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## A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Images of the Turks in English Renaissance Drama: A Case Study

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### Abstract

This study is based on a critical discourse analysis of images widely used for the portrayals of Turks in English Renaissance drama with reference to Philip Massinger's *Renegado*. This study intends to develop a systematic method to examine the discursive tendencies in the selected work to determine the frequencies of the use of particular linguistic expressions used to depict the Turks and the ideas that are established and promoted through the recurrently employed images of Turks in order to identify the dominant cultural attitudes and the political, ideological and religious implications of certain discursive representations and constructions. To do so, a structural framework for a thematic content analysis is created and it is based on the identified categories, codes, and themes as to who did what to whom and how. This approach provides a fertile ground for the categorical, thematic, and conceptual examination. The analysis of the data derived from the plays under study provides insight into what patterns and tendencies English Renaissance playwrights generated through their discursive practices and how the frequently used images supported historical, cultural, theological, and ideological productions that played a determining role in the development of certain perceptions, understandings and thoughts about Turks.

**Keywords:** English Renaissance Drama, Discourse, Turks, Content Analysis

## **Methodology: Introduction**

We construct a structural framework for the discursive analysis of the selected play, and identify certain categories, codes, functions, and themes using Saldana's coding methods. Saldana (2013) divides the content analysis approach into three levels. On the first level, a code is associated with specific text units. On the second level, connected codes are grouped into categories. The third level organizes categories into themes. A theme is “an extended phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about and/or what it means” (p. 267). There are several forms of coding, and for this study, *focused coding* and *versus coding* have been utilized. We have coded the data according to focused coding to identify thematic or conceptual similarities and search for the most frequent and important codes, aiming to create "the most salient categories" within the data corpus. We have used versus coding to identify individuals, groups, social structures, organizations, procedures, ideas, and other elements that stand in direct opposition to one another. We have investigated the following research questions using Saldana's methodology: 1) What subject positions do the Turks hold? (the victimized, the debased, the insulted, the defeated, the kidnapped, the killed, the betrayed, the converted, etc.), 3) What aspects of the Turks are highlighted? (culture, religion, personality/manner, traditions, gender relations, etc.) 4) How are the Turks characterized? (favorable, negative, or neutral, etc.).

## **Putting Relations between the Turks and Britons into Context: Socio-Cultural and Historical Background**

The relationship between East and West has always been too complex, ambivalent and multi-layered involving aspects of trade, diplomacy, colonialism, orientalism, immigration, and cultural exchange. Matar (1998) highlights the miscellany and incongruous aspects of the relations and encounters between the British and Turkish people and asserts that during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, England either celebrated elements in the civilization of the Islam and the Ottomans or defamed and demonized that civilization: “Islam was distant enough from Britain to be tantalizing but near enough in its military and commercial impact” (p.23). These two worlds came into contact usually through travelers, captives, envoys, soldiers and merchants. Throughout the period roughly from Queen Elizabeth's accession in 1558 and Charles II's death in 1685, Western people encountered Muslims all throughout the Atlantic Ocean to the Mediterranean and Arabian Seas. “The physical proximity with Islam in continental Europe and the Mediterranean made encounters with the Muslims inevitable: as a result, European literature frequently alludes to Islam and Muslims” (Matar, 1998, p.2). Starting with the mid-16th century, Europe came to recognize the significance of the Ottoman Empire as diplomatic and military alliances and benefited from the Islamic territories including the Levant, North Africa and the Far East as international markets for commerce.

Matar (1998) pointed out the distinctive place Muslims had for the British people with their “varied and geographically vast civilization” (p.190). Said (1978) suggested that after Mohammed’s death in 632, the military, cultural, and religious dominance of Islam increased vastly. The Muslim armies conquered Persia, Syria, and Egypt, then Turkey, and North Africa; Spain, and some parts of France in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. By the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Islamic rule expanded to include India, Indonesia, and China (p. 59). Europeans were filled with fear and awe due to the Ottoman Empire's expansion and invincible power, and they viewed Turks as the embodiment of Islamic sovereignty. No European country felt secure from an Ottoman invasion since the Ottoman Empire was “the mightiest in the world” (Wann, 1915, p.430). Between 1558 and 1685, no other non-Christian civilization had such a great impact on Britain as Islam, and no other empire was “similar in power and scope to that of the Ottomans”, “at this stage in history, Islam could neither be ignored nor dominated” (Matar, 1998, p.184). Thus, English intellectuals, political figures, and the general public all become familiar with the history of the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire's rapid growth and the Turkish Army's expanding might over Europe made Turks political, economic, military, and religious threats for the Christian communities. Christians in Europe engaged in heated arguments about how to deal with Turks, revealing divergent views about them in the Western world. According to Martin Luther, the Ottoman victory was due to God’s anger against the church. In 1518, he declared that “to fight against the Turk is to fight against God, who is punishing our sins through them” (Miller, 2018, p.31). On the other hand, the Catholic Roman Emperor Charles V saw the Ottoman Turks as a greater menace to Christendom than the “most hated” reformer Martin Luther (Woodward, 2016, p.45). The Catholic world criticized Luther for “handing over Christians to the infidels. Pamphlets told stories of some who had, as a result, joined the Muslims, or ‘turned Turk’” (Miller, p.31). The Turkish danger was felt so strongly throughout Europe that Erasmus “admit[ted] that certain defensive wars could be justified” (Eliav-Feldon, 2012, p.61). This sense of threat spurred Europeans to cease warring among themselves and band together against the Turks to “liberate all conquered Christian territories, from Hungary, through Constantinople, to the Holy Land” (Eliav-Feldon, p. 62).

The self-image of Muslims in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries can be characterized by power, authority, and confidence. In the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, British people were faced with a great religious and military civilization that brought together Turkish, Arab, and Byzantine traditions in the Islamic culture, which viewed Europeans “as inferior people with a false religion” (Matar, 1998, p.4). Matar (1998) notes that British people complained about the humiliation they were exposed to in the Islamic territories, as George Mainwaring, who accompanied Sir Robert Shirley on his journey to Persia, described how he was dragged along the streets of Aleppo, “with much company following me, some throwing stones at me, and some spitting on me” (p.13). Muslims were difficult to subdue. They had no fear or admiration for Britons whom they did not even recognize: “The Turkes” wrote a contemporary of Biddulph, “knowe not what you meane by the worde Englishman” (p.4).

Throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, many European countries, including Spain, France, the British Empire, and Portugal, were enslaving the natives across the Pacific and

Atlantic oceans. However, Britons could not approach the Muslim Turks with their colonial intention in spite of their desire to colonize the Islamic territories since Islamic military power was on the rise and the territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire was unstoppable, and these cruel “infidels” and “barbarians” were both frightening and awe-inspiring but unbeaten (Matar, 2000, p.12). Turkish attacks extended beyond the Mediterranean and the Atlantic into the British Isles (Matar, 1998, p.7). Since the coast was “now full” of Turks, especially “fishermen, sailors, traders, and the Levant Company’s representatives,” they expressed their worries and concerns for the “Turks and Moors” both in the Ottoman dominions and in the British Isles (Matar, 1998, p.8). Many Britons perceived Muslims as a dangerous threat not only to their economic activities but also to all of Christendom. Muslims acted as obstacles to the fulfillment of their imperial trade project by attacking British ships and fishing boats in the Mediterranean and Atlantic. Because of their “violence”, “primitiveness”, and “Mahometanism”, the otherized Muslim had been regarded as “a danger of the present and the future” (p.180). By their attacks, England’s commercial activities were destabilized, and mariners, seaports, and several related industries that depended on foreign markets were heavily influenced, along with the production and manufacture of exportable goods (p.185). Europeans, unable to subjugate or subdue Turks who refused to become colonial subjects, asserted their power by incorporating Turks into their commercial network. As a result, Britons had a tendency to demonize or defame non-trading Muslim nations. Defoe (1728) reflected this cultural and ideological attitude very clearly: “These Mahometans, as I have said of the Turks, have very little Inclination to Trade, they have no Gust to it, no Taste of it, or of the Advantages of it; but dwelling on the Sea-coast, and being a rapacious, cruel, violent, and tyrannical People, void of all Industry or Application, neglecting all Culture and Improvement, it made them Thieves and Robbers, as naturally as Idleness makes Beggars: They disdain’d all Industry and Labour” (p.171).

According to Matar (2000), the descriptions of Islamic Turks in British discourse reflect "oriental" horror with intense anti-Muslim sentiments and strong antipathy. Foss’ accounts of captivity and suffering in the 1790s display the cruelty, ruthlessness, and heartlessness of the Muslims toward the slaves who were crushed under the rocks, and the various kinds of punishments he witnessed in North Africa. Foss described Turks as adversaries who brutally demolished the lands they usurped, without mentioning the Islamic achievements in "science" and "wisdom" that once prevailed (p. 179). Foss also suggested that because of their dress, Turks “appear more like monsters than human beings” (p. 179). It was a general tendency to deny human qualities to the Muslims. Matar (2000) asserts that the stereotyped images of Muslims and Turks mirrored the European discourse for Native Americans: “Just as the English and other Europeans had conquered America by displacing and annihilating its ‘idle’ and ‘sodomitical’ population of Indians, they were also to conquer the non-trading and lascivious Moors and Turks. Given that the Moors and the Indians and the other ethnic groups all appeared the same to the enterprising Briton” (p. 172).

British explorers, traders, travellers, diplomats, playwrights, historians and theologians all crafted certain images of Muslims that reflected the racist and bigoted frenzy of the late Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline periods. It is noteworthy that the images of Turks became more permanent and appealing than the stereotypes of Jews and American Indians (Matar, 2000,

pp.12-13). The Muslim stood for the Other, against whom there could only be a holy war, and was all that an Englishman and a Christian were not (p.13). Turks were constructed as harsh, despotic, aberrant, and dishonest and Muslims were stereotyped as “savages” in the British imagination because of their potential for violence (p.169). It is obvious that the Muslim was perceived and established as the principal foe during the late medieval and Renaissance periods when many European nations were forging their national identities. Thus, the idealized “ancestral” warrior who battled against the “infidels” was established as the embodiment of Western virtues and ideals (p.13).

Starting with the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, England showed more tolerance and acceptance for the integration of “a wide array of subjects and aliens” including Jews and Catholics. However, this toleration was not expanded to include the Muslim Turks. “British civilization was inclusive of the non-Protestant (the Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox), of the non-English (Protestant émigrés from France and Belgium) and even of the non-Christians (the Jews) - but not of the Muslims” (Matar, 1998, p.189). In spite of the close contact and interactions between the Turks and the English, Britons had always maintained their sociocultural distance. Matar argues that “It is because they had been the enemy for too long and for too many reasons, they would always remain the implacable ‘Other’” (pp.186-187). Unlike the Spanish strategy of integration through Christianizing and Hispanicizing, Britons excluded and ostracized the other (Matar, 2000, p.172). The “traditional Christian hostility towards a different belief system, encouraged both by memories of the Crusades and fear of the increasing Turkish power in the sixteenth century, assisted the fantastic, grotesque legends associated” (Newall, 1981, p.198). Britons did not accept “a turban-wearing, non-English-speaking” Turks as their equals. “Do you think I will baptize a Turk who cannot say the Lord's prayer?” Bashaw asked after marrying a Christian woman. (1998, p.174). As Matar maintains, to be a Turk in England “was to be an object of Christian ridicule, persecution, and violence” (1998, p.174). Matar (2000) explains that the roots of strong hatred, and rigid and unchanging “religious and cultural antipathy to the peoples of the Levant” that have informed the discursive constructions of Islamic Turks can be traced back to the Biblical discourse of eschatology, which is based on the fabricated apocalyptic images and the evangelistic goals, which are conversionist and Restorationist and reveal the Western desire to destroy the Muslims or to convert Muslims to Christianity (p.185). “Biblical exegesis” dominated religious images and discourse, shaping the representation of the Muslim world. For instance, the Book of Revelation animalizes and defines the Saracens through the imagery of a beast. The ambition to destroy Muslims can be observed in Tangier, where Muslim “devourers” were defeated by British soldiers: “The Muslims were becoming a dogmatic image - a fabrication - even when they were “real” enough to be killed by the British cavalry” (p.186).

The Ottoman defeat at Vienna in 1683 resulted in the military decline of the Islamic Empire and the diplomatic and commercial relations with Turkey and its North African regencies in the seventeenth century decreased: “the awe and admiration with which English monarchs and communities had viewed the High Porte and the Arab-Islamic legacy gave way to English power and certitude” (Matar, 2000, p.185). Muslims were no longer an invincible threat or a necessary alliance. Although the territories of the Empire still provided markets for

British and continental exports, the New World became the new domain of attraction for Europe.

### **Dynamics of Discourse in English Renaissance Drama**

In English literary history, the Renaissance (1500–1660) was one of the most successful and productive periods due to the influence of classical humanistic arts. Drama was the most thriving and popular genre during this period. Because of the growing interest in Turks, several publications sought to investigate the ties between Turks and the West, as well as the history of Turks and their religion, cultural practices, and traditions in various discursive contexts such as literature and history. The earliest examples of plays on Turks and Turkish history appeared in Western countries in the 15th century. The first drama, *Turkenspiel*, was written in 1456 by a German playwright named Hans Rosenblüt (Vaughan, 1954, p.28). The first drama on Turks to be performed in France was *La Soltane* by G. Bounin (Rouillard, 1941, p.426). *The Blacksmith's Daughter* written in 1579 was the first drama on Turks in English literature and it was about the Turks' deception.

There existed a large number of dramatic works produced in the English Renaissance period (1520–1660) that depicted various Turkish characters with references to the Islamic belief system, Turkish cultural traditions, historical events, their militaristic activities, and commercial life. The English Renaissance produced 47 plays on renegades and oriental themes between 1579 and 1642 (Wann, 1915, p. 426). Scholarly writings and travelogues were the primary sources for writers during this period. “The former was highly prejudiced and inaccurate, while the latter were often biased and uninformed” (Jones, 1978, p.164). The majority of these publications about the Ottoman Turks were based on inaccurate depictions intended to create collective awareness throughout Europe against their impending influence. A close examination of Turks' images reveals that an instrumentalist approach to literature has constructed literary discourse as a tool to control and shape the perceptions and responses of the Western world. Edward Said (1978), in *Orientalism*, argues that “Men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend it to geography: [...] ‘Orient’ and ‘Occident’ are man-made. Therefore, as much as the West, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West” (p.5). The English playwrights depicted “Ottoman Sultans reigning from 1360 to 1603, including Murad I, Murad III, Bayezid I, Bayezid II, Selim I, Süleyman I and Mustafa in their plays” (Şenlen, 2006, pp. 399–400), with the attribution of the same stereotypes that foreground Turkish cruelty, evilness, barbarism, ruthless infidelity, savagery, lustfulness, debauchery, and treachery. These stereotyped qualities reflect societal and ideological tendencies and concerns (D. Vitkus, 2016, p. 2).

Not all the writers in this period employ degrading images for the representation of Turks. For instance, In *The Battle of Alcazar*, Amurath is depicted with positive images which reflect admiration, respect and praise such as “mightie”, the “Emperor of the East”, the “Emperor of the World” and “God of earthly kings” (Şenlen, 2006, p.404). However, the rareness of favorable or affirmative portrayals of Turks and the failure to recognize and acknowledge Muslim`s dominating power and achievements is noteworthy. Moreover, the discursive practices display the ambivalence of the Western attitude. The distortion of the realities and historical facts is quite obvious in the conflicting and contradictory representations of the same historical figures. As Şenlen (2006) asserts, “Turkish rulers portray characteristics of an ideal ruler, such as civility, kindness, generosity and tolerance, but they are also not far off from being scheming, tyrannical and unscrupulous” (p.404).

The horror and disgust Europeans felt for homosexuality, or sodomy observed among the non-Christians and the non-Western, including American Indians and Muslims were also widely revealed in English literature throughout the Renaissance period. Therefore, Muslims were portrayed as perverse, lecherous, sinful, and morally corrupted individuals who deserved punishment due to their misconduct and the violation of the rules of a Godly life by transgressing the natural order and English law (Matar, 2000, pp. 111–112).

In the plays, Christian-Muslim interactions and relations are depicted as “adversarial and oppositional,” although in reality it was possible to observe “cultural, intellectual, and missionary engagement with Islam in Britain” (Matar, 1998, p.422). Because of the great impact Islam had in the formation of early modern British culture, conversion to and from Islam was a popular topic. The number of Europeans who converted to Islam increased as they gained firsthand knowledge and personal contact with Turks, becoming more familiar with Turkish culture and Islamic traditions. This increased the Western perception of threat and danger to an unsettling level. Following the foundation of the Levant Company in the late 16th century, English explorers and tradesmen visiting the Ottoman lands were astonished when they discovered an enormous number of Christian converts, including French, Greek, Italian, Spanish, and English, which led to anxiety and fear: “With the power of the Turkish army and navy on the rise, English travelers could not help but wonder whether they, too, might one day find themselves subjected to the Muslims and forced or tempted to renounce their faith” (Matar, 1998, p. 489).

Early Modern English referred to European Christians who converted to Islam as renegades. In his edition of *A Christian Turned Turks*, Daniel Vitkus (2000) explains that early modern English used the term “renegade” to refer to European Christians who converted to Islam and lived under Muslim authorities in the Ottoman Empire. Matar (2000) describes the renegade as “the enemy from within; he was no swarthy Moor or contorted Papist or necromancer, but an average Englishman—a sailor, a trader, a traveler—who willfully renounced God and monarchy and ‘turned Turk’”. According to Matar (2000), “this evil was so banal that it appeared in the rich and the poor, the common and the aristocratic, the young and the old” (p. 490) partially contributed to the renegade’s representation as an infamous character in English discourse. As the conversion became prevalent across all social and economic classes, society recognized the issue as complex and significant. Turning the Turk can be

considered the earliest version of going savage, or reverse mimicry, that challenged the Western sense of superiority. It was so irritating and reprehensible for Christians to witness that conversion caused no spiritual or moral concerns; on the contrary, the renegade enjoyed affluence and power in Muslim territories.

There are numerous grounds for apostasy in that period. Hundreds of English men, women, and children were captured and taken to the slave markets in Algiers, and Constantinople. According to the report prepared by Secretary Coke, many of the English seamen enslaved by Muslim pirates had converted to Islam. According to Matar, slaves' conditions were so terrible and unbearable that they had no choice but to convert from their own religion. He further points out that Islam's power extended beyond its military might, embracing significant economic influence as well. The Ottoman dominions provided considerable potential and opportunities for Christian Europeans with low social status to gain power and money, and as a result, many gladly abandoned their faith in pursuit of their economic benefits. They were so well adjusted to their new living conditions and traditions that it was difficult to distinguish them from fellow Turks (Matar, 2000, p.345). When Captain Hamilton was assigned by Charles II the task of rescuing some Englishmen enslaved on the Barbary coast, he discovered that they had no intention of returning to England: "They are tempted to forsake their God for the love of Turkish women who are generally very beautiful" (Matar, 2000, p.420). Hence, love served as a further incentive for apostasy.

The plays' theological representation of Muslims and renegades is noteworthy. The number of renegades increased to the point that "English as well as continental dramatists, hack writers, and poets felt the need to examine the renegade in their work" (Matar, 1998, p.490). In literature, writers invented fictional renegades and portrayed them as 'heinous', 'ominous' villains, and enemies from within. They were harshly criticized for lacking religious zeal and dedication and accused of being driven by materialist appetites, worldly pleasures, and physical demands. Matar (1998) claims that "as a dramatic character, the renegade did not serve to condemn Muslims, as the 'Moor' had done, but to ridicule, scold, and warn Christians" (p.492). Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1612) and Massinger's *The Renegado* portray renegades as "disease-bearing threats to the health of the community". The fictional renegades either face severe punishment or, after a spiritual crisis, eventually revert back to Christianity. Because the renegade was proof of the terrifying possibility that Islam would replace Christianity in the same way that Christianity had replaced Judaism, as Matar asserts in *Islam in Britain*, English writers portrayed the converted as either failed and defeated or reconverted. In *The Renegado*, Grimaldi, the converted character, undergoes a healing process through reconversion. The public received a clear message that Christianity is superior to Islam and will ultimately triumph. The promotion and reinforcement of this message underscored the incapacity of Islam to provide spiritual comfort to its followers, the just punishments meted out to the converts by the Christian God, and the redemptive essence of Christianity.

In response to Islam's attraction, Christians engaged in defensive maneuvering. They devised several strategies in various domains, including politics, literature, and art, to prevent and discourage people from converting to Islam. The English state and ecclesiastical authorities



took great care to ensure that marriages were not used as a means of conversion (Bent, 2017, p.658). Due to the widespread concerns and anxieties among the Christian world, there has been a noticeable trend of demonizing the Ottoman Turks and their religion. The English authorities consistently attacked Islam, portraying it as a wicked faith that God intended to destroy, as part of their propaganda campaign. Thus, the emphasis on the falsehood of “Mahometanism” is another discursive pattern that attracts attention in the representation of Turks.

Due to the strong connection between Turks and Islam, people often interpret turning Turks as a conversion to Islam, a process that entails betrayal, treason, and the adoption of the barbaric practices attributed to Turks. Renaissance drama also expresses conversions to Islam as an erotic temptation through a sexualized vocabulary (Loomba, 2000, p. 213). Because European Christians developed a link between Islam and promiscuity, leading to the inclusion of sexual overtones in the English expression “turning Turk,” which alludes to “Muslim hypersexuality,” as evidenced in both *The Renegado* and Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk*. Michael Neill (2000) explains that the English drama of the early seventeenth century used this phrase with the connotation of “becoming a whore” or “committing adultery”. Loomba (2000) argues that *The Renegado* portrays Grimaldi as a “whore”, while depicting the conversion of an Islamic woman for the sake of a Christian man as a symbol of “romance and marriage” (p.214). When Paulina in *The Renegado* uses conversion to Islam as a threat, “I will turne Turke,” Gazet refers to the usual connection between turning Turk and lewdness: “Most of your tribe doe so / When they beginne in whore” (Massinger, 1630, p. 64). Declaring Turks and Islam as common adversaries served the purpose of repairing the schisms and disputes between different sects in Christian Europe. Protestants and Catholics, much concerned about the Ottoman Empire's military expansion, called for the necessity of launching a united Christian crusade against the Turks.

The way in which Turks address and display the physical captivity and enslavement of Western Christians is another discursive trope worth highlighting. As previously mentioned, the Turks took a significant number of English and European Christians captive, adopting Stephen Greenblatt's term of “taking possession”. As “Columbus took possession of American natives for his monarch, so did Muslims take possession of European Christians for themselves and their rulers” (Matar, 1998, p.2). As Peter F. Mullany and Nabil Matar argue, the Italian gentleman Vitelli's concern is not only because of the fact that his kidnapped sister Paulina will lose her virginity and chastity but also her religion: “Can I know my sister / Mewed up in his seraglio and in danger / Not alone to lose her honor, but her soul [and still] be patient?” (Matar, 1996, p.133; Mullany, 1972, pp.128-130). Therefore, there is an inseparable connection between physical imprisonment and spiritual slavery.

The fear of turning Turk also stemmed from the misassumption that it required castration and was associated with becoming a eunuch since Europeans confused adult circumcision with castration. This false idea was derived from real practices in which non-Muslim boys held slaves in the Islamic world were castrated to “be raised as Muslim servants in Muslim households or courts” (Vitkus, 2000, p.5). Anston Bosman (2006) explains that “conversion to Islam was associated with becoming a eunuch, not only because Muslims used eunuchs as slaves, but also because, unlike Christians, they practiced circumcision, a procedure conventionally identified

with castration” (p.142). Carazie, the only English character in *The Renegado*, is depicted as a castrated eunuch slave and points to a complex connection between England’s trade with Muslims and “vulnerable masculinity” (Vitkus, 2000, p.63).

According to Matar (1998), “at a time when Christians were constantly being lost to Islam, there was a desperate need to present such a make-believe victory on the seventeenth-century stage” (p.501). The dynamics of identity politics play a role in this. Continental Christians disclosed their dread of “frighteningly unstable character” and anxieties about the changeable and flexible nature of gender and religious identities, where personal and national identities were no longer “constructed only from within the local, the familiar, and the traditional, but increasingly became inseparably connected to the global, the strange, and the alien” (Maclean, 2001, p.86). In English Renaissance drama, the prevalent tendency is to display sinful or corrupted Turkish characters in direct contrast with exemplary Christian characters. Since the “fluidity and pliability” of individual, religious, and national identities were extremely upsetting and dangerous for Western Christians, the playwrights would create Christian characters of constancy and consistency. Vitelli, who serves as a foil to the renegade Grimaldi, is depicted as the idealized version of not only manhood but also a devout Christian, a man of great mental, emotional, and bodily strength through which he could resist Turkish oppression, and cruelty and did not succumb to sexual temptation and the religious allure of Islam.

### **Discursive Analysis of *The Renegado* by Philip Massinger**

King James I and later King Charles I sponsored the theatrical troupe that included English Renaissance dramatist Philip Massinger. The Globe and The Blackfriars Theatres staged his plays (Drabble, 1987). *The Renegado* explores Christian-Muslim relations through cultural contacts between Catholic Venetians and Islamic Turks. Vitkus (2000) argues that *The Renegado* serves as a direct and contrasting response to *A Christian Turned Turk*, emphasizing the reaffirmation of Christianity’s redemptive influence. The action takes place in Tunis, an Oriental setting in North Africa, a city under Turkish rule, which is described in the play as “The City swells with barbarous Pomp and Pride” (Massinger, 1630, p.7).

Before the play began, Antonio Grimaldi, the Italian pirate, abducted Paulina, an Italian lady, and fled to Tunis to sell her to Asambeg, the Viceroy of Tunis. Vitelli, a Venetian gentleman, traveled to Tunis disguised as a merchant to rescue his kidnapped sister in the harem. Although the title of the play suggests that Grimaldi, “the renegade”, who undergoes a religious conversion from Christianity to Islam is the central character, Donusa, a Muslim girl and niece to Sultan Amurath, who willingly and enthusiastically embraces Christianity, and the kidnapped Paulina and her brother Vitelli, who prefer death to conversion to Islam, although this will assure freedom and worldly privileges, are more foregrounded. The literary context in *The Renegado* is not free of socio-political and historical conditions. Turks, their cultures, faiths,

and traditions are presented through the juxtaposition of Christian (Catholic Italian) values that are idealized while ways of Islamic living are portrayed as corrupted, useless, and misleading. Both Paulina and Vitelli use derogatory language against the prophet Muhammad.

“Vitelli: [...] I will not foul my mouth to speak the Sorceries  
Of your seducer, his base birth, his whoredoms,  
His strange impostures; nor deliver how  
He taught a Pigeon to feed in his ear,  
Then made his credulous followers believe  
It was an Angel that instructed him  
In the framing of his Alcoran. Pray you mark me” (Massinger, 1630, p. 55).

Christians associate spiritual strength, piety, and dedication with Christianity, while they identify Islamic characters as Satanic, accursed, detestable, and dreadful villains. In addition to religion, the interaction between Turks and Western characters takes place either for trading or romantic love, but the influence of religion on socio-cultural and economic relations is obvious, and the mutually felt distrust, suspicion, cultural biases, and strong dislike dominate their relations. Both Muslims and Christians express their abhorrence of interreligious and interracial marriages. We also highlight the Harem culture, where stunning ladies perform music and entertain men. Although Paulina preserved her chastity and honor in the Harem, Donusa is depicted as a “base woman” (p. 52) who “descends so low from your high birth, and brands the Ottoman line With such a mark of infamy” (p. 51) and whose offense completely destroys her honor.

“Asambeg: If any Virgin of what degree or quality soever, born a natural Turk, shall be convicted of corporal looseness, and incontinence, with any Christian, she is by the decree of our great Prophet Mahomet to lose her head

Aga. Ever provided that if she, the said offender, by any reasons, arguments or persuasion, can win and prevail with the said Christian offending with her, to alter his religion, and marry her, that then the winning of a soul to the Mahometan sect, shall acquit her from all shame, disgrace and punishment whatsoever” (Massinger, 1630, p.51).

The play ends with the happy ending for and the victory of Christians over the Muslim Turks; all the Western characters including Paulina, Vitelli, Grimaldi and Carazie along with the converted Donusa escape from Tunis, the Islamic territory, to happily return back to their own Christian land and faith.

The play has been examined by using focused and versus codings according to the themes, categories and codes developed for the discursive analysis of the English Renaissance Drama. The play has been analyzed according to 6 themes: 1) Roles and functions in a subject position 2) Object position 3) Representation of women 4) Culture 5) Setting 6) Narathemes. For each theme, relevant categories and codes have been determined, as can be seen in the table below used for the first theme.

**Table 1: Focused Coding For Roles and Functions in Subject Position**

Theme	Related Categories	Related Codes
Roles and Functions (Subject Positions)	Turks as pirates	Physical appearance
	Turks as merchants	
	Turks as rulers	
	Turks as victors	
	Turks as conquerors	<u>Personality Traits/Behavior/Attitude</u>
	Turks as criminals/outlaws	
	Turks as soldiers/warriors	
	Turks as enemies	
	Turks as a company/friend	
	Turks as believers	
	Turks as rivals	
	Turks as equal partners	Gender
	Turks as a threat/menace	
	Turks as villains	Action
	<u>Turk as a lover</u>	
	<u>Turks as slaves</u>	
	<u>Turks as Perverts</u>	
	<u>Turks as Sinners</u>	
	<u>Turks as destroyers</u>	
	<u>Turks as murderers</u>	
	<u>Turks as rescuers</u>	

As the table below shows, the play's most prominent themes revolve around binary oppositions such as piety versus conversion, soul versus body, spiritual values versus bodily desires, spiritual captivity versus physical captivity, and resistance versus temptation. Interreligion, marriage, remorse, and redemption are the other prominent themes in the play.

**Table 2: Narathemes in *The Renegado***

Theme	Related Categories
<u>Narathemes</u>	<p>conversion <u>vs</u> piety</p> <p>body <u>vs</u> soul</p> <p>spiritual values <u>vs</u> bodily desires</p> <p>resolution <u>vs</u> wavering</p> <p>physical and spiritual captivity</p> <p>erotic temptation,</p> <p><u>interreligion</u> marriages</p>

**Table 3: Versus Coding**

<u>Vitelli vs Asamaga</u>	<u>Paulina vs Donusa</u>	<u>Vitelli vs Mustapha</u>
Achiever / failure	chaste, decent / seductive, indecent	charismatic, charming/Rough, coarse
Savior/ deceived	virtuous / lustful  righteous/immoral  spiritual / sensual	attractive/unattractive
Poetic/commanding	Pious / renegade  unyielding/wavering	kind/coarse
Christian/Muslim	constant / changeable	witty / dull
Romantic lover/lustful	seduced/seducer	sophisticated/ unsophisticated
Sensible/unreasonable, unwise		confidant/informer

The demonization and defamation of Turks determine many categories of the images of Turks, which suggests that there is an intentional negation and systematic vilification. The greatness, merits and glory of Turkish leaders and rulers are turned on their head and they are mocked as foolish individuals. Their manners, attitudes and behaviors are described in terms of shakiness, lustfulness, cruelty and unworthiness. Almost no attributes that can elicit admiration and respect are assigned to Turkish characters or mentioned like religious toleration of the Ottoman Court. Such images of Turks serve their purpose very well since their primary goal is to uphold and strengthen Western identity by forging a shared consciousness and bringing Western Christians together to fight a common foe with a strong sense of belonging and solidarity that is needed to overcome their own internal conflicts and problems.

In the play, Vitelli plays a central role. He is a Venetian gentleman by birth, and disguised himself as “a poor mechanic peddler” in Tunis under the authority of Islamic law throughout the play (Massinger, 1630, p.37), as Mustapha calls him. He travels to Tunis to search for and save his sister Paulina. Thus, he emerges as a brave and resolute savior. He does not only rescue his sister, but he also liberates Donusa, the “sultan’s niece” of the “mightiest Amurath,” from Turkish tyranny and restrictions by persuading her to convert to Christianity. He resists his bodily desires, sexual temptations, and seductive advances from Donusa. Despite facing imprisonment and death threats, he refuses to convert to Islam. Instead, he persuades Donusa to convert to Christianity and escape from Tunis along with the Tunisian “choicest jewels [...] safe aboard” (Massinger, 1630, p.69). He is depicted as a man of honor, dignity, and honesty and emerges as triumphant and virtuous with his steadfastness.

**Table 4: Turks in Subject Positions**

Theme	Related Categories	Related Codes
Roles and Functions (Subject Positions)	<p><u>(Asambeg)</u>  Turk as a ruler  Turk as a lover  Turk as a punishment-giver  Turk as an executor of justice</p> <p><u>(Mustapha)</u>  Turk as a ruler  Turk as a lover  Turk as an informant</p> <p><u>(Grimaldi)</u>  Renegade  pirate  degenerate  kidnapper  thief  victimizer</p> <p>helper  confidant  rescuer</p>	<p><u>Gender</u>  <u>(Asambeg)</u>  Oriental male</p> <p><u>(Mustapha)</u>  Oriental male</p> <p><u>Personality Traits/Attitude/Behavior</u>  <u>(Asambeg)</u>  Cruel  Lustful  Assertive  Authoritative  Strict</p> <p><u>(Mustapha)</u>  Fierce  Revengeful</p> <p><u>Physical appearance</u>  <u>(Mustapha)</u>  Ugly and despicable</p>

On the surface, the writer seems to refrain from stereotyping the Turkish characters as a homogenous and monolithic group of people and as a result, he very rarely uses the Turk in plural forms. There are only three cases where “The Turks” appear in the plural form. For instance, Vitelli’s warning to Gazet that “meddle not with the Turks, / their manners nor religion” depicts Turks as troublemakers, barbarous, uncivilized and violent.

“Vitelli: You are a Knave sir, leaving your Roguery think upon my business, It is no time to fool now Remember where you are too! though this Mart time, We are allowed free trading, and with safety. Temper your tongue and meddle not with the Turks, Their manners, nor Religion” (Massinger, 1630, p.6).

The Turkish characters represent their social class and status rather than their individual selves. The most frequently used categories for the Turkish male characters in the subject position are as follows: *The Turk assumes various roles such as a ruler, a punisher, a justice executor, and a lover.* Asambeg, a viceroy of Tunis, and Mustapha, the Pasha of Aleppo, stand for the ruling power of the Ottoman Empire. The subject role grants Asambeg and Mustapha active agency and absolute power. However, these high-ranking characters with ruling authority and decision-making power are devoid of dignity and nobility. Asambeg commands and gives

orders to execute justice, but as a ruler, he is ineffectual, too hasty, and bad-tempered in his judgments and decisions. He acts as a cruel victimizer, and there are several examples in the play that demonstrate his ruthlessness and viciousness. He holds Paulina captive, hoping that she will one day consent to marry him. However, his sexual advances and utter commitment to her arouse Paulina's disdain. He banishes Grimaldi for his impertinent actions, arrests Donusa and Vitelli, and later sentences them to death for their cross-religious sexual indiscretions. As he imposes the death sentence on Grimaldi, Mustapha warns him about the haste of his verdict. His unwise and unwitting behavior also leaves him vulnerable to flattery and easily manipulable. Paulina deceives and humiliates him at the end of the play.

Grimaldi, on the other hand, as the renegade, appears as the deceiver, kidnapper, and lustful man at the beginning of the play. He is described as "the shame of Venice", "the scorn of all good men", "The perjured Renegado", "debauched villain", and "the thief" (Massinger, 1630, pp. 6-8). However, upon his reconversion towards the play's end, his portrayal undergoes a complete transformation, assuming the role of a helper and confidant who aids in the escape plot.

**Table 5: Turks in the object position**

Theme	Related categories	Related Codes
Object positions	(Asambeg)	<u>Gender</u> (Asambeg) Oriental male
	<u>The victimized</u> <u>The debased</u> <u>The insulted</u> <u>The scorned</u> <u>The humiliated</u> <u>The rejected</u> <u>The betrayed</u> <u>The defeated</u>  (Mustapha) <u>The debased</u> <u>The insulted</u> <u>The humiliated</u> <u>The rejected</u>	(Mustapha) Oriental male  <u>Personality Traits/Attitude/Behavior</u>  (Asambeg) Unwise Hasty Brutal  (Mustapha) Fierce Revengeful  <u>Physical appearance</u>  (Mustapha) Ugly and despicable  <u>Role/position in society</u>  (Asambeg) The ruler and suitor  (Mustapha) The suitor

The end of the play is marked by a reversal of the roles and functions assigned to Western and Eastern characters. Asambeg is hauled from the subject position into the object position and he is reduced to a contemptible, desperate and miserable character and portrayed

as the scorned, rejected, humiliated, insulted, deceived and the betrayed. Asambeg ends up in deep shame and humiliation. This representation of Turks refers to the conditions of that period in which Turks had the upper hand with the alternative future which could arouse inspiration, courage and faith so that Western people would rise up and regain their confidence and power to resist and overcome destructive and corrupting Islamic influences. Mustapha, on the other hand, is the only Turkish character who is described in terms of physical appearance. It is not a Christian woman but a Turkish woman who harshly judges him. Donusa openly suggests that he is an ugly, stout and rough man. The emphasis on the appalling and atrocious looking of Turkish men results from the fear of miscegenation and provides discouragement for interracial sex.

**Table 6: Representation of Women**

Theme	Related Categories	Related Codes
Turkish Woman	<p><u>Donusa (niece to Amorath)</u></p> <p><u>Roles/Functions (subject positions)</u></p> <p>Noble lady Host Temptress Enchanter Seducer Lover</p> <p><u>Object positions</u></p> <p>The converted</p>	<p><u>Physical appearance</u></p> <p>Beautiful, attractive</p> <p><u>Personality Traits /Attitude Behavior</u></p> <p>Enchanting Passionate Lustful Daring Courageous Subversive Disobedient</p>

The play portrays Donusa as a noble Turkish woman with immense power. At the beginning of the play, she appears to have the active agency to act and decide. As the host, she acts as both a gift-giver and a food-giver. After she meets Vitelli, she acts as a rebellious transgressor and overreacher who violates established traditions, gender roles, and moral norms. Donusa is sexually attracted to him, which causes her to lose her virgin pride and her boasted freedom: “What magic hath transformed me from myself? / Where is my virgin pride? How have I lost / My boasted freedom” (Massinger, 1630, p.18). The poem portrays her as a licentious temptress and seducer, willing to sacrifice her chastity and virginity to satisfy her bodily desires and achieve sexual pleasure. After Vitelli rejects her offer of sex, she tries to persuade him to sleep with her by presenting him with jewels. Her portrayal fits very well into the image of a lustful and enchanting “Oriental temptress” (p.53) and seducer. Early modern Europeans stereotyped the Ottomans as lustful by nature. At the end of the play, however, she has lost her agency, authority, and freedom, and is reduced to the object position. Consequently, she feels deceived, enthralled, and supported. She ends up becoming the escapee convert. It is



noteworthy that all of the characters in the play who suffer from uncontrollable sexual drives are Eastern.

Paulina, on the other hand, appears in the victim position at the beginning of the play. She is kidnapped and held captive. She is described as “the wronged innocence”, and a “Christian virgin” (p.8). However, she is never desperate or helpless. She has the spiritual and mental strength to resist the seductive advances toward her. At the play's conclusion, she assumes the role of the subject, skillfully manipulating and deceiving Asambeg while rescuing all the Christian characters. She is smart, self-assertive, and resourceful, and she is depicted as a woman of virtue and purity.

In *The Renegado* both converts, Grimaldi and Donusa, happily escape from Tunis “with bodies and souls intact”. According to Vitkus, Massinger’s *The Renegado*, unlike Daborne’s tragedy, “affirm[s] the power of Christianity to redeem and recover both Muslims and renegades” (p.235). Kucsera (2018) also argues that apprehensions for new and/or returning converts into Christianity are pacified through Donusa, the Muslim princess, who unproblematically abandons Islam through her marriage to Vitelli (p.222). As Matar (1998) explains,

“The invented renegades of the sixteenth and seventeenth century texts were allowed to betray England, but they were not allowed to survive their betrayal. Alternatively, they showed the renegade undergoing a spiritual change that resulted in his return to Christianity. The renegade was punished for his apostasy or converted back to his original faith: in both cases, writers demonstrated Islam’s failure in retaining its converts and the Christian God’s punishment of those who rejected Him” (p.492).

Massinger chooses comedy to deal with the theme of conversion, and Vitkus (2016) argues that thanks to comedy, playwrights like Kyd, Heywood, and Massinger “stimulated audience anxiety about conversion to Islam but then offered relief from that threat by making conversion the choice of a fool who then becomes the object of laughter and ridicule” (p.35). To dissuade Christians from converting to Islam, the play portrays Islam as a false religion and portrays Muslims as adherents of a false faith. Massinger obviously followed the general tendency to introduce “Mohammed as a false prophet, its Jihad a perversion of the Crusade, its book, the Koran, a collection of errors and lies that mocked the Bible” (Jack D’amico, 1991, p. 76).

## **Conclusion**

There was an ambivalent attitude towards Turks in the English Renaissance period. Although establishing political and commercial relations with Turks emerged as a necessity, Britons felt enormously threatened by the territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire, their attacks, and their military success. The widespread capture and enslavement of large numbers of Western

Christians brought about fear, distrust, hatred, and worries. Although this situation reinforced the image of a powerful and commanding Islamic rule, it also caused the emergence of images that portrayed Turks as brutal, ruthless, barbaric, and violent. Conversion to Islam is another reason for the conflict between Britons and Turks. It was a very disturbing and unpleasant fact that many English captives, traders, and seamen in the Mediterranean converted to Islam. Turks and their religion, Islam, posed a threat not only to the security of national borders but also to their sense of self, as well as to their cultural and religious identities. One can view literary discursive practices as a component of this process, which involves constructing specific ideas and thoughts to define oneself and others. As Edward Said discusses in *Orientalism*, different fields of study, including history, philosophy, science, anthropology, etc., have systematically produced an enormous body of knowledge to promote ontological and epistemological distinctions between the West and East as an established fact. Therefore, we should examine the representations and kinds of images of Turks frequently used in English Renaissance plays within their historical context, acknowledging the prevalent biases and cultural attitudes that shaped their portrayal in the plays.

The English writers used literature to educate, instruct, and manipulate rather than to entertain the public. Thus, literary texts take on the task of highlighting the flawed aspects, wrongdoings, ill-intentioned attempts, or tendencies they observe in their people, with the aim of dissuading and discouraging Western Christians from making mistakes that could damage their national and religious identities. To achieve this, they present exemplary Christian figures as role models for others to emulate. They rely on each other to emphasize the positive attributes they aim to promote. Consequently, the identification of Turks with various categories and the portrayal of Turks strongly link to their demonization and defamation, indicating a deliberate and systematic vilification process. People had instrumentalized literature to provide justifications for their misapprehensions and misrepresentations about Turks. With this goal in mind, Massinger wrote *The Renegado* to satisfy the Jacobean audience's yearning to see Muslims dehumanized, powerless, and voluptuous by Christians (Chew, 1965). Edward Said (1978) suggests that, as an orientalist discourse, "orientalism also tries to show that European culture gained strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" (p. 3). The representations of Turks demonstrate that writers of that era not only utilized the therapeutic power of literature to repair their self-esteem and self-confidence, but also significantly aided in the construction of a positive national identity by downplaying the dominance of their rivals and enemies. By fulfilling this psychological dimension, the playwrights appeared to take on the responsibility of alleviating the anxiety and fear that result from the expansionist Ottoman Empire's dominance.

The rareness of affirmative portrayals of Turks or the failure to recognize, acknowledge, or appreciate Muslims' dominating power and achievements in English literary discourse during this period is notable. Negative portrayals of Islam and Turks are strategically important and essential; they serve as a defensive maneuver, not only to maintain the status quo in their own country, but also to reshape and reorganize existing power relations. With their discursive practices, they intended to exert Western superiority over the East. Identification of dominant categories, codes, and themes in the plays reveals a tendency to describe Turks in terms of their

themes, roles, and functions. The most prominent categories for the subject position depicted the Turk as a ruler, a menacing threat, a rival, and an enemy. Rather than the depiction of their personality traits, behaviors, manners, and attitudes, rather than their physical appearances, established cruelty, barbarity, ruthlessness, and promiscuity as the true and inherent characteristics of Turks. Turks were represented in the object positions, the recurrently used categories were the humiliated, the debased, the victim, and the defeated. A common tendency in Turkish discursive constructions is to shift the Turkish character of ruling authority and power from the subject to the object position. The tragic downfall of such great figures with glory and dignity displays the eschatological fear and destruction entrenched in Christianity. Christian characters, whose descriptions emphasize positive qualities and traits like constancy, consistency, virtue, decency, piety, loyalty, etc., contrast with the degraded and defamed aspects of Turks. Thus, we can conclude that the images of Turks served two primary purposes: they underrated and devalued Turks, and they exalted and venerated Christian and Western values, thereby ensuring ontological security.

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