plays such as Massinger's The Renegado or Fletcher and Massinger's The Knight of Malta, influenced by the contemporary fashion of chivalric romances, mainly imported from Spain and Italy, history is pushed very much to the background and romance and adventure form the central interest.

2. A Note on the Use of Sources. Extent of Accuracy.

The plots of the plays were taken from a variety of sources: historical books, prose collections, news-pamphlets, ballads and occasionally romances. Chief among these were the books of history and the prose collections, such as Painter's Palace of Pleasure or Wotton's Courtlie Controversie, which contain historical anecdotes or pseudo-historical tales related in set forms, within the framework of a specific moral object, or as 'exempli' illustrating a moral or spiritual truth. The dramatists relied mainly on their sources in the delineation of historical figures and generally also in the basic arrangement and interpretation of the events. Nevertheless, in transforming this stock matter into the substance of a play, they succeeded in bringing the set figures to life and in endowing their actions with subtle gradations of meaning and significance. Historical figures such as 'Mahomet' or 'Soliman' are not presented merely as types of tyrannical rulers but

as men, subject to moral or psychological conflicts, passion, grief and suffering.

In depicting Turkish life and customs, playwrights made use of numerous accounts given in historical and descriptive books. Political tracts and historical treatises, such as those of Georgijević, Menavino and Geuffroy, supplied information about the institutions and structure of the Ottoman state and about the traditions and customs of the Turks, while travel accounts were consulted particularly for details about the geographical appearance, setting and atmosphere of Turkish lands. The information on the background of Turkish life and affairs was adapted to meet different requirements by different playwrights. In the plays of some it appears to have been used basically for the purpose of adding local colour to the descriptions of the country. In the works of some other writers it was integrated more closely into the general design of the play and performed a more important function. Dramatists such as Greville and Marlowe, who were interested in political and social problems, used the setting of Turkish events to provide an analysis of statecraft, tyranny and the foundation of governments. The institutions and customs of Turkey provided them with matter for their enquiries or a groundwork for studying the relationship of the monarch and his subjects, the function of religious and military organisations in the well-being of the state and many other similar questions that had a bearing on the policy of Elizabethan England itself. We have

seen that this was done in the works of continental historians such as Bodin, Lusinge, Montaigne and Bracciolini. Turkish institutions had been described with similar purposes in some essays or historical writings of Bacon and in the numerous treatises written by political or religious propagandists of the reign of Elizabeth and James. The Turkish history plays of Greville, Marlowe, Greene, and the anonymous Selimus, reflect the same approach. However the extent of the accuracy with which the events and the characteristic traits of Turkish life were described or represented varied according to the soundness of the sources used and the correctness of the information contained in them. It also depended on the particular genre or the dominant character of the play into which this knowledge was incorporated.

C O N C L U S I O N

The presentation of Turkish matter in the drama of the late XVIth and early XVIIth centuries reflects a wide range of treatment and of approach. Turks appeared in conqueror (or 'heroic' plays), in 'revenge' drama, in romantic tales and occasionally in comedies. Turkish themes could be used to create tragic or melodramatic effects, or to evoke a sense of the distant and romantic East. In certain masques written in the XVIth century, and possibly also in some of the plays, Turks may have been brought in partly for the sake of providing an exotic or colourful background. Plots taken from Turkish history could serve as subject matter for history plays, or they could be utilised to conjure up the martial atmosphere required of a heroic play; they might even be made to act as an allegorical framework through which dramatists could voice their moral or social opinions and criticism. Hence when we consider the manner in which Turkish themes were presented in the drama, we have to take into account several factors: the genre and objects of a play, the conditions and circumstances dominant at the time it was written, the ideas and personal viewpoint of the writer and the characteristics of the sources that were used.

The most significant contributions came from Marlowe, Kyd, Peele and Greene - the earlier generation of Elizabethan dramatists writing for the popular stage - whose plays, mainly based on incidents taken from Turkish history and nearly all composed during the years

1587-1594, established the conventions and patterns that were to dominate the presentation of the themes during the next twenty years or so. The drama of the later Elizabethan and Jacobean period was less fertile with respect to plays on Turks. With the exception of Fletcher and Massinger, outstanding writers do not seem to have been directly interested in the themes; nevertheless, many, among them Shakespeare, made numerous allusions to the country and its affairs. During these years, corresponding roughly to the first two decades of the XVIIth century, Turkish matter was treated predominantly by minor dramatists, in whose works the history and setting of the Ottoman lands were used basically as a means of dramatising episodes involving adventure, pageantry and sensation. The Caroline period marked the stimulation of a new interest in Turkish and oriental themes and their revitalisation to provide plots for the newly emerging genre of the heroic drama. The plays of Carlell and Davenant on Turkish history are significant, not only on their own merits but also for being the precursors of the oriental plays of Orrery and Dryden in the theatre of the Restoration.

The presentation of Turks in the plays, particularly those written towards the end of the XVIth century, to a great extent reflected the complex attitudes, ideas and traditions present in the historical and geographical books, the travel literature, political and journalistic treatises and the prose collections. These sources provided the playwrights not only with their plots but with specific moral or political

interpretations. We have seen that the treatment of the Turkish themes was also influenced by patterns and conventions inherited from medieval writings. The medieval tradition had been characterised mainly by an emphasis on the religious conflicts of Turks and Europeans used for the purpose of providing stories and plays of chivalric adventure, heroism and romance. Although the tradition lost its force in the Renaissance, chivalric motifs and romance themes continued to be treated in the plays, often in combination with other motifs and interests. However, the dominant attitude of the Renaissance - to put it briefly - was one where attention was mainly focussed on the more general issues related to historical, political and moral problems overriding the crude and simple distinctions of Moslem and Christian. Elizabethan and early XVIIth century plays on Turks were written against a background of humanistic revival, geographical exploration and increased political awareness. As such they echo the same intellectual curiosity in the workings of the mind of man and of society, the same interest in the peoples of other countries and lands, that were present in many other plays of the age.

A P P E N D I X I

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTS OF PLAYS 1580 - 1660

A. Extant Plays having Plots or Sub-plots involving Turks¹

1581/2

1.	Anon.	<u>Solymannidae, Tragoedia</u>	Latin MS

1587/8

2.	Kyd, Thomas	<u>The Spanish Tragedie, Containing the lamentable end of Don Horatio, and Bel-imperia: with the pittifull death of olde Hieronimo. Newly corrected and amended of such grosse faults as passed in the first impression.</u> London, Edward Allde, for Edward White.	(c. 1592) ²

3.	Marlowe, Christopher	<u>Tamburlaine the Great who, from a Scythian Shepheard, by his rare and woonderfull Conquests, became a most puissant and mightye Monarque. And (for his tyranny, and terrour in Warre) was tearmed, The Scourge of God. Deuided into two tragical Discourses, as they were sundrie times shewed upon stages in the Citie of London. By the right honorable the Lord Admyrall, his seruantes. Now first and newlie published.</u> London, Richard Ihones.	1590

4.	Greene, Robert	<u>The comicall historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon. As it hath bene sundrie times acted. Made by R.G.</u> London, Thomas Creede.	1599

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1. The date first given is that of performance or the approximate date of composition. In these dates I have mainly followed those given in Harbage's Annals. The last column gives the date of printing.
2. The title page is undated (cf. Harbage, Annals, p. 52).

1588/9

5. Peele, George The Battell of Alcazar, fovght in 1594
Barbarie, betweene Sebastian king of
Portugall, and Abdelmelec king of
Marocco. With the death of Captaine
Stukeley. As it was sundrie times
plaid by the Lord high Admirall his
seruants.
London, Edward Allde for Richard
Bankworth.

6. Anon. The first part of the Tragicall reigne 1594
of Selimus, sometime Emperour of the
Turkes, and grandfather to him that
now raigneth. Wherein is showne how
hee most vnnaturally raised warres
against his owne father Baiazet, and
preuailing therein, in the end caused
him to be poysned: Also with the
murthering of his two brethren, Corcut
and Acomat. As it was playd by the
Queenes Maiesties Players.
London, Thomas Creede.

1589/90

7. Marlowe, Christopher The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Iew of 1633
Malta. As it was playd before the
King and Queene, in his Majesties
Theatre at White-Hall, by her
Majesties Seruants at the Cock-pit.
Written by Christopher Marlo.
London, I.B. for Nicholas Vavasour.

8. Fulke, Greville The Tragedy of Mustapha. 1609
London, for Nathaniel Butter.

c. 1590

9. Kyd, Thomas The Tragedie of Soliman and Perseda. 1599
Wherein is laide open, Loues constancie,
Fortunes inconstancie, and Deaths
Triumphs.
London, Edward Allde, for Edward White.

c. 1590

10. Salterne, George	<u>Tomumbeius siue Sultanici in Aegypto Imperii Euersio. Tragoedia noua auctore Giorgio Salterno Bristoënsi.</u>	Latin MS

c. 1590/4

11. ? Greene, Robert (Chettle, H. reviser ?)	<u>John of Bordeaux, or The Second Part of Friar Bacon.</u>	MS

c. 1607

12. Mason, John	<u>The Turke. A worthie tragedie. As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Children of his Maiesties Reuels. Written by John Mason Maister of Artes. Sume superbiam quesitam meritis. Horat.</u> London, E.A. for Iohn Busbie.	1610

1607

13. Day, John Rowley, William Wilkins, George	<u>The Travailes of the Three English Brothers. Sir Thomas, Sir Anthony, Mr. Robert Shirley. As it is now play'd by her Maiesties Seruants.</u> London, for Iohn Wright	1607

c.1610

14. Daborne, Robert	<u>A Christian turn'd Turke: or; the tragicall liues and deaths of the two famous pyrates, Ward and Dansiker. As it hath beene publickly acted. Written by Robert Daborn, gentleman. Nemo sapiens, miser est.</u> London, for William Barrenger.	1612

c. 1613/8

15. Goffe, Thomas	<u>The Raging Turke or Bajazet the Second. A Tragedie written by Thomas Goffe, Master of Arts, and student of Christ-Church in Oxford, and acted by the same house.</u> London, August Mathewes for Richard Meighen.	1631

1616/9

16. Fletcher, John The Knight of Malta (published in a collection: Comedies and Tragedies written by Francis Beavmont and Iohn Fletcher Gentlemen. Never printed before, And now published by the Authours Originall Copies. Si quid habent veri Vatum praesagia, vivam. 1647
London, for Humphrey Robinson and Humphrey Moseley.

1618

17. Goffe, Thomas The Courageous Turke, or, Amurath the First. A Tragedie. Written by Thomas Goffe Master of Arts, and student of Christ-Church in Oxford, and acted by the students of the same house. 1632
London, B. Aslop and T. Fawset, for Richard Meighen.

1622 or c. 1638

18. Carlell, Lodowick The Famous Tragedy of Osmond the Great Turk, otherwise called the Noble Servant. Written by Lodowick Carlell, Gent. 1657
London, for Humphrey Moseley.

1624

19. Massinger, Philip The Renegado, A Tragaecomédie. As it hath beene often acted by the Queenes Maiesties seruants, at the priuate Play-house in Drurye-Lane. By Philip Massinger. 1630
London, A.M. for John Waterson.

c. 1624

20. Davenport, Robert The City-Night-Cap: or, Crede quod habes et habes. A Tragi-Comedy. By Robert Davenport. As it was acted with great applause. by her Majesties Servants, at the Phoenix in Drury Lane. 1661
London, Ja: Cottrel, for Samuel Speed.

1656/9

21. Davenant, Sir William (The Siege of Rhodes Part 1) 1656
The Siege of Rhodes made a
Representation by the Art of
Prospective in Scenes, And the Story
sung in Recitative Musick. At the
back part of Rutland-House in the
upper end of Aldersgate-Street, London.
 London, J.M. for Henry Herringman.
- (The Siege of Rhodes Parts 1 and 2) 1663
The Siege of Rhodes: The First and
Second Part; As they were lately
Represented at His Highness the Duke of
York's Theatre in Lincolns-Inn Fields.
The first Part being lately enlarg'd.
Written by Sir William D'Avenant.
 London, for Henry Herringman.

>1658

22. Swinhoe, Gilbert The Tragedy of the unhappy Fair 1658
Irene. By Gilbert Swinhoe, Esq;
 London, J. Streater for W. Place.

n.d.

23. Anon. Antonio of Ragusa MS
24. Anon. Siege of Croja MS
25. Anon. The Great Cham MS fragment

B. Lost Plays on Turks (and/or Other Oriental Nations ?)

1579

1. Anon. The Blacksmith's Daughter

1580

2. Anon. The Hystory of Soldan and the Duke of ...

1588 or 1596

3. Anon. Tamar Cham. Part 1 MS plot
 survives

1592, 1596

4. Anon. Tamar Cham. Part 2

> 1594

5. Peele, George The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren
the Fair Greek.

1597

6. Anon. Frederick and Basilae. MS plot
survives

1598

7. Chettle, Henry The Vaivode.
(reviser or writer ?)

> 1600

(St. Reg. entry
14 Aug. 1600)

8. Anon. The Tartarian Cripple, The
Emperor of Constantinople.

> 1601

(St. Reg. entry
3 July 1601)

9. Anon. Scanderbargo.
(? Marlowe)

1602

10. Anon. A 'Comedy' on the capture of
Stuhlweisenburg by the Turks.

> 1611

(perf. in Germany
in 1611)

11. Anon. Turkish 'Triumph Comedy'.

> 1613

(perf. in Germany
in 1613)

12. Anon. The Turk (identical with John
Mason's The Turke ?)

13. Anon. The Fall of Constantinople

c. 1619/20
(entry in Revel's
List)

14. Anon. A Turke's Too Good for (Him)
n.d.¹
15. Anon. Mustapha (identical with Boyle's
Mustapha ?)
16. Anon. Osman the Turk (identical with
Carlell's Osmond ?)
17. Anon. Roxolana or the Ambitious Stepdame
(identical with Boyle's Mustapha ?)
-

1. These three plays are undated but are believed to have been probably written or performed > 1660. They are entered in Abraham Hill's list. Bentley includes them in his list of lost anonymous plays written probably before 1660 and is not in favour of identifying them with plays written by Boyle and Carlell on Turkish history (cf. op. cit., v, 1379, 1384 and 1404 respectively).

A P P E N D I X I I

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF BOOKS ABOUT TURKS IN ENGLISH¹

1482

1. Gaoursin, Guillaume (The Siege of Rhodes.)
 (London, 1482 ?).
 B.M. G.6209

1499

2. (Mandeville, Sir John) (The Travels.)
 London, Wynkyn de Worde, (1499).²
 B.M. G.6713

1511

3. Anon. This is the begynnyng, and contynuaunce
 of the pylgrymage of Sir Richarde
 Guylforde knyght, and controuler vnto
 our late soueraygne lorde kynge Henry
 the. vii. And howe he went with his
 servaunts and company towards Jherusalem.
 London, Richard Pynson, 1511.
 B.M. G.6719

1515

4. Anon. Here begynneth a lytell treatyse of the
 turkes lawe called Alcoran. And also
 it speketh of Machamet the Nygromancer.
 London, W. de Worde, (1515 ?).
 B.M. C.25.k.13

5. Anon. (Indulgence in English, in favour of
 the redemption of the children of Lady
 I. Lascarina, from the Turks.)
 (London, R. Pynson ?, 1515 ?).
 Bodleian. Arch.A.d.10(12)

1. Works of fiction are not included.

2. The names of printers have been mentioned only in the case of books printed during the XVth or early XVIth centuries.

1517

6. Anon. Causes that be proposed and tractet
in a consultacyon of a journey, to be
made with the tokyn of the holy Crosse,
agaynst the infideles and Turkes, (etc.)
London, 1864.
Lowndes' Manual, iv, 2720.

1518

7. Anon. These be the articles of Pope's Bulle
under leade, translated from latyn
into englysshe.
(London, R. Pynson ?, 1518).
B.M. C.18.e.2(18)

1525

8. Haiton (Hetoum) Here begynneth a lytell cronycle
translated and imprinted at the cost
and charge of Rycharde Pynson, (etc.)
(London, R. Pynson, 1525 ?).
B.M. 148.c.1

1530

9. Anon. Here after foloweth a lytell treatyse
agaynst Mahumet and his cursed secte.
(London, 1530?).
B.M. C.1530

1532

10. Anon. The tryumphant victory of the
Imperyall mageste agaynst the turkes:
The xxvi day of Septembre the yere of
our lorde M.CCCC.XXXII in Steumarke
by a captayne named Michael Meschsaer,
translated and empynted out of frenche
into englysshe by Robert Copland (etc.)
London, 1532.
Original copy is in Pierpont Morgan
Library.

1534

11. More, Sir Thomas

A Dyalogue of Comforte agaynste
tribulacyon, made by an Hungarien in
laten, and translated oute of laten
into Frenche, and oute of Frenche into
Englishe.

Printed in The Workes of Sir Thomas More,
published by W. Rastell, London, 1557.

B.M. C.11.b.14, 15

1542

12. Bibliander, Theodorus

A Godly consultation unto the brethren
and companyons of the Christen religyon.
By what meanes the cruell power of the
Turkes, both may and ought for to be
repelled of the Christen people
(translated owte of Latine) (etc.)

Basle, 1542.

B.M. 696.a.2

13. Borde, Andrew

The fyrst boke of the introduction of
knowledge, the which dothe teache a
man to speake parte of all maner of
languages, and to know the usage of
all maner of countreys, (etc.)

London, (1542, 1548 ?).

B.M. C.71.b.29

14. (Geuffroy, Antoine)

The order of the great Turckes courte,
of hys menne of warre, and of all hys
conquests, with the summe of Mahumetes
doctryne. (etc.)

(London), Ricardus Grafton, 1542.

B.M. C.32.a.38

1546

15. Giovio, Paolo

A shorte treatise upon the Turkes
Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Iouius
and dedicated to Charles the V ...
And translated out of Latyne into
english by Peter Ashton.

London, 1546.

B.M. 280.b.36

1555

16. Boemus, Joannes

The Fardle of facions conteining the
aunciente maners, customes, and lawes,
of the peoples enhabiting the two parts
of the earth, called Affrike and Asia.
London, 1555.
B.M. C.32.a.17

1560

17. Anon.

Orations of Arsanes agaynst Philip the
treacherous King of Macedone: ... and
of Scanderbeg prayeng ayde of Christian
princes agaynst the old periurous
murdering Mahumet and agaynst the old
false Christian Duke Mahumetes
confederate. (etc.)
London, (1560 ?).
B.M. C.17.a.11

1562

18. Cambinus, Andrea

Two very notable commentaries the one
of the originall of the Turcks and
Empire of the house of Ottomano,
written by Andrew Cambine, and thother
of the warres of the Turcke against
George Scanderbeg, prince of Epiro,
and of the great victories obteyned by
the sayd George, as well against the
Emperour of Turkie, ... translated out
of Italian into Englishe by John Shute.
London, 1562.
B.M. G.4213

1565

19. Anon.

Copie of the last advertisement that
came from Malta of the miraculous
deliverie of the isle from the Turke.
London, 1565.
There is only a fragment at Cambridge
University Library.

1566

20. Anon. Newes from Vienna the 5. day of August 1566 of the strong Towne and Castell of Jula in Hungary, ... and the sayd Turke marveyulously discomfited and overthrowen. Translated out of hye Almaine into English.
London, 1566.
B.M. C.33.b.28
21. Painter, William The Palace of Pleasure. Beautified, adorned and well furnished, with Pleasaunt Histories and excellent Nouelles, selected out of diuers good and commendable Authors.
London, 1566.
B.M. G.10491
- 1568
22. (Mandeville, Sir John) The Voiage and traouayle of Syr Iohn Maundeulle, Knight.
London, 1568.
B.M. C.114.c.62
(See above p. 294, no. 2)
- 1570
23. Georgijević, Bartholomej The ofspring of the house of Ottomano, and officers pertaining to the greate Turkes Court ... all Englished by Hugh Goughe.
London, (1570).
B.M. 280.b.35
24. Ascham, Roger A report and discourse written by Roger Ascham, of the affaires and state of Germany and the Emperour Charles his court. (etc.)
London, (1570 ?).
B.M. C.33b.27
- 1571
25. Anon. Letters sent from Venice, anno 1571. Containing the certaine and true newes of the most noble victorie of the Christians ouer the army of the Great Turk: ... Translated oute of the Frenche copie printed at Paris, by Guillem de Niuerd, (etc.)
London, (1571).
B.M. C.33.a.7

1571

26. Mexia, Pedro

The foreste or a collection of histories,
no lesse profitable, then pleasant and
necessarie, Dooen out of French into
Englishe, by Thomas Fortescue.
London, 1571.
B.M. 95.c.8

27. Anon.

The whole discourse of the victorie
that it pleased God to giue to the
Christians against the Turkes, and what
loss hapned to the Christians in the
said conflict. Englished from a Frenche
copie printed at Paris, by Fleuri Prevost,
(etc.)
London, (1571).
B.M. C.33.a.7

1572

28. Martinengo, Nestore

The true report of all the successe of
Famagosta, ... In which the whole order
of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines
and assaultes geven to the sayd fortresse,
may plainly appeare ... Englished out
of Italian by W. Malin. (etc.)
London, 1572.
B.M. 1057.c.25

29. Munster, Sebastian

A briefe collection and compendius
extract of straunge and memorable
thinges, gathered oute of the
Cosmographie of Sebastian Munster.
London, 1572.
B.M. 793.a.29

1575

30. Curio, C. A.

A notable historie of the Saracens ...
Whereunto is annexed a Compendious
Chronycle of all their yearely exploytes
... tyll this present yeere of grace
1575. Drawne out of Augustine Curio and
sundry other good authours by Thomas
Newton.
London, 1575.
B.M. 959.e.14

1577

31. Bysshup, John

Beautiful Blossomes gathered from the
best trees of all kyndes.
London, 1577.
B.M. C.117.b.55

1578

32. Polemon, John

All the famous Battels that haue bene
fought in our age throughout the Worlde,
as well by sea as lande, set foorth at
large, liuely described, beautified,
and enriched with sundry eloquent Orations,
... Collected out of sundry good Authors,
(etc.)
London, by Henrye Bynneman, 1578.
B.M. 1309.b.15.

33. Yver, Jacques

A Courtlie Controuersie of Cupid's
Cautels, containing Five Tragicall
Historyes ... translated out of French,
by H. Wotton.
London, 1578.
B.M. C.123.d.4

1579

34. Polo, Marco

The most noble and famous trauels of
Marcus Paulus, ... into the East partes
of the world, as Armenia, Persia,
Arabia, Tartary, with many other
kingdoms and Prouinces ... Translated
into English (by Iohn Frampton).
London, 1579.
B.M. C.114.b.10.

35. Anon.

A discourse of the bloody and cruell
bataille, of late loste by the great
Turke Sultan Selim ... Translated out
of French into English.
London, (1579 ?).
B.M. C.55.a.15.

1582

36. Bateman, Stephen Batman vppon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus rerum, ... with such additions as are requisite (etc.)
London, 1582.
B.M. 456.b.15

1585

37. Billerbeg, Frauncis Most rare and strange discourses, of Amurathe the Turkish Emperor that now is. (etc.)
London, (1585 ?).
B.M. 1311.b.23

38. Nicolay, Nicolas de The nauigations peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay ... Translated out of French by T. Washington the younger.
London, 1585.
B.M. 303.d.11

1586

39. Hanmer, Meredith The Baptizing of a Turke. A sermon preached at the Hospital of Saint Katherin, ... at the baptizing of one Chinano, a Turk, born at Nigropontus: (etc.)
London, (1586 ?).
B.M. 114.a.24

40. La Primaudaye, Pierre de The French academie, wherein is discoursed the institution of maners and whatsoeuer els concerneth the good and happie life of all estates and callings, ... newly translated into English by T. B(owes).
London, 1586.
B.M. 8406.ee.25

41. Whetstone, George The English myrror. A regard wherein all estates may behold the conquests of enuy: containing ruine of common weales, murther of princes (etc.)
London, 1586.
B.M. 231.1.18

1587

42. Polemon, John

The Second part of the booke of
Battailes, fought in our age: Taken
ovt of the best authors and writers in
sundrie languages. (etc.)
London, 1587.
B.M. 1309.b.33

1590

43. Webbe, Edward

The rare and most wonderfull things
which Ed. Webbe hath seene and passed
in his troublesome trauels. (etc.)
London, 1590.
B.M. G.6931

1593

44. Smith, Henry

Gods arrowe against atheists.
London, 1593.
B.M. 4014.bbb.38

45. Anon.

A true discourse wherein is set the
wonderfull mercy of God, shewed
towards the Christians, on the two
and twenty of Iune. 1593. against the
Turke, before Syssek in Croatia.
Truely translated out of high Dutch
coppie.
London, 1593.
Bodleian. Tanner 824=(6912)

1594

46. Le Roy, Loys

Of the interchangeable covrse, or
variety of things in the whole world;
and the conccurrence of armes and
learning, through the first and
famousest Nations: (etc.) Translated
into English by R.A.
London, 1594.
B.M. 8405.i.2

1595

47. Anon. The estate of the Christians liuing vnder the subiection of the Turke. And also the warres betweene the Christians and the Turke, beginning 1592. and continuing till the end of 1593. London, 1595.
Bodleian. S.4.Art.BS
48. Minadoi, G. Thomaso The history of the warres betweene the Turkes and the Persians. Written in Italian by Iohn-Thomas Minadoi, and translated into English by Abraham Hartwell. London, 1595.
B.M. 1312.c.14
49. Anon. Newes from Rome, Venice and Vienna, touching the present proceedings of the Turkes, against the Christians in Austria, Hungarie and Heluetia (etc.) London, 1595.
B.M. C.114.d.5(3)

1596

50. Lavardin, Jacques de The historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albania. ... Newly translated out of French into English by Z.I. Gentleman. London, 1596.
B.M. 10605.g.13

1597

51. Du Bec-Crespin, Jean The historie of the great Emperour Tamerlan, wherein are expressed, encounters, skirmishes, battles ... Newly translated out of French into English, ... by H.M. London, 1597.
B.M. 1197.d.22

1597

52. Anon. Newes from diuers countries. As from Spaine, Antwerpe, ... The Great Turke and the Prince Doria.
London, 1597.
B.M. C.114.d.5(7)
53. (Lonicerus, Philippus) The Policy of the Turkish Empire. The first booke.
London, 1597.
B.M. 280.c.12
54. Beard, Thomas The Theatre of God's Judgements.
London, 1597.
B.M. 4404.i.7

1598

55. Anon. A briefe cronicle and perfect rehearsall of all the memorable actions hapned ... in Germanie, Italy, ... England, Turkie and other countries, since the yeare of our Lord 1500 to this present yeare 1598.
London, 1598.
B.M. C.114.a.13
56. Hakluyt, Richard The principal navigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation, made by sea or over land, to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres: (etc.)
London, 1598-1600.
B.M. 683.h.5
57. Anon. 13 May 1598. True newes of a notable victorie obtayned against the Turkes. (etc.)
London, (1598).
B.M. C.55.d.14.1

1600

58. Carr, R. The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie, containing three books: ... Translated from the French and Italian tongues, by R. Carr.
London, 1600.
B.M. T.801(1)

1600

59. Fumée, Martin

The historie of the troubles of
Hungarie: containing the pitifull
losse and ruine of that Kingdome, and
the warres happened there, in that
time, betweene the Christians and
Turkes. ... Newly translated out of
French into English, by R(ooke)
C(hurche) (etc.)
London, 1600.
B.M. C.22.f.13

1601

60. Botero, Giovanni

The travellers breuiat, or an historicall
description of the most famous kingdomes
in the world: Relating their situations,
manners, customes, ciuill gouernment,
and other memorable matters. Translated
(by Robert Johnson) into English.
London, 1601.
B.M. 569.e.20

61. Parry, William

A new and large discourse of the travels
of Sir Anthony Sherley knight by sea
and over land, to the Persian Empire (etc.)
London, 1601.
B.M. G.6676

1603

62. Knolles, Richard

The generall historie of the Turkes,
from the first beginning of that nation
to the rising of the Ottoman Familie, (etc.)
London, 1603.
B.M. 9135.h.1

63. Anon.

Newes from Malta ... Shewing the
desperate assault and surprising of
two castles of the Turkes, by the
Italians forces ... Translated according
to the Italian copie.
London, 1603.
Bodleian. C.16.Art.BS

1603

64. Soranzo, Lazzaro

The Ottoman of Lazzaro Soranzo.
Wherein is delivered as well a full
and perfect report of the might and
power of Mahomet the third, Great
Emperour of the Turkes now raigning ...
Translated out of Italian into English
by Abraham Hartwell.
London, 1603.
B.M. 1313.c.19

1605

65. Anon.

A farewell to the renowned and valiant
... Captayne Andrew Gray, going ... to
the Christian warres against the Turke.
London, 1605.
Original copy is in Sheffield University
Library.

1606

66. Anon.

Letters from the great Turke lately
sent unto the holy Father the Pope and
to Rudolphus naming himselfe King of
Hungarie, and to all the kings and princes
of Christendome. Translated ... into
English out of the French coppie.
London, 1606.
B.M. c.38.e.19

67. Lusinge, René de

The beginning, continuance and decay
of estates. Wherein are handled many
notable questions concerning the
establishment of empires and monarchies.
... translated into English by I(ohn)
F(inet).
London, 1606.
B.M. 967.k.16(2)

68. Valesco, S.

Newes from Rome of two mightie armies,
... who pretend their warre (to) recouer
the Land of Promise, and expell the
Turks out of Christendome ... Translated
out of Italien into English by W.W.
London, (1606).
B.M. C.32.d.26

1606

69. Sutcliffe, Matthew An Abridgement or Survey of Poperie, (etc.)
London, 1606.
B.M. d.53.3932
70. Botero, Giovanni A Treatise Concerning the causes of the
Magnificencie and greatnes of Cities, ...
done into English by Robert Peterson (etc.)
London, 1606.
B.M. 8005.bb.21

1607

71. (Mehmed II) The Turkes secretorie, conteining his
sundrie letters sent to diuers emperours,
kings, princes and states, ... Translated
out of the latine copie.
London, 1607.
B.M. 800.d.24
72. Nixon, Anthony The three English brothers. Sir Thomas
Sherley his trauels, ... Sir Anthony
Sherley his embassage to the Christian
princes ... Master Robert Sherley his
wars against the Turkes (etc.)
London, 1607.
B.M. G.6672
73. Stafforde, Robert A geographicall and anthologicall
description of all the empires and
kingdomes, (etc.)
London, 1607.
B.M. 1000.de.7

1608

74. (Munday, Anthony) The admirable deliverance of 266.
Christians by Iohn Reynard Englishman
from the captiuitie of the Turkes, who
had beene gally slaues many yeares in
Alexandria (etc.)
London, 1608.
B.M. 1197.d.21

1608

75. (Botero, Giovanni) Relations, of the most famous kingdoms and commonweales thorough the world. ... Translated into English and enlarged, (etc.)
London, 1608.
B.M. 566.b.32

1609

76. Biddulph, William The travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, ... and to sundry other places. (etc.)
London, 1609.
B.M. 979.d.32

1611

77. Boemus, Joannes The manners, lawes and customes of all nations. Collected out of the best writers ... translated into English by Ed. Aston.
London, 1611.
B.M. 1000l.de.17

78. Cartwright, John The preachers travels. Wherein is set downe a true journall, ... Containing a full survey of the Kingdom of Persia: and in what termes the Persian stands with the Great Turke at this day: ... With ... a briefe rehearsall of some grosse absurdies in the Turkish Alcoran. (etc.)
London, 1611.
B.M. 1047.b.1

1612

79. Biddulph, William The travels of foure Englishmen and a preacher into Africa, Asia, Troy, ... Begunne in the yeere of iubile 1600. and by some of them finished the yeere 1611. (etc.)
London, 1612.
B.M. 1045.h.19

1613

80. Anon. The Great Turkes defiance: or his letter denunciatorie to Sigismond the Third, now king of Polonia, ... With the King of Poland his replie, Englished according to the French copie, by M.S.
London, 1613.
B.M. 9135.aaa.29
81. Anon. A famous victorie, atchieved in August last 1613. by the Christian gallies of Sicilia against the Turkes. (etc.)
London, 1613.
B.M. C.55.d.13(1)
82. Anon. The true declaration of the arrival of Cornelius Haga ... Ambassadour for the generall States of the united Netherlands, at the great Citie of Constantinople ... Faithfully translated out of the Dutch copie.
London, 1613.
B.M. 1197.d.11

1614

83. Brerewood, Edward Enquiries touching the diversity of languages and religions through the chiefe parts of the world. (etc.)
London, 1614.
B.M. 623.h.1
84. Davies, William A true relation of the trauailes and most miserable captiuitie of William Dauies, ... and meanes of his deliuerie, after eight yeares, and ten months captiuitie in the gallies. (etc.)
London, 1614.
B.M. C.32.g.32
85. Anon. Good newes from Florence: of a famous victorie obtained against the Turkes in May last 1613, ... Translated faithfully into English out of the French copie, ... and taken out of the Italian discourse printed at Florence.
London, 1614.
B.M. 800.d.22

1614

86. Lithgow, William A most delectable, and true discourse,
of an admired and painfull peregrination
from Scotland to the most famous kingdoms
in Europe, Asia, and Affricke (etc.)
London, 1614.
B.M. 1045.h.29

1615

87. Avity, P. D. The estates, empires, and principalities
of the world, ... Translated out of
French by Edw. Grimstone.
London, 1615.
B.M. 581.k.18

88. Bedwell, William Mohammedis Imposturae: that is a
discovery of the manifold forgeries,
falshoods, and horrible impieties of the
blasphemous seducer Mohammed: ...
Whereunto is annexed the Arabian
Trudgman, ... together with an index of
the chapters of the Alkoran, for the
understanding of the confutations of
that booke.
London, 1615.
B.M. 696.g.18

89. Sandys, George A Relation of a journey begun An. Dom.
1610. Foure bookes. Containing a
description of the Turkish Empire, of
Aegypt, of the Holy Land, (etc.)
London, 1615.
B.M. 679.h.16

1617

90. Angelos, Christopher Christopher Angell, a grecian, who
tasted of many stripes and torments
inflicted by the Turkes (etc.)
Oxford, 1617.
B.M. G.8893(2)

1617

91. Moryson, Fynes

An itinerary written by Fynes Moryson
Gent ... Containing his ten yeeres
travell through the twelve dominions of
Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland ...
Turky, France, England, Scotland, and
Ireland. (etc.)
London, 1617.
B.M. 214.e.16

1618

92. Gainsford, Thomas

The glory of England, ... with a
iustifiable comparison betweene the
eminent kingdoms of the earth, and
herselfe; (etc.)
London, 1618.
B.M. 1303.a.1

93. Anon.

Newes from Turkie on the death of Achmet.
London, 1618.
The original copy is in the Emmanuel
College Library, Cambridge.

1620

94. Anon.

A most true relation of the late
proceedings in Bohemia, Germany, and
Hungaria ... Faithfully translated out
of the high Dutch.
Dort, 1620.
B.M. 9315.bb.10

1621

95. Anon.

Newes from Poland wherein is truely
inlarged the occasion, progression, and
interception of the Turks formidable
threatning of Europe. And particularly
the invading of the Kingdome of Poland (etc.)
London, 1621.
B.M. Burney 2

1621

96. Ossolinsky, George A true copy of the Latine oration of the excellent Lord George Ossolinsky ... Chamberlain to the King's Majestie of Poland ... and Embassadour to the Kings most Excellent Majesty ... With the translation of the same into English (etc.)
London, 1621.
B.M. Burney 1

97. Anon. True copies of the insolent, cruell, barbarous, and blasphemous letter lately written by the Great Turke, for denouncing of warre against the King of Poland: (etc.)
London, 1621.
B.M. 590.e.11(1)

1622

98. Anon. Newes from Turkie and Poland or a true and compendious declaration of the proceedings betweene the Great Turke, and his Maiestie of Poland, ... With a relation of their daily military actions; ... Translated out of a Latin copie, (etc.)
The Hague, 1622.
B.M. C.114.d.5(14)

99. Anon. The strangling and death of the Great Turke, and his two sonnes. (etc.)
London, 1622.
Bodleian.Wood 345(8)

100. Anon. A true and faithfull relation, presented to His Maiestie of what hath lately happened in Constantinople, concerning the death of Sultan Osman, (etc.)
London, 1622.
Bodleian.Don. e.241(24)

101. Anon. A true relation of the murther of Osman the Great Turke, and five of his principal Bashawes, (etc.)
London, 1622.
B.M. C.112.e.6

1625

102. Heylyn, Peter

Microcosmus; a little description of
the great world. Augmented and revised.
(etc.)
Oxford, 1625.
B.M. 570.d.2

103. Purchas, Samuel

Hakluytus posthumous or Purchas his
pilgrimes. Contayning a history of the
world, in sea voyages, and lande travells
by Englishmen and others (etc.)
London, 1625.
B.M. 679.h.11-14

1628

104. Robson, Charles

Newes from Aleppo. A letter written ...
by Charles Robson, ... preacher to the
Company of English Merchants at Aleppo.
(etc.)
London, 1628.
B.M. 1425.g.5

1629

105. Bacon, Francis

An advertisement touching an Holy Warre.
(etc.)
Published in Bacon's Miscellany Works.
London, 1929.
B.M. C.57.e.32(1)

1630

106. Smith, John (Captain)

The true travels, adventures and
observations of Captain Iohn Smith, in
Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, from
anno domini 1593 to 1629. (etc.)
London, 1630.
B.M. B.273(1)

1632

107. Lithgow, William

The totall discourse, of the rare adventures and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene yeares traуayles, from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa (etc.)

London, 1632.

B.M. C.32.g.44

1635

108. Baudier, Michel

The History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Seigneurs: ... Translated out of French by E.G.S.A. (Edward Grimestone)

London, 1635.

B.M. 1053.i.10

1636

109. Blount, Henry

A Voyage into the Levant. A briefe relation of a journey, ... with particular observations concerning the moderne condition of the Turkes, and other people under that Empire.

London, 1636.

B.M. B.670(4)

1637.

110. (Raleigh, Sir Walter ?)¹

The Life and death of Mahomet, the conquest of Spaine, together with the rysing and ruine of the Sarazen Empire. Written by Sir Walter Raleigh.

London, 1637.

B.M. C.72.a.18

1. This work of doubtful authorship is largely a compilation from La Verdadera Historia del Roy Don Rodrigo ... compuesta por ... Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique (etc.), Valencia, 1606. Cf. Brit. Mus. General Catalogue under 'Raleigh, Sir Walter'.

1637

111. Anon.

A true relation and description of 2
most strange and true remarkable sea-
fights against the Turkes. (etc.)
London, 1637.
B.M. 597.c.23

1638

112. Anon.

A vaunting, daring, and a menacing
letter, sent from Sultan Morat the
great Turke, from his Court at
Constantinople ... to Vladisllaus King
of Poland ... Whereunto is annexed a
briefe relation of the Turkish present
strength (etc.)
London, 1638.
B.M. C.55.d.5

1639

113. (Zarain Aga)

A relation of the late seige and taking
of the city of Babylon by the Turke. As
it was written from thence by Zarain Aga,
one of his captaines, ... Translated out
of the Turkish into the Italian ... And
Englished by W(illiam) H(olloway).
London, 1639.
B.M. 1047.ee.11

114. Fuller, Thomas

The Historie of the Holy Warre
Cambridge, 1639.
B.M. 487.c.23

1640

115. Taylor, John

A valourous and perillous sea-fight with
three Turkish ships, pirates or men of
warre on the Coast of Cornewall. (etc.)
London, 1640.
B.M. C.30.d.34

1640

116. Knight, Francis

A true and strange relation of seaven
yeares slavery under the Turks of
Argeere (etc.)
London, 1640.
B.M. 790.b.11

1641

117. Anon.

Extraordinary newes from Constantinople,
November the 27. 1641. ... Conteyning a
most certaine and true relation of the
late and strange visions, with the aspects
of two cometts or blazing starres with
forked tayles. ... Written in French, and
faithfully translated by W.C.
London, 1641.
B.M. 1103.e.46

1642

118. Charles I

King Charles His letter to the Great
Turk; the high and mighty Emperour
Sultan Morat Han: (etc.)
London, August 11, 1642.
B.M. E.110(10)

119. Anon.

Strange and miraculous newes from Tvrkie.
Sent to our English ambassadour resident
at Constantinople. (etc.)
London, 1642.
B.M. 1103.e.54

1643

120. Anon.

A proud and blasphemous challenge given
out in dinuntiation of warre, by Amurath
the great Turke, against all Christendome.
(etc.)
London, 1643.
B.M. 669.f.6(108)

1645

121. Anon.

The Great Turkes letter, sent unto the Prince of Transilvania ... Translated out of the French copy printed in Paris. And re-printed here according to order.
London, 1645.
B.M. E.296(3)

122. Anon.

Newes from the Great Turke. A blasphemous manifestation of the Great Signior of Constantinople, against the Christians; ... faithfully translated out of the Italian and French copies. (etc.)
London, 1645.
B.M. C.114.d.5(21)

1646

123. Anon.

Subtillity and cruelty, or a true relation of the horrible and unparalleled abuses and intolerable oppressions, exercised by Sir Sackville Crow His Majesties Ambassador at Constantinople, ... Directly contrary to the trust reposed in him by His Majesty, (etc.)
London, 1646.
B.M. E.358(5)

124. Anon.

A true and perfect relation of a great and horrid conspiracie discovered by a Jew in Tvrkie against the English with names of the conspirators, and the proceedings of the Great Turk thereupon.
London, 1646.
B.M. E.355(4)

1647

125. Anon.

The antiquity of reformation or an observation proving the Great Turk a triangle and the rest of the world roundheads: wherein is shewed, a difference between the government of the Word of God, and best reformed churches.
London, 1647.
B.M. E.400(13)

1648

126. Anon.

Newes from Turkie or, a true relation of the passages of the right honourable Sir Tho. Bendish, Baronet, Lord Ambassadour with the Grand Signieur at Constantinople, his entertainment and reception there. (etc.)
London, 1648.
B.M. E.226.j.75

1649

127. Du Ryer, André
Ross, Alexandre

The Alcoran of Mahomet, translated out of Arabique into French, by Sieur Du Ryer ... And newly Englished, ... (The Life and death of Mahomet ... by A. Ross).
London, 1649.
B.M. E.553(3)

128. Anon.

A true relation of what passed in Constantinople, in August last, about the deposing of the Great Emperour Sultan Hibraim, and the crowning of his sonne Sultan Mehemet in his place.
London, 1649.
B.M. E.473(19)

1650

129. Withers, Robert

A description of the Grand Signor's Seraglio or the Turkish Emperours Court.
London, 1650.
B.M. E.1336(1)

130. Grebner, Paul

A brief description of the future of history of Europe, from anno 1650 to 1710; treating principally of those grand and famous mutations yet expected in the world, as the ruin of the Popish hierarchy, the final annihilation of the Turkish Empire, (etc.)
London, 1650.
B.M. 117.a.4

1652

131. Andrés, Juan
(Andreas, Johannes,
or Mauern Abdallah)

The confusion of Mahummad's sect, or a
confutation of the Turkish Alcoran ...
Written originally in Spanish, by
Johannes Andreas, Maurus, who was one
of their bishops and afterwards turned
Christian. Translated into English,
by I. N(otstock).
London, 1652.
B.M. E.1296

132. Heylyn, Peter

Cosmographie in foure bookes contayning
the chorographie and historie of the
whole world, (etc.)
London, 1652.
B.M. 10003.f.5

133. (Saededdin Efendi)

The reign of Sultan Orchan second king
of the Turks. Translated out of Hojah
Effendi, an eminent Turkish historian.
By William Seaman.
London, 1652.
B.M. Op.70.a.12

1653

134. (Clarke, Samuel)

The life of Tamerlane the Great, with
his wars against the great Duke of Moso,
the King of China, Bajazet the great
Turk, (etc.)
London, 1653.
B.M. E.686(14)

135. Ross, Alexandre

Παρσεβεία, or a view of all religions
in the world: with the several church
governments from the creation, to these
times. (etc.)
London, 1653.
B.M. 4520.a.17

1656

136. Flecknoe, Richard

A relation of ten years travells in
Europe, Asia, Affrique and America. (etc.)
London, (1656 ?).
B.M. 790.a.19

1656

137. Osborne, Francis

Political reflections upon the government of the Turks ... By the author of the late Advice to a Son.
London, 1656.
B.M. 1139.a.17

1657

138. Anon.

A briefe relation or remonstrance of the injurious proceedings and inhumane cruelties of the Turks perpetrated on the Commander and company of the ship Lewis of London ... with their happy escape from them.
London, 1657.
B.M. E.925(5)

139. (N.N.M. ?)

The defeat of the Barbary Fleet; or a letter of advice relating the glorious victory, which the Republique of Venice obtained against the Turk in the Chanel of Scio in the Archipelago, the 3d of May 1657. (etc.)
London, 1657.
B.M. E.916(5)

1658

140. Paruto, Paola

The History of Venice ... Likewise, the wars of Cyprus, by the same author. Wherein the famous sieges of Nicossia, and Famagosta, and Battel of Lepanto are contained: made English, by Henry Earl of Monmouth.
London, 1658.
B.M. 592.F.7

141. Perrot, John

A visitation of Love, and gentle greeting of the Turk and tender tryal of his thoughts for God, and proof of the hearts of his Court, and the spirits of the people round about him, in his dominion (etc.)
London, 1658.
B.M. 855.f.2(21, 21*)

1658

142. Warmstry, Thomas

The Baptized Turk, or a narrative of the happy conversion of Signior Rigepp Dandulo, the only son of a silk merchant in the Isle of Tzio. (etc.)
London, 1658.
B.M. 1019.f.19(1)

1660

143. B., M.

Learne of a Turk; or instructions and advise sent from the Turkish army at Constantinople to the English army at London. (etc.)
London, 1660.
Bodleian, Pamph.C.109(19)

144. Fox, George (the elder)

Turcae et omnibus sub ejus dititione ut hoc perlegant quod ad salvationem eorum spectat: to the turke and all that are under his supream, to read this over which concerns their salvation. (etc.)
London, 1660.
B.M. 4105.de(14)

145. Le Blanc, Vincent

The world surveyed: or, the famous voyages and travailes of Vincent le Blanc ... Enriched with many authentick histories. Originally written in French, and faithfully rendered into English by F(rancis) B(rooks), Gent.
London, 1660.
B.M. 794.h.23

146. Moore, Andrew

A compendious history of the Turks: containing an exact account of the originall of that people, the rise of the Othoman Family; and the valiant undertakings of the Christians against them. With their various events. By Andrew Moore. Gent.
London, 1660.
B.M. E.1742-45

A P P E N D I X I I I

SELECT ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL BOOKS AND
COLLECTIONS OF BOOKS ABOUT TURKS NOT TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH ¹

1. Alcoran Mahometis a Petro Cluniacensi
ex Arabico in Latinum versus: cum
a. Confutationibus eiusdem Alcorani
diversorum autorum, Arabum,
Latinorum, et Graecorum.
b. Adiuncti sunt de Turcarum origine
libelli aliquot ab anno 900 ad
nostra tempora.
Zurich, 1550.
 2. Aulae Turcicae, Othomannicique imperii,
descriptio ... in Latinam linguam
conversa, per W. Godelevaeum.
Basle, 1573.
 3. Bassano, Luigi I costumi et i Modi Particolari de la
vita de Turchi, descritti da M. Luigi
Bassano da Zara. (etc.)
Rome, 1545.
 4. Belon du Mans, Pierre Les Observations de Plusieurs singularitez
et choses memorables, trouvées en Grèce,
Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres
pays estranges, rédigées en trois livres.
Paris, 1553.
 5. Bertelli, Pietro Vite degl'imperatori de Turchi, con
le effigie.
Vicenza, 1599.
 6. Boissard, Jean-Jacques Vitae et Icones Sultonarum Turcicorum,
principum persarum (etc.)
Frankfort o.M., 1596.
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1. Particular accounts of battles are not included. Collections are quoted according to the first word of the title.

7. (Breydenbach
Huen, N. Le) Le grant voyage de Jherusalem divise en deux parties. En la premiere est traicte des peregrinations ... En la seconde partie est traicte des croisees ... Des guerres des Turcz, et Tartarins: la prinse de Cōstantinoble, du siege de Rhodes, (etc.)
Paris, (1517).
8. Busbecq, O. G. de Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum.
Antwerp, 1581.
9. Busbecq, O. G. de Turcicae Epistolae Quatuor.
Paris, 1589.
10. Captivus Septemcastrensis Libellus de ritu et moribus Turcorum ante LXX. Annos aeditus. Cum prefatione Martini Lutheri. 1
Wittenberg, 1530.
11. Chronicorum Turcicorum.
Ed. Philippus Lonicerus.
Frankfort o.M., 1578. 2
12. Crusius, Martinus Turcograeciae Libri Octo.
Basle, 1584.
13. Cuspinianus, Johann
(or Spiesshammer) De Turcorum Origine, Religione, ac immanissima eorum in Christianos tyrannide, (etc.)
Antwerp, 1541.
14. Erasmus von Rotterdam Epistola ad Leonem X.
Published in a collection: Jani Damiani Seneensis ad Leonem X (etc.)
Basle, 1515.
15. Erasmus von Rotterdam Utilissima consultatio de bello Turcis Inferendo & obiter enarratus Psalmus XXVIII.
Basle, 1530.

1. This work was first printed in 1509 together with Riccolde de Montecroce's Contra Sectam Mahumeticam. Cf. Turcica, no. 35.

2. This work was reprinted with additions in 1584.

16. Faber, Johann Oratio de origine, potentia, ac tyrannide Thurcorum. Ad serenissimū & potentissimū Henricum Angliae & Franciae Regem (etc.)
London, 1528.
17. Gilles, Pierre De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus.
Lyons, 1561.
18. Gilles, Pierre De Bosphoro Thracio.
Lyons, 1561.
19. Laonici Chalcondylae, de rebus Turcicis, libri decem.
Ed. Conrad Clauser.
Basle, 1556.
20. Leonardus Chiensis Historia captae a Turca Constantinopolis, descripta à Leonardo Chiensi Theologiae professore, & Mitylenes Archiepiscopo, (etc.)
Nuremberg, 1544.
21. Löwenklau, Johannes Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti.
Frankfort o.M., 1588.
22. Löwenklau, Johannes Pandectae Historiae Turcicae.
Frankfort o.M., 1596.
23. Luther, Martin¹ Exhortatio saluberrima ad preces contra Turcam.
Frankfort o.M., 1546.
24. Piccolomini, Eneo Silvio
 (Pope Pius II) Epistola ad Morbiseanum Turcarum Principem.
Cologne, 1532.
25. Piccolomini, Eneo Silvio Historia Rerum ubique gestarum (etc.)
 (Pope Pius II) Printed in his Opera Omnia.
Basle, 1571.
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1. For other works of Luther on Turks, written in German, see Turcica under 'Luther, Martin'.

26. Postel, Guillaume L'Histoire memorable de la Republique des Turcs. (etc.)
Poitiers, 1560. 1
27. Quintini descriptio insulae Melitae (etc.)
Basle, 1541.
28. Richier, Christophe Des coustumes et manieres de vivre des Turcs, (etc.)
Paris, 1540.
29. Robertus Monachus De bello Christianorum principum, adversus Saracenos, anno 1088. (etc.)
Basle, 1533.
30. Sansovino, Francesco Dell'istoria universale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi ... libri tre.
Venice, 1564.
31. Spandugino, Theodoro Delle historie & origine de Principi de Turchi (etc.)
Lucca, 1550.
32. Thevet, F. A. Cosmographie de Levant.
Lyons, 1554.
33. Thevet, F. A. La Cosmographie Universelle.
Paris, 1575.
34. Turcarum Imperii Origo, et de eorum administratione et disciplina (etc.)
Wittenberg, 1562.
35. Vives, Ludovicus De Europae dissidijs, & Republica. Ad Adrianum VI ... Ad Henricum VIII (etc.)
London, 1529.

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1. This work was reprinted in 1575 with additions under the title Des Histoires Orientales et Principalement des Turcs.

A P P E N D I X I V

SELECT ALPHABETICAL LIST OF STANDARD HISTORIES OR COLLECTIONS
FREQUENTLY CONSULTED BY THE WRITERS OF THE RENAISSANCE
AS A SOURCE FOR TURKISH HISTORY

A. General Histories or Histories of Particular Nations
Containing Material on Turks

1. Belleforest, François de L'Histoire universelle du monde, contenant l'entiere description & situatiõ des quatre parties de la terre, ... Ensemble l'origine & particulieres moeurs, loix, coustumes, ... de toutes les nations, & peuples (etc.)
Paris, 1570.
2. Belleforest, François de La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde. ... Auteur en partie Muenster, mais beaucoup augmentée, ornée & enrichie, par François de Belle-forest (etc.)
Paris, 1575.
3. Carion, Johann Chronicorum Libri Tres.
Frankfort o.M., 1550.
4. Conti, Noel
(Natalis Comes) Universiae Historiae sui Temporis libri triginta. Ab anno salutis nostrae 1545 usque ad annum 1581.
Venice, 1581.
5. Froissart, Jean The Chronicle of Froissart.
Translated by John Bouchier, Lord Berners.
London, 1523-5.
6. Fougasses, Thomas de The Generall Historie of the Magnificent State of Venice ... Collected by Thomas de Fougasses ... Englished by W. Shvte. Gent.
London, 1612.
7. Gilles, Nicole Annales et Chroniques de France.
Ed. F. de Belleforest.
Paris, 1573.

8. Giovio, Paolo Historiarum sui Temporis. Libri XLV.
ab anno 1494 ad anno 1547. (etc.)
Florence, 1550. 1
9. Giovio, Paolo Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium.
Florence, 1551. 2
10. Herbert, Sir Thomas A Relation of some yeares travaile,
begunne Anno 1626: into Afrique and the
greater Asia, especially the Territories
of the Persian Monarchie (etc.)
London, 1634.
11. Languet, Thomas Thomas Languettes chronicle, or
abridgement of chronicles, augmented by
Thomas Cowper and Robert Crowley, anglice.
London, 1559.
12. Machiavelli, N. The Florentine Historie.
Translated by Thomas Bedingfield.
London, 1595.
13. Maffejus, Raphael
(Volaterranus) Volaterani Chronicon.
Paris, 1526.
14. Thou, Jacques Auguste de
(J. A. Thuanus) Historiarum sui temporis (etc.)
Paris, 1604-8.
15. Vincent de Beauvais
(Vincentius Bellovacensis) (Speculum Historiale).
Strasburg, 1473.

1. French translation: Histoires de Paolo Iovio ... sur les choses faictes et avenues de son temps en toutes les parties du monde, traduictes de Latin en François par le Signior du Parc Champenois (etc.), Lyons, 1552; it was reprinted in 1555, 1570, etc.
2. French translation: Eloges et vies descrites sous les images des plus illustres hommes de guerre, traduite par Blaise d'Everon, Paris, 1559.

B. English Chronicles of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance
Containing Information on Turkish History and on Anglo-Turkish
or Turco-European Relations

1. Adam of Usk Chronicon Adae de Usk. A.D. 1377-1421.
First printed in an edition prepared by
Edward M. Thompson (Royal Society of
Literature, London, 1904).
 2. Arnold, Richard (Chronicle).
(Antwerp, 1503); (Southwark, 1521).
Standard edn. Arnold's Chronicle,
ed. Francis Dounce, London, 1811.
 3. Benedict of Peterborough The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II
and Richard I. A.D. 1169-1192.
Standard edn. by William Stubbs,
London, 1867.
 4. Camden, William Annales rerum anglicarum et hibernicarum
regnante Elizabetha.
London, 1615; Leyden, 1625.
Standard edn. by Thomas Hearne,
London, 1717. 1
 5. Grafton, Richard A chronicle at large and meere history
of the affayres of England ... to the
first yeere ... of Queen Elizabeth.
(London), 1568; 1569.
Standard edn. by Henry Ellis, London, 1809.
 6. Hall, Edward The union of the two noble and illustre
famelies York and Lancaster (etc.)
London, 1542; by R. Grafton, London, 1548.
Standard edn. Henry Ellis, London, 1809;
by Charles Whibley, London, 1904.
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1. English translations: (a) By A. Darcie, to end of 1588, London,
1625; (b) By Thomas Browne, 1589-1603, London, 1629; (c) By H.
Norton, 1558-1603, London, 1635; (d) London, 1688.

7. Holinshed, Raphael
Chronicles.
London, 1577; London, 1587.
Standard edn. by Henry Ellis, London, 1807-8.
8. Matthew Paris
Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti
Albani, Chronica Majora.
First published by Archbishop Parker in 1571.
Standard edn. by Henry Richards, Luard,
London, 1872-1882.
9. Roger of Hoveden
Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene.
Standard edn. by W. Stubbs, London, 1868.

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1. The lists given below are selective and are confined to works which I have found particularly useful in preparing the thesis.

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