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# Islam and English Drama: A Critical History

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# Issues in Review

Linda McJannet, Justin Kolb, Annaliese Connolly, Joel Slotkin, and Javad Ghatta

## Early Modern English Drama and the Islamic World

### Islam and English Drama: A Critical History

Though it may seem to be a recent phenomenon, scholarly interest in Islam and early modern English drama goes back almost a hundred years to Louis Wann's 'The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama' (1915) and Warner Grenelle Rice's 'Turk, Moor, and Persian in English Literature' (1927).[1] In its exhaustive scope, Rice's unpublished dissertation anticipates Samuel C. Chew's *The Crescent and the Rose* (1937), which is usually seen as the pioneering discussion of the topic in modern times.[2] The dominant concerns of these early critics were the historical accuracy (variously defined) and aesthetic merits of the plays in hand. Wann identified the historical sources used by the playwrights and judged that, while the sources themselves were often inaccurate, the dramatists achieved 'a much more accurate and dispassionate portrayal of oriental character than we are wont to [assume]'.[3] By contrast, both Rice and Chew were more likely to see the representations of Islamic characters (especially Moors) as examples of monstrous cultural stereotypes. In their view, the playwrights' adherence to their sources doomed rather than redeemed them, and their interventions were seen as usually making matters worse.[4] Rice argued that as a result Muslim characters are 'dreadful beyond belief' and are therefore 'failures' — artistically and perhaps ideologically, though this category was not explicit in his analysis.[5] Chew likewise comments with mordant irony on the plays' excess of prejudice and lack of artistic merit. After summarizing the denouement of *The Courageous Turk,* he concludes: 'and the tragedy comes to an end — much to the reader's relief'.[6] Similarly, having noted that prefatory verses to *Osmond the Great Turk* stress the author's youth, Chew observes that the author 'needed whatever excuse could be offered for him'.[7]

Chew's identification and description of so many texts that dealt with Islam — histories, travelogues, captivity narratives, court masques, civic pageants, and poetic allusions as well as plays — was a boon to scholars and interested readers. As far as the drama was concerned, however, it was a mixed blessing. In covering so many texts, Chew devoted a paragraph or two to each play, but for several decades his judgments seemed to be the final word. As Byron Porter Smith explained in 1939, in deference to 'the material so ably handled in Professor Chew's book' he radically abbreviated his own discussion of Islamic themes in medieval and Renaissance literature and began instead with the age of Dryden.[8] Even Orhan Burian, a Turkish scholar who had translated *Macbeth, Othello, Timon of Athens,* and *As You Like It* in the mid-1940s, treated the drama only cursorily in his essay on Turkey and English Renaissance literature, focusing instead on histories and travel narratives.[9] Burian's essay was important, however, since it introduced the possibility of ambivalence and conflicted reactions towards the Ottomans and other eastern peoples on the part of English travelers and perhaps English readers as well.[10] During the 1960s and early 1970s, historians Norman Daniel, R.W. Southern, Brandon Beck, and others provided valuable analyses of European religious writings and other genres in order to trace the development of European images of Islam,[11] but students of the drama such as Eldred Jones and Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, perhaps inspired by the civil rights movement in the U.S. and elsewhere, focused on Africa and the question of race rather than on religion or Islamic civilization.[12] Once Chew had more or less established the canon of Renaissance works on Islamic themes and lamented their shortcomings, the subject seemed to disappear from studies of early modern English literature.

The publication of Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* in 1978 changed all that. Said's provocative and sweeping analysis of the role of discursive construction in the West's domination of the East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries focused the attention of scholars in many fields once more upon the 'Orient' — a word now permanently endowed with quotation marks, if used at all. While the long-standing Israeli-Palestinian conflict was part of the motivation for Said's project, critical interest in Islam after *Orientalism* was intensified by a series of dramatic political events including the Iranian revolution of 1979, the outbreak of Muslim-Christian strife in the Balkans in the 1990s, and the events of 11 September 2001 in New York. The combination of Said's book and the rise of a radical form of Islam turned scholarly attention from the New World and colonial activity in the Americas, a prominent

subject in criticism of the 1980s and early 1990s, back to the 'Old Worlds', which were arguably more important to early modern English people and which had acquired new prominence and urgency for contemporary Westerners.[13]

Said's work had other more specific effects as well. It inspired scholars to resist totalizing fictions such as 'the Oriental' and to search for more historically specific categories for analysis. Some argued that the terms 'Moor' and 'Turk' were used as synonyms for 'Muslim' or 'Islamic' by early modern English people and thus can and should be used in that way by modern scholars.[14] Others maintained that many texts do make distinctions among Ottomans, Persians, and Moors and that studies of the representation of specific ethnicities and cultures are needed.[15] In addition, to some scholars early modern representations of Muslims seemed textbook examples of the 'demonization of the other' and thus ripe for analysis in terms of Said's East-West binary. The highly critical summaries of 'Turkish plays' provided by Chew (whose book was reprinted in 1965) may in fact have laid the groundwork for accepting a Saidian view of them. Moreover, as a motive for literary distortion and stereotyping, nascent imperialism had more critical appeal than mere ignorance or stereotypes allegedly inherited from medieval religious polemic: it seemed to provide historical continuity with the discourses of colonialism generally.

The uncritical application of Said's 'Orientalist' thesis to the early modern period, however, was soon challenged by Nabil Matar, Gerald MacLean, Daniel Goffman, Daniel Vitkus, and others, who stressed that the assumption of cultural, military, and technological superiority at the root of Orientalism did not — and could not — apply to early modern England in relation to the Muslims of North Africa, the Levant, or India.[16] The English were belated players on the world stage who necessarily approached Ottoman, Moroccan, Mughal, and other Islamic states as supplicants or 'mimic-men' (to use Vitkus's term[17]), not as potential colonizers. In a collection entitled *Center or Margin* edited by Lena Cowen Orlin, Peter Stallybrass likewise demonstrated that, when viewed from the East, England was definitely 'marginal'.[18] However, as Matthew Dimmock has noted, some critics were 'so entangled in Said's work that they often end[ed] up reasserting the basic divisions of his thesis in the process of denying them'.[19] Despite his objections to the application of Said's Orientalist thesis to the early modern period, Matar still argued that dramatic literature was largely responsible for creating anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim stereotypes among the English. In his view, 'It was plays masks and pageants … that developed in British culture the discourse about Muslim

Otherness… . Eleazar and Othello [became] the defining literary representation of the "Moor," and Bajazeth, Ithamore and Amureth of the "Turk"'.[20] His colleagues listed above and others including Richmond Barbour and Emily Bartels, however, having replaced the summary sketches of Chew with sustained close readings of the plays involved, demonstrated that the images of Muslims they presented were far more nuanced, fluid, and ambivalent than previously reported.[21]

The International Shakespeare Association's World Shakespeare Congress, held in Valencia in April of 2001, provided a prominent forum in which to discuss Shakespeare and the 'non-European edge' of the Mediterranean. Several important papers from the conference, including Jean Howard's 'Gender on the Periphery', were published in the selected proceedings.[22] Eight of the thirty-one research seminars at the congress and six of the thirty-one major papers touched on some aspect of the Islamic world, including Jonathan Bate's opening plenary lecture in which he argued that public and private order on Cyprus (in *Othello*) and Sicilia (in *The Winter's Tale*) are threatened from within the Christian community, not from without.[23] Broadening the focus to include Spain and Italy as well as England, Barbara Fuchs's *Mimesis and Empire* stressed connections between New World and Mediterranean contexts of nascent European powers. She examined English pirates and renegades as evidence of 'the unstable workings of cultural mimesis': what began as state-sanctioned privateering eventually threatened the borders and identity of the English state.[24]

Facilitating the use of lesser known plays such as *The Courageous Turk* and *The Renegado* in the classroom and widening the critical conversation about them, Susan Gushee O'Malley, Anthony Parr, and Daniel Vitkus published several of them in modern critical editions.[25] Scholars also expanded both the historical and the geographical scope of their inquiry. Fletcher's *Island Princess,* for example, the first English play set in Muslim Southeast Asia, was discussed by Shankar Raman, Andrew Hadfield, and Ania Loomba,[26] and Robert Markley moved the focus from the Mediterranean and the Levant to the Far East.[27] In 2002 *The Journal for the Early Modern Cultural Studies* devoted a special issue to Islam and the East, which contained essays by Patricia Parker and Jonathan Burton on tropes of conversion.[28] Filling another major gap, Bernadette Andrea examined a variety of women writers engaged with Islamic material, from Queen Elizabeth I's correspondence with Saffiye, the 'haseki' or favorite of Murad III, to the 'orientalist feminist' playwrights of the late 1600s.[29] Matthew Birchwood also extended the discussion by examining

plays from of the Commonwealth and Restoration eras, and Benedict S. Robinson analyzed the role of Islam in romance from Spenser to Milton.[30]

Having faulted Said's East-West binary as anachronistic and reductive, critics sought new models for understanding early modern encounters, real and imagined, with Islamic peoples. Ania Loomba stressed cultural hybridity and permeability rather than the psychological opposition of self and other,[31] and the writings and self-representations of hybrid figures like Leo Africanus, a North African convert to Christianity, were analyzed by Jonathan Burton, Bernadette Andrea, and Natalie Zemon Davis.[32] Burton suggested the term 'trafficking' in addition to 'cultural exchange' to emphasize that cultural production occurs in 'an "entrepôt" from which [conflicting] forces invariably come away changed'.[33] Though they did not focus specifically on the drama, Lisa Jardine, Jerry Brotton, and Gerald MacLean likewise emphasized the dynamic of East-West exchange and the circulation of commodities and imperial iconography,[34] and a recent collection entitled *Global Traffic* edited by Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng focuses on the circulation of more ordinary commodities, tracing the influence of East-West trade on ways of knowing, on domestic life, and on institutional initiatives.[35] Burton also stressed the one-sidedness of the archives upon which most Anglophone scholars depend (namely western Christian sources) and argued for a 'transcultural' mode of analysis that would include 'wherever possible, translated accounts of Ottoman and North African Muslim writers' and 'instances of Muslim self-representation as well as Muslim representations of the West'.[36] Matar's translation of the accounts of Arabic travelers in Europe had made an important contribution in this regard,[37] and my own study of Latin translations of Byzantine, Arabic, and Turkish histories traced their influence on the versions of the Tamburlaine story available to English readers and writers.[38]

In a recent article, Gerald MacLean points out the problematic and contested nature of the most basic terms in the field — 'Europe', 'Christendom', 'Empire', 'East', and 'West' — and asserts the need to dismantle what he views as the too-long perpetuated myth of the 'clash of civilizations'.[39] Like Burton, MacLean challenges scholars to move beyond 'one-way' analysis.[40] As a result of Said's critique, he argues, 'younger scholars … have felt free to dismiss the important historical studies produced by skilled … orientalists'.[41] He urges those in the field to 'take serious heed of works by those who, skilled in the necessary languages, are directly engaged in original archival study' and to inform themselves about the 'real Orient' (Said notwithstanding), about the Muslims peoples and cultures being represented in English literary works.[42]

This is a serious challenge, since it essentially asks the critic to be master of two fields, of early modern English drama and of the Muslim worlds it presumed to represent on the stage. Perhaps to make the task less daunting, others have used the term 'micro-history' to suggest that all such representations must be thoroughly grounded not only in their own historical moment but also in that of the Muslim 'moment' they imaginatively engage.

The essays that follow contribute in several ways to the ongoing development of our understanding of Islam and early modern England and English drama. Justin Kolb's essay, '"In th' armor of a Pagan knight"', examines instances of 'permeability' and 'imitation' between Christian and Muslim warriors in Book V of *The Faerie Queene* and in *Tamburlaine.* In order to defeat their enemies Spenser's knights and Marlowe's hero must both abandon a stable conception of identity and embrace to some degree that of their opposites. Kolb argues, further, that for all its Ortelian geography and historical subject matter Marlowe's play ultimately inhabits 'a romance space of primitive force and justice' in which Christian Europe is 'terra incognita'.

Annaliese Connolly's essay '*Guy of Warwick* and Elizabethan Repertory' analyzes the significance of the conflation of Saracen and Turkish elements in this anonymous dramatic romance and speculatively reconstructs its place in the repertory of the Admirals' and Queen's Men. Its affinities with the style and spectacle of *Tamburlaine* and the author's substitution of a sultan with a Turkish-sounding name ('Shamurath') for the 'Saracen giant' in the play's sources suggest that *Guy of Warwick* might have participated in a 'commercial strategy to complement and prolong the stage life of existing plays in the company's repertory'.

Joel Elliot Slotkin's essay '"Now will I be a Turke: Performing Ottoman Identity in Thomas Goffe's *The Courageous Turk*"' revisits an academic drama, previously considered an example of essentialist anti-Turk and anti-Muslim bias even by readers looking for less hostile portrayals (including myself and Susan Gushee O'Malley, the play's editor). Slotkin, however, notes the degree to which the sultan's violent deeds are complicated by the pressure of heroic and stoic ideals, readily recognizable to an English audience, and by the stereotypical image of 'the Turk' in English culture and in his own. As a result, Amurath's bloody deeds and rhetoric appear a conflicted effort to live up to a socially constructed 'ideal' rather than evidence of an innately violent or evil character, personal or national.

Finally, Javad Ghatta's paper provides a stunning instance of the insights that can result from researching the micro-history — or indeed the macro-history

— of a Muslim setting in an English play. In ' "By Mortus Ali and our Persian gods": Multiple Persian Identities in *Tamburlaine* and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*' Ghatta demonstrates that an awareness of the political and religious conditions in Safavid Persia at the time of the Sherleys' adventures reveals the accuracy of elements previously derided as either ignorantly ahistorical or deliberately libelous with respect to Persian religious beliefs and traditions. Moreover, since Ghatta was revising this essay in Isfahan at the time of the disputed election in Iran this past June, his argument about the conflicted and multiple identities of newly Shi'a Persia in the sixteenth century seems especially poignant and relevant. His essay and the circumstances in which it was written support MacLean's assertion that 'examining how and why Europeans represented the Muslim world during the [early modern] period is arguably the most exciting and certainly the most important scholarly endeavor … [in] early modern cultural studies today'.[43]

Linda McJannet

## Notes

These essays were originally written for a research seminar entitled 'Early Modern England and the Islamic World: A Reassessment' organized by Bernadette Andrea and myself at the Annual Meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, Washington, DC, April, 2009. We thank the editors of *Early Theatre* for the opportunity to make available the exciting work of these emerging scholars.

1 Louis Wann, 'The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama', *Modern Philology* 12 (1915), 163–87, and Warner Grenelle Rice, 'Turk, Moor, and Persian in English Literature from 1550–1660 with Particular Reference to the Drama', PhD thesis (Harvard University, 1927). Rice also published seven articles, including 'The Sources of Massinger's *The Renegado*', *Philological Quarterly* 11 (1932), 65–75, and 'Early English Travellers to Greece and the Levant', *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature* [University of Michigan] (1933), 206–60.

2 Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York, 1937; rpt. 1965).

3 Wann, 'The Oriental', 182.

4 For example, Chew alleges that, compared to the historical sources, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* diminishes the stature and character of the Turkish sultan Bajazeth (*The Crescent and the Rose,* 472). For a contrary view, see Linda McJannet, 'Marlowe's Turks', *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (New York, 2006), esp. 72–81.

5 Rice, 'Turk, Moor, and Persian', 443.

6 Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose,* 488.

7 Ibid, 489.

8 Byron Porter Smith, *Islam in English Literature* (New York, 1939; rpt. 1977), vii.

9 Orhan Burian, 'Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance', *Oriens* 5 (1952), 208–29.

10 According to Burian, both learned historians and travelers tended to portray the Ottomans as (in William Painter's words) '"that horrible termagant, and persecutor of christyans", but once the traveler sets foot on their land, he half forgets his animosity and becomes interested and excited by what is strange and different in this people. Their manners, customs, the setting of their lives appeal to his fancy' (Ibid, 228).

11 Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960) and R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge MA, 1962) focus on medieval religious writers. Brandon Beck, *From the Rising of the Sun: English Images of the Ottoman Empire to 1715* (New York, 1987) traces the image of the Ottomans in a variety of genres (translations of continental histories, travelers' accounts, and so on), but he merely lists the most prominent plays about the Turks in a brief paragraph (Ibid, 39).

12 Eldred Jones, *Othello's Countrymen* (Oxford, 1965) and *The Elizabethan Image of Africa* (Charlottesville, 1971); Anthony Gerard Barthelemy, *Black Face Maligned Race: The Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (Baton Rouge LA, 1987). Race remained an important concern for later writers on Africa and the East, including writers for whom the intersection of race and gender was a paramount concern. See, for example, Ania Loomba, *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama* (Manchester, 1989), in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (eds), *Women, 'Race', and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (London, 1994) and Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca NY, 1995), among many other important studies.

13 See John Michael Archer, *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern English Writing* (Stanford CA, 2001) and Daniel J. Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York, 2003), especially Ivo Kamps's Introduction, xii–xiv.

14 For a defense of using the term 'Turkish plays' to cover a variety of Islamic settings and characters, see Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark DE, 2005), 15. Daniel J. Vitkus implicitly uses 'Turk' in this way as well when he lists plays that feature Moroccans and Spanish Moors as 'Turk plays'; *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York, 2000), 2–3. Richmond Barbour also argues that terms like 'Turk', 'Moor', and 'Indian' were 'ubiquitous' and only vaguely distinguished from one another in the period; see *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626* (Cambridge, 2003), 15.

15 Jack D'Amico's *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (Tampa FL, 1991) was one of the first to focus on Moors in the context of Islam as well as race. He notes, however, that the term 'Moor' was often used for many 'men of color — African, Moor, Ethiopian, Indian, and Arab', and while acknowledging that 'Cleopatra is no Moor' (149) he includes an extended discussion of *Antony and Cleopatra* (59, 149–61). For two studies that distinguish more rigorously among ethnicities and cultural groups, see Linda McJannet, '"Bringing in a Persian"', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 12 (1999), 236–67 and 'Pirates, Merchants, and Kings: Oriental Motifs in English Court and Civic Entertainments, 1510–1659' in Helen Ostovich, Mary Silcox, and Graham Roebuck (eds), *The Mysterious and Foreign in Early Modern England* (Newark DE, 2008), 249–65.

16 See Linda McJannet, 'Mapping the Ottomans on the Renaissance Stage', *Journal of Theatre and Drama* 2 (1996), 9–34; Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642–1660* (Seattle, 1998); Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999); Gerald MacLean, 'Ottomanism before Orientalism? Bishop Henry King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger', in Ivo Kamps and Jyostna G. Singh (eds), *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* (New York, 2001), 85–96, among others.

17 Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 9.

18 Peter Stallybrass, 'Marginal England: The View from Aleppo', in Lena Cowen Orlin (ed.), *Margin or Center: Revisions of the English Renaissance in Honor of Leeds Barroll* (Selingsgrove PA, 2006), 27–39. Patricia Parker's essay 'Barbers, Infidels, and Renegades: *Antony and Cleopatra*', which explores Islamic subtexts in this classical play, also appears in this volume, 54–89.

19 Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2005), 6. Dimmock's study traces the responsiveness of plays to the changing political climate between England and various Islamic states, notably the Moroccan and the Ottoman.

20 Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 13.

21 In addition to the works cited in notes 14 and 16, see Emily Bartels, '*Othello* and Africa: Postcolonialism Reconsidered', *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (January 1997), 45–64, and Richmond Barbour's analysis of *Tamburlaine* in *Before Orientalism,* 37–56. Bartels further develops her analysis of the fluidity of attitudes towards the Moor in her recent book, *Speaking of the Moor: From* Alcazar *to* Othello (Philadelphia, 2008).

22 Tom Clayton, Susan Brock, and Vincente Forés (eds), *Shakespeare and the Mediterranean: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress, Valencia, 2001* (Newark DE, 2004). Jean Howard's essay appears on 344–62. The phrase 'non-European edge' of the Mediterranean appeared in the title of research seminar 4.3, led by Emily Bartels and Bulent Bozkurt.

23 Jonathan Bate, 'Shakespeare's Islands', *Shakespeare and the Mediterranean,* 289–307.

24 Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (Cambridge, 2001), 11.

25 Susan Gushee O'Malley (ed.), *A Critical Old-Spelling Edition of Thomas Goffe's 'The Courageous Turk'* (New York, 1979); Anthony Parr (ed.), *Three Renaissance Travel Plays* (Manchester, 1995), which includes *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*; and Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays*.

26 Shankar Raman, 'Imagining Islands: Staging the East', *Renaissance Drama* 26 (1995), 131–61, Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford, 1998), and Ania Loomba, '"Break her will, and bruise no bone sir": Colonial and Sexual Mastery in Fletcher's *The Island Princess*', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 2.1 (Summer 2002), 68–108.

27 Robert Markley, *The Far East in the English Imagination, 1600–1730* (Cambridge, 2005).

28 See Patricia Parker, 'Preposterous Conversions: Turning Turk and its "Pauline" Rerighting' and Jonathan Burton, 'English Anxiety and the Muslim Power of Conversion', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 2.1 (Summer 2002), 1–34 and 35–67, respectively.

29 Bernadette Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge, 2007).

30 Benedict S. Robinson, *Islam and Early Modern English Literature: The Politics of Romance from Spenser to Milton* (New York, 2007).

31 Ania Loomba, '"Delicious Traffick": Alterity and Exchange on Early Modern Stages', *Shakespeare Survey* 52 (1999), 201–14.

32 Jonathan Burton, '"A most wily bird": Leo Africanus, *Othello,* and the Trafficking in Difference', in Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (eds), *Post-colonial Shakespeares* (London, 1998), 43–63; Bernadette Andrea, 'Assimilation or Dissimulation?: Leo

Africanus's *Geographical Historie of Africa* and the Parable of Amphibia', *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 32.3 (July 2001), 7–29 and 'The ghost of Leo Africanus from the English to the Irish Renaissance', in Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (eds), *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern* (New York, 2003), 195–215; and Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Two Worlds* (New York, 2006).

33 Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 15. See also his 'Emplotting the Early Modern Mediterranean', in Goran V. Stanivukovic (ed.), *Remapping the Mediterranean World in Early Modern English Writing* (New York, 2007).

34 Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Ithaca NY, 2000) and Gerald MacLean (ed.), *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (New York, 2005). Brotton also finds that the classicizing tendencies of early modern tapestries, such as those created for Charles V linking him to Aeneas, can shed light on the 'overdetermined' Mediterranean geography of *The Tempest* ('"This Tunis , sir, was Carthage": Contesting Colonialism in *The Tempest',* in Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (eds), *Post-colonial Shakespeares* [London and New York, 1998], 23–42).

35 Barbara Sebek and Stephen Deng (eds), *Global Traffic: Discourses and Practices of Trade in English Literature and Culture from 1550 to 1700* (New York, 2008).

36 Burton, *Traffic and Turning,* 14. Burton cites Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh's similar call for retrieving 'the voices of indigenous people' in order to understand the dynamics of 'transculturation' (*Travel Knowledge*, 14), but he notes that they had only limited success in doing so (*Traffic and Turning*, 260 n 11).

37 Nabil Matar (ed. and trans.), *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 2003).

38 Linda McJannet, '"History Written by the Enemy": Eastern Sources about the Ottomans on the Continent and in England', *English Literary Renaissance* 36.3 (Autumn 2006), 396–429 and chapter 4 of *The Sultan Speaks.*

39 Gerald MacLean, 'When West Looks East: Some Recent Studies in Early Modern Muslim Cultures', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 7 (2007), 96–112.

40 Ibid, 100–1.

41 Ibid, 98.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid, 97.