“Piloted by Christ, Conducted by Janissaries:”
The Early modern English Traveler and their Understandings of Ottoman Lands

OR

A Literary-Historical Analysis of the Travels of Five Englishmen into the lands held by the Grand Signor Begvnne by some in the Yeere 1599, being finished in the Yeere 1637, Very profitable to the Learned and Entertaining to the Curious, with Particular attention Concerning the Customes of Observation of Divers Uses of Land, the Writings of the Ancients in Truthfull Interpretation of Land, Disputations in Theories, etc.

By Chir Wei Stephanie Yuen
This senior thesis is done for the completion of the Honors Program in History, as well as to fulfill the Capstone requirement of the School of Arts and Sciences Honors Program, researched and written under the supervision of Dr. Tuna Artun and Dr. James Delbourgo.

“All shortcomings that remain in this thesis are my own.”
Acknowledgements

To the queasy of gut and the consistently-moist of eye, please read no further in this section, but rather, skip forward to the next. Stupid sentimental ramblings abound below.

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Introduction

The recordings of human movements, popular in their own time and their descendants popular in our own, have value as fascinating and entertaining reads. To historians of the early modern Period, travel writings are time capsules and snapshots of the mind; “cultural document, involving issues of power, knowledge, and identity” particular to the traveler-writer and his time and place.¹ This thesis aims to place turn of the 17th century travel writings of English men to the Ottoman Empire into wider contexts of changing understandings of property and of confessional conflict. It also hopes to locate the sources of mediation (and how they functioned) along with the manifestations of particular intellectual trends within those texts.

Depictions of physical space were ubiquitous in turn of the 17th century English travelogues to the Eastern Mediterranean. The “interest in geography and in cartography” was “increasingly related to… the development of trade and commerce” as the writers of such travel tales were linked one way or the other through the networks of mercantilist activity through the Levant Company, then involving the British turning a tidy profit in the Ottoman Empire.² This interest in Ottoman lands was predicated on the land stretching through three continents as a place that produced thousands of pounds worth of trade and made up Englishmen’s fortunes and salaries, but the motif of “land” extends far beyond the purely commercial of what plot of earth made what type of fruit that could sell for how much, although that did figure into the texts.

Land, which I use interchangeably with “physical spaces” in a general concept, which includes the land that travelers actually saw before them, the people, weather, and ideologies that color particular plots of land, and abstractions that writers attached to land, figured into a diverse set of discussions on matters ranging from what constitutes legitimate use of agriculturally

¹ Mitsi, Evi. ““Nowhere is a Place”: Travel Writing in Sixteenth-Century England.” Literature Compass 2.1 (2005).
productive land to how broken down buildings evidenced certain ideas about history. As part of the contextualization effort, this thesis seeks to understand the intellectual, political, and cultural context of the 17th century English travelogues; in particular, this thesis asks what significance physical spaces held in the works of five Anglophone travelers: namely Thomas Dallam, Henry Timberlake, William Biddulph, George Sandys, and Fynes Moryson.

The Introduction places the texts in the geopolitical and commercial context in which they were made, largely through the workings of the Levant Company, which employed many of the authors and facilitated travel for all of them. This part then gives an overview of the early modern English print culture. A short historiography section surveys what has been written before on this set of sources and Anglo-Islamicate relations in general. Finally, the last section goes into what sources I chose to use, makes any necessary disclaimers about the conclusions I draw from those sources, and contains a justification for decisions made in framing this work in terms of focus and time period.

Part One of this thesis addresses land as an economically and agriculturally productive unit. The first section thereof casts certain types of description of space as part of changing conceptualizations of land in the early modern period, involving the legal language of “improvement” and “waste.” The agricultural use and misuse of land served as a mirror for English anxieties about issues of proper governance and spectre of tyranny as seen in the Ottoman “Turkish” state. This set of political/economic/social concerns can be understood as part of a context larger than just British domestic worries about poverty or the Anglo use of the Ottomans as an example of how not to rule; this discussion was taking place simultaneously with the early colonization efforts in Ireland and the North American holdings.
Part Two examines the physical space of the Ottoman state as mediated by Christian Scripture, Classical writings, and other pasts, in light of the needs of establishing authorial authority and truthiness in text. The two sections look at how references to culturally privileged texts worked to familiarize unfamiliar land to a domestic English-speaking/reading audience and acted as ammunition in the mental conflict of Protestantism with other religions. The tendency towards Classical, Biblical, and historical coloring of spaces also found realization in the trope of “ruins” in the context of cyclic theories of history. Yet another section deals with how ocular and experiential knowledge functioned in writings about hyper-textually-mediated space. Finally, a section on names uses the practices surround nomenclature in these texts as a case study of some tendencies listed and explained in the above sections.

Part Three considers the question of Orientalism and Nationalism in these early modern English travel tales with my analysis of how depiction of land can play a prominent role in the engagement with the two questions of “isms:” Orientalism and Nationalism. This thesis examines both in their turn, realizing the limitations of applying such systems of thought to this period. That portion concludes that while precursors may be found in this set of turn-of-the-17th-century of both Orientalism and Nationalism, those lines of thought have not undergone the transformations that later modernity would entail and thus have not gelled into a fully formed ideology. However, given the domestic conditions in the British Isles and its place and power relative to the Ottoman state, there exists more justification for using the latter “-ism” than the former in application to this period and place.

Besides summarizing all the points above described, the Conclusion will place all these texts and some of intellectual trends in the context of a “Renaissance Triangle” or a unit of historical
examination that stretches beyond just one ocean basin. In addition, it brings up other possible avenues of research for others interested in this particular group of sources

**Setting the Geopolitical and Trading Scene**

Interactions between the British and the Ottoman state (or, more generally, that part of the Near East) were not hitherto absent. The series of Crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries involved Englishmen in the rank and file and celebrated heroes like Richard the Lionheart leading armies against the Saracen enemies. Along with these past interactions, there were literary and textual productions from the late Medieval era which could be considered travel tales about the Near East; the *Reisebuch* of the German Johann Schiltberger and the quite-possibly-fictitious *Travels* of the Anglo-Norman Sir John Mandeville come to mind. During the early Tudor period, English mercenaries regularly went east to serve in Italian and Hapsburg armies, where they encountered the Ottomans, and there were sporadic trading trips and wager-journeys as recounted in Richard Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations*, a compilation of English travel writings. However, what set this period, from the late Elizabethan era into that of the Stuarts, apart from the past was formalization of this link between the two polities and the increase of volume. At the turn of the 17th century, the Moors (inhabitants of the Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, etc.) and the Turks (which can refer to the inhabitants of Ottoman-held lands, the Muslims inhabiting thereof, or any Muslim, depending on the context) became the “most widely visible non-Christian people on English soil in this period.”

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An agreement was struck between Murad III of the Ottoman Empire and Elizabeth I in the 1580’s concerning trade between the two polities. Going forward, traders would have the security of their persons and their goods and customs on imported and exported goods were set. The Levant Company, a chartered joint-stock company, was founded and given exclusive trading privileges with the Ottoman Empire, in 1581. Like the Muscovy Trading Company, the Baltic Company, and the East India Company, the joint-stock company of “Turkey merchants” as they were called was responsible setting up trade outposts in addition to maintaining good relations with both the Sublime Porte and local powers within the Ottoman Empire.

The British Isles exported broadcloth, kerfies, timber, tin, and animal products such as lamb and black rabbit skins in exchange for a piece of the lucrative trade in spices, raw silk, cotton, yarn, dyes such as indigo, currants, apricots, galls, pottery, “apothecary goods” such as mastic, and other diverse and sundry goods. These goods originated from throughout the Ottoman Empire, from Greek Islands (dyes, mastic, currants) to the interior of Anatolia (yarn, cotton, apricots) to the Levant (oil, silk), and from points beyond in Persia and India; a portion were traded to the English by traders indigenous to the Ottoman Empire (Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Turks, etc.) while another portion came from East India Company which sent part of their cargo to Levantine ports such as Iskenderun and Jaffa. In addition to the Venetians, the English had to contenders with the French and the Dutch merchantmen, the former long established and the latter newly arrived on the Eastern Mediterranean trading scene. In the first half of the 17th century, British commercial traffic would exceed their competitors, despite the Dutch challenge in both this watery arena and the Atlantic world.

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7 Vlami, Despina. Trading with the Ottomans: The Levant Company in the Middle East. IB Tauris, 2014. 87-88.
8 Ibid. The relationship between the Levant and East India Companies is a love-hate incestuous one, with the institutions sharing many top members while still competing for trade routes and goods.
The Anglo-Ottoman trading agreement led to an economically lively trade in competition with their fellow Protestants, the Dutch, in addition to Catholic powers such as the Venetians and the French, but the formation and maintenance of the diplomatic relations between the two polities occurred in context of high religious tensions within Christendom; the “Catholic/Protestant divide, the product of the continuing ramifications of Reformation” provided that “context of English political and mercantile recourse to the ‘East.’”\(^9\) The earlier 1570 excommunication of England’s queen via the Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* allowed for an official diplomatic and economic relationship with the Ottomans; previously, the Papacy has banned the Christians who recognized its authority from traffic with the Turk. Beyond just the economic, the English state wanted aid militarily, being perennially threatened by the Catholic Hapsburg dynasty which has holdings spanning from Spain to Hungary. While that hope of mutual anti-Papist alliance never materialized, the rumors of an Anglo-Ottoman military, especially naval, alliance dogged the English who were accused by the Muscovites of selling arms to the Muslims (they were) and financing the building of an Ottoman fleet (along with the French) designed to invade Christendom (they weren’t).\(^10\)

The confessional divides within Europe also made their way into the diplomatic writings between the Ottoman Empire and England. The English Crown appealed to the Grand Turk by positioning by invoking the horror of idol and image worship, which also simultaneously distanced themselves from abhorred Catholic practices and was thought to appeal to a Muslim anti-idolatry sensibility.\(^11\) During Elizabeth’s time, this inter-state relationship was personally

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\(^10\) Ibid 53-54.
\(^11\) Ibid. Interestingly enough, besides tin, one of the major exported metals to the Ottomans was “belmettell” which was comprised of melted down church bells and other Popish fluff, probably intended for use in forging canons.
mediated, in that correspondence between rulers played an important and public role in establishing ties and highly mediated by go-betweens, characteristically of early modern diplomacy. Elizabeth I had a sustained correspondence with both the sultan Murad III and the Valide Sultan (the mother of the reigning sultan). However, the actual expense in time, effort, and money, of setting up the routes, contact networks, etc. was not provided by the English Crown, but by the Turkey merchants of the chartered Levant Company who had every financial reason to want the diplomatic missions to succeed.

At the top of this system were those were elite men from good families, connected through blood and marriage ties, seeking to innovate and expand their wealth. The buy-in for the Levant Company was a fairly steep one; in the period that this paper will focus on, this was between 200-300 pounds. The men, who moved along the maritime routes of the Mediterranean, driven by the opportunities to make a living offered by the Levant Company trade, were not as elite and homogenous as the men running the show. These were sailors, merchants, gunners, diplomats, preachers, and craftsmen who made up the wave of circulation between East and West that constituted one of Britain’s most significant interactions with an ethnic and religious Other. Like their motherland which had just started edging its way into this lucrative market, sending its ships to sail amongst the French, Italians, and Turks, these men were one group among many in a lively, bustling trading space and not a particularly important or powerful one either. English power did not extend far beyond its own borders in this power, meaning that they fit into a system rather than creating their own. This power differential favoring everyone, but the English, as we’ll see, informed how Anglophone travelers wrote about particular topics.

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12 The correspondence between Murad and Elizabeth would actually be published by Richard Hakluyt, that famed compiler of travel tales.

The turn of the 17th century stands at the cusp of great transformations in society, from the rise of the capitalist ethos to the solidification of a Protestant identity, from the colonization in the Americas to the rise religious and national wars in the Old World. Those changes left their marks on texts which can provide a lens through which historians and those interested in this period can look back and try to reconstruct the hopes and fears of the people experiencing such seismic alterations.

**Literacy and Literary Production**

The early modern period, especially the late Elizabethan and early Stuart years, saw a rise in literacy in the English population. The ideological backings of this upwards trend in England came partly through the Reformation which led both to the state-sponsored increase in the educational opportunity for clergymen and the wider push for the newly-Protestant people to be able to read the Scripture. The whole of the Protestant movement, both in England and on the Continent, emphasized the Word as the singularly important for a Christian’s personal and direct relationship to God. This importance was enough for lives to be risked and lost over it; One of the notable features of the Henrician Reforms was an English Bible in every parish, ideally with an educated priest to preach and interpret Holy Writ (in the state-approved manner); literacy, the ability to access Scripture in a language “understandeth of the people,” was godly and a means towards correct religion.\(^\text{14}\)

The preferred way of historians to measure rising levels of literacy is looking at court depositions, petitions, and other legal documents. On these, the person “signing” the papers would either write their name or “make a mark (usually a cross).”\(^\text{15}\) This functional,


straightforward approach also had the benefit of indicating important social markers of an early modern person’s life; their sex, age, occupation, and location. Scholars have shown both the overall rise in signature-literacy and the unevenness of the rise along various intersecting lines of social status. The large cities had more literate populations than market-towns or rural village. Families that had more financial means and that could spare a child from its economically productive roles on the farm or in the newly-sprung up factories tended to be more literate. Men could write their name at higher rates than women. This methodology of using signatures as measures of literacy contains drawbacks that consistently underestimated the number of literate individuals since the pedagogy of the period has reading taught before writing. So every signer knows how to read, but not every mark-maker is illiterate. Regardless of the disadvantages of using the signature metric, the general trend of upward literacy is apparent and clear, with the professionals and gentlemen being of an almost wholly literate class, the yeomen and craftsmen belonging to a class that was half-literate, and the husbandmen and laboring men being of a class that was a quarter literate or worse.16

This rise in literacy led to, and is reflected, in the birth of the popular literary market. Printers produced everything from almanacs to religious homilies, from newsbooks to wonder tales to feed the newly literate masses flooding into the great cities like London. This body of travelogues of Englishmen traveling to Ottoman lands can be placed in several literarily productive contexts; namely, theatrical productions about Turks and Moors, religiously-inflected pamphlets with captivity narratives and homilies about thus, and travel writings to the world beyond England’s borders. Among these writings, travelogues to the Ottoman Empire ranked a popular form of cultural consumption. Because of the responsiveness of the printer to the demands of the reading public, the popularity of the early modern English travelogue can be

16 Ibid 39-42.
guessed at via the number of editions they went through. For example, George Sandys’ *Relation of a Journey Begun in 1610* went through 8-9 editions and was translated into both German and French.\(^{17}\) Henry Timberlake’s *Strange Discourses on the Travailles of Two English Pilgrims* underwent at least seven reprints during the 17\(^{th}\) century after its initial publication in 1603.\(^{18}\)

**A Quick Survey of the Historiography**

The 19\(^{th}\) century saw the renewal and expansion of interest in these early modern travelogues of Englishmen to the Ottoman Empire as the former group ascended to worldwide prominence and hegemony. In the modern Anglophone historiography, the field of Anglo-Islamic interactions was begun by Samuel C. Chew’s book *Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (published in 1937, reissued in 1968). Chew’s work investigated how English writers portrayed their contemporary Ottoman and Persian empires in the 16\(^{th}\) and 17\(^{th}\) century. Other seminal works that include discussion of England’s interaction with the Islamicate world of the Mediterranean sphere include Bernard Lewis’ *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* and Paul Coles’ *The Ottoman Impact on Europe*. Other scholars have taken up this line of inquiry, but about other Western nations looking East; “Clarence Dana Rouillard in 1940, Dorothy Vaughan in 1954, and Robert Schwoebel in 1969 produced general accounts of French, Italian, and German writings about the so-called ‘Turks,’” following SC Chew’s model.\(^{19}\)

On the whole, these were large surveys that covered a variety of sources, in breadth and types, but only from Western Europe; these historical works focused on the views of the represent-ers, not the represented. Because of the focus on one side of the Anglo-Islamic interactions, born of

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lack of language skills beyond English and willful ignorance, this set of scholars did not question certain representations of the peoples in the Ottoman lands (that they were uninterested in trade, that the government was tyrannical, etc.). The scholarship also obscured the fluidity and the nuances of identity in the early modern Eastern Mediterranean, lumping all the Muslims living under the rule of the Sublime Porte as “Turks.” Not only were the so-called realities of the represented peoples erased, but the multiplicity of ideas, traditions, and tropes, many of which were contradictory, which the English-speakers used to think and write about the “Turks,” were simplified and essentialized into the always negative and antagonistic. The advent of Edward Said’s 1978 book *Orientalism* challenged these historians’ assumptions about the “truth” of these works by situating these Western European discourses meant to create a Self/Other distinction that would allow more easily for the domination of the Other by the Self (self being the Western Europeans imperialists). Whatever criticisms that may be made of Said’s work, it has prompted the scholarship on Anglo-Islamic relations to be more discerning of nuances and wary of ulterior motives.

Armed with the tools bestowed upon them by post-colonial studies, since the 90’s, there has been a light shone on Medieval and early modern English textual knowledge production about Islamicate lands at a time set before the advent of the British Empire in the Near and Far East. This bloom of academic activity is part of an interdisciplinary push (usual somewhere between History, Art History, English, and certain Area Studies) to think about East-West relations, the rise of the capitalist system, etc. since “any understanding of the historical and geographical dimensions of globalization and its effects on identity can no longer be carried out within the

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20 Ibid 97.
confines of one particular academic discipline." One early popular focus in this area of study has been focused on popular theatre and works such as Shakespeare’s *Othello*, Marlowe’s *The Jew of Malta*, Kyd’s *Solyman and Perseda*, and Darbone’s *The Christian Turn’d Turk*. This has been and still is a productive area of investigation.

Another popular focus in the field of English interactions with the Islamic Mediterranean has been the published travelogues of those who moved through the Eastern Mediterranean willingly and on captivity narratives of those who were taken captive by Barbary corsairs and other extralegal powers. Like the abovementioned studies about Turks on the early modern stage, the investigations spring forth from post-colonial studies that examine the textual output surrounding movements by Europeans eastwards in the 18th and 19th centuries such as the oeuvre of Mary Pratt, Maura O’Connor, and Anne McClintock. Building off works such as Pratt’s *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, scholars such as Andrew Hadfield and Linda Colley work with the same types of source material, but from the 16th and 17th century.

This line of inquiry has been taken up famously by Nabil Matar. His works *Islam in Britain* (1998) and *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (1999) launched a great deal of scholarship in and set the standard of using sources from both sides in the modern study of Anglo-Islamic relations. The two works trace the spaces in which people from the British Isles

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22 The works of Daniel Vitkus, Richard Barbour, and Jonathan Burton come to mind. Prime examples include Jonathan Burton’s *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624*, (2005) which contextualizes the plays within an environment of increased interpersonal interactions with Turks (whether based on trade, piracy, or religion), and links it to depictions of people from the Eastern Mediterranean from other contemporary sources and Classical ones as well as put forth the possibility that English representations of Muslim characters were in dialogue with Muslim self-representation and Daniel Vitkus’ *Three Turk Plays from Early modern England: Selimus, A Christian Turned Turk, and The Renegade* (2000) which attempts to do something similar.
and from the Ottoman sphere met, befriended each other, traded, warred, enslaved each other, and thought about each other, given all those above interactions and, in the former work, in light of proto-imperial aspirations that required a discourse of the Other be formed about colonized peoples. Matar’s two books published in the late 90’s were followed closely by the works of Gerald MacLean, Kenneth Parker, Julia Schleck, and so on.

In the scholarship on Anglo-Islamic connections in the last decade and a half, there has been greater awareness of the problematic nature of representation of foreign, religiously different, and sometimes hostile peoples. Attempts to achieve some semblance of balance are constituted in methodology by incorporating more sources from what is now Greece, Italy, Turkey, and the Levant. This can be exemplified by the juxtaposition of accounts from many different travelers, from Henry Maundrell to ‘Abdu’l-ghani Al-Nabulsi, from English tourists to Russian Orthodox and Jewish pilgrims, in the collection Through the Eyes of the Beholder: the Holy Land, 1517-1713. However, even those works whose foundation is composed of mainly European accounts answered the need to contextualize the older tropes of barbarians and crusaders into a new reality of Mediterranean trade where the money, identities, and ideas flowed like the blue waters beneath the cloth and spice-bearing ships.25

Because of the borrowing of post-colonial frameworks of thinking from academic research about 18th and 19th century encounters between East and West, the recent glut of scholarship on Anglo-Islamicate relations and travel writings from the early modern Period and earlier times has critically engaged with Orientalism. They question to what extent the framework and central tropes of Orientalism can be applied backwards from the 18th century Western European context in which Edward Said locates it. While “acknowledging that the winners write history and that

25 One example of this would be Nancy Bisaha’s Creating East and West. Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks which examines Italian responses, measured, paranoid, and otherwise, to Ottoman expansion after the Fall of Constantinople.
the very instruments of knowledge production were complicit in structures of power and authority, scholars of the Renaissance and early modern Period” are arguing over to what extent a discourse predicated on imperial interests of domination is applicable, if at all “for the era before Europe set out to rule over and colonize Eastern lands.”26 The manner in which depictions of Ottoman lands address such issues can be found in Part Four of this thesis. It, like the current trend in the scholarship, seeks to address, to borrow Burton’s words when addressing the depiction of “turks” in Marlowe’s Tamburlaine, the “need to calibrate the models of postcolonial theory with case-specific historicism.”27

This thesis is also predicated upon the line of thinking exemplified and (partly) begun by the New Historicist scholar Stephen Greenblatt whose school of literary interpretation emphasizes the role that texts, both those intended to be “literature” and those not, and the knowledge they produce act within a particular social/historical context. In that tradition, I take the work of Julia Schleck as a model and source of inspiration and information, first and foremost her book Telling True Tales of Islamic Lands: Forms of Mediation in English Travel Writing, 1575–1630 as well as her contribution to the collection Through the Eyes of the Beholder about the travels of George Sandys and William Biddulph. While acknowledging that her work is based off the works of Nabil Matar, Daniel Viktus, and so forth, Schleck is critical of “the way in which prose texts have often been mined for quotations and used as factual documents or mere providers of context.”28 She instead focuses on how these travelogues functioned within early modern English society, what roles they fulfilled by providing information about foreign places like the Ottoman

26 MacLean, “When West Looks East…” 98.
Empire, and how they served as means of fashioning their writers into paragons of certain social roles (learned Protestant preacher, discerning landlord, learned gentleman, etc.)

**Sources Used, Notes, and Disclaimers**

This thesis explores the writings based off the travels of five English-speaking persons that made their journeys at the turn of the 17th century; namely Thomas Dallam’s Diary, Henry Timberlake’s *Strange Discourse of the Trauailes of Two English Pilgrimes*, Fynes Moryson’s *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell*, George Sandys’ *Relation of a Journey Begun in An. Dom. 1610*, and William Biddulph’s *The trauels of foure English men and preacher into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea*. Travelogues were a popular form of print media about foreign places in early modern England. Because of their value in the market of large cities, the stories therein were often reprinted in collections. The travelers themselves were well aware of this market and participated too as consumers of texts as well as producers thereof.29 The awareness of their genre, its convention and limitations, and the awareness of the writers of each other’s works justify the treatment of these distinct and separated texts as a unit to be analyzed together.

Of the five sources, all were originally written in early modern English with the exception of Moryson’s *Itinerary*, which was first published in Latin before being translated into English by its author. These five writers are all Anglophone and English by background.30 Save Dallam’s diary, which was rediscovered in 1848, these texts were published contemporaneously by their authors, although excerpts were later included in compilations of travel tales such as *Purchas his

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29 We can know this because some passages and descriptions have been lifted wholesale from one text and used in the travelogues of the reader.

30 There were plenty of Scottish travelers such as William Lithgow who walked the same routes and wrote about the same things as their English counterparts. It just so happens that this set of five sojourners did not have a Scot amongst them.
The few decades surrounding the turn of the 17th century is the temporal context for this thesis. This is in part because these are the opening years of the Levant Company’s presence in the Eastern Mediterranean. The establishment of lucrative direct shipping routes to the Ottoman Empire allowed the sustained regular flow of people, ideas, information, goods, etc. At the same time, the company’s early struggle to figure out and make connections with the local power structures needed for trade highlights the essential reality of England being enforce its own vision, instead conforming to the political and legal contours of the regionally hegemonic Ottoman Empire and other local realities. This power differential forced the travelers to confront local realities which, as this thesis will explore, produced interesting reflections on diverse matters concerning the physical land they move through, from agricultural and architectural ruins to the correct name of a place.

Mirroring the long distances and many lands that the travelogues cover in their texts, this thesis covers large expanses geographically. The devlet-i âl-i Osman (“domains under the rule of the house of Osman”) or, to utilize a more bureaucratic, impersonal term, the Ottoman state during this period spanned from oceans and continents and its influences could have been felt even further. The name of the Ottoman sultan was read at Friday prayers from Morocco to Aceh, from Yemen to Bulgaria. For this purposes of this thesis, I have chosen to exclude those places that do not fall under the direct rule of the Ottoman state. Notably, I do not include English writings about travels through the Barbary states. This is an artificial distinction made on my part; like the writings about Italy and Ireland, writings about Ottoman North Africa are integrated into
the same text as the rest of Ottoman Empire and places like Tripoli were frequent stops for English travelers.

However, by the turn of the 17th century, by reason of independent wealth or geographical distance, the Algerian Eyalet ruled by a succession of deys and pashas was de facto independent from the Sublime Porte by this period. This political reality will cause all sorts of problems for merchants and sailors since the local ‘ayans did not always abide by the agreements between the Porte and the English monarchy. This reason of political distance is compounded by that of geographical distance, both in my decision to narrow my gaze to one area. I also wish to focus on the Eastern Mediterranean because it is an area especially imbued with Classical and Scriptural understandings, more so than North Africa. In this way, I delineate the space for geo-political considerations present in the physical reality of the period and in the minds of the Anglophone travelers.

Concerns about representation being a two-way (or multilane) street when it comes to early modern writings about the Islamicate world are ubiquitous in the current wave of scholarship about Anglo-Ottoman connections. The author of this text is, alas, but, a functional monoglotic Anglophone when it comes to deciphering early modern texts (and modern ones too). In light of this, the thesis makes no tried-and-true claims beyond the evidence presented about one particular moment (end of the 16th, beginning of the 17th century) and about a particular group of people (mostly urban English-speakers who may be English or Scots who become in some way involved with the Mediterranean trading world); my extrapolations through time and space, beyond these bounds, are necessarily subjected to the asterisks, footnotes, and disclaimers that come with only taking a small sample size of views.
In this way, my methodology in not unlike the earlier scholarship from the 30’s ‘till the 80’s that privileged Western views and sources about the Orient, taking them at their face value, rather than using both Western and Eastern sources. Ideally, a good working model for such a venture would be Dror Ze’evi’s “Women in 17th-Century Jerusalem: Western and Indigenous Perspectives” which engages with a similar set of sources, travel writings about the Near East by early modern Western European writers; by using that set of sources in conjunction with local sijill records from the local sharia court, Ze’evi better understands the lives of women in that period by “uncover[ing] some of the stereotypes and biases they reflect” and revealing the circumstances of “the contradictory attitudes of the two sources.”31 This approach is particularly salient because, like the physical space that I am interested in, those women of the early modern holy city “did not write about themselves,” leaving others to represent them.32

For reasons of linguistic failings on the part of the author, this thesis cannot and will not follow Ze’evi’s methodology, but aims to keep in mind the issues raised in the article when looking at these turn-of-the-17th-century Anglophone travelogues. To offset the imbalance, if only to a minor degree, I try to occasionally place these discourses within a wider European and Ottoman context and try to emphasize where representation deviates significantly from reality, when English concerns and understandings, in texts intended to be consumed by the domestic public, colored the foreign space to an extent that verges upon or completely jumps ship into the realms of untruth.

Attitudes, understandings, and anxieties are rooted in their particular historical contexts, now quite distant to us temporally, and are doubly difficult to capture for historians, more so than the cargoes of trade ships or the bylines of political treaties, because they exist in an ephemeral state

32 Ibid. This was the case “at least not until the middle of the 19th century.”
in the mind which itself it a transient and passing. But, through the production of the mind, such as this set of early modern travel tales, a scholar can hope that something of a lost world, of a physical and mental landscape that no longer exists, can be recaptured. And, with the notes and usual disclaimers about the limitations inherent in general to such a methodology and in particular to this work, this thesis now turns to examine how the changing notions of what was proper (moral, economic) land use in the early modern period and how that functioned within a discourse about a good monarchial government’s evil twin, tyranny.
Part One: Land as Governed Economic Unit:

At the turn of the 17th century, land as the site of economic production and its relationship to society and governance in that role greatly occupied the minds of English men and women. The people of Albion remained a largely agricultural lot like their counterparts across the early modern world, but the way they understood land changed. Gradually, the English moved away from a medieval understanding of land, from a “socioeconomic outlook dominated by moral standards and interpersonal relations [which] gave way to a discourse which facilitated economic individualism and competition” in the processes of economic integration and the rise of the capitalist ethos. This shift and its obsession with what was “waste” and how land could be “improved” found itself expressed in travelogues to the Ottoman Empire. The land also served as the site of proper governance and a measure by which ill-governance aka tyranny could be discerned in these works.

Changing Land Use in Practice and Theory as Reflected in the Mirror of Ottoman Lands

The turn of the 17th century travelers saw Ottoman lands in agricultural terms: what they made, how much they made, and what they could sell for. They were informed by the lucrative Levant Company trade of grain and fruit produced by Ottoman-controlled physical spaces and their travel tales reflect this. Early modern England also saw significant changes in thought and practice about proper land use when it came to agriculture. There were debates from the national Parliament to the smallest hamlet about what moral function land should have, if any, and to what extent land could be used as property to have value extracted from it, abstracted from its local, human conditions. The side that advocated for a man’s right to do with his private property what he will was and couched their arguments in the legal language of “improvement” of “waste”

land. In short, one type of mediation that colored how Anglophone travelers wrote about
Ottoman domains was an agricultural-economic one.

What drew Levant Company merchants to the Ottoman Empire was the hope of trade in a
myriad of agricultural product (in addition to spices, apothecary materials, etc.). This included
animal products such as raw silk, fruits such as dried figs and apricots, and grains such as corn.
Naturally, this mercantile interest in Ottoman lands was reflected in the travel tales even if the
writers themselves were not necessarily merchants themselves (and, save Timberlake, this
mighty five were not employed as merchants during their time in the Ottoman Empire). George
Sandys writes about Zante that it is “unspeakably fruitfull, producing the best oile of the world,
and excellent strong wines, both white and red, which they call Ribolla,” which was taken by the
English trade factory based on that island back to England regularly for sale.34

When Dallam goes to Chios, he noted in his diary that “in no parte of the worlde Doth grow
any masticke but in this ilande.”35 He went on further to write down “the commodities hear are
nothinge but masticke, cotton woll, and wynes,” all products that England imports from the
Eastern Mediterranean for their apothecaries, cloth industries, and personal consumption. Dallam
was well aware of this importance for these cash crops and their role in the island’s economy;
“yf you be sene to take one sprige of masticke, or one pod of cotton woll, or one bunche of
grapes, it is a whole yeares impresonmente, and thare will be no redemption for you.”36

The Enclosure movement also made a mark on the minds of the Anglophone travel writer. In
the early 16th cent, the processes of enclosure, of fencing off a portion of land that shifted its
identity from public to private (or just monopolizing use of a parcel of land for private use),

34 Sandys 6.
43.
36 Ibid 44.
engendered much controversy. This enclosed land was done mostly by the nobility for the purposes of converting common space into pasture land for sheep, in order to get a piece of England’s blooming cloth trade. The move kicked many tenant farmers off the land, prompting outrage in intellectual circles that saw this move as ripping apart the land-based ties between great lord and small farmer and moral community. In philosopher and politician Thomas More’s *Utopia*, the first part of the dialogue between Thomas More (the character) and Raphael Hythlodaeus, a traveler, of late returned from a strange, rational land, new found in the Atlantic somewhere, heaps disgust at sheep that “devour men and unpeople, not only villages, but towns,” symbolic of their two legged owners, greedy and covetous creatures, who put their own gain above those of their community and the health of the state.\(^{37}\)

The anger not only manifested in thought, but also in action. Several regional uprisings such as the Pilgrimage of Grace (which was ostensibly an anti-Reformation, pro-Catholicism movement) and Kett’s Rebellion cited enclosure as part of their set of grievances.\(^{38}\) The material symbols of enclosure such as fences and hedges marking the newly privatized plots were often the targets of vandalism and destruction.\(^{39}\) These disturbances found a sympathetic base in a newly created base of displaced small farmers who could no longer depend on the Commons to see them through harsh times, leading to both a rise in poverty (or at least the perception thereof) and a mobile underclass of unlanded workers and “vagabonds.” Because it caused intellectual


controversy, human displacement, and public unrest and because the price of wool went into a relative slump, the push to enclose slacked in the middle of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{40}

As the price of wool went up, enclosure picked up again in the early 17\textsuperscript{th} century, but this newly-revived movement was a different beast than that which occurred in the early 16\textsuperscript{th} century. Now, enclosure was not for pasture land; this time around, the main purpose was for convertible husbandry. The latter system consisted of alternating plots of land between arable (in which some crop is grown) and pasture (in which temporary grass is planted to feed livestock); this practice put earth otherwise fallow to economic use and led to an increase in plant and animal products for market as well as the preservation of the soil.\textsuperscript{41} In this new wave, the lands enclosed did not consist only of the communal space of the Commons. With the help of Dutch engineers, arable plots were reclaimed from the sea in East Anglia. Fens and woods, formerly belonging to the community, would be partitioned by those with the capital to buy them and let out to individual farmers.

Seventeenth century enclosure was much more of a multilateral effort compared to its predecessor in the beginning and middle of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. It was not just to the benefit of the landed gentry who pushed for this shift in land ownership. Other classes besides the gentry such as the rich yeoman and even lesser farmers who could scrape together a bit of capital could benefit from the newly enclosed land. This did not mean that there was not dissatisfaction at the changes that the process of privatization that led to higher rent for farms and lower safety net (because a subsistence farmer could no longer count on the use of former communally held land for foraging in times of failed harvests), but the response to enclosure was no longer as violent as before.


Despite the growth in agricultural production, brought on by improvements in technology and practices, and overall economic growth through trade, Britain was still feeling economically squeezed, a reality that is captured in the statistics from the period. The population rose tremendously during this period as did number of employment opportunities, especially in the swelling urban areas such as that around London and Liverpool. The benefits of the economic growth were unevenly distributed and dampened by this population growth. “Between 1500 and 1650, the population of England more than doubled to over five million; the increase in “‘marginal’” groups—younger sons, sisters, and daughters among the upper and middle classes and displaced agricultural laborers…exceeded the growth of the general population by severalfold.”42

This swelling of the population meant more labor for the fields and the new jobs in the cities and the economy as a whole grew during this period, but the buying power of average worker could not keep pace with rising rents and bread prices.43 As a result, there was also a growth in poverty and the perception of poverty as a problem that the state needed to deal with. The 17th century was the time when the first Poor Laws were enacted to deal with the number of wandering vagrants who could not feed themselves or their families anymore and no longer had a communal and social safety net based around the common lands and around the notion that land was supposed to be for the moral and economic keeping of a community.

The land that the travelers were going to likewise was experiencing major economic disruptions tied into potentially violent. Like in England, within the Ottoman Empire, changes in the patterns of harvests and of land ownership lent much cause for unhappiness among the common farmer. One cause was this dissatisfaction was the practice of tax-farmers which

43 Ibid. “Grain prices during this century and a half rose by 600 percent, while wages rose by only 200 percent.”
consisted of a person paying a large sum of money to the Porte in return for the right to collect taxes from a particular region for that year; while this was made necessary from the point of the state by the costs of fighting foreign wars against the Hapsburgs and the Safavids and the debasement of asper by bullion flowing in from the New World through Spanish treasure fleets, it imposed burdensome dues and encouraged abuses of the system by tax farmers against rural Anatolians.\textsuperscript{44} Partly due to the Little Ice Age which disrupted set agricultural patterns and made the 17\textsuperscript{th} century one of revolutions and rebellions, a long series of disturbances of the peace occurred in Anatolia. Known as the Jelali or Çelali Revolts, they included farmers, demobilized soldiers, laid off government officials, students, and other disaffected persons.\textsuperscript{45} There were several further references to armed local unrest distinct from the Çelali Revolts in this set of travelogues, mainly janissary revolts, but including brief history of the Emir of Sidon’s defiance of the Porte from his base in the Levant. Such violence caused further displacement of rural agricultural society and increased the likelihood of the next revolt. In short, the land whence the Anglophone traveler came was marked by social unrest and displacement due to unresolved issues surrounding land and the land to which these travelers went was under like conditions.

This context of economic changes lent urgency to “proper land use…[as a] live question in the English countryside” which spawned much thinking in the legal discourse about the identity of land as “waste” and “fruitful” tied together with the economic discourse of “improvement.”\textsuperscript{46} The dynamic market lent itself to The “hardening and concretion of the notion of property in land, with…movement away from feudal entitlements, where land was held ‘of’ others, to a more recognizably modern conception of land as a basis for secure entitlements that could be rented, used, sold and willed” needed a justification, especially in the legal realm. What

\textsuperscript{44} Finkel 176-177.  
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid 180-187.  
\textsuperscript{46} Blomley 2.
constituted “waste” could vary a great deal within the “improvement” discourse; it “might range from the absolute abandonment to nature by which a later seventeenth-century generation (including Locke) would come to understand the term, to a scenario of (perhaps) productive yet illegitimate -- un-dispensed for, un-scripted – cultivation.”\(^{47}\)

In this manner, a land that is “wasted” does not preclude it from being “fruitful,” just that its current use was deviating from some imagined original, more economically efficient way of extract value from property. “Improvement, in early modern legal discourse which pre-dates this shift, approximately synonymous with ‘approvement’, denotes an owner’s monopolization and harvesting of benefits from a resource previously ‘farmed out’ to the use of others.”\(^{48}\) What that means in practice was that a man of capital justified privatizing what was once physical space meant for the support of the community for his own use and economic benefit, under the banner of improving economic efficiency and yield of that otherwise “disordered” and “inefficient” space.

Travelers to the Ottoman Empire came from this background of a country in flux in terms of the relationship between production, ownership, and land use. With this perspective, they looked towards the lands of Greece, the Levant, and so on with an eye towards the land as a unit of agricultural production, one that can be in a state of “waste” or can be “improved.”

In his *Ten Years Travel through Twelve Dominions*, Fynes Moryson and his brother were dropped off in the port of Jaffa on their tour of the Holy Land. Though he stayed on the ship for the majority of the time, the travel writer was well aware of what the city had to offer, the ship getting provisions of “eggs and fruiites” from the town that did not lack in commerce, as seen in


\(^{48}\) Ibid.
the “many droves [of camels] laded” with goods coming into and out of the town.\textsuperscript{49} Overall, “the situation of Ioppa is pleasant, upon a hill declining towards the sea;” however, “the fields are fertile, but were then untiled.” Moryson, en route to Jerusalem from Jaffa writes about part of his journey; “we rode ten miles to Ramma, through a most pleasant plaine, yielding time and hysope, and other fragrant herbes, without \textit{tillage or planting}, growing so high as they came to the knew of our Asses” (emphasis mine). The innate fruitfulness, but without improvement, shows land’s potential languishing, implicitly condemning those who control that space of not doing their duty as a landlord and bettering the agriculture.

To take another example, Jericho and the surrounding lands were famous for “balsamum, a plant…which grew most plentifully in this valley and on the sides of the Westerne mountains which confine it.”\textsuperscript{50} This plant, now imported to England from India, whose sap is used as a fragrance and whose “licour” is used to curdle milk without staining cloth, was “of such repute with the Romanes, that Pompey first, and afterwards Titus” featured it prominently during their Triumphs. When Sandys visited, there only “remained two orchards…[from] the dayes of Vespasian,” all others bein”now utterly lost through the barbarous waste and neglect of the Mahometans.” The valley that Sandys saw was where “standeth a few poore cottages inhabited by the Arabians…producing but a spiny grass.” The land was in a state of “waste” as it was in deviation from its original (and thus intended, rightful) usage.

Through the long 17\textsuperscript{th} century, through a society-wide conversation about “waste” and “improvement,” the proper use of land shifted from being the lynchpin of communal relations to a commodity, to be properly used by an individual. The change was driven by a renewed enclosure movement and the movement of land onto the national market. The Lockian

\textsuperscript{49} Moryson 215.

\textsuperscript{50} Sandys, George. \textit{A Relation of a journey begun An. Dom. 1610: 4 bookees, containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy, and ilands adioyning.} (1615) 197.
idea of liberty reflects such a shift in that it was conceptually built on private property not communal property. While men like the minister Robert Cecil would defend traditions of land in Parliament as the guarantor of social relations and the state’s stability, increasingly, the Commons, this space where the poor can gather food and where the community could gather, was no longer considered the site of togetherness and the foundation stone of a good and godly social network. Instead, the interpersonal relations tied together with the land as epitomized by the Commons were now seen in this new discourse as anathema to freedom, as a “Norman yoke” imposed by William the Conqueror and his descendants sitting on the English throne. Instead of a hierarchical communalism, possessive individualism was the original way imagined by thinkers such as John Locke man associated with each other in a time before scarcity.

Locke imagined a Golden Age, a pagan notion analogous to a prelapsarian Eden, wherein every man was free to transmute his labor into property via engagement with land; this was an age of liberty as “it was impossible for any Man, this way, to intrench upon the right of another, or acquire, to himself, a Property, to the Prejudice of his Neighbour” because “Natures has well set” the limitations of human labor and a land owner could not for “his Enjoyment consume more than a small part.” Land had value insofar as it yielded so use-value whether that be increasing pasture land or growing currants and that value was the property that man could own.

In his *Two Treatises on Government*, Locke sees this Golden Age as passing into history when “some parts of the World, (where the Increase of People and Stock, with the Use of Money) had made Land scarce” so that humans could no longer extract property and value from land infinitely without coming into conflict with their neighbors. Over time, “several

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51 Edwards 8-10.
52 Markely 828.
53 Ibid 832.
Communities settled the Bounds of their distinct Territories, and, by Laws within themselves, regulated the Properties of private Men of their Society.” The state, instead of being predicated on communities formed from series of obligations and duties between people, with the lychpin of the system being located in the land itself, as Prime Minister Cecil and Francis Bacon would have argued at the end of the 16th century, was seen by thinkers and writers such as John Locke and Sir Walter Raleigh as being intrinsically linked with the maintenance and defense of a free man’s ability to do with his property as he pleases which in turn served to check the growth of an over-powerful state. A government or ruling system that did not guarantee private property and thus the liberty its subjects, but instead trampled upon them would not derive the same legitimacy as it was not fulfilling the original intent and purpose of government; such was a state of tyranny. In the next section, the relationship between depiction of land and the (mis)governance of the Ottoman state is explored.

**Governance Proper and Improper: the Discourse on Tyranny**

Tyranny, as a concept in the Western mind, dates back to the Ancients Greeks. Aristotle considered it a degenerated form of monarchy “where the good of one man only is the object of government.” It is a term similar to, but defined against monarchy which also has a powerful head of state, but, in all other respects, is different in terms of raison d’etre, function, and outcome. A monarchy is understood as upholding the public good while a tyranny was there for private gain of the ruler. A monarchy works through the rule of laws and customs, tied together with his subjects by bounds of affection, while a tyranny acts through force and those under him

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55 Suryani 71-72.
only obey because of fear; a good monarch “commands, in the manner the law directs, those who willingly obey” while a bad tyrant commands “arbitrarily, those who consent not.”

Most of all, a monarchy is a legitimate form of government that leads to prosperous outcomes, both morally and economically, for the polity while a tyranny is illegitimate and leads to ruin, waste, and decline. Travelers like George Sandys and Henry Timberlake portrayed the lands of the Ottoman Empire as a “manifest example of the universal decay brought about by a ruler’s improper stewardship of his lands and people.” The ill-rule of a tyrant was reflected by the physical space where he exerted his power.

In describing the Levant, George Sandys notes that those “countries once so glorious, and famous for their happy estate, are now thorugh vice and ingratitude, become the most deplored spectacles or extreme miserie,” under “the pride of a sterne and barbarous Tyrant possessing the thrones of ancient and iust dominion.” As a result of that illegitimate governance, the Levant has ceased to be where “the soiles enriched with all earthly felicities, the places where Nature hath produced her wonderfull works;” rather, those “rich lands at this present remaine vast and overgrown with bushes, receptacles of wild beasts, of theeves and murderers.” Compared to when it was under “ancient and just” rule, the space under bad governance exists in a state of degradation, in terms of agricultural production; the land that has been “enriched” with much potential now supported weeds and wild animals. Relatedly, the property and life of the subjects

56 Aristotle 1663.
58 George Sandys Introduction.
59 Ibid.
in this polity were also not guaranteed in a land filled with “theeves and murderers;” without the safety of life and property, in the Lockian understanding of government, liberty does not exist.\(^{60}\)

A large part of what a tyranny constitutes is a lack of a powerful class apart from the ruler, in other words, nobility with political and economic weight that it can throw around independent of the tyrant. It was the accepted opinion, held by English and wider European political thought that Ottoman society had no powerful class independent of the sultan. Niccolo Machiavelli, in his (in)famous treatise *Il Principe*, he classifies monarchies into two types: “those of the Turk and [those of] the King of France. All the Turkish monarchy is governed by one ruler, the others re his servants, and dividing his kingdom into ‘sangiacates,’”\(^{61}\) In contrast to the governor of France which rules through ancient Barons, much loved by their people and embedded into the land, the Ottoman emperor “send to them various administrators, and changes or recalls them at his pleasure.”\(^{62}\)

The turn of the 17th century English travelogue to the Levant describes the structure of Ottoman tyranny and power similarly. In that polity, “there is no nobility of blood, no knowne parentage, kindred, nor hereditary possessions, but are, as it were, the Sultan creation.”\(^{63}\) Those who served the sultan, from the grand vizier downward were not seen as people with authority in their own right; rather, they were considered by English travelers (technically correctly) as slaves to the ruler, beholden onto his power. The nobility, if they can be term such, have no power of their own, independent of the sultan. “The barbarous policie whereby this tyrannie is sustained,

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\(^{60}\) I am reminded of a Bernard Lewis-written article in the Atlantic, that makes the argument that states and societies that may be termed Islamic in terms ruling and organizing society have trouble setting up democracies because they lack a strong tradition of upholding an individuals’ property rights. Now that I look back on it, that is a terribly Lockian analysis of the matter. http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1993/02/islam-and-liberal-democracy/308509/


\(^{62}\) Ibid.

\(^{63}\) Sandys 47.
doth differ from all other: guided by the heads and strengthened by the hands of his slaves who
thinke it as great an honour to be fo.” The power of the ruler is total over his people.
Occasionally, this can be a good thing; for example, “when the oppressed subjects can have no
justice” from the courts, the wronged parties can get redress of greivances by getting the
attention of some of the sultan’s mute retainers who “doth recieue their petition which oftentimes
turns to the ruine of some of thofe great ones.”64 But this was seen as a disruption of the natural
and legitimate political order of things, the rule of slaves over a population of freemen (or other
slaves).65

This supposedly-necessary noble class in England was heavily involved in technical and
methodological agricultural innovations and expansion of privately (and properly) used lands.
Along with the yeoman farmers, this sector of society was most involved in the enclosure
movement and of technical improvements such as changes in crop rotations and regiments of
marling the earth. They also invested time, capital, and effort improvement projects like the
draining of fenlands that the Sandys family, particularly George’s brother Edwin, was involved
in. The lack of such a class precluded the hope of altering the poor state of land in the Ottoman
Empire and highlighted the need for the landed gentry and rich yeomen finding new ways of
rotating crops and managing rents. The trappings of a proto-capitalist economy are viewed as
underdeveloped in the Ottoman empire; “for assurances of purchases, they have no Indentures,
no fines and recueries...all that they have to shew is a little Schedule, called a Hodget or Sigil,

64 Sandys 62.
65 Sandys is riffing off an Aristotelean trope; In Politics, Aristotle characterizes “the barbarians” as “by nature more
prone to slavery than the Greeks, and those in Asia more than those in Europe” because “they endure without
murmuring a despotic government.” It thus follows that “for this reason their governments are tyrannies; but yet not
liable to be overthrown, as being customary and according to law.” (Politics: A Treatise on Government (Kindle
Locations 1660-1661))
only manifesting the possession of the seller, as his of whom he bought it.” 66 This perceived primitive state of the Ottoman economy was expected by the reader given the lack of improvers of land with capital and security in their possessions.

In a state of tyranny, no man has his property secured as all were the slaves of the ruler. As travelers and traders, Englishmen were subjected to events that confirmed this lack of security in property. Fynes Moryson has his brother’s belongings confiscated by authorities after Henry Moryson’s death while in southeastern Anatolia, “as belonging to the Great Turk.” 67 The travelogues are filled with times when a local pasha would demand “gifts” from the travel-writer or his traveling companions before their personas and goods could enter a port or leave, as was the case of William Dallam’s ship *The Hector*.

Part of this impression of tyranny may have been derived from and enforced by contact with other Western Europeans who shared the same prejudice. The Moryson brothers, when trying to hire a ship to take them to the Holy Land, had to deal with the fears of one of their French companions who only wanted their ship captain to take them to Jaffa and no other port; the reason given for this was that, in those other ports, “the Turkish Governors of Cities use to impose great tributes upon Christians driveth into their Havens and sometimes by trick of fraud to bring them in danger of life, only to spoile them of their money.” 68 The fact that the French, who have had a much longer tenure as traders in the Eastern Mediterranean, who have established more connections with both the Porte and the local ruling elites, also partook in this anxiety about lack of property rights reveals how the trope was spread through Western Europe.

66 Sandys 62.
68 Moryson 214. This would have been an exceedingly strenuous demand to put on a captain, given the fickleness of the winds and waves, and this request was rightly refused.
and did nothing to alleviate English perceptions of lack of property rights in places under
Ottoman control.

A similar if not worse treatment is accorded the property rights of the Ottoman subjects that
the English traveler encountered. In his Preface, written under the pseudonym “Theosophilus
Lavender,” William Biddulph lays out his reasons for penning this account of his travels as being
“to make rich men may learne to be thankfull to God, not onely for their libertie and freedome of
their Conscience and persons; but of their goods also.”69 In this profession of intent, the preacher
sums up the state of insecurity under the rule of the Great Turk: “no man is master of his owne,
but as the fattest oxe is nearest unto the slaughter.” The properties of great men “were of the
Sultans creation, depending vpon him onely for their sustenance and preferments.” The tyrant
“by no other rule then that of his will” have “disposeth [the Ottoman elites] of their lives as their
fortunes.”70

Biddulph summed up the situation as being one where “not onely the great Turke doth thus
tyrannie over his slaves, but every Bashaw who hath government over others in a City or
Countrie, tyrannie over those which are under their regiment.”71 If a person was “rich and had
faire houses,” that wealth could lead to “the Bashaw laying to their charge such things as he
himselfe knoweth to bee untrue and put them to death that hee may seaze upon his good.” Even
those holy in their society are not spared the rapaciousness; Biddulph recounts a “Sheriffe…in
Aleppo whom they account Mahomet’s kindred” who had offended the local Pasha. Despite his
status, the Sherif had no more protection of life, liberty, and property than Thomas Dallam. The

69 Biddulph, William. *The trauels of foure English men and preacher into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, and
to the Blacke Sea...* (1612), Preface. Biddulph in the people he wishes to stir to thankfulness by his work include
servants who should be happy that their masters are not oppressing them and women who enjoy more liberty than
their sisters abroad.
70 Sandys 47.
71 Biddulph 71.
governor had his officer break the offending man’s arms and legs and leave him in the streets to die. In an example of how tyranny subverts the social proper relations, the injured man’s family and friends do not dare go near him for fear of offending the angered notable.

Moryson writes similarly of the lack of security under the Turks, that “[t]hey desire no other dainties or greater riches since they can neither enjoy their goods while they live, nor yet bequeath them at death; and nothing is more dangerous than to the accounted rich.”72 Despite “the fertility of the soil generally though this Empire is exceeding great” with “the goodness and variety of fruits equals (in some place, passes) Italy” and the wines of Anatolia being better than the Venetian controlled Grecian islands, the “Turkish” population had “less plenty of all things then Europe, for they very sparingly and onely to serve necessity, either set plant or sow.” The people lacked “free fruition of their owne goods, in the great tyranny under which they lived; this poor form of government, “of the Emperour, of under-Governours changed at least once a yeere” (so as to prevent alliances with local power networks and depreciation of political loyalty to the Sublime Porte), resulted, despite an admitted abundance in amount and kind in grains, in “vast solitudes and untilled Desarts on all sides where yet the ground of it selfe brings forth divers wild fruits without tillage.”

This insecurity of property in the Ottoman Empire was connected with the issue of the power and the over-prominence of the army. No doubt, the more learned travelers were conscious of the precedents of the Byzantine and the Roman empires, with their history of unrest due to the insolence of armed men.73 Moryson sourced the untilled state of agricultural space to the Ottoman state’s militarism. The Empire caused “great part of the people [to be] wasted with

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72 Moryson 125.
73 In his section on the history of the Turks, Sandys draws parallels between the Janissaries and the Praetorian guard.
The soldiers themselves contributed to the lack of the subjects’ property rights through their “generall rapacity and licentiousness.” When noting the many landmarks of Jerusalem, the author wrote about a “faire Castle…not unlike the Italian Castles” that was “kept by a Turkish Agha and Garrison, having great store of short Iron Ordinance of a huge boare, lying at the Gate for the terour of the people,” one instance out of many in these travel tales where the subjects in a tyrannical system were controlled through fear and force of arms, rather than gladly and willingly giving obedience.\(^7^5\)

Fear of the Ottoman soldiers extended to the English who entered those spaces, making them afear for their lives and goods. When the \textit{Hector} had set anchor in “Scanderoon,” its goods “appointed to goo to Alippo” were to be unloaded for that journey, but the merchants that the master of the ship sent ashore to investigate a preponderance of tents on land reported that “he [Richard Parsons, the captain of the ship] should not by any meanes, send any goodes or any man a shore until he did se all the tentes gone.”\(^7^6\) The tents housed “the soouldiers of Damascus, a parte of the grete Turkes armye, that weare goinge to the warres;” the reason that the goods were not sent ashore because “if theye [the army] finde any thinge on the shore that did like the, they would tak it as theire owne.” The understanding that the Ottoman military and, by extension, the whole of the Ottoman government disrespected property rights, whether of their subjects or of foreign merchants, was held by the English travelers.

When describing Jaffa, Moryson described a “castle upon a high hill, which the French built of old to keep the citizens in subjection, build of old to keep the citizens in subjection” where

\(^7^4\) Moryson 125.
\(^7^5\) Ibid 220. The writer himself had a run in with those guards when he and his brother had “walked (after Sunne set) upon the top of the Latine Monastery (as those of Asia walke upon their houses).” The agha in charge “sent a souldier to us, commanding us to goe from beholding the Castle, or else he would shoote at us;” unsurprisingly, they obeyed post haste. This experience may have engendered some negative feelings towards the Ottoman military.
\(^7^6\) Dallam 31.
“the Great Turk, to the same end, keeps a garrison of soldiers, under his Aga (or governor) of the City.” While he was there, his host informed him of Janissaries “raising a great tumult against the Sub pasha of the City” put down when “some 100 of these seditious janissaries were downed in the harbor, and the rest were daily sought out to be punished.” The focus on Janissaries, besides the obvious reasons of their fondness for revolts in this period and their visibility to foreigners as guards and former Christians, may have Classical provenance. Aristotle pointed to the choice of personal guards by a ruler as emblematic. “In a kingly government, not a despotic one… the guards of their kings are his citizens, but a tyrant's are foreigners;” “The one, therefore, is guarded by the citizens, the other against them.” In this schema, the Ottoman government as embodied by the Grand Turk himself falls squarely in the camp of being a tyranny.

This over-powerfulness of the Janissary corp and other elements of the Ottoman military was described by George Sandys as being “the body being growne too monstrous for the head,” with the “unwarlike” sultan unable to control his soldiers “corrupted with ease and libertie, drowned in prohibited wine, enfeebled with the continuall converse of women, and generally lapsed from their form austerity of life.” The early modern state was predicated, as all states are, on some level of control of bodies. This corporeal emphasis is reflected in the language of the “body politic” wherein the state was conceptualized as a body with the king as the thinking head, the limbs were the and the subjects and provinces were the other subordinate (though no less essential!) part of the body. Related to the use of the force over law to run a state, a tyrannical state was given over the base pleasures rather than control of selfish desire, of a tyrant’s thought only for pleasing himself, not his state or his people. This corporeal discourse naturalized the political order of things and provided justification for the hierarchy that was. Any deviation

77 Moryson 242
78 Aristotle 1661-1664.
79 Sandys
thereof such as “the body being growne too monstrous for the head” was unnatural and therefore wrong, politically and morally.

The theme of illegitimate governance as viewed through the prism of bodies and land is made clear in Henry Timberlake’s diagnosis on why Palestine laid unproductive, despite Biblical descriptions of fruitfulness. He observed that the “Land of Canaan…is a very barren Country [and that] within fifteene miles from Ierusalem the Country is wholly barren, and full of rockes and stony…unless it be about the plaine of Iericho.”80 Citing “declaration thereof made in the holy Scriptures,” the author stated that “the land “hath beene in times past,” but he does know “any part of the Country at this present that is fruitful.” The extent of this fall from bountifulness was so great that Timberlake, when camping with his Moorish companion outside of Jerusalem, could not procure any bread from the nearby residents who only some dried dates to offer the weary travelers.81

Timberlake puts the blame of the formerly-Israelite-ruled land to the new rulers and inhabitants, “infidels (that prophane the name of Christ, and live in all filthy and beastly manner),” for which “God curseth it [the land], and so it is made barren.” This curse proceeds from the “use the sinne of Sodom and Gomorrah very much in that Country,” which referred to homosexuality or sexually deviant behavior in general (according to the early modern English reader). In this land, “the poore Christians…are glad to marry their daughters at twelve yeeres of age, unto Christians, least the Turkes should ravish them,” demonstrating both how the state and society is failing to protect the honor of its Christian subjects and how the focus on carnal pleasures leads to deviancy. Timberlake concluded that “there is not that sinne in the world, but it is used there amongst those Infidels that now inhabite therein.”

81 In the very same text, Timberlake does mention fruitful spaces throughout, but that contradiction is ignored for the sake of making this point.
In the English mind, the figure of the “Turk” had a strong association with sodomy and sexual deviancy/excess.\(^8^2\) Richard Knowles, in his *General Historie of the Turks*, wrote that the Muslims “are much inclined to Venery and are for the most part all Sodomites.”\(^8^3\) Besides using this trope to illustrate the wrongness of Islam, which was often blamed for being too permissive in punishing this “sin,” in early modern English discourse, the practice was seen as emblematic of the illegitimacy of tyranny. This criticism’s relation to the bareness of land was two-fold. One focused on the ruling elite, headed by and dependent on the Sultan. Sodomy, a crime punishable by death, but conceptualized as a sin of excess in a culture that had some tolerance for homoeroticism and valorized homosociality, was associated in England with the upper class (see the scandalous gossip surrounding James I and his favorite George Villiers) and likewise, was seen as practiced by the great men of the empire; However, because this occurred in a state of tyranny, no person dared to criticize the sultan for his sins because he held the power of life and death over his slaves-subjects.\(^8^4\) The lack of independent elites and the consequent lack of improvement were symptoms of tyranny, just as the prevalence of sodomy was. The other manner in which this trope was used is through analogy. Sodomy was a barren act in that it produced no children and sexually deviant groups such as prostitutes were painted as unable to procreate successfully during this period. The Muslim rulers of the Levant, for practicing the sin that begat no children, but was done for base carnal pleasures, were cursed by God in kind with barren, unfruitful land.

Still, as has been described previously, there were areas of described fruitfulness in the Ottoman Empire. After all, the English wish to trade with the Ottoman Empire because of their

\(^8^2\) Matar. *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*. 115.
\(^8^3\) Ibid 114.
glut of agricultural products such as currants, figs, wines, and so on. The partial answer given to the flourishing of some parts of the empire is that the Turks exploit the propensity for working the earth that their Christian subjects possess. When Thomas Dallam lands on Zante, he writes of the island “greateste parte of the people in this ilande be Greekes” who perform “labor harde in planting and triminge the corron (currant) gardins, olive gardins, and vinyards.”85 This honest labor of the Christians is of interest and benefit of Dallam’s fellow English people for it is from Zante “comethe the moste of our Corrance and beste ayle (oil); thar is also good wyne.”86

Similar depictions of fruitfulness exist for other Ottoman controlled islands such as Tenedos and Cyprus. Fruitfulness through correct use of the land was considered the province of the non-Turkish peoples; in this confessionally varied space, Christians are considered the good tillers, traditionally considered virtuous way to utilize land. They are the ones who grow the goods which Englishmen travel through the Mediterranean in order to acquire for the domestic market.

In contrast to these honest Greeks, the Turks are depicted as taking advantage of that labor. Whilst considering the people involved in running the economy of Constantinople, Sandys remarks that the Greeks “are of divers trades in cities and, in the country, do till the earth (for the European Turks do little meddle with husbandry.”87 For Sandys, all that fruitfulness is what the Greeks can bring forth from the land, no thanks to their Turkish overlords. After landing on the western shore of Anatolia, Dallam and his diplomatic group ride with Sir Thomas Glover, the ambassador to the Porte, to Istanbul. En route, they stop by the town of Hora/Chora, filled with “great stroe of corne and vinyardes, verrie good…also greate store of silke wormes, wyne a pottll for one penye.”88 Despite this fruitfulness of the land, that would, in an ideal monarchy, keep the

85 Dallam 5
86 Ibid.
87 Sandys 78.
88 Dallam 53.
farmers happy and prosperous, “the inhabytans of all these townes ar verrie pore” for “the Turks dothe kepe them so under, levinge upon the frutes of these pore peoples labures.” In such a state of tyranny, those who work the means of agricultural production are unable to enjoy the results of their labor.

In describing the rule of Ahmet I, George Sandys writes that the Sultan controls of “two Empires, aboue kingdoms, besdies divers rich and populous Cities, together with the Red, most of the Mid-land, the Aegean, Euxine, and Proponticke seas,” large swathes of which give forth gold, fish, and other valuable economic commodities. Despite this innate fruitfulness of all this space, the subjects of the Sultan, especially the Christians, are poor and the land is not flourishing. The space was “imputed to the barbarous wastes of the Turkish conquests” that “depopulate whole countries” so that the countryside (though not the cities) are thinly populated. The way Sandys sees it, it may be a blessing in disguise for the Christian subjects “whose pouerty is their onely safety and protectresse” from feeding into the ruler’s “taxes, custome, spoiles, and extortions.” The state of poverty can be traced back to the purely extractive, selfish relationship that the English conceptualize the Ottoman government in the person of the Sultan has with those under him, that he is “the commander of their lives and general heire of their substances.”

While much focus was given unto perceived Christian suffering under Ottoman rule, tyranny affected all of the subjects. Henry Timberlake observed that “in the City of Ierusalem are three Christians for one Turke and many Christians in the country roun about.” This religiously mixed population, whatever other differences within in terms of husbandry and agriculture, “all live poorely under the Turke.”

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89 Ibid.
90 Sandys 76.
91 Timberlake 26.
Another related explanation for how Ottoman lands can be thought of as wasted and fruitful is that the land has unfulfilled possibilities. The possibilities of what the land could presently be lay in its better, more fruitful past, highlighting the wasted potential of the land, languishing under Turkish tyranny. The area around Mount Olivet was described by Sandys to be “bedect with Oliues, Almonds, and Fig-tree.”\(^{92}\) The traveler sees this state of agricultural bloom to be indicative of what could be, rather than what is; the land would be “pleasently riche when husbanded,” but it is now in a “barbarous” state of “neglected pregnancy.”

Fynes Moryson makes a similar point while writing his travels through Palestine. While he rode with a caravan towards Ramma, “through a most pleasant plaine,” they saw fields “yielding time and hysope, and other fragrant herbes, without tillage or planting, growing so high as they came to the knew [knee] of our Asses.”\(^{93}\) Whether these fields were actually under-used or just appeared thus when the English traveler because the farming practices differed to the extent that their existence was unrecognizable or the brief glimpse was during a time where no human intervention in the land was noticeable is unclear. The implication for the audience was that this soil could sustain much, but human hands had not coaxed what “could” be into reality.

Fruitfulness without any sort of technological or agricultural improvement showed off the lands’ potentials, languishing under poor governance and lack of proper rule.

Tyranny was a spectre haunting the imaginations of turn-of-the-17\(^{th}\) century English speaking travelers to Ottoman lands. What they saw in the Ottoman world served as a mirror in negative for the proper state of monarchy and its effect. A monarch should not be selfish and give in to his base desires to extract wealth from the lands and labor of his people; instead, he should govern in a manner that does not harshly infringe upon the subjects’ enjoyment thereof. A sentiment

\(^{92}\) Sandys 199.
\(^{93}\) Moryson 215.
expressed in the political philosopher John Locke’s thinking, the security of life and property under a well-balanced state is equated with liberty.

The fear of tyranny in England manifested in one peculiar cross-national parallel. In 1622, Osman II was strangled by conspirators in the first Ottoman regicide. This was an event widely reported in both the Dutch and English press and was memorialized in the theatres as well.94 Two decades later, the English encountered what they saw as the illegitimately-increasing authority of Charles I and a sideling of Parliament with its powerful, independent elites. In that context, in the 1630’s and 40’s, the fretting about what a free state and free people should be like used the Turks as an example of unfreedom; this cultural/political worry which manifested into the full-blown rebellion of the English Civil War referred back to the textual productions about Osman’s death when thinking about the limits of political power in their own context.95 With the strangulation of another monarch by his subjects in mind, the full blown civil war would end with Charles’ head separated from his body in 1949.

**Connections and Comparisons to the Wider British World**

Anglophone understandings of lands under Ottoman control as a meter of good governance and good agricultural management can be placed in a wider context. This is merited by the fact that certain anxieties and concerns pervaded many spheres of cultural expression, with little regard for geographic space, and that, in a few cases, the same people who traveled to the Ottoman empire also traveled elsewhere (Moryson in Ireland, Sandys in Virginia).

One theatre where England was asserting greater direct control during the turn of the 17th century going forward is Ireland where we also find Fynes Moryson, in roles other than, but complimentary to, the great gentleman-traveler to Turkey and writer of those travels. In his

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95 Ibid.
Itinerary, the history of and the methods by which the suppression of Tyrone’s Rebellion as the secretary to Lord Mountjoy, who took over from the Earl of Essex and ended the conflict with English victory and the Irish rebels’ unconditional surrender and who Moryson called an “assured friend.” Tyrone’s Rebellion or the Nine Year’s War was a large scale uprising in the Ireland during the tail end of the Elizabethan era. The Flight of the Earls that occurred afterwards, wherein Hugh O’Neel and his ilk fled to the continent, left their lands in Ulster opened to the improvement of English setters.

Fynes Moryson is sometimes quite explicit in noting the connection between his travels in the Ottoman Empire and his time fighting in Ireland; for example, noting his guide’s fear of thieves when traveling from Jaffa to Jerusalem because the “Arabians are not unlike the wild Irish for they are subject to the great Turke, yet being poore and farre distant from his imperiall fear, they cannot be brough to due obedience, much lesse to abstaine from robberies.” Of course, the “wilde Irish” had already been brought to “due obedience” by the English forces and the lands of the rebel-lords went into the national land market and fell under elite English improvement. The under-used fens and fields of Ireland were converted under imperial guidance into “improved” and “fruitful” agricultural spaces which were better uses of land than the Irish, who were thought by the English to be half-wild and possibly nomadic.

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96 Moryson 123. This Charles Blount, to my knowledge, is unrelated to Henry Blount, gentleman-traveller who penned the popular A Voyage into the Levant.
97 Moryson 216.
98 There was an origin story making the rounds in the Early modern Anglosphere that the Irish were actually descended from Scythians, a fierce horse-riding people, inhabiting parts of Asia Minor, contemporary to the Ancient Greeks. Likewise, the Turks were thought to have descended from, are related to, or were just conflated with the Scythians. This nomadic past is seen as evidence by the English that the Irish lack the innate capability for proper agriculture. In the Turks, this imagined past is seen as why they are disinterested in trade and agriculture, although their relative powerfulness and prosperity can be seen as a people who have, in some manner, of overcoming their nomadic past. See Suryani’s chapter on National Origin in The Genius of the English Nation.
The New World was another site wherein one may draw comparisons and connections to the discourse surrounding Ottoman lands. For the areas along the Northeast coastal regions and, later, beyond, into the Ohio River Valley, the language of improvement was used as a colonial justification for the English settlers. The idea was that the Indians were not using the land properly, even if it was depicted as fruitful; just like Ottoman lands described as uncultivated, but productive, so were the lands inhabited by (or emptied of) Indians. In Bradford’s *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, the author describes the land as both unpeopled and full of brutish people who do minimal agricultural work. “Like the improver’s common land, the colonist’s America is both legitimately empty and attractively full.” Texts about new English settlements such as John Smith’s *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles* painted tantalizing images of untilled, but blooming lands, with the aim of attracting investors and colonists to work the earth in the New World. Just as in travel tales about Englishmen traversing the Ottoman Empire, fruitfulness and “waste” was not a contradiction in fact, but held the possibility of better things under expert guiding hands.

For Locke, the original state world was a Golden Age of plenty; as he puts it beautifully, hopefully, and, in retrospect of the centuries of Anglo oppression of Native Americans and other groups, menacingly, “all the World was America.” In other words, the whole of the world was open to improvement and use without the troubles that improvement, enclosure, and displacement caused at home because men could be as free to do as they wished with the land as they would not impinge on other men’s lands since land was infinite (like America was conceptualized to be).

What English colonization in America represented to Locke was a return to the Golden Age, where every man was king on his own plot of land, able to do with it as he will, and the land

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99 Edwards 16.
yielding enough to satisfy its owner and more so that no conflict need arise.\textsuperscript{100} Such a model of strong landowners, beholden to the liberty that guarantees their own interest and acting as a bulwark against tyranny, was what Locke envisioned as underpinning the free English state; conversely, such was what was wrong with the Ottoman empire, that it did not guarantee the safety of its subjects’ properties and lives (or English travelers’ properties and lives for that matter). The wages of such tyranny, as described by English travelers, was barrenness or illegitimate fruitfulness, born of improperly or under-tilled land.\textsuperscript{101}

However, the looming of concerns contemporary to the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries, of changing conceptualization of land use, proper and improper, and its link to governance and colonialism, is not free from the coloring of the past. The scale of what constituted barrenness and fruitfulness and what counted as a good monarch and a bad tyrant is textually mediated by Scripture and by Classical treatises and literature. The use of such sources of traditions is not limited to the establishment of an imagined Golden Age with which to contrast and criticize a degraded present, as will be demonstrated in Part Two of this thesis. But, like the descriptions of land use and governance, these mediations reveal the participation of English-speaking travelers in larger conversations about how physical spaces should be understood.

\textsuperscript{100} Although Locke’s view that the American colonies represented freedom from want and freedom from coercion by one’s fellow man did not extend to slaves as evidenced by his advocacy of the rightness of the vile practice in South Carolina’s founding documents.

\textsuperscript{101} Edwards, Jess. ““Nature in Defect”: Yielding Landscapes in Early Modern Discourses of Enclosure and Colonisation.” Studies in Travel Writing 4.1 (2000): 1-28. Critics of the common lands gave a gendered account of the degradation of common land, drawing comparison to “common women” who were open to all men, promoted immorality and the breakdown of social order, and either were barren or begat illegitimate offspring that were a burden on their community.
Part Two: Land as Holy and Ancient, Familiar and Foreign, Textually and Experientially Mediated

As the 16th century turned into the 17th, more and more popular texts, whether harrowing tales of escape from Turkish or Moorish captivity or tragedies featuring an Oriental setting, would have inundated the urban audience with knowledge (or factoids perceived as knowledge) of these places and the people (along with their religion, customs, government, and so forth) living there. The Turks and their land found their way into popular English travelogues along with religious homilies, church collection for the redemption of prisoners held by Barbary states, and news from the Continent filled with the clash of resounding arms of the Ottoman-Hapsburg Wars. The lands held by the Ottoman Empire, therefore, were not some faraway country of which the average English reader knew little. Some English people even had gone to those places on a Levant Company ship, found work in those lands as mercenaries or craftsmen, or kept the company of Turks, Moors, and Greeks. But, despite the Turks (and Moors) being the largest group of “Other” that early modern English person encountered through the abovementioned means, the way that most people encountered “the Turk” was through texts such as plays, homilies, and newsbooks.102

However, the newly-minted, newly-printed mental pictures of those lands coexisted with and were informed by older images. Sources of information about the Eastern Mediterranean stretched back to the Classical period, the time of Ancient Greece and Rome. Popular Classical sources to use include writers such as Stabo (concerning geography), Pliny (concerning history, both natural and human), and Ovid as well as the great epics of the Odyssey and the Aenid. The Old and New Testament sites peppered the landscape. Positioned between between those tourist-

y sites of Mary’s house and Troy’s ruines were also places that hold importance in the English mind because of their connections to recent history, particularly the Crusades, in addition to more local histories.

The heavy use of Classical and Biblical allusions stems in large part to the popular intellectual culture following the Renaissance and the English Reformation. The Renaissance, starting in the 15th century, encouraged a revival of interest in the Greek and Roman texts. It became both fashionable and expected for a learned person to have read Livy’s *Histories* and Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives*, to have contemplated Aristotle and Lucretius.103 The expectation found itself manifested in both private academies and wider institutions of learning. The humanism of Italy also spawned the Northern Renaissance, found in places such as Flanders and England, exemplified by scholars like Thomas More and Desiderius Erasmus, which placed emphasis on focusing on Scripture as a source of true religion (particularly through the study of ancient languages like Hebrew and Greek) as well as the Classics. The love of Scripture was also found in the Protestant Reformation. In the particular case of the English Reformation, this lead to the push for popular literacy education so that the newly-Protestant people may know the Word of God, leading to the increased education of clergy and of everyday people.

At the turn of the 17th century, the long term effects of Renaissance humanism and the Protestant Reformation included the embedding and valuation of the Bible and the Classics in the living minds of men. Although this was done by travelers from all walks of life, the extent to which the writers of travelogues could wield these quotes depended on their position in society. Elites from good families like George Sandys and Fynes Moryson read their Ovid and Lucretius

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103 Ironically, part of this flourishing of Classical learning came from Greek scholars fleeing to Italy after the fall of the vestiges of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottomans in 1453. This was part of an ongoing, two century long process of migrating academics moving to Italy, starting with the 1204 Fourth Crusade and Frankish occupation of the capital city. As those men fled westward, these English travelers went eastwards to see the Classical and Biblical places of their books and schooling.
at Oxford and Cambridge, respectively. Clergymen like William Biddulph were versed in the Bible and, on the whole, were part of a literate class. Craftsmen like Thomas Dallam and merchants like Henry Timberlake were clearly literate to a degree and, from their writings, familiar with stories and figures from the Classical and Scriptural tradition, but were not as steeped in the texts as those higher in the social hierarchy.

For the writer, these textual allusions could have been drawn books brought with them on their journey or, more likely than that, the quotes were sought from commonplace books or the original texts from after the traveler returned from the Levant and set out to write his travelogue. For the learned sort, or even those who have had a basic grammar school education, by the time in their young to mid adulthood when they embark on a ship to the Levant, a stock of frequently used allusions would have been stowed into their memory boxes, born of the years of grammar school education and listening to learned priests quote the good book. Having this brief overview of the forms, let us turn now to functions, how these allusions nodding to the Classical, Biblical, and (relatively) recent historical past function.

Classical and Biblical references take on a variety of forms in turn of the 17th century travelogues. Most frequently, Bible verses and Classical allusions are embedded in the body of text itself. On one end of the scale, they appear as namedrops, frequently done to relate a contemporary place or figure to an ancient precedent, a mere italicized, non-English word or phrase that does not otherwise interrupt the flow of text. Some writers choose to mark the excerpts from the Odyssey or Pliny with different font, as a separate from the rest of the travelogues, usually for those longer passages. The quoted texts of the Bible and the Classics are
always done in English, with the Latin translation or original adjacent in the normal flow of the text or featured prominently on the side margins.104

As a genre, travel tales were “heavily mediated by textual knowledge” from culturally privilege sources.105 In the following sections, this part examines the manner in which the coloring of land with a Classical or Scriptural nature, functions within the intellectual life of early modern English society, in terms of familiarizing foreign space and serving as ammunition in perceived intellectual conflicts with other religions, mainly Catholicism. The rhetorical trope of “ruins,” the architectural remnants of bygone eras referenced in Ovid and the Old Testament, that mark the Eastern Mediterranean are explored with reference to its contemporary historiographical understandings. Ocular and experiential information that existed alongside textual mediation is examined in the section on how Baconian empiricism worked within a genre that more lent itself to quoting Horace and Psalms. All of this will take place in light of the problem that travel writers faced when presenting their assessments of physical space to a domestic audience: how to convince the reader that what they wrote about the tomb of this saints, the mountain where that Trojan War hero fell into the realms of “truth” and “fact?”

**The Problem of Truthiness**

The early modern traveler who had gone to places where others have little knowledge of and where they were beyond the watchful eye of their communities and co-religionists and co-ethnicists, was thought to be prone to make up the fantastic and the false about the lands that he visited. A strong suspicion was that the traveler never went to the place she claimed at all,

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104 Except for Moryson’s work which was originally in Latin, these works were written and published in (mostly) English. Because of the structure of education, Greek texts were less referenced than Latin ones. Pollard thinks that the preference for Latin quotes and translations over Greek ones is the comparative difficulty of setting Greek type for the printers (and the printers’ poor apprentices), so used to setting English texts which use, obviously, Latin type.

summed up in the adage “travelers may lie by authority.” The struggle to gain the authority to tell a true travel tale that was faced by the Morysons and the Timberlakes prompted them to explicitly write against the “charges of discovering ‘Utopia or any country fained by imagination,’ intending to persuade the reader that indeed ‘nowhere’ is a place” via a number of strategies when describing exotic lands.\textsuperscript{106} In the early modern culture of fact, published travel writings were not automatically given the weight of truth(iness).\textsuperscript{107} When readers place a travel tale on a scale, the feather of truth, of what is plausible, familiar, and believable, was measured against the weight of the travel-writer’s authority as a reputable teller of truth in the eyes of the reading audience.

The anxiety of establishing a travel tale’s believability was reflected in some travelogues by the mentions the process of creating the text. Timberlake wrote that, after “returning backe to the [Holy] Sepulchre, I measured the distance between place and place, spending thus the time from five of the clocke before night, when I came in, untill next day at eleven of the clocke at my coming forth, writing downe all things I thought note-worthy.”\textsuperscript{108} The travel writers interjected depictions of text formation in a self-referential manner in between descriptions of land in order to insist that what they were writing about the land was the product of a true eye and good judgment.

This authority to tell what is “truth” and “fact” fell on the axes of class and gender, the former being more explicit and prominent than the latter. Taking a note from Steven Shapin’s work on scientific production, Julia Schleck affirms that, for early modern travel writing, “the distribution

\textsuperscript{108} Timberlake 21.
of imputed credit and reliability followed the contours of authority and power.” In this context, this principle meant that, in general, a man’s voice was deemed more trustworthy than a woman’s and a gentleman’s voice held more authority than an organ maker’s or a sailor’s, just as that gentleman would have more authority in other social situations. Even some critics of travel writing attacked the genre through class lines. John Cartwright, a politician, deemed the popular printed works about sailing to Chios or walking through Grand Cairo “more fitte for a Stage, for the common people to wonder at, then for any mans private studies,” By placing travel tales on the same level as plays, Cartwright is both an example of the lack of early modern privileging of travelogues as inherently more truthful than theatre (a fact that studiers of this period should always be cognizant of).

The practice of namedropping people who the traveler saw in his sojourn also fell along class lines. The purpose of thus was to cite credible (English) witnesses who could (theoretically) lend their reputation to the writer’s travels assertions that he was indeed there. When Timberlake arrived at Jerusalem, he made sure to note that he was there with “Master John Burrell” and that they had met “M. William Bedle, Preacher to the English Merchants, which were Liegers at Aleppo, M. Edward Abbot, servant to the right Worshipfull Sir Iohn Spencer: M. Ieffery Kirbie, servant to the Worshipfull M. Paul Banning” and two other young men. In order to increase their respectability, Timberlake, when he can, invokes those higher than the witnesses on the totem pole, siphoning off the credibility and weight of their social betters. Biddulph invokes the names of the merchants and ambassadors such as Sir Thomas Glover that he encounters in Aleppo along with noting that he saw the grave of Henry Moryson (brother of Fynes) in Iskenderun/Alexandretta. Both Moryson and Dallam also mention the English officials who give

109 Schleck 21.
110 Schleck 17.
111 Timberlake 22
them shelter and support, either to affirm their thankfulness at being given money, food, and housing when physically in Ottoman lands or to borrow a part of their reputation as elite men.

Related to this practice was the invocation of powerful patrons of works who lent a portion of their honor, thus improving the reception of the work and its reliability in the reading public’s mind. Moryson begins his Itinerary with both a section threatening the Majesty’s displeasure and a fine of three pounds if a person is caught reprinting, importing, and otherwise using the text without proper permission, surrounded by images of royal authority, and a dedication to “Right Honorable William, Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlaine of his Maiesties Houshold, one of his Maiesties most Honourable Privie Counsell, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter”112 This relatively rare feature of an early modern copyright page

The authority that gender bestowed was not emphasized. It was assumed that such endeavors of moving through such a male-dominated space (like trading olive oil in Zante or presenting diplomatic gifts in Constantinople) were not fit for women. The essayist Thomas Palmer discourages travel for both women and the insane. Fynes Moryson agrees that women should not travel for fear for their chastity. Travelogues written by Englishwomen, save the odd captivity narrative where the author in question by genre parameters does not have much choice in her traveling, do not show up until Lady Mary Montagu goes to Istanbul in the 1740’s.113 That is not to say that some Englishwomen did not move through the same maritime routes crisscrossing the Mediterranean to the Ottoman Empire, like their male counterparts, just that such travels were not transformed into notable travelogues for public consumption. Within the genre, the area where claims of authorial authority are made and asserted is class rather than gender because that

112 Moryson
is where difference lay within the odd group of (mostly) men who traveled to the Ottoman
empire and came back to write and publish about it.

Before launching into a description of Jerusalem’s history, George Sandys in his Relation of
a Journey, acknowledged the prolific-ness and reputation of the genre he was writing in; “much
labour” has already been expended to “relate the site and state of this Citie, with the places
adjoining.” The reason why the author continued to spill ink, “to write what hath bin written
already,” was to “deliver the Reader from many erring reports of the too credulous devote and
too vain-glorious.” On these two issues so supposedly rife in the genre of travel tales, Sandys
declared himself “unswayed with either of their vices,” without any further defense of his
writing’s truthiness and character, but that concern will continue to mark how he represented
physical space in his work.

Every early modern writer of travel tales, regardless of such declarations, had to do likewise
and engage with this problem: how does one represent land in a manner that was regarded as
truthful to domestic audiences who are suspicious of both the returned traveler and his
information regarding space that has already been thoroughly soaked with culturally privileged
textual understandings? Because of such pressures, in order to answer back at the critics and
profit from these texts, both as objects that can be sold and as an opportunity for representation
the self as religiously orthodox, learned, etc., a set of strategies developed that tapped into
discourses about foreign religions and Scriptural and Classical mediations.

Familiarizing Foreign Land with Biblical and Classical Texts

The turn-of-the-17th-century traveler had a large host of concerns and strategies surrounding
establishing credibility. They feared being called liars or, worse, unreliable narrators by the
reading public. The results of such a slur taking hold could be monetary. Printers would not

114 Sandys 154.
produce their works and their texts would not be bought as a “true travel tale.” Disbelief in the
contents of their travels could also result in job opportunities being lost. Travel writings were
texts in which good judgment, as a good preacher of the Bible or as a good gentle-surveyor who
knew how to assess land use, for example; a show of poor judgment, could mean the loss of trust
by potential employees.\textsuperscript{115} Demonstrations of a lack of sound reasoning could also open the
traveler to accusations of being too loose in their belief and possibly dangerous flirting with
foreign ways and religions, instead of being steadfastly British and Protestant (Anglican, the
right kind of True Religion!). To prevent such terrible fates from befalling their stories, a set of
methodologies were utilized to reassure the text consumers that they should invest (literally) in
the book or pamphlet and invest their trust in the traveler-writers as a proper guide and informant
concerning these unfamiliar lands.

One strategy to bolster their credibility was sign-post and to invoke the familiar. The purpose
of referencing those lands using Classical and Scriptural, as well as the odd that readers knew
from listing the places was signposting, with the author’s intention being to make the unfamiliar,
familiar. The traveler reasserts his text’s truthiness value and his identification with the reader
through learned allusions which acted as a bulwark against accusations of being ill-educated,
damning for a travel writer’s believability. William Winstanley, when compiling a book of
biographies of the notable English poets in 1687, praised the traveler George Sandys by linking
his “good education” (aka his Classical and Biblical education) to his “addicting to Travel”
which profitably yielded “lively and truly” apt descriptions of Jerusalem, Greece and Egypt; he
excoriated other travelers who, in contrast to Sandys, “instead of improving their Knowledge,
return knowing in nothing but what they were ignorant of or….take notice only of Trifles and

\textsuperscript{115} Not unlike the Facebook of the present day. Posts about banal things and pictures of enjoying work and
conferences=good judgment=possible good employee. Posts about banal frenemy drama and pictures of nights of
too much drink and too little dignity=resume in trash.
One had to be well-armed with knowledge from culturally privileged texts prior to moving through strange foreign places or else the reports about thereof would be dismissed as naught but ignorant trivialities. The common ethno-national background adds to the credibility of the narrator. In short, “authors are not only reassuring their readers by attaching familiar tags to places that were geographically unfamiliar, but also saying to them: you and I are both part of the educated reading public, the republic of letters, because we have both had a classical education.”

Explaining the novel land in a familiar way both helps author engage the reader and aid him (or her) in better understanding the text. After detailing all his tourist-y activities in Palestine and Jerusalem, the captain and merchant Henry Timberlake, “for your mor easie and perfect understanding,” described “how the country about Ierusalem lyeth” by “familiarly compare their several places, with some of our nations English Townes and usages, according to such true estimation as I have made of them.” By using terms like “our nations English Townes” and referencing a common frame of reference, Timberlake asserts his ethno-national identity in addition to explaining things to his audience.

He goes on: “[i]magine I beginne with London, I meane much upon the point of difrance..In order to “The City of Bethlehems, where Christ our Sabior was borne is from Jerusal... as Wansworth is from London” and continues “the plaine of Maure is from Ierusalem, as Guilford...”

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is from London in which place or neere to it, is the City of Hebron, where our Father Abraham lyeth buried.”

By referencing the capital city of their nation, where many of the readers would have worked and lived and noting the closeness of Hebron, “where our Father Abraham lyeth,” Timberlake simultaneously affirms his English and Protestant identities along with engaging his readers to identity with him the traveler moving through foreign, yet relatable space.

Just like Timberlake used familiar English distances and landmarks to relate foreign knowledge to familiar knowledge, Classical and Biblical lands were superimposed unto the land that travelers saw in order to familiarize and relate back to the reading audience. As Dallam passes mainland Greece, he spies “a fine Iland called Sireego.” To the intended readers of his diary, he explained the significance of this place: “They saye that in this Iland faire Hellin was born, and from thence stolne awaye before the Distrucktion of Troye.”

George Sandys draws from the same well of allusions to appeal to his readership, although, reflecting the higher social status of his intended audience, he goes into demonstrates his learning and goes into greater detail. As his ship sails “betweene Cape Malio and Cerigo…better knowne by the name Cythera,” Sandys elucidates that it was “an Iland consecrated vnto Venus” where “it is said that Paris made a rape of Helena or rather here first enjoyed her in his returne from Sparta.”

Even Thomas Dallam, whose work was found as an unpublished diary (so the usual market pressures do not apply) and who, from what can be gleaned from his background and social class as a craftsman, did not receive as high a degree of education as George Sandys or Fynes Moryson, engaged in this familiarization process through Classical and Biblical allusions, although he did not engage in the same degree of detail and quote mining. After passing Limnos, Dallam “came to the Ilande Samose” which carried importance for the intended English

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120 Dallam 26.
121 Sandys 10.
readership that was “wheare that famos felosefer Pathagarus was borne.”122 That one importance was all that was given, despite a whole host of other possible importances, seems to speak to the fact that Dallam did not have a terribly thorough understanding of the land, perhaps reporting that particular Classically-inflected identity of the land that he received from a more learned shipmate.

Religious significance was also interlaced with the narrative of the travel texts along with commercial interests, to help the reader mark the traveler’s location mentally. The Hector, the man-o-war that carried Thomas Dallam to the Levant, stopped by Iskenderoun to resupply, but the land was not only marked by those necessary concerns of travel. Dallam notes that “in the time of our being at Scandaroune, our longe boote wente everie Frydaye to Tharschus…for that was ther market Daye, and she wente to buy vitalls.” For the purposes of familiarizing that space, the author makes sure his audience knew that Tarsus was “the cittie or towne wheare the appstele St. Pale was borne.” To further triangulate the spot, Dallam locates the land in an Old Testament story; close by, “aboute the myd waye [from Tarsus], or somewhat nearer to Scandarowne, is the place wheare Jonas was caste out of the whales bellie, as the Turkes and Greekes tould us.”

The men writing these works were all in some way involved in matters of trade and concerned with the military affairs of the Eastern Mediterranean (insofar as such events affects Anglo mercantile interests and the foreign affairs of Christendom). Reflecting thus, those more prosaic interests were integrated with the highfalutin Classical and Biblical allusions without much distinction between them.

For the learned, university-educated traveler like George Sandys and Fynes Moryson, the landscape is replete with tokens and reminders of the historical and Scriptural past; not only do readers have to figure out a foreign land, they also have to figure out a foreign time. To quote

122 Dallam 40.
Evi Mitsi, “the literary and historical references of the places he visits with geography, the actual description of the site, to transport his readers to a historically significant location and to enable them to connect past and present.” By using familiar mental landmarks, Sandys and other travelers were able to better temporally locate a particular site they visited, just as Timberlake used the physical distances between cities to give readers meaning to the foreign, but familiar places in their minds.

These texts not only tie the time of the 17th century reader with the Classical or Biblical era, they also serve to locate space within many different points in the past, close and distant. According to Moryson, in Cilicia laid the “Iccian Gulfe where Alexander the Great overcame Darius.” The chief city of the province was Tarsus, “now called Bias, in which Towne Saint Paul was borne.” By the author’s judgement, the identities of interest of this space, to himself and to his readers, were located in the Hellenistic and New Testament histories.

The description of Syria was given a similar treatment. The city of Damascus “is thought to be built by the servants of Abraham and neere the City is a place where Christ appeared to Saint Paul.” Besides the sure knowledge of those Biblical identities, Moryson also mentioned supposed Old Testament marks on the land, that “the Sepulcher of Zachartas is said to be there and they [probably local guides] shew…where Caine is said to have killed Abell.” The author went on to describe the fertility of the space, mentioning the present agricultural identity that brought the Levant Company’s agents eastward to trade; “the soile is most fertile…that grapes grow there all the yeere and that there is plenty of Quines, Figges, Almonds, and Damsco Prunes.”

Antioch was given both a New Testament and Byzantine historical identity. “Of old called Reblatha,” the city, “after it had beene decaied by a great Earthquake, was rebuilt by the

123 Mitsi 53.
124 Moryson 120.
125 Ibid 121.
Emperour Iustinian.” Centuries before that geological disruption and imperial re-edification, the space was known as “Theopolis, a famous City in which the Professours formerly called Disciples, first had the names of Christians, and the Histories testifie that Saint Peter was the first Bishop thereof.” Through these descriptions, Syria’s identity in the minds of the readership was coloured with Old Testament, New Testament, Post-Classical, and present understandings.

In describing his travels, with a company of English merchants, the town of Sarepta, located betwixt Alexandria and Damascus, George Sandys evokes every period of history that would be of interest to his reading audience. Near a “final solitary Mosque…erected, as they say, over the widowes house that entertained Elias” were “the foundations of Sarepta commended for her wines,” quoting Sidonius imbibing Sareptan vine who neither has “Gazeticke, Chian, nor Falernian wine” because of his preference; already in the first line of description, the Biblical past was integrated with the Classical remains.126

The history of the land as stretches back further than these confessional histories. Beyond the contemporary settlement named “Sarapanta,” “there are a number of cut out of the rock, the habitations, as I suppose, of men in the Golden Age, and before the foundation of Cities.” This was a far past age, remembered by Sandys with the words of Juvenal as a time of simplicity and virtue, when “coole caves humble dwelling did afford…when a man’s honor was “plac’t all under one shed…when the wife then chast (for them uncourtly) made her bed of straw and leaves with the skinnes of wilde beasts spread.” By quoting Satires, meant in its age to criticize the excesses (especially sexual immorality) of Imperial Rome, Sandys simultaneously tied an imagined deep past with the Classical era to the anxieties and concerns of the present.

The Christian identity of the land was the main aspect emphasized though, which is expected given both writer and readership are professed Protestants encountering an environment of

126 Sandys 213.
religious difference. Sarepta was “the seate of a Bishop” and was “mentioned in the booke of Iosua” wherein it was known as “Mearah.” The aforementioned caves were mentioned in scripture as “the caves of the Sidonians…a place then inexpugnable and maintained by the Christians.” The connection to the original Christian nature of the land, as it confirmed by the Bible, histories, and residents, was severed, “in the yeere 1167,” when “it [the town] was by corrupted souldiers delivered to the Saracens.” In the description of Sarepta in Relation of a Journey, the present is tied to the past, the grape and vine and the cave dwellings evoked in the same section as the “handsome new town” with the suspiciously similar name built on the mountain, periods in the deep and recent past are knitted together into one image of a land’s identity in flux (and possibly in decline).

The more recent, post-Classical past that color the landscape of the Ottoman Empire conform similarly to this pattern of evoking the familiar to give the land significance and meaning for readers. These places were related mostly to events that Europeans (and the English state) were involved in and tend to refer to points of violent contention between Islam and Christianity. These were either embedded into English historical memory or were widely covered by pamphlets and town criers. Moryson notes when his ship passes the location “where the Navy of the Pope, King of Spaine, and Venetians confederate, having Don Iohn of Austria…obtained a noble Victorie in the yeere 1571 agains the Navy of the Turkes.” He also shows some familiarity of the battle beyond just the name and location; the writer notes how “the Christians hiding there many of their Gallies” deceived “the Turkes [into] coming out of the Gulfe of Corinth (now called the Gulfe of Lepanto)” because the Christian side’s seemingly lower numbers would cause the Turks to be “more easily drawne to fight.”

127 Moryson 212.
128 Ibid.
In that vein, the English travelers would also mark the land in their texts for its significance in the Crusades and other remains of the Medieval period. Henry Timberlake visits the “Tombs of Baldwin and Godfrey of Bullonge,” two figures from that period, after leaving the Holy Sepulchre. Sandys, when crossing “the river Elutherus (now called Casmeir) notes both what he sees before his eyes, how the river “glideth along with a speedy course through a strangely intricate channel” and how the body of water itself was “guilty of the death of the Emperour Fredericke Barbarossa, who falling from his horse as he pursued the Infidels and oppressed with the weight of his armour, was drowned therein and buried at Tyrus.” Riding towards Jaffa, Sandys sees many “goodly ruines” which “testifie far better building [compared to the contemptible housing of present day Rama], especially those of the Christian Chruches;” one of those was a monastery “founded by Philip the good Duke of Burgundy…built for the releefe and safety of Pilgrims in their Passage to Ierusalem.”

Given the overriding need was to evoke the familiar, the texts predictably contained fewer references to the past that did not include the Biblical, Classical, and other histories that the British felt that they had a stake in (such as Crusades). However, to that lesser extent, the land was still mediated by the histories and contemporary realities created by the Ottomans that did not have much to do with the English, Greeks, Italians, or other Christian peoples. As Thomas Dallam was moving through the palace to set up and play his mechanical organ, he noted the beauty of the gardens and buildings as well as a “little house” where the emperor that rained when I was thare, had nynten brothers put to deathe in it,” referring to an infamous incidence of fratricide by Mehmed III, before the gilded cage system is set up. The process of securing

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129 Timberlake 21.
130 Sandys 213.
131 Sandys 152.
132 Dallam 63.
peaceable succession was also mentioned in Moryson’s description of Bursa. The city, “seated over against Constantinople,” was where “some Turkish Emperors lye buried;” it was where “the great Turkes eldest sonne is sent to governe…in a kind of exile, for he never sees his Father more till he be dead and thither he is sent assoone as hee is circumcised.”\textsuperscript{133}

Sandys goes into great detail about the political machinations of the Emir of Sidon and his history of defiance of central Ottoman authority. In his passages going over the history of Egypt, not only is the Classical past and the participation of Egypt in Christian-Islamic conflicts (Saladin in the Crusades, Muslim Saracens being called “for assistance in the expulsion of the Greeks”) considered to be fit topics for the textual consumption, events which do not fall under those categories, that bear importance for their effect on that part of the world and not for its connection from the English context. The Mamluk sultanate was described as “dreadfull in power and abounding in riches” and their odd system of succession was (rightly) understood as being reproduced by “Circassian children…instructed in the Mahometan law and exercise of armes,” where “the sonne not succeeding the father neither in empire nor military profession.”\textsuperscript{134}

The end of that system was written on as well; the subsequent overthrow by “Selymus the Turkish Emperour” who “after sundy doubtfull and mortall conflicts utterly extinguished” the Mamluk sultanate; Egypt, that proud child of antiquity who “esteemed themselves the prime nation of the world” by virtue of “their unknown beginning, the nature of the soile, and excellent faculties attained unto through a long continuance” was now “governed by a Bassa who hath his residence in Cairo and commandeth as an absolute Soveraigne.”\textsuperscript{135}

Because of the need to appear truthful to readers, travel texts needed to render the lands of the faraway Eastern Mediterranean familiar. This methodology connected the physical space

\textsuperscript{133} Moryson 120.
\textsuperscript{134} Sandys 107.
\textsuperscript{135} Sandys 102, 108.
described with familiar and culturally privileged texts (Scripture, the Classical canon). It also utilized histories found in those texts and histories with relevance to the English/Christian identities to mark the lands’ past. In this way, while still maintaining the awareness that they were moving through places Other to the English, turn-of-the-17th century linked those spaces through distance and time to more familiar spots in the English mind. The effort at familiarization had to contend with one of the major markers of difference in the physical space of England and of the Ottoman, the religion of those who inhabited them. The next section will examine the ways in which

**Religious Encounters and Intellectual Conflict**

Whatever his class background, the traveler to these far-off places was under suspicion, not only because there was no wider social priviliging of the truth(iness) of his writings, but on account of the close contact with religious others. This suspicion was not only because of Christians having come in contact with Muslim religion, but also of the Protestant’s prolonged travel with other non-Protestant Christians (Catholics and Greeks, mostly). Besides the concern about losing souls from Protestantism, English society also feared Britannia losing useful, knowledgeable men who had “turned Turk” and “become “renegadoes” to rival powers; this concern stretched from gunners and sailors with military and navigational expertise to a rival maritime power to merchants and travelling preachers who knew both the lay of the land (physically and politically) in the British Isles and through the Mediterranean.\(^{136}\)

This anxiety of contamination by differentness, of having in some way gone native, is in part a fear for the soules of the men who travel outside of their traditional bounds and controls of community, both secular and religious.\(^{137}\) It was thus an essential part of establishing textual


\(^{137}\) Mitsi 3.
truthiness to for the reader to “perceive that I [the traveler] am still the same man and of the same mind…out of England as ever I was in England” through demarcating where English-Protestant knowledge clashed with Islamic or Catholic knowledge and taking a firm stance with the latter.  

Boarding a ship and going through the Mediterranean was a dangerous affair for the Protestant soul as the experience exposed the traveler to Islam. The early modern English term for such a conversion was “turning Turk.” The prospect of Englishmen converting to Islam was a recognized threat because of the power differential in the Mediterranean sphere where the power of English Protestantism is dwarfed by the maritime forces of Islam; this was where the Ottoman state (or the North African polities that were under the nominal suzerainty of the Sublime Porte) framed the rules of engagement and trade as well as controlled the movements of men and goods.

Nowhere was this fact made more stark than in captivity narratives, written by those forced into slavery under the Turks or Moors after being captured by pirates or some such happening. The threat of conversion under such duress is made clear in the story of John Saunders who recounts the slavery of himself and his fellow crewmates of the Jesus, wherein two sailors were forced to undergo circumcision and to pronounce the shahadah; this tale was printed as a standalone text and later reprinted in Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations*, indicating the popularity and popular reach of the narratives. There was considerable cultural/literary output in response to the prospects of fellow Englishmen turning Turk meant for both the pulpit and the stage, in homilies scorning the English travelers who are “Musselmans in Turke, and Christians at home;

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138 Biddulph 38.
doffing their religion as they doe their clothes” and in plays mocking those who would abandon their Protestant faith for material gain such as the bumbling servants in Heywood’s *Fair Maid of the West* and Darbone’s *Christian Turn’d Turk*. The same audience exposed to renegades of the faith in such mediums would then read about travelers who freely go into places that could possibly compromise their Protestant faith.

While moving through the Mediterranean, besides Moors, Turks, and Arabs, travelling Englishmen were also commonly in the company of other Western European peoples, termed “Franks” by the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, as well as living amongst the Armenians, Greeks, and Maronites. This catch-all phrase that included the English has parallels in the English use of the designation of “Turk” which could mean someone who was Muslim (as in an “English Turk” was not someone of mixed English and Turkish background, but was rather an English convert to Islam). It could also mean someone associated with the government, making the “Turk” occasionally synonymous with the “Ottoman” (someone who is of or works for the House of Osman). A “Turk,” for the urban elite in the Ottoman Empire could also pejoratively refer to someone who was an uneducated person from the countryside. Given the religious and ethnic diversity of the Empire, the people who the English referred to as “Turk” could range from a Pomak from the Greek mainland to a converted Albanian living in Aleppo. Both “Turk” and “Frank” were not necessarily excluding of other identities and the users of these terms were definitely aware that there were differences that were contained in, overlapped, and could possibly exclude those identities. However, both acted as a short hand for a Muslim subject of the Ottoman state (who probably was not Kurdish, Arab, or Moorish) and a person from Western Europe, whether that be France, Dutch, or English.

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141 Ibid 40, 55-56.
142 Leading to the occasion accusation by the English traveler that the Ottoman “Turk” elites were so neglectful and callously so of their population that they called their Turks unlearned and “without understanding.”
When in Jerusalem, an English person would be under the protection of the Pater Guardian and be given tours by Franciscan Friars. Biddulph elucidates the problem with such an arrangement; although the “Turkes give liberty of Conscience to all that come thither,” they do not provide housing for the Christians who come to the city so that Protestants who travel there have to lodge with the Catholic friars, the Greek institutions being “poore.” While the preacher finds the Franciscans “very kinde and courteous to strangers,” these hosts seek to “seduce them [English travelers] from their faithe and to winne them to the Church of Rome.” Biddulph warns his readers that, if they should undertake such a journey, they should “take heed to themselves that they make not a shipwracke of conscience.”

When travelling through the Levant, Englishmen would seek out the other (rarely Protestant) Christians on their caravan. When traveling to and fro the cities like Jaffa and Aleppo, Englishmen would take Italians ships, like Fynes Moryson did, where the “Patron and most of the Marriners were Greekes, and onely the Sciuano (that is, Scribe) with some Merchants were Italians and of the Roman Religion” along with “many Eastern Christians of divers Sects and Nations, and Turkes, and Persians, yea, very Indians worshipping the Sunne.” It was only on English ships from England and in the cities with Levant Company factories (trading posts) and their associated staff that the wanderers found themselves, by and large, in the company of Christians who were Protestant.

Outside of such protective circles, it was not uncommon for travelers to choose to pass a merely “Frank” or to conceal their identity in other fashions. When a company of sipahis under the control of a “Morat Bassa” passed George Sandys’ caravan, the Englishmen fell silent, afraid that they would fall prey to their “insolencies,” and mixed for a while with a group of Moorish

143 Biddulph 100.
144 Moryson 210.
travelers, “less discovered for Christians,” not openly denying their confessional identity, but certainly not proudly broadcasting it either. John Burrell, Henry Timberlake’s companion traveling to and around Jerusalem, passed as Greek when asked at the gates of the city. This was not necessarily a unique go-along-to-get-along strategy for the English speakers. Sandys also recounts that his party moving through the Levant had a Portuguese man among their ranks who was pretending to be Turkish during that leg of the trip.

Taking on the identity of “Frank” when traveling eastward was unsettling for the travelling Englishmen, not least because their identity had been subsumed in one which they had little to no control over, whose contours had been set by those who the Ottoman authorities considered their co-religionists. The term itself was a reminder that the travelers were being intellectual conceptualized by more powerful outside forces rather than the other way around and was a foreign designation to the English, as evidenced by the need to explain what it meant to the readers back home; the writers still referred to other groups by the their individual confessions, “Greeke,” “Papist,” and so on, while only ambivalently toying with the designation of “Frank” for themselves.

Travelers were certainly cognizant of their identity as distinct from those of the Greeks, Italians, and “Franks” and presented that fact to their intended audience. As Dallam was travelling through Thessaly, his group takes a detour (in order to avoid the Sultan’s returning army) through the hills of Parnassus “where we had all maner of ill wether, as thundringe, linghtninge, rayne, and snow, and our waye was so bad as I thinke never did Christians travel the like,” making the distinction between Tommy’s type of Christian (English church Protestant, the

145 Sandys 202. This may have been the feared Kuyucu Murad Pasha, “then in the confines of Persia,” the Grand Vizier known for his brutal suppression of Jelali rebels by burying them alive (thus his nickname “the Grave Digger” 146 Holmberg, Eva Johanna. “In the company of Franks: British identifications in the early modern Levant c. 1600.” Studies in Travel Writing 16.4 (2012): 363-374. 366. 147 Ibid. 366
sort who have never travelled through that spot of land before) from the Greeks and other Christians that lived in that land. But because of the experience of their identities being lumped together with their religion rivals, especially the Catholics, while going abroad, the writers felt the need to clarify for their readers and perhaps themselves that they were still distinct from their fellow travelers through their references to land.

Because the English traveler so oft’ kept the company of Catholics along with a tradition of anti-Catholicism, the result of a successful confessional remolding, post-Henrician Reforms, and imperial rivalries with the French, Italians, and Spanish, the threat of Englishmen abroad turning to the Bishop of Rome featured prominently alongside and, on occasion, superseding the fear of Protestants “turning Turk.” Of his anti-travel treatise, the Anglican Bishop Joseph Hall devotes a veritable fourth to the dangers of Popery. With the sons of gentry who go abroad for education or curiosity in mind, Hall, echoing Biddulph’s concerns, details how the “Coutizan of Rome” may send out agents, allied with the Prince of Darkness, to tempt the unprepared minds with gaudy displays and Sophistry. He was fearful that the outward beauty (covering the spiritual ugliness) of Catholicism compared to plainness of Protestantism; he imagines a French girl, remarking to an impressionable young Englishman, “seeing the procession of S. Genovesisue goe by the streets, could say, (O que belle, &c.) How fine a religion is ours in comparison of the Hugenots?”

Indeed, the Bishop writes that legitimate travel should only be reserved for trade and for matters of diplomacy; it is “[t]ravell of curiosity wherewith my quarrel shall bee maintained.” Even with merchants, he advises them to brush up on their religious doctrines so, that along with

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148 Dallam 83.
149 Hall, Joseph. "Quo vadis? A Ivst Censure of Travell as it is commonly undertaken by the Gentlemen of our Nation." (1617)
150 Ibid 5. He would have had much to quarrel with in terms of travel texts given how many evoke curiosity as a motive for travel and for reading such tales.
the currants, fine oil, and dried figs, “shall bring backe the same soules they carried,” un tarnished by Jesuitical sophistry or ritual.\textsuperscript{151} With world-class institutions, books of hard-won knowledge from far-off place, and plentiful, productive land, the English, Hall maintains, should stay in England which was separated from the rest of the world by an ocean (by God, no less!) “for the happiness of the people, not their restraint.”\textsuperscript{152}

One way by which English Protestant travelers responded to this fear that, they had been religiously tainted, in theory or practice, by their time abroad was to model themselves on impeccable religious forerunners. In his introduction, William Biddulph, ghost writing as Theosophilus Lavender, compares himself first to Classical figures who travel to acquire knowledge such as Plato and Pythagoras and then to Biblical characters; “Iacob in his old age travelled into Egypt…The Queen of the South, (whom Aristotle calleth imperfect creatures) travelled farre to heare the wisdome of Salamon”\textsuperscript{153} In terms of distance, Biddulph, “by land, had travelled further then Iacob, and the same way that Iacob did fro Hebron to Padan Aram, and hath had as hard lodging in his travel as Iacob had, viz. the ground to his pillow, the skie for his covering, and sometimes the aire for his supper.” By sea, Biddulph claimed to have gone “farther then S. Paul, then Aenea or Ulyssess.” All these comparisons reaffirmed the rightness of travel and were intentioned to shield the job-seeking preacher from queries about religious contamination and fitness for such a post, although they may not do much to advocate for his humbleness.

Henry Timberlake, when trying to enter the city of Jerusalem, got thrown into prison on the suspicion that he is spy because he did not pass as Greek for love of country or for lack of

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{151} Ibid 97.
  \item \textsuperscript{152} Ibid 2. I’m sure there are the Nigel Farage’s and UKIPs of the world who still believe in this.
  \item \textsuperscript{153} Biddulph Intro.
\end{itemize}
language skills, instead proudly announcing his Englishness and Protestantism. During his tour of Jerusalem, post-imprisonment, “we [went] to the prison where S. Peter and Saint John were, being the next doore to the prison wherein I was but before.” Seeing the buildings “made [Timberlake] the sorrier” since “it was not [his] fortune to have gone into it being so neere it.” Timberlake, by setting himself in parallel to holy New Testament figures like Saint Peter and Saint John who moved from place to place in order to preach Holy Writ, affirmed rightness of his travel experience and was simultaneously evidence of and against anxieties about travel as a confessionally contaminating practice. The expression of negative emotion at not entering the building where the apostles suffered for their faith betrayed a desire to emulate the engagement with space in the same manner as the Biblical figures, for his religion and/or the display to his audience as proof thereof.

His refusal to denounce faith was providentially rewarded with release from prison, similar to how St. Paul was said to have been in Philippi; “it pleased God (that very day) to deliver me, and grant me passe as a Protestant, without yielding to any other ceremony, then carriage of a wax candle.”Ironically enough, the instrument of the Divine’s wishes in this case was an unnamed Moor from Fez making the Hajj who was a travel companion for Timberlake in this leg of his sojourn. When the Moor saw that Timberlake has been imprisoned, he appeals to the local sanjakbey with the plea that the Englishman had done good by giving 250-300 Muslims on

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154 As opposed to being Greek, French, or British. The gatekeepers at Jerusalem never heard of England or Elizabeth and probably thought he was making it up to cover up nefarious intentions. Timberlake thought that the Pater Guardian had incited his imprisonment because he “confidently stood to be rather protected under the Turke, then the Pope” and was proud enough of his religious difference to not pass as Greek like his companion.
155 Timberlake 17.
156 Ibid 7.
157 Timberlake understands his companionship as thanks for the Englishman’s transporting him from Barbary to Egypt on the merchantman’s ship.
pilgrimage to Mecca transportation to Egypt and got him released under the protection of the Guardian with the promise that Timberlake’s religious conscience would not be violated.

On occasion, the Islamicization of previously Biblical lands was denounced as a method of distancing from the writer from the close contact he has had with Muslims during his sojourns abroad. The Temple of Solomon was described by Moryson as no longer a seat of holiness; “at this day it was overgrown with grasse, and in the middest thereof the Turkes had a Mosche for ther wicked worship of Mahomet.”158 Solomon’s house located adjacent to the Temple has been occupied by “the Turkish Cady.” This appeared to be a relative minor trend though; more often than not, the changing of confessional identities was remarked on neutrally or even positively. The true rivals for souls, whether to the Protestant reader back in England or the traveler facing a myriad of different faiths, were other forms of Christianity, mainly Catholicism.

To wholly buy into what the Catholic Friars and local guides told travelers marked them not only as unreliable, but possibly traitorous when it came to matters of religion, prompting emphatic affirmations of anti-Papistry by travelers. In these travelogues, this anxiety surrounding religious contamination was manifested itself in the writers as the demonstrations of anti-Popery and a proper Protestant distrust of information given by Catholics. William Biddulph declared “it is a foule shame that any Christian, brought up in so blessed a Common Wealth as England, should be so simple to believe such Untruths as the superstitious Friers of Rome (which sojourne at Ierusalem) doe demonstrate or declare unto them.”159

To separate himself from the “simple,” trusting receivers of whatever Catholic clergy tell them, when Biddulph goes to Jerusalem, he separates the claims about the religious identities of the land into “Apparent Truths,” “Manifest Untruths,” and “Things Doubtful.” The first category

158 Moryson 221.
159 Biddulph Intro.
was populated with what Biddulph could “either confirme by reading or reason,” locating basis of true reporterie about land in culturally privileged texts and in the rightly-judging mind of an English observer.\textsuperscript{160} Such facts include the continuity of the location of Jerusalem and the Sepulcher of Christ, assertions which the author based on Scripture.

“Manifests Untruths” were religiously-inflected identities of land what the Catholic guides “shewed us and told unto us” which were “false and ridiculous.”\textsuperscript{161} Two such examples presented themselves when Biddulph’s group was traveling between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. One was a patch of ground near “Terebinth” where the guides stated that Mother Mary sat down to nurse the infant Christ child when travelling. Another was a large stone that was claimed to be where Elias the Prophet slept frequently, leaving an indent of his body that lasted to the present day. Biddulph scoffed at that latter claim, writing that while such rock with such a mark did exist, it had “no formall proportion of a man.” The preacher did not believe such an account of that space’s religious identity. Instead, Biddulph attributed the formation to more mundane and natural events, quoting a verse from Ovid’s \textit{Letters from the Black Sea}; “the drops of raine make hollow the stone, by often falling thereupon.” Because of his superior ability to reason with and martial evidence from Classical and Scriptural text, the English preacher was able to properly interpret the identity of the Holy Land’s physical space, unlike the friars who were likely to “report which of mole-hils would make a mountaine by their wils,” to use Biddulph’s translation of Juvenal.\textsuperscript{162} Such rampantly conveyed falsehoods made it so that “it were better for…credulous person to stay at home and learne the truth, then to come abroad and believe untruths as many do.”

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid 104.  
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid 109.  
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid 117. The inability of Catholics to speak truth about land was partly attributed to their textual mediation misleading them; Biddulph noted the Catholics at dinner would read from The Golden Legend, a compendium of the lives and deeds of saints, dating from the Medieval period, in Latin.
On Chios, Sandys saw a site called Erithea that the locals claimed where a Sibyl had given prophesy of Christ’s coming. The space contained theatre-like seats around a relic, “a ruined chaire, supported with defaced Lyons, all the same stone, which yet declares the skill of the workman.” Using his Classical learning, Sandys with authoritative flourish demonstrates how ill-suited non-Protestant Christians were at truthfully tell the religious identity of spaces, not least because they made relics out of them; the gentleman “never heard of a Chian Sibyl nor of an Erithrea” on that island. According to the author, “the relicke in my conceit doth disprove the report” because the legs of the chair showed a worn image that was indiscernible, prompting Sandys to ask “why rather not some Idol of the Pagans,” raising the possibility that such a practice of relic worship led not only to improper relationship with the Christian divine, but also engagement in pagan idolatry.

Henry Timberlake, as he and his companions were guided around the old city of Jerusalem, went to several sites related to the Crucifixion. Walking through the caves and houses, the Englishmen remarked that one of those structures “was builded by the fore-remembred Queene Helena, Mother to Constantine the Great” who he remembers as “being (as I have read in some Authros) an English woman, and daughter to King Coel, that builded Colchester.” However, when the Franciscan guides were asked about this Englishman- and author-backed fact, “they denied it.” This dispute, if it can be called such, was not given any more room in the text, but who the readers should believe and the undertone were clear; the English-Protestant writer obviously has a greater understanding of the true origins of this site associated with the Crucifixion and the Catholics, jealous of their privileges as the administrators and holders of information about these holy sites, wish to obscure English involvement. This seemingly conflict

163 Sandys 13.
164 Timberlake 24.
165 Ibid.
in the identity of the land both lowered the value that the information about space that the Catholic priests give and puts the audience in a position to sympathize with Timberlake who is holding the line for the relationship of English people to the Holy Land and holy spaces, increasing the readers’ willingness to buy what he says about land in general.\textsuperscript{166}

Besides moments when the ethno-national mixed in with confessional identity, under the heading of conflicts over the nature of places in the Holy Land were flashpoints that occurred when local Christians tied in theological stances and practices with the land. By this point in the early modern period, England had, with a few stubborn exceptions, wholesale-ly adopted Protestant thought. Ever since the Henrician Reforms, pilgrimage as a notion has been considered anathema to English Protestantism. William Biddulph, referring to his journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, wrote that his journey “undertaken this present yeere 1600” was “not moved as Pilgrims with any superstitious devotion to see Relikes,” taking a markedly negative stance towards those who engage with mundane physical spaces and objects as invested with sacredness.\textsuperscript{167} He went on further to say that worship such places as the Englishmen who went were “Travellers and Merchants” who had better sense than to “worship such places as they account holy.” The preacher’s stance on this matter was affirmed by the previously quoted sections of his \textit{Travels of Foure English Men} concerning “Things Doubtfull” and “Things False” purported by the Catholic and Greek guides as being the truthful religious identities of land.

The “cult of the saints” was a point of religious contention for the turn-of-the-17\textsuperscript{th} century English traveler with their Greek and Catholic hosts in the Holy Land. The “Ruines of the City Lydda” were coloured by saintly activities; according to Moryson, that was “where Saint Peter

\textsuperscript{166} This is especially marked since Timberlake had a several hour conversation with the Greek Patriarch after his release from prison (long story) in which the Patriarch complained that Elizabeth I was not sending money to the upkeep of the Holy Sepulchre, like the other Christian (Papist) European rulers.

\textsuperscript{167} Biddulph 74. Using “mundane” as it is derived from “mundi” (world in Latin) as in “of this world” as opposed to some higher or lower realm.
cured one sicke of the palsie and Saint George is said to have suffered matyrdome.” St George’s “heade is yet kept in a Greek Church” as a relic. By leaving it at that, by merely reporting what the confessional Other considers sacred about this figure, Moryson shows an indifference to the cult of the saints that was seen as valuing the physical remains instead of the spiritual struggles and grace of the saintly. In these two cases, the author used language that questions the validity of the claim that the Lydda was where St. George was “said to have suffered matyrdome” as opposed to the place where “Saint Peter cured one sicke of palsie,” a claim given no further qualifications and presented as just fact. Fynes was not denying that perhaps the miraculous had come to pass by the hands of saintly human beings, but he did not see that as fit reason for venerating such beings’ persevered heads.

On his Franciscan-guided tour outside Jerusalem, after seeing Mount Olives, Timberlake and his group “came to a place where the Friers told me that a woman called St. Pelagia did penance in the habite of a Frier.” This was a claim, so he recounts, warranted a smile from the writer so usually content to note the claims of land identity that his guides professed with a “they say,” at which the friar-guides demanded to know why he did so. His reply was that that “to believe Pelagia was a Saint, stood out of the compasse of the Creed,” his correct version of Christian doctrine. This did not mean that Timberlake contested that there was a woman named Pelagia who performed penitent rites while dressed in male religious garb. What he did take issue with was the investment of this plot of earth as being imbued with religious significance for this supposedly saintly behavior predicated on the doctrine of salvation through works, rather than salvation through grace.

168 Moryson 215.
169 Timberlake 14.
The previously-held scholarly consensus on the matter was that the Protestant English rejected place- and object-oriented parts of religion when they broke off from the Bishop of Rome. According to researchers like Daniel Vitkus, the English “travelled and wrote ‘to express their skepticism and testify to the false ‘idolatry’ or ‘superstition’ of the other Christians who continued to uphold the importance of pilgrimage and the cult of saints.”[170] This contempt and hatred for what was seen as “outward Christian” practices like the investment of sanctity in physical space, focused on things of this world rather than the Word of God and the next world, “initiated in the early sixteenth century produced a rupture between the experiences of Catholic travelers to Jerusalem and those of Protestant ones.”[171] The latter, when presenting their movements through this space riddled with possible spiritual pitfalls, had to construct themselves as believers who would martial their faith and reason to avoid becoming like their Papist companions.

Still, whatever the misgivings and wariness that the Protestant travelers may have had about the interaction between the physical realm and the spiritual, so tinged with Papist ritual and belief, the land of Palestine remained the land where the divine was made mundane, the higher heavenly realm brought to the worldly one. The Eastern Mediterranean was still where the Old Testament prophets moved, and apostles and martyrs spread the Word of God. When Henry Timberlake, who did term himself a “pilgrim” in the title of his work, finally “saw the City of Jerusalem” after braving bad inns and Arab raiders, he knelt down, and said the Lord’s prayer. In doing so, he “gave God most harty thanks for conducting mee hither, to behold soe holy a place with my eyes, whereof I had read soe often before.”[172] William Biddulph, who spilled much ink

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[171] Ibid
on the matter of what was rotten and corrupt about contemporary Jerusalem, still conceived of himself as “sojourning at the earthly Jerusalem” and of his readers as “travelling towards the heavenly Jerusalem, where God grant at length wee may all arise, Iesus Christ being our Pilot and Ienisarie to conduct us thereunto.”\footnote{Biddulph “Preface.”} The physical movement of the preacher to the material sacral space paralleled that of the Christian soul ascending to the spiritual Holy Land.

Fynes Moryson, like all his good Protestant brethren, denied that the land had any power on the soul, redemptive or otherwise; he writes that, by going to Jerusalem, he “had no though to expiate any least sinne of mine; much lesse did I hope to merite any grace from God.”\footnote{Moryson 217.} Regardless, seeing the “the very places,” the physical space, the context in which the Word was revealed and God made flesh, “strucke me with a religious horror, and filled my mind prepared to devotion, with holy motions.”\footnote{Ibid.} In other words, moving through and engaging with the Holy Land, which early modern British Protestants had “an emotional commitment” with, retained its inspirational power. This attachment was enough to bring travelers to risk their mortal selves to robbers, poor lodgings, and natural disaster and their immortal selves to Franciscan friars and Turkish slavers. It was the latter problematic risks that had led these travelers to reaffirm their English, Protestant identities in the face of such challenges.

Ruins: the Rise and Fall of Empires in Classical Land

The landscape of the Ottoman Empire, from Greece to Egypt, as described by early modern English travelogues is populated by ruins. These ruins were not just of physical spaces such as palaces and churches, but also of peoples and of empires. Scriptural and Classical texts were utilized to contrast the glorious past with the not-so-glorious present. Whether or not these lands were actually in decline or not, in terms of wealth and splendor, varied from place to place, but
the ubiquity of this idea of decline in both land and people is present throughout many of these travel writings, despite many authors’ acknowledgements that much of the Ottoman lands were fruitful and good. This evidence of greatness in decline not only was placed in the context of cyclical theories of empires, popular among the intellectual elite of the wider European sphere, the Ottoman Empire included. Whatever else positive that the Ottomans had added to the lands that they controlled, what mattered for the English traveler was not what they built, but what they knocked down, not what exists, but what no longer exists or exists in a half-gone form that would have been better off not existing at all.

The rhetorical trope of the neglected classical land is commonly used in the turn-of-the-17th-century travelogues. For the Anglophone travelers, after the Turks conquer, they “neuer reedifie what they ruine.” As related in the previous section, authors had used texts written over a a milenia and a half ago in order to prove their point that the lands they saw had indeed declined in terms of agricultural fruitfulness. This state of decay, the travel writers compared to the world described in the Classical texts and Scripture.

To take one example, Sidon was “the most ancient Citie of Phoenicias” which “contendeth with Tyrus, but exceedeth it in antiquitie and more celebrated by the Ancient.” Despite having been so acclaimed that it was a former “Episcopall sea” and was “honored with the birth of Boetius,” “this once ample Citie still suffering with the often changes of those countries…onely shewes the foundations of her greatnesse.” Save the olive groves that still grow east of the current perimeters of the town, “there is nothing left of antitquitie, but the supposed Supulcher of the Patriarke Zebulon…amongst those ruines.” Sandys dismisses the living settlement as “not

176 Sandys 76. Ignorant or ignoring the fact that the Porte sent a yearly šurre for the maintenance of sacred buildings. 177 Ibid 210.
worth our description.” The once great port of antiquity has only ruins and a few olive trees that hold the memory of past glories.

This decline was not only in rural, agricultural spaces but also in urban ones, in the great cities of the East. Whiling away the time, waiting for a ship to sail from Constantinople to Alexandria, Egypt, Sandys and company watched a wedding in a small town called Mayto. In that town, “on the top of a round hill there are the remaines of an edifice” that was in such a “ruine” that it “would perswade that it flourished in the old worlds childhood.”\textsuperscript{178} The locals know nothing about the ruin, save its name; “the inhabitans call it the Virgin Tower and that is all they can say thereof.”

Upon observing the general situation of Jerusalem, Moryson wrote that one part of Jerusalem was “built of Flint stone, very low, onely one storie high, the top whereof is plaine, and plastered” and the other parts of the Jerusalem laid “vninhabited, there being onely Monasteries of divers Christian Sects with their Gardens.”\textsuperscript{179} “By reason of these waste places, and heapes of Flint lying at the dores of the houses, and the low building of them, some streettes seeme rather ruines then dwelling houses.” The city was once beautiful and some of that still showed; “those who behold the Citie from eminent places…the prospect of the Citie and more specially of the Churches and Monasteries (which are built with elevated Globes covered with brasse or such glittering metal) promiseth much more beauty of the whole Citie to the beholders eyes then indeed it hath.” But when one examined the space close up, the ruin and “waste” of the city was revealed.

The degradation of the contemporary city was reflected in the decline of it architectural splendor as well as its low status of its people. The population of Jerusalem that lived there

\textsuperscript{178} Ibid 88.
\textsuperscript{179} Moryson 219
permanently (as opposed to the pilgrims, friars sent from Rome, and assorted other travelers) were “either Tailors, Shoomakers, Cookes, or Smiths…and in general poore rascall people.” Their poverty and low status was also mentioned in the same thought as their ethnically mingled nature; Jerusalemites were the “scumme of divers Nations, partly Aarabians, partly Moores, partly the basest inhabitants of neighbor Countries.” This was not degradation as much as a continuation of Biblical and historical precedent. “The Inhabitants of Ierusalem at this day are as wicked as they were when they crucified our Lord,” Sandys wrote. An account of the death of Robert, Duke of Normandy, during the Crusades had the nobleman being taken into Jerusalem by its inhabitant and a friend of the said nobleman remarking that “Duke Robert carried into heauen vpon the backs of Diuels.”

Sites which held importance to the Christian Protestant imagination similarly suffered the fate of falling into ruins. Sandys, observing Bethania en route to Jerusalem, writes that they came “to the ruines of a Monastery, now level with the floore, seated in the place unto which the penitent Marie retired from the corrupting vanies of the Citie.”180 Nearby, “the house of Martha” was “honoured likewise with a Temple and ruinated alike.” Riding towards Mount Olive, his group “came to a desolate Chappel, about which divers ruines.” The reason given for Turkish neglect of the upkeep the Christian sites was religious difference.

When Moryson enters a cave under the Church of St. Katherine which housed the bones of St. Jerome and St. Eusebius along with the supposed site where Christ was born, after seeing the wall paintings and enamel work, he notes that “all things are stately and rich, and remain so under the Turkish tyranny, yet more rich in the Chappell of Christs birth, then in the greater Church, where all things then began to fall to ruin, because the Turkes believe not that Christ

180 Sandys 197.
These religious “ruins” are linked to perceived Muslim distaste for the Christian religion; the Classical ruins are given no such reasoning, it is just stated that, under Ottoman rule, these formerly glorious places have declined.

The one exception to the dismal state of “reeducation” and building in the Ottoman Empire is in military installments. This period of one of the height of Ottoman expansion, when the Sultan’s army were engaged in fighting with the Hapsburg Empire and his navy exchanging fire with the various Italian city-states in the Adriatic. Some men from the British Isles even went off to fight as mercenaries against the Turks, as John Smith had. English society was well aware of this state of affairs through newsbooks, religious sermons, and word of mouth. The English travelogues likewise reinforce this impression. Despite being unworthy of too much description by Sandys, the gentleman had to concede grudgingly that, though the harbor and the walls were in a state of decay, Sidon’s “paltry blockhouse” contained “a suitable artillery.” In the geopolitical landscape, the fact of Ottoman military power and dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean was too prominent to ignore.

The degeneration and “ruin” of the Christian populations parallel the decline of formerly Christian land. The Greeks were formerly “a Nation once so excellent…admirable in the arts, glorious in armes” who were in “every way noble…to whom the rest of the world were reputed Barbarians.” The people have fallen with “their liberty [converted] into contented flauery;” for Sandys, the Greeks “lost their mind with their Empire” when the Byzantine state fell in 1453. This degradation stretched beyond that brought on by poverty; the Greeks have fallen morally regardless of their economic state. Biddulph describes both the poor Greeks of Aleppo

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181 Moryson 227.  
182 Sandys 210.  
183 Sandys 77.  
184 Ibid.
and the rich Greeks of Constantinople in terms of the sexual mores of their womenfolk as being “light as water.” Sandys disdainfully writes that, either because of the “fertility of the soile” or “the beastly lusts of the people,” they prostitute themselves to strangers (i.e. travelers such as the good gentleman himself). The quality of the land or the Classical history of it (Cyprus being, of old, dedicated to the goddess Aphrodite) were given as the root cause of this phenomenon, but the latent potential for sexual immorality was not brought out until the contemporary times.

It must be noted that it was not only the Greeks who are juxtaposed with images of “ruins,” despite otherwise decent economic conditions. Moryson’s *Ten Years Travel Through Twelves Dominions* mentioned “moutaines pleasant and fruitfull” next to “the City of Ioppa, mentioned in the Scriptures” surrounded by “some ruines of wals standing which shewed the old circuit thereof, but [which] had not so much as any ruines of houses.” The only people that the traveler saw were “exactors of tribute [who] came out of two ruinous Towers and some ragged Arabians and Turkes.” The ruins of Scriptural space was tied in implicitly with the current governance which affected is reflected in both the sorry state of English traveler and Arab and Turkish caravans alike.

Besides the moral and political statue of the Greeks having descended into ruins, Sandys felt that the Greek language was a “primitive language, excellent with regard of the Philosophy and liberall Sciences, together Diuinity delivered therein” which had a “loftie sound;” however, much of the contemporary population, save for certain populations such as “the learned…the boys of *Pera*…and the Laconians” has been divorced from its mother tongue, the language that

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185 Biddulph 68.
186 Sandys 218.
187 Moryson 215.
Juvenal praised for its ability to “incites the sence[s], my life, my soule.” The average “vulgar” Greek person, according to Sandys, was still closer to their original language than “the Italian from the Latine.” Unable to resist the urge to score sectarian points and demonstrate his orthodoxy in religious identity, the Protestant English gentleman holds up the degraded, but still connected Greek as a counter-example to the Catholic Italians who have been “corrupted not so much by the mixture of other tongues” like the Greeks, but through “supine retchlesnesse.” The Greeks, however fallen, was connected to the past glory of the ancestors in their language and liturgy while “the Latinate Service of the Romish Church” was preached to “illiterate Papists.”

While they have “retained their Name, their Religion, and particular language,” the scholarly endeavors of the Greeks have been “converted…into affected ignorance (for they have no schools of learning amongst them).” The travelers still hold up the Greek “precepts and examples do still remaine as approoued Canons to direct the mind that endeoureth virtue,” but the actual contemporary Greeks have been degraded to the point that they are no longer able to fully understand them. This would position learned men like Sandys and the English nation to position themselves as the true interpreters of Antiquity, as the rightful intellectual descendants of the Ancient Greeks whose descendants by blood now languish under Ottoman rule.

The obsession with ruins in the early English mind coincides with the popularity with the theories of the late Hellenistic historian Polybius. Like his near-contemporary Thucydides, Polybius was concerned about the conflicts, political and military, that arose between states and set himself to giving practical and pragmatic advice to statesmen regarding such situations, a tradition that Machiavelli would follow over 1500 years later. More importantly for this discussion, Polybius vocalized a fully-formed vision of the Greco-Roman tradition of “eternal

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188 Sandys 81-82.
189 Sandys 77.
recurrence” as applied to history and states wherein all polities followed a “fixed sequence of events that human history must pass through;” he posited that there was a six-stage model that ended with “a final period of anarchy, arising out of a degeneration of democratic or popular modes of government, would return the cycle of human affairs to its beginnings once more.”

Polybius wrote at a time when the oikoumene, the known and civilized world, was coalescing into somatoeides, loosely translated as an “organic whole,” something that can be understood as cross-influencing and being under the influence of an imperial center. In the Hellenistic historian’s case, it was the Greek world being slowly subsumed by Roman ambitions. Embedded in this discourse about the lands of Ottoman state being the evidence of older empires lay hopeful projections of Ottoman decline and, perhaps, the rise of English power (although, the notion of a British Empire is naught, but a glimmer in the eye of a few ambitious statesmen).

Interestingly enough, parallel to English intellectual discussions about the course of empire, Ottoman intellectuals were worried about their own empires possible decline, in light of the economic and political decentralization of the long 17th century along with outright violence against the state such as the Jelali Revolts in Anatolia. In their discussions, they based their worries about their present conditions on the theories of the 14th century North African historian Ibn Khaldun. In his magnus opus, his Muqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun describes his view of a great state in sociological terms; a small nomadic people, with the strength that their roaming and raiding confers, may overtake a rotten, larger state and grow into a great state in its own right, expanding borders and establishing control using the same methods by which they came to conquer their predecessor. However, the state will reach its peak and decline eventually, as the

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rulers lose that nomadic vigor through generations of the dynasty being born into a sedentary and decadent manner of being, no longer animated by the same conquering fire. Once the state begins to degenerate in its old age, it is liable to implosion or to be conquered by a younger, more virile nomadic power. In a different way than the English travelers, Ottoman intellectuals also connected a ruling power’s relationship with land to its place in the cycle of decline and fall.

The parceling out of blame for the fall of empire to political reasons or the inherent weakness of a people were considered secondary or contingent upon these impersonal cycles of history that no one polity or policy could control. Overall, however much the English traveler misliked the ruins that he saw, he wrote on the matter as a matter of fact; “the Ottomans are not necessarily expected to rebuild the endless array of monasteries, temples, churches, castles, etc.,” much more criticism was aimed towards the mismanagement of land as agricultural space rather than historical spaces, in line with England’s own rethinking of land as economically productive units. An empire’s relationship to land as the prime method by which to measure where that state was in the course of its lifetime, borrowing the understanding that empires had lifetimes complete with strong young adulthood and decrepit senescence, from Polybius (in the case of the wider European context) and Ibn Khaldun (in the case of the Ottoman context); the implication being that no one can truly stop the decline and fall of empires just as no one can cease the march of time on the human body. A sense of melancholic fatalism emerges from these texts when they engage with the land as texts describing past glories and long gone empires.

“Waste lie the walles that were so good, And corne now growes where Troy Towne stood,” quoting a line from Ovid’s *Heroïdes* sums up succinctly how William Biddulph felt towards this

192 Schleck. *Telling True Tales*...44.
193 Until biologists figure out how those immortal medusa jellyfish work.
The space was praised and eulogized by Virgil; “The Cities of Troy (called Ilium of Ilus who enlarged who enlarged the same) did flourish and the glory of the Troyans was great.” Now, all that was left for the English traveler to see was a There is expressed a sense of the inevitable and bowing of the head towards the hand of history or Fortune who humbles even great and glorious cities to the point where “the very ruines of it are come to ruine.”

In *Relation of a Journey*, Sandys relates a trip he took up the Nile from Cairo to see Memphis, lauded as “the strength and glory of old AEgypt, built by Ogdoo, and called [thus] by the name of his daughter, compressed (as they faine) by Nilus in the likenesse of a Bull” This was a space that saw the possible beginnings of that most useful and primitive of human technologies, fire; Vulcan, “said to have bein King of AEgypt,” saw a tree set aflame lightning, added fuel to the fire, and, seeing that it was good, taught others this trick. Memphis was where “stood the Fane of Venus and that of Serapis, beset with Sphrinxes.” The “Cities [which was once] great and populous, adorned with a world of antiquities,” when Sandys saw them no longer was that magnificent place whose “very ruines now almost ruinated,” where “some few imperfections are left and deivers throwne down, staues of monstrous resemblances.” Thinking on such sights, the traveler commented on the broader universal questions of existing in this vale of tears. Quoting the late Roman poet Ausonius on a world that, by its very nature, necessitates a time “when stones, as well as breath, and names do suffer death,” Sandys asked “why then deplore we our humane frailty” when all that is left a proud old city was “scare sufficient testimony to shew unto the curious seeker.”

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194 Biddulph 11. Moryson 258.
195 Sandys 132.
Ocular Knowledge and Lived Experience: Its Relation to Classical and Scriptural Mediation

Another strategy to establish the right of travelers to tell true tales about Ottoman lands was to push ocular and experiential knowledge as a valid form of knowing about hyper-textually mediated land. This section will examine how ocular knowledge about the spaces that travelers moved through occupies a central role in the establishment of authority, in light of the early modern shift towards a Baconian ideal of empiricism. Sight and experience as the basis for knowing was what distinguished the travelers from their learned, authority-having brethren at home and gave value to their travels. Indeed, the valuation of experience as a complimentary, if not privileged, way of finding truth was the strategy used by men like Thomas Dallam, William Biddulph, Henry Timberlake, Fynes Moryson, and George Sandys to make gentlemen a-bed in England think themselves accursed for not going abroad and seeing and experiencing the outside world for themselves.

The validity of experience and the sense as a way of knowing and understanding the world was on the rise in the 16th and 17th century in the form of Empiricism, as represented by thinkers such as the Francis Bacon in his book *The Advancement of Learning* and *Novum Organum*. For Bacon, the reliance on the senses and experience is imperfect; “the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter [i.e. real things that one can gain sensory information upon], which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby.”

However, “if it work upon itself [i.e. words written about other words previously written], as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning;” the results, while “admirable for the fineness of thread and work,” are inferior in terms of “substance or profit” to the texts formed through engagement with the material world, however limited by

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196 Bacon 464.
that materiality. Biddulph, in his Preface, likewise affirmed that a proper study of the learned English traveler abroad was the things of this world. In his Preface, those that traveled by sea (such as writer himself) were depicted as more godly, not just because the perilous nature of the journey which could very well lead to a drowning death necessitated a cleaner soul more accountable to the higher being, but because the traveler “sees the works of the Lord both by Sea and by Land and his wonders in the deepe.”\footnote{Biddulph, “Preface.”} The nature of the justification was reinforced by Scriptural reference (Psalms 107:24)

Valuing sensory experience and engagement with the world as a means to knowledge and learning did not mean that book learning was discarded altogether. On the contrary, Bacon advocated for a man of learning to be both an empiricist and a humanist. He himself quotes Ovid and Aristotle to a great extent and deems the practice of referring to the Classics as a reference point useful. Similarly, the travel writers certainly do not dismiss the utility of such sources for understanding their present, as demonstrated in the previous sections examine what place did the multitude and myriad of allusions to culturally privileged texts occupy. In the section To the Reader in Ten Years Travel to the Twelve Dominions, Fynes Moryson affirmed the using descriptions written over a millennium ago as at least equal with exchange rates between currencies and travel expenses from decades ago in guiding the “unexperienced” in their travels, writing that, in “affaeres of Martiall and civill Policie,…the oldest Histories serv serve us at this day to good use.”\footnote{Moryson “To the Reader.”} It is however “the excess of this [use of allusions] is so justly contemptible” for it “quencheth the desire of further search” of knowledge, a practice that Bacon considered as “the first disease or distemper of learning.”\footnote{Bacon, Francis. The Advancement of Learning. London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1893. Project Gutenberg. Web 26 March 2015. 448-450.} The overreliance on allusion, placing the locus of truth
wholly outside what the writer has himself experienced onto what he has already read, also
smothered any justification of travel, with all its risks to body and soul, as a means to expand
one’s own ken in addition to devaluing the presented information given to the readership.

Invoking ocular and Experiential knowledge as a way to respond to critics and the notion that
“Travellers May Lie by Authority,” Biddulph, in his ghost-written-by-himself “Introduction” to
*The Travells of Foure Englishmen*, quotes Plautus’ *Truculentus* to this effect; “one eyewitness is
more worth than ten care witness: for they which heare, report what they have heard: but they
which see, know plainely, and report by sight.” Not just any eyewitness would suffice for
reliable truth though; the place of the eyewitness on the scale of believability mattered.

Theophilus Lavender (Biddulph’s alter ego) makes sure to note that Biddulph, the reluctant
tavel writer who belongs, nonetheless, to a class of men who possess learning and judgment,
does “not to beleave everything that is tolde them (as some have done, and published the same to
others for truth)” and “have bin faithful in writing nothing, but the truth.” For the skeptical reader
who “hardly believe any thing but that which they themselves have sense,” the good preacher is
to “more be beleaved” since he has “[l]abour[ed] by reading, to confirmed that which [he has] seen
in travelling.” This bringing to bear of judgment and learning is the “[p]roperty of discreet and
judicious travelers,” who compliment their ocular knowledge with the knowledge found in books.
The strong backing in the latter source of facts renders it acceptable to the consumer of text that
he or she should accord the right to give accurately tell truth which, otherwise, the reader should
gain ocular-ly him- or herself.

In addition to asserting that they were “discreet and judicious” discerners of truth and not liars,
the privileging of experiential and ocular knowledge functioned as a bulwark against accusations

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200 Biddulph “Intro”
201 Ibid.
that the traveler unthinkingly believed everything that their Muslim or Catholic guides told them. The falsehoods about the religion taught by Catholics, when viewed with a good eye, could also render the traveler into a better Protestant; Moryson wrote that he is “confident of the opinion that no man returns home with more detestation of the Papists Religion, then he who well instructed in the truth, hath taken the libertie to behold with his eyes their strange superstitions, which one of experience may well see without participation of their folly.”

By asserting what he has seen or felt, the traveler add a Protestant, English stamp of approval to the facts presented in their accounts. Like the use of Classical and Scriptural texts, it was a method by which the quality of a man’s judgment could be gauged, the manner by which he distinguished and reasoned between “I saw” and “so they said.”

As Timberlake travels through Gaza, he “saw the place where (as they told vs) Sampson ould downe the two Pillars and slew the Philistins.” After qualifying the professed identity of the space with “as they told vs,” he concludes that “surely it appears to be the same towne, by reason of the situation of the country,” overlaying his Catholic’s guide’s information with his own observations of the land. Passing judgment on the land, served as a way of affirming proper judgement, that of a reasoning, empirical mind who held a healthy English distrust of the knowledge offered by the confessional Other. In another instance, Timberlake and his group “went to an old ruinated house, which they [the Franciscan friars] told me was Iacobs.” He does not leave the claim as is, explaining that the site through what he saw; the house “may the better appeare to be so” because in a field next to the building “is the tomb of Rachel, Iacobs wife.” He goes to write that “some two miles from this tombe is a towne…called Bethesula, the

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202 Moryson 236. This was part of Fynes’ emphatic denial that he ever, ever, ever went to that most terrible rituals of the false religion, Mass.
203 Timberlake 6.
204 Timberlake 17.
inhabitants whereof are all Christians,” tying the contemporary confessional identity of the land to its Scriptural past.

Experience could be used to gainsay local claims to properly know the identity of the land. Timberlake, traveling to Gaza with a caravan, encountered a series of fortifications, some of which were used to guard against thieves and collect tolls by the local officials. At the third castle, called Raphael, Timberlake notes that “it is said that the Kings of AEgypt and Iudea, fought many great Battales.” In that statement, the author is unclear from what sources “said” the site was a place of ancient military engagements, but it is unlikely that it would be from his English companion; more likely than not, the information would have come from his non-English fellow travelers in the caravan which was comprised of Turks, Jews, and Christians (Greek and Armenians headed to Jerusalem). The merchant sees the present day landscape where there was “nothing to relieve an army withal, except sand and salt water” and writes that “to mee [the claim that this place was the site of great battles of antiquity] seemed very unlikely.” Instead of just using Classical or Biblical texts to assert authorial authority, Timberlake uses what he sees before him, extrapolating those present conditionals back in time, to play the role of discerning, judicious traveler presenting true knowledge to his readership.

The local and the experiential could also be used in conjunction, to bolster the universal and textural knowledge about land. When considering the possibility of Jerusalem being larger or grander than it presently was, Moryson agrees with the prophecies that the Temples of Jerusalem to have been completely destroyed and the city itself is less than its former self, but does not rest his judgment solely upon them. Moryson “believe[s] the holy Sciptures, or that which [he] did see with these eyes,” implying that both ways of knowing have great validity and to refuse either would be neither right nor sane; he denies that he would ever be “so wicked or so blockish” as to
disbelieve in those twin sources of knowledge. He looks at the city and notes how it is confined on different sides by Mount Olives and Mount Cavalry and the plain of ruines, including the Tower of David, near Mount Zion, taking that as conformational evidence of his preconceived Biblical description of the city. Moryson further puts hearsay on a similar level as reading knowledge (about the North side of the city, Moryson “did never reade not heare any that described this Citie to have been larger then now it is.”) By interpreting the situation of Jerusalem through Biblical geography along with ocular knowledge, Moryson concludes with great detail how Jerusalem was in a declined state, utilizing both textual and experiential knowledge to the same end.

When considering what were “apparent truths” about what he saw, citing the Book of Luke, William Biddulph included the fact that contemporary Jerusalem was located in the same space as the Jerusalem described in the Bible, except the city had expanded (as evidenced by the Sepulcher of Christ and Golgotha being within the walls of the town). Biddulph goes on to note that the place of the Sepulcher is exactly where it is now said to be because he had seen it. The site was “wherein the body of our Saviour Christ was laid, we made no doubt, because it was agreeable to the circumstances of the Scripture whereby the place is described,” placing the ultimate judge of what it true with the Bible, but making authorial judgement on the holy space as indispensable to the process of establishing that truth for the reader. All this he argued against an imagined opponent who “have never beene” to the site and who, by “building their assertion upon a place of Scripture falsely,” claimed that “no man knoweth the place where old Jerusalem stood and that no signe of the City is to bee seene.” Besides his ability to interpret Scripture properly, what set Biddulph apart as a teller of truth about holy space was that he went

205 Moryson 218.
206 Biddulph 107.
207 Ibid 104.
to experience that land which he could then report back to his readers, informed by both textual and ocular knowledge.

In his tour of the Holy Land, the preacher William Biddulph figures out the direction that Jesus took when he walked on water by combining the biblical verses about the nature of route taken along with the contemporary view of the Sea of Galilee that Biddulph saw from a nearby hill. Biddulph’s response to Bishop Hall’s criticism that all needed knowledge could be acquired in the British Isles would be that he “learned to understand better by seeing it, then ever I could before by reading it.” This benefit, exclusive to those who have actually seen the world rather than only read about it in Bishop Hall’s lauded English libraries and institutions of higher learning, thus recommending him for a job as a preacher, a man of discerning judgment about important matters spiritual and historical. Biddulph physical engagement with the land occurs not only to mark the hardships he encounters done in order to gain credibility and to emphasize the lengths he will go to engage with the text, making the knowledge more valuable for it was not bought cheap.

On occasion, travelers could dispute accepted “English” truth and skepticism with experiential knowledge. Henry Timberlake, in his Strange and True Discourse of the Travaillles of Two English Pilgrimes, related the workings of a large chicken hatching business in fascinating detail, located in the town of “Philbiss,” where the traveler’s caravan stayed after leaving Cairo. People from near and far would bring their eggs to this farmer who constructed a heating system made of embers, hollow spaces, tree branches, and mixed pigeon and camel excrement to “infuseth life by the same proportions of heate.” Ideally, chicks hatch in 7-12

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209 Timberlake 2-4.
days, but that depended on the weather which has a great effect of the results. If the eggs were subject to bad weather, times when the land was “overcast” or when “there chance any lightning, thunder, or raine,” the birds would be stillborn in their shells or be misformed. While he wrote enthusiastically about this particular business in the land of “Gozan,” Timberlake judged that it would be “in vaine to be practiced in England, because the aire there is hardly ten daies together clarified,” citing the difference in the climes of those spaces he had experienced. Using his understanding of the heat-hatching relation that he observed, the merchant however gave advice to any adventurous capitalist interested to substitute the substrate upon which the eggs rest with “dung of other beasts every way as hot [as a camel]” and to “please try what may be done” only “when the Sunne is in Cancer, Leo, or Virgo [roughly corresponding to the months of June through August].” This judgement on the difference in the physical conditions of English versus Egyptian land and its bearing on this household industry was not founded upon textual mediation, but was information offered only by someone who had experienced the heat of foreign and familiar lands himself.

The author anticipated disbelief of his report, writing that “some will thinke this to be a lye, or fable.” In response, he admits that he cannot force anyone to believe him, that he “can urge their credence no further, then my faith and truth can perswade them,” but “if thereon they will not beleeue me, let them take paines to make their owne eyes a witnesse,” challenging his imagined skeptical readers to seek their own ocular knowledge, if they do not acknowledge his own. Either way, the presupposed basis for any claims about the matter rested on what an Anglophone traveler saw, rather than what text he could quote or allude to. Timberlake also asserted the importance of his ocular knowledge over the skepticism of his imagined critics by emphasizing the costs (literally) of travel, making this knowledge of egg hatching dear bought; “when they
[the skeptical critics who think the author a liar] haue payd as deetely as I have done (for the sign
of this and other things cost me a hundred Markes in fifty dayes), their judgements will be better
confirm’d.” The non-Classical, non-Biblical, very mercantile nature of the dispute may have
contributed to the validity of the author’s claim to truth-telling on the matter of the chicken
hatching industry’s viability in English space, allowing him to be so bold in his challenges to his
imagined readership.

Early modern travelers borrowed the authority of Scriptural and Classical texts to validate
their own observations, but what happened when contradictions arose between what a person
saw and what he read? George Sandy’s practice of studying classics in situ bumps up against this
issues in a few places. The island of Zante was described as being full of rocky mountains and
fruitful valleys, full of “salt-pits of their owne, and store of fresh water, but little or no wood,
though celebrated for the abundance thereof by Homer and Virgil,” with a quote from the Aeneid
to demonstrate the past nature of the space. In this case, the contradiction between experiential
information and privileged texts was acknowledged, but the question of how to understand this
disparity was left without explicit answer. Before the matter of the island’s tree population was
mentioned, the space was characterized mainly in terms of its resources, especially those
implicated in Anglo-Ottoman trade like currants, oils, and wine. Zante was praised admiringly by
Sandys for this agricultural blossoming; “it is impossible that so little a portion of earth, so
employed, should be more beneficall, the mountainous part being barren, and the rest comprised
within two or three not very ample vallie, but those all over are husbanded like an entire garden.”
This intensive use of the land has led to the people of the island specializing in growing for trade,
putting very little effort into growing basic foodstuffs for themselves, rendering themselves
dependent on the trading lines for corn and meat. The land improved for increased economic

\[21^0\] Sandys 5.
efficiency might have something to do with deforestation and might also have been, for Sandys, a member of the landed gentry, an implicitly valid or worthy tradeoff for the loss of that particular Classical identity.

In Egypt, Sandys traced the number of distributaries of the Nile River. “Foure miles below Cairo,” the body of water “devideth into two maine and navigable branches” formed a fertile delta; There are “two other branches…that runne betweene these, but poore in water” in addition to “divers channels cut by the labour of man for conveiances in the time of the inundation.” However, Sandys;’ observations contradicted those of the Classical authors; “of those seauen mentioned by Herodotus and those nine by Ptolomy, these are all that I either saw or could heare of.” The contradiction, unlike that concerning the state of Zante’s forest, was explained through explicit reasoning reference to natural phenomenon. The author explained that it was not “a thing extraordinary for rivers to lose their channels, either choaked by themselves or by adverse seas…and turned up gravell relifting their passages.” The Classical descriptions were not rejected as untruth in favor of ocular knowledge outright, but the applicability of those texts to the contemporary situation was brought into question. This contrasts with Moryson’s assertion that the “oldest histories serve us to good use to this day” in informing the traveler and reader about the truth about physical spaces in foreign and far off places.

Knowledge derived from culturally privileged texts was ultimately what ocular knowledge had to use as foundation stones. Moryson prefaces his description of Jerusalem with the disclaimer that he is “unskilled in Geography and much more in the making of Mappes.” Despite those shortcomings, Fynes “first drew the situation of Ierusalem and afterward explained it as well as” he could “according to the faithfull view of [his] eyes.” Even with that assertion,

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211 Sandys 94.
212 Moryson 217.
the author still colors particular physical spaces with Biblical stories such as Peter denying Jesus and lame men were miraculously healed which he did not see with his own eyes and did not present any ocular evidence for those occurring. While these stories were interspersed with the present day view that the author had beheld, what was first and primary about the identity of the land lay in its relationship to text.

The rub for those of us studying this moment of cultural thought about the relationship between book knowledge and lived experience in early modern England is why then did these authors not just whole-heartedly assert their valued ocular knowledge as being above that of the classical texts? Why were contradictions about the nature of land not resolved with the triumphal marching out of what the author saw rather than the state of limbo between that and what the author read? The answer, again, lies with the low truth(iness) value that early modern readers, critics and otherwise, placed on the travelogues. The suspicion cast on a traveler’s right to tell true tales in general and to write the true identities of space in particular proved too great to fully escape strong textual mediation which likewise permeated through their understanding of the Near East. The eye is as only as good as the social status of the viewer, signaled by the opulence of a text and the learning therein. Better yet to rely on the known truths about unfamiliar lands, of Ovid and of Psalms, of Virgil and of Ecclesiastes, rather than the unknown men who dared to go beyond the bounds of Britain, who have crossed the river twice to see what they might see.

**Coda: What is in a Place’s Name?**

Nomenclature of the lands was also a possible site of contention between Protestant English knowledge and knowledge of peoples confessionally different and local to those places. Where no alternative exists, the local names tend to be used. When possible though, the more familiar (see: more classical or scriptural) names were used in conjunction with the other names. Just as
in the broader realm of using Scriptural and Classical texts to interpret land, the way in which the names of land serve to play with the familiar in order to connect and appeal to readers and to show off learning and affirm British-ness/Protestant-ness against the different peoples’ knowledge in order to bolster the writer’s authority. The ubiquity of naming, produced by necessity of narrative, makes this process of choosing names and the assignment of value to them a good case study of these concerns.

What good was informing one’s audience that one had travelled to some far off place if they could not register it in their mind as a far off place or a real place at all? The answer of the early modern travel writer was to mark those places with names familiar to the English reading audience. In published travelogues such as George Sandys’ *A Relation of a Journey*, the name of the land was printed in the margins, adjacent to the text discussing it, and all the identities of the notable lands seen and visited in the space of the page were listed at the top. These were done with the intention of allowing the text consumer track the progress of the journey and pinpoint where the traveler was with greater ease.

To take one example, that of Chios, Sandys described it as “Sio, a famous island formerly called Chios, which signifieth white.”213 While the presently used name was given as is, without further exposition, the Classical Greek name was provided with further explanation, either being the white color being a reference to either “Chiome a Nymph” or “snow that sometimes covers those mountains.” Upon beginning to describe Gaza, the Englishman noted that “Gaza” was also called “Aza,” signifying strong. The former name, familiar to the text’s intended reader for its Scriptural story of Samson, “in the Persian language [means] a treasury…said to be called by Cambyses, who invading AEgypt, sent thither the riches purchased in that warre.”214 The author

213 Sandys 11.
214 Ibid 149.
had an awareness the changing identities of the place name through history; “It was called Constantia by the Emperour Constantine, Gaza again by Iulian, and now Gazra.” Despite the multiple names given, the identities given for immediate recognition, set in a different font above from the main body of the text were Chios and Gaza, respectively, familiar names more recognizable to the English reader by merit of them being from culturally privileged texts.

Naming was a ubiquitous part of familiarizing the foreign and exotic for domestic English reading consumption. Timberlake’s unnamed Moorish companion was en route to Mecca when his path crosses that of the English traveler. His route is given as from Egypt to “Damasco (which place they call Sham) and from thence to Begdat, which we call Babylon.”\(^{215}\) In this excerpt, there was a clear distinction between English and foreign names, between what “we” called a place and what “they” understood to be the proper name. The “they” may mean the local peoples of the region or more generally the non-English people, in this case, a Moor from Fez, a city in North Africa, far from either Damascus or Baghdad. In a similar fashion, Timberlake “translates” Italian and Near East practices of marking time to render them understandable to an English audience. The act of almost-translation simultaneously locates the actions of the text in a particular, exotic locale while Anglicizing the conveyed information for the comfort of readership.

In this set of sources, nowhere is the tendency more marked than in George Sandy’s Relation of a Journey in which almost every island, village, city, and pile of ruins that could pass as a place of human habitation at any point after the earth was formed is named and given an explanation couched in Classical history and myth (and, to a lesser extent, Biblical events) in an attempt to familiarize them to the Anglophone audience and to legitimize the author’s claim to legitimately presenting knowledge. To give one example, Tenedos was “first called Leucophryn,”\(^{215}\) Timberlake 7.
but gained its contemporary name in honor of “Tenes, the sonne of Cycnus, who reigned in Colone a citie of Trous.” How this son became connected to this space was related as well; the lad was “accused by his step-mother (in revenge of her pulses) for proffering that which she incestuously sought,” an accusation to which his father responded by “put[ting] him into a chest and [throwing] him into the sea.” A storm brought the wronged man “vnto this Iland…where from that time forward he reigned,” and which he consecrated to Apollo Sminthius, as Sandys confirmed by quoting a passage from Homer’s Illiad spoken by Chryses, a priest of that god. This obsessive noting of the Greco-Roman myths and histories attached to a place via its name was intended as a reflection of the learning that Sandys possessed and could wield to interpret the cacophony of names and information about land, as only an upper-class gentleman of capable reasoning and learning could.

Names were also a mean by which temporal distance as well as geographical distance could be bridged in the minds of the readers. In his description of Jerusalem, Moryson noted that the city was “of old called Moria (where they write that Adam was created of red earth)...whereof towards the North-west is Mount Calvery (where they say that Abraham was ready to sacrifice his sonne Isaac and where without doubt our Savior Christ suffered).” The author seats the importance of the space through Biblical time, in foundational moments of his faith from the Old and New Testament and tied the existence and identity of the city to the beginning of the human story, in the creation of the first man. The other names of Jerusalem showed the passage of time up to the present day, when it was under rule deemed foreign to the history of the land; “The Citie was after called Salem, and thirdly, Iebus, and fourthly Jerusalem, and at this day the Turkes haue named it Chutz.”

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216 Sandys 19.
217 Moryson 218.
Overall, there is a privileging of Classically- and Scripturally-derived name over those used by the local people, whether they be Italian sailors, French Franciscan friars, or Greek dragomen. As Thomas Dallam sailed pass Sicily, he noted that “there is a verrie heie mountayne, the which they do cale Montabell, but the ryghte name of it is mounte Ettna.”\(^{218}\) Dallam had very little learning to defend, but he took the side of the information his English sources, that he derived from his grammar school or that he learned from his (English) crewmates, which he deemed to have given him the “ryghte name” of the volcano.

The foreign nature of names was made quite noticeable to the writer and reader in the text. While traveling through the Greek Isles, both Thomas Dallam and Fynes Moryson repeatedly uses the local Italian and Greek names for place; Apulia, Raguzza, Candia. No doubt this would have been due to the reliance of the information given to him by the crew he was traveling with. Travelers were also aware of names that had Arabic and Turkish origins and made their readers aware of thus. Thomas Dallam in his diary notes that after, passing Iskerderoun, the ship \textit{Hector} passes a place “called Yeaass, about six leagues from Tharesus, which the Turkes do cale Bayas, for they do change the names of moste townes.”\(^{219}\) The name of “Yeass” is given no extra justification; it is just given matter-of-fact-ly while the name with a “Turkish” origin is depicted as an alteration from a previous identity. In this case, the name change distances the Turks from the true essence of the land, just as the Turks are depicted as not engaging agriculturally with the land as the Greeks or other inhabitants do. The multitude of names given to lands no doubt reflects the variety of informants that British travelers had while moving through the Ottoman Empire as well as the many peoples, ethnic and religious, that inhabited those spaces.

\(^{218}\) Dallam 17.
\(^{219}\) Dallam 33.
The diversity of nomenclature was noted by Biddulph’s description of Aleppo. Citing 2 Samuel and Psalms, the city was once called “Aram Sobah, which some thinke to have been that City which is now called Aleppo.”220 This claim is given legitimization via Scriptural reference and thus is marked as English or Christian knowledge which the author ascribes to. Local Jews made the counterclaim that “Aleppo was the City Sephernaim,” but the author “thinke it to be a latter Citie which some say was called Apollonias.” The Turks, “changing the names of all places where they come, call Aleppo at this day Halep, which signifieth Milke, because it yeeldeth great store of milke.”221 By noting the names, it is quite apparent that this is a multi-confessional space which “hath often changed her name.”

On occasion, the privileging was expressed as outright hostility and condemnation of the non-British, non-Protestant name. According to Henry Timberlake, Palestine is called “Terra Sancta and “in the Arabian tongue Cuthea which is the holy Land, bearing the name onely and no more: for all holinesse is cleane banished from thence by those Theeves, filthie Turkes and Infidels that inhabite the same.”222 The Christian name is given without qualification because none was needed for the Son of God was made flesh and walked in that land. In contrast, the name in Arabic is denigrated and depicted as illegitimate because of the non-acceptance of Christ as savior in Islam, even though there was agreement on the meaning of the name of a place, despite the language difference. The naming in this case was not used as a point of contention insomuch as the author’s focusing on the confessional difference rather than commonality within the name “Holy Land.”

On the whole though, the examples of conflict are notable exceptions rather than the rule. The English were going into areas where they had previously held understandings. But however

220 Biddulph 38.
221 Ibid 39.
222 Timberlake 29
Classically or Biblically-tinged were their lens, the recognition of land as such was highly dependent on local and confessionally different sources, forcing the English to acknowledge that these places were not just straight out of their Ovid or Romans.
Part Three: A Brief Digression on the Matter of Nationalism and Orientalism

The time period I am concerned with in this thesis is the beginning of the long 17th century. The classical understandings of Nationalism and Orientalism associate those two ways of thinking with the 18th and 19th century. For England, the turn of the 17th century was the beginning of a series of changes that would lead to the grand naval empire of the later centuries. It saw the shift to a capitalist mode of production, especially with regards to land. The extension of maritime trade routes reached further east- and westward. At the same time that trade factories were being established in Izmir and currants and figs were being shipped from the Greek islands to London, settler colonies in New England, the Mid-Atlantic, and the Caribbean were being set up. To what extent did this period exhibit the trademarks of modernity in Western European societies, Orientalism and Nationalism, and how depictions of land, shaped as they were by this increased circulations of goods, peoples, and ideas and new ways of organizing society, government, and economy, played into (or not) these movements are explored in the next sections.

Orientalism

Edward Said’s Orientalism posits that the land that is referred to as the Orient was not somewhere that was to be discovered, but rather constructed by the West/Occident. Rather than some natural divide that engendered social, cultural, and political differences, this was a human-created discourse of difference, filled with “ideological suppositions, images, and fantasies about a currently important and politically urgent region of the world called the Orient.”223 These were and are not just mere stereotypes and myths held in the collective social mind, but a totalizing system of ways in which the hegemonic West constructed and understood the East in order to

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justify its own dominance. According to Said, the concerns of governmental/political institutions had a direct effect on “civil society” institutions. Knowledge production about the East, therefore, from diverse sources, from “traditional learning (the classics, the Bible, philology), public institutions (governments, trading companies, geographical societies, universities) and generically determined writing (travel books, books of exploration, fantasy, exotic description),” were implicated and participated in such a project of colonial domination.224 This section hopes to explore the extent that Orientalism, as a systematic way that the West represented the East through textual production, applies to early modern English travelogues.

The first rub for applying the model of Orientalism to the representation of the East in this set of turn-of-the-17th century travelogues is that they do not fall during “the umbrella of Western hegemony over the Orient during the period from the end of the eighteenth century.”225 In the first decades that the Levant Company operated in the Eastern Mediterranean, it was the Englishmen who had to conform to Ottoman systems of power and control, not the other way around; the Ottoman officials were the ones asking for bribes, controlling access to needed ports, and inspecting goods.226 What would be part of the militarily and politically less powerful “Orient” in the 19th century was dictating the terms of engagement to the merchants, preachers, craftsmen, and gentlemen from the little set of islands off the coast of France in the 16th and 17th centuries. Because of the marked power differential between England and the Ottomans, the possibility of “dominating the ‘Orient,’ via describing and encapsulating the East in a manner justifying English hegemony for imperial consumption was not even a possibility; however, “discourses about foreign lands did serve to help the English structure their understanding of

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225 Ibid 143.
foreigners and their societies.”\textsuperscript{227} Whether such a discourse can be understood as a coherent narrative of difference, used in the service of a colonial enterprise, is a matter for debate within the scholarship, but seems doubtful.

Close readings of early modern travel writings to the Ottoman Empire do reveal “the antecedents of the orientalist viewpoint described by Said.”\textsuperscript{228} Tropes such as the concept of cruel Asiatic tyranny, a ruling elite that was riddled with decadence and “sottish sensuality,” and the degeneration of Christian populations therein were brought up in both early modern travel tales just as they were in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century ones.\textsuperscript{229} However, these negative stereotypes occurred alongside praise of the Ottoman Empire. Along with the idea that the Turks were a decadent people, incapable of proper governance, were depictions of cities as glorious and splendid and of the armies as powerful and well-ordered. Nestled between polemical jabs at the character of Ottoman subjects were observations concerning the cleanliness of the “Turks” and the piety of certain Christian populations. Alongside patriotic prose about the wonderfulness of England in comparison to the rest of the world, those living in the Ottoman domain were sometimes depicted as having a technological edge over their counterparts in Britain. Timberlake writes enthusiastically and with great detail about the artificially-heated chicken hatcheries in Palestine that provide the local bakers with all the eggs that they need. Both Moryson and Biddulph remarked admiringly about the practice of merchants in Aleppo and elsewhere in the Levant using carrier pigeons to ascertain the state and content of cargo, still being shipped through the Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{230}

\textsuperscript{228} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{229} Çırakman, Aslı. From the" terror of the World" to the" sick Man of Europe": European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth. Vol. 43. Peter Lang, 2002. Print.
\textsuperscript{230} Biddulph 43.
Moreover, the land in the Near East is invested and imbued with history. This history both belongs to the people who live on those lands and the English who see themselves as inheritors of the classical tradition (sometimes even more than the locals). As demonstrated before, the interpretation of the lands of Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and Greater Syria were heavily mediated by Scriptural and Classical sources as well as other historical periods such as the Crusades. George Sandys devotes a whole section of his work on the history of the Ottoman dynasty and its eventual triumph over the Byzantine empire along with their customs of dress, bathing, religion, funerary practices, and so forth. The land was not only historical because of past events that involved Franks Again, to quote Kenneth Parker’s “Introduction” to Early Modern Tales of the Orient, “[t]he Orient does not fit into the category of ‘people without history.’”

The heavy use of the past as a way of reading Ottoman lands does contain one interesting implication. 19th century Orientalist discourse used not only the distance of geography to measure difference, but also temporal difference. In his case study of Mount Lebanon as the site of changing metropole-periphery relations, Usama Makdisi makes the case the “at the heart of Ottoman Orientalism was a notion of time.” Borrowing from Johannes Fabian’s theories, Orientalism is thought to “mark all cultures and peoples at different locations along a continuous evolutionary stream of time.” In this schema, more powerful nations considered to have “progressed” further along the steam of time while less powerful nations and places existed in stages of decay and stagnation and needed the greater power to help them progress and modernize (see: colonize). The dominance of references to Pliny and Herodotus take of a suggestive air when considered in this light.

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231 Ibid.
233 Ibid.
However, two objections can be raised to this connection. The histories and contemporary realities that were used understand Ottoman land were included local histories in addition to Scriptural, Classical, and English/Christianity-related history, albeit in smaller doses. For example, Sandys understood Egypt’s past in terms of both is Pharonic phase (as recounted in Classical texts), but also in terms of Mamluk rule and then Ottoman conquest. Furthermore, time in relation to the state of a polity and its people was considerably more cyclic at the turn of the 17th century (see Part Two, the 4th sections) than in the 19th century which set Western modernity and technological progress as a telos, an intellectual conceptualization which the West could back with the fruits of industrialization, modern arms and weapons.

I would argue that the somewhat-anachronistic applications of Orientalism are partly a product of our own recent history.\(^{234}\) Many scholars also come from backgrounds that precondition them to look for Orientalism. The men and women, taught by scholars such as Stephen Greenblatt, Mary C Fuller, and Frank Lestringant, were trained in the traditions of postcolonial studies, a field which has been steeped with the use of the framework of Orientalism. Nabil Matar posits that “by adopting the postcolonial template, critics such as Jonathan Haynes [author of a monograph on George Sandys]…and many other have projected the military and industrial decline of Muslim countries in the modern period on English drama and travelogue,” an anachronistic attitude given that “the attitude of a Renaissance Briton to the Turks were not unlike that of a ‘Chinaman towards Europeans between the fall of Pekin and the victories of Japan’ – an attitude of fear, anxiety and awe.”\(^{235}\) Kenneth Park attributes the decline of interest in the tales of the Near East to their ability to “resist being fitted neatly into a model of cultural

\(^{234}\) By “our,” I mean those who study the related matters of Anglo-Ottoman interactions their cultural production surrounding thereof (and, to a degree, the wider Anglo world). I hope I am not being too presumptive when I include myself, in my small way, in that category of persons.

encounter that conforms to a colonizer/colonized model of the world, on in which Europeans can impose upon the peoples whom they counter."\textsuperscript{236}

A hunch (and it is only my hunch at this point) is that the previous focus of the scholarship on mostly the theatre produced around “Oriental” topics has also left its mark. Besides the scholars of that field being influences by the trends of post-colonial studies, the travelogue to the Levant and travel tales in general was still a developing genre. If one takes that assumption, the fluidities and varieties of representations of the Orient may overcome narrative need to depict the “Turks” in a one particular, coherent manner. To suggest another possibly useful genre comparison, whereas the captivity narrative was bound to a stricter typology, with stronger emphasis on religious difference and the suffering of Christian martyrs, reflecting a Protestant understanding of the redemption of the mortal and immortal self, the travel tale of the willing Englishman was more free to engage with the religious Other in the forms of travel companions and more free to understand their journey to the earthly Jerusalem to the heavenly one.

The revival of interest in these travelogues was spurred during the heyday of British Empire, including the expansion of influence in both the near east at the expense of the Ottoman state. This period saw the rediscovery of private travelogues such as the diary of Thomas Dallam, the organ maker who went Constantinople. The Hakluyt Society, an organization dedicated to the printing of travelogues, active since the early modern period when Hakluyt’s \textit{Principall Navigations} was first published, issued reprints of travelogues, both formerly printed and newly discovered. In the introductions to one of those books, the editor J. Theodore Brent presents the decline of the Venetians and the Ottomans and the related rise of Western European as inevitable and due to factors indigenous to the Turkish character.

The self-justifying historical understanding advanced in the Introduction was the Turks as doing “little to interfere with the existing order of things” when it came to trade relations. In the early modern period, this meant that the Italians city-states were allowed to continue their trade capitulations and dealings which were seen as a precursor to the capitulations given to the British and other Western European nations in the 19th century. The reason given for this continuation was that the Turks, being “a nomadic race,” “cared little for commerce” and just continued the practices of their defeated Greek predecessors by lending out any economic opportunities to foreigners.

As far as Brent and his 19th century brethren were concerned, the travelogue of Thomas Dallam and others presaged the rise of the Western powers and Turkish decline into the “Sick Man of the East.” By the time that Elizabeth and Murad had formulated their diplomatic ties, “Turkey was already in decline and her internal troubles occupied her sufficiently” so the Sublime Porte could not do much to help Elizabeth in her anti-Catholic/Continental struggle and was not terribly concerned with trade and economic advancement. In that narrative, it thus followed British economic dominance over the Ottomans is justified as natural inevitable given these inherent faults within the character and history of the Turks and this “fact” of history is bolstered by evidence drawn from the early modern travel writings.

This view was, however, a product of the 19th century projections and not early modern reality. The narrative of decline and decentralization as the main component thereof has been challenged by recent historiography, with alternative understandings of the long 17th century such as centrifugal evolution being put forward. As the travelogues and the circumstances of their conception evidence, large parts of the Ottoman lands were flourishing economically.

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238 Ibid.
239 Ibid ix.
bringing in a myriad of traders and others to write about its riches and fruitfulness. English struggles with the Catholic spheres of power were of, at best, peripheral interest to the Ottoman state in the 19th century. Internally, that polity was undergoing a time of troubles,; the first of the Jelali rebellions in rural Anatolia had started up, governors from Egypt to Buda were getting killed by restless factions, and the Druze lord Fakr-al-Din Ma’n in Mount Lebanon had become too independent for the liking of the Porte.240 Externally, at the turn of the 17th century, war had renewed with Shah Abbas’ Safavid Persia, with the military engaged in fighting in the Caucasuses and retaking Baghdad.241 Given the proximity of these conflicts and the religious threat that a powerful Shi’a state to the East, with whom perennial warfare and threat of Kizibash insurrection, the Sublime Porte did not rank the needs and want of a small island-state’s own religious and political struggles with its Continental neighbors.

This discourse of intellectually and culturally constructed irreconcilable difference, presented at the height of the British Empire, highlights the main thing missing from the turn of the 17th century that makes a full-blown Orientalism particularly unlikely: there was no British Empire for any sort for the traveler to bolster and to intellectually raise above a weakened “Sick Man of the East.” To the contrary, in the spaces through which Timberlake and Dallam moved, they were the ones who were acted upon by more powerful forces rather than actors imposing their will and ideas on others. By the middle of the 17th century, despite the British merchant class having established economically productive trade routes and trade factories through the Eastern Mediterranean, “which by 1656 were reputed to be over four million pounds, these investments were not modes of economic control and leverage;” the power that monopolized the use of force was the Ottoman Empire and its local officials, not the English merchantmen and sailors who

241 Ibid 70-71, 205-6.
“were at the mercy of the Turks who, if provoked, could confiscate the money and ruin the traders.”\textsuperscript{242} The English viewed their precarious political and economic position, their inability to change their surroundings to their own agency, as part of the condition of all property under Turkish tyrannical rule. All the same, the fact that the travelers had to construct a justification for their relative position of weakness is evidence of their inability to exert their own power into shaping their environment, instead having to mold themselves into perceived Ottoman contours of power.

In his review of MacLean’s critical guide to four early modern travel tales, Matthew Dimmock notes that “[a] characteristic of many studies investigating such notions [that have followed Nabil Matar’s influential Islam in Britain, 1558–1685 has been a determination to deny the application of Edward W. Said’s Orientalism to early modern geo-political imaginings and encounters.”\textsuperscript{243} In the scholarship engaged with early modern English travelogues and wider interactions, the debate over whether this period was “Before Orientalism,” to borrow the title of Richard Barbour’s study of English theatre’s treatment of the Ottoman Empire, is still a-raging, with the debate’s participants disagreeing over everything from what constitutes the proper level of proof of Orientalism to the conditions required for it.

The above-explained evidence gleaned from depictions of land in these five turn-of-the-17\textsuperscript{th}-century English travelogues indicates, at best, a mixed-up, incoherent Orientalism. The tropes that constitutes the meat and potatoes of the “-ism” such as Turkish tyranny, superstition of the Greeks, and the general decadence of Eastern peoples can been seen at the beginning of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century and will coalesce into a more coherent set of images by the 18\textsuperscript{th} and certainly the 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries. Using those tropes as such, knowing both the lack of political and economic power

\textsuperscript{242} Matar 105.

differential favoring the British and the writings that contradict those tropes, would be uselessly teleological.

**Nationalism**

This section examines the hints of what can be construed as nationalist or proto-nationalist feeling are discernable within the early modern English travel tales. I deem them hints because they existed in a context without many of the usually assumed social, political, cultural, etc. requirements of a fully coherent ideology like that that would arise in the 19th and 20th century such as a strong centralized state with the ability to impose a unifying program surrounding issues of ethnicity, language, religion, and tradition and a developed, mature conception of a people’s sameness and difference. Benedict Anderson’s classic social constructionist tome conceptualized the nation as an “imagined communities” wherein members think of themselves as part of this particular association, distinct and separate from other such communities, despite differences of class, region, etc. within the imagined community. The nation as an imagined community entails a person thinking of herself as part of the same group as another even though neither person has met each other and have never been part of the same “community” in the older medieval sense. The rise of print media, with its mass public reach, fostered this perception of having an identity in common with strangers who happen to inhabit the same ethno-national space.

In that vein, Anne Suranyi argues that these turn-of-the-17th-century travelogues, “by putting ideas about sameness and difference into widely read and influential books, the travel authors were indeed ‘writing the nation’” were part of the diffuse, society-wide movement.244 The experience presented in travelogues presented opportunities for the Englishman abroad to think upon his national identity and to bind himself closer to the “imagined community” due to his

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244 Suryani 39.
exposure to what was non-English; likewise, the reading audience were supposed to identify with narrator of the travel tale, whatever other differences of class, profession, region, etc., since they were English and not Other. Every instance that inter-national or inter-group difference comes up in describing exotic space or the “manners, governments, religion, and customs of Forraime and Heathen countries,” whether that be how the Greeks were lazy and excessive drinkers or the lands of Bilad al-Sham were excessively hot and lacked in water, fosters the sense in an early modern reader who may be a barrel maker in Liverpool that he has more in common with a London gentlewoman than with someone of an analogous lifestyle, class, and gender living in, say, Izmir.

Just as the travelogues as consumed commodities can be argued to have “written the nation,” the changes in the practice and theory of land ownership reflected in the texts can also be said to have helped formed the “imagined community.” By using the language of numbers and geometry, landowners and surveyors integrate local space into a national market which is nothing if not an imagined abstraction tied the nation-state. The new practice removes a plot of earth from its local community and trappings. The importance of it is no longer in how it sustains relations between a particular yeoman farmer and his rent-paying tenants. As a commodity, land now is subject to “improvement” that is aimed at increasing the yield of agricultural products for a trans-regional marketplace; space that does not or has not been integrated into this system is conceptualized as “waste,” as deviating from its “original” intended purpose of creating value. Travel texts, by using this language and pointing out foreign examples of “waste,” do the same work in the minds of the reader as the gentleman-improver (like George Sandys and his family), merchant (like Henry Timberlake), and surveyor; the practice reaffirms the universal (and thus national, regardless of region and local circumstances) applicability of such a measure of land’s proper use.
In their accounts of their movements through foreign spaces, travelers wrote about those places were marked by the English. Timberlake, when taking his tour of the Holy Land, marked all the places that were built by Helena, the English Christian mother to Constantine the Great such as a chapel attached to “great church” in Bethlehem which housed “diuers Tombes of holy men and others.” Many accounts of the land as a historical space where the Crusades took place pointed out the sites associated with Richard the Lionheart.

The phenomenon of the English leaving their imprints on the foreign land was not limited to the distant and not-so-distant past; the travel-writers also noted their contemporaries and their own marks on the land. When he visiting a “Great Chuch” in Bethlehem, Henry Timberlake noticed “the name of M. Hugh Stapers” carved about another name in the entry way and “betweene them both [he] set his name.” Later on, when he is looking around the top of the church, he found that “upon the leads the name of M. Hugh Stapers againe ingraven,” a discovery that excited the traveler greatly. It “made [him] looke the earnestlier for some other Englishmens names;” only when he could find no others did he “graven down [his] name.”

Thomas Dallam marks his claim on a bit of foreign land when, from the “rewins of the wales and housis in Troye,” he “brought a peece of a whyte marble piller, the which I broke with my owne hands, having a good hamer, which my mate Harvie did carrie a shore of the same purpose;” he “bought this piece of marble to London.”

English marking the foreign physical space of the Eastern Mediterranean were not limited to souvenirs taken from ruins and graffiti. Biddulph makes a note of Henry Moryson’s grave site when passing through Iskenderoun. Timberlake notes that he was shown “a place bought by

\[245\] Timberlake 19.
\[246\] Timberlake 19.
\[247\] Dallam 50. Prequel to the Elgin Marbles, no doubt.
\[248\] Biddulph 39.
the Pope of the Turkes, for the burial of the European Chistians,” where his guides informed him, “that the yeare before, 5 Englishmen were buried in the place.”

In these turn-of-the-17th century texts, the implication was that the reader should care because of their Englishness of these occurrences, reinforcing the “imagined community” with the community’s dead marking spaces beyond the community’s boundaries.

The exposure to foreign spaces was used to further the claims that England was the best land. En route back to England, Sandys waxes poetically, addressing the nation of England directly. Linking the physical goodness with moral goodness, Sandys also casts the nation as a benevolent parent who gives the English people all that they need, “forrein additions, onely tending to luxury and vanity;” unlike the other places that he saw, such as where the Catholics held power, England was where “vetrue…at least is praised and vices branded with their names.”

He reports that all lands he has encountered “are in some things defectiue,” but England is imagined as “beloved soile” where “the Sommers burn thee not, nor Winters benum thee,” perfectly suiting both the people born for that land and travelers. This is a reiteration of the early modern idea both that a people belong to the a particular plot of land, linked through their unique constitutions that have adapted to best fit native soil, and that England possessed a Goldilocks geography which was neither too hot nor too, but just right. He concludes, mixing his Homer and Exodus, by writing that Ulysses, who “knew many mens manners and saw many Cities,” would have to “confesse thee [England] to be the land that floweth with milk and honey;” notably, this phrase of “milk and honey” was a moniker accorded to Israel in Psalms and Deuteronomy in the Old Testament, a descriptor that the author earlier uses for that ancient land. Sandys melds into Classical form of paen-writer and world traveler, fond of and longing for his home about which

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249 Timberlake 17.
250 Ibid. The best and nicest encapsulation of English hypocrisy that I have ever read.
251 Sandys 218.
he could now say with the authority of the above has better physical space than all other places, for reasons moral and physical.

The affirmation by Sandys that England’s “beloved soile” has weather that neither burns nor numbs to excess during the summer and winter, respectively, belonged to the Airs, Waters, Places tradition. Based off Hippocratic and Galenic understandings about humors, the AWP mode of thought understand the human body as marked by the land in which he or she is from, the airs that a person had breathed, and the water that a person has imbibed. The best state of health is experienced where the body has been accustomed to all such conditions; in other words, one’s “[h]ome represented the best place to be healthy; it was where one’s body had been shaped, and so was the place best fitted to its constitution.”

This understanding underlain both travelers understanding of foreign lands that they saw when going eastward in addition to featuring prominently in the colonial discourse on healthiness of newly-“settled” land. The anxieties about the health of the traveler

Returning to Bishop’s Hall strident critique of travel, Quo Vadis? A just censure, Travell as it is commonly undertaken by the gentlemen of our nation, part of Hall’s argument that one should not travel unless for reasons of trade and state (reluctantly) is that bodies are marked by the lands and moving beyond the lands for one is fitted could be dangerous to one’s health. Making an agricultural analogy to the effect of land on those living on it, “the Persian Hyoscyamus if it be translated to Egypt, proves deadly; if to Ierusalem, safe and wholesome;” And, like the plant

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253 Fears surrounding unhealthy lands in the New World was a inhibition on potential colonists deciding to move across the Atlantic. See the public letters of William Penn swearing by the newly acquired parts of West New Jersey are healthy and the private letters urging his agents to find out if they actually are.
made deadly by the soil it grows in, a person who encounters the wrong type of environment “may justly curse the place, as accessory to their undoing.”

Throughout the travelogues, there was affirmations of Englishness and use of “our” as a flagging of “I’m one of you, not one of them.” For example, when Timberlake and Burrell reached the gates of Jerusalem, Henry’s companion “advised [him] to say, [he] was a Greeke, onely to auoyd going to masse,” but Timberlake would “neither deny my Country, nor Religion.” The authorities at the gates, suspicious of this stranger from a strange land, threw him in prison for his annunciation of identity that did not fit into the local schema of classifications, an identity that conflated his love of country and Queen with affection for his religion. The questioning of Muslim, Greek, or Catholic knowledge about the religiously-inflected identities of the land both asserted the traveler’s uncontaminated Protestantism in conjunction with vocalizing Englishness and difference with the confessionally different peoples who belonged to a myriad of non-English nations.

The religion of the British (Protestantism) as distinct and in opposition to Catholicism (or Eastern Orthodoxy) is consistently emphasized throughout the works of Dallam, Moryson, Sandys, Biddulph, and Timberlake. Confessional difference often mentioned in the same breath as Englishness as being distinct and in opposition to other Continental European identities. It thus begs the question whether Protestantism could have served as basis of national identity, as the foundation stone of Englishness; to what degree and in what manner was the “English” identity an exclusive one, if one considers Protestantism a foundation stone for it? The apparent

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254 Hall 19. Allbeit, compared to his fears of spiritual and cultural contamination, the effort devoted to arguing that English bodies are physically unfit for non-English climes are minor, but the fact that this line of thought is present at all shows its weight among the upwardly-aspiring gentry who ought not choose to send their children away from native soil.

255 Timberlake 6.
answer in these travelogues was a resounding “not very,” possibly verging into the “necessary, not sufficient category at some points.

Protestant identity was no unique to those living in the English and Scots. On the continent, the Dutch, the main economic rivals to the English cloth trade, were also Protestant. More notably, the Hugenouts, French Protestants, featured heavily in the mental and textual world of an early modern traveler. The point at which Sandys chooses to begin his work is in France in the aftermath of an “obscure valet,” driven by his Catholic faith, assassinates Henry IV of Navarre, the tolerance-seeking French king who had converted from Protestantism, supposedly remarking that “Paris is worth a mass.” Sandys gives slain king no grief for his turning away from the Right Religion (according to the average Englishman), but rather heaps scorn on the Papist assassin instead.

Englishness and Islam could also overlap in a manner that could excluded Protestantism or include it. Sandys recounts that during the 1565 siege of Malta by the Ottomans, a “Turk,” probably of “Christian parentage,” who was sympathetic to the cause of the Knights Hospitallier, jumped into the sea in order to reveal to the forces of Jean de Valette the Ottoman plan of attack; in this description, the turncoat was of help to “our cause” which is the cause of “Christendome.” In that instance, the identification of the traveler transcends sectarian lines within Christianity, a rare example of commonality with the Papists, against the expansionist Ottoman state. Two of Thomas Dallam’s guides were English converts to Islam. One was a man named Finche who acted as a dragoman who translated him for Dallam’s party when going overland through Greece and helped them be rid of bandits by getting the brigands intoxicated.

Whatever else Dallam’s identification of Protestant Christianity with his (proto-)national identity, this “English Turk” guide was a “trustie friend,” regardless of him being “in religion a perf

256 Sandys 232.
This mark of affection may regionalist feeling, since both Finche and Dallam being Lancashire men, or it could be that the performance of this dragoman exceeded that of the previous English convert guide (and a Cornishman to boot!) who had abandoned Dallam when he got chased through the halls of Topkapi by the Blackamoor guards.

National feeling towards England was not lacking in these turn-of-the-17th century Anglophone travelogues. The creation of the “imagined community” of the English nation-state was done partly through the integration of the land market and the changing concepts of land as no longer being the locus of local communities, but rather abstracted, national economic agricultural productivity; this trend manifested in texts such as the set of examined early modern English travelogues which used the language of “improvement” and “waste.” The self-representation of a Brit aboard (who could be English or Scottish, but always Anglophone) engendered a discourse that marked Englishness wherever he could find it, whether that be in the form of The arguments that the Anglophone travelers engaged in with non-Protestant individuals concerning what they perceived as identities of land being based on false religious principles provided, but the fluidities of national-religious identity during this period do not support the notion that Protestantism was a sufficient factor in defining what was “English.”

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257 Dallam 83-85.
Conclusion

At the turn of the 17th century, following trading agreements and concessions between the Ottoman Empire and the English nation in the 1580’s, a link that carried goods and people was established that brought five Anglophone travelers eastward, namely Thomas Dallam, Henry Timberlake, William Biddulph, George Sandys, and Fynes Moryson. This thesis asked what significance physical spaces held in their works and what intellectual, religious, and economic trends were these men engaging with; in other words, how did early modern Anglophone travelers “read” and understand the foreign lands that they were then moving through.

Part One addressed land as an governed economic unit of agricultural production, noting how certain types of description of physical space were part of changing conceptualizations of land in the early modern period and how the agricultural use and misuse of land served as a mirror for English anxieties about issues of illegitimate governance and spectre of tyranny as seen in the Ottoman “Turkish” state. Part Two examines the physical space of the Ottoman state as mediated by Christian Scripture, Classical writings, and other pasts, in light of the needs of establishing authorial authority and the appearance of a truthful travel tale. The two sections look at how references to culturally privileged texts worked to familiarize unfamiliar land to a domestic English-speaking/reading audience and worked within the mental conflict of Protestantism with other religions. The trope of “ruins” in the context of cyclic theories of history in addition to the manner in which this physical space could be both textually and experientially mediated were examined. A section on names and nomenclature ends Part Two as a case study of some tendencies listed and explained in the above sections. Part Three considered the question of Orientalism and Nationalism in these early modern English travel tales with my analysis of how
depiction of land can play a prominent role in the engagement with the two questions of “isms:” Orientalism and Nationalism; it concluded that, given the domestic conditions in the British Isles and its place and power relative to the Ottoman state, there exists more justification for using the latter “-ism” than the former in application to this period and place.

As this thesis has hopefully shown, this body of sources is a rich one whose potential yield for historians of the early modern mind, economy, literature, etc. has only been begun to be properly used. If the presently typing author had world and time enough, the following might further avenues of investigation: a comparative look at similarities and dissimilarities of typology in Barbary captivity narratives such as that of the anonymous T.S. and of John Saunders (printed alone and reprinted in Haklyut’s *Principall Navigations*) and Indian captivity narratives such as that of Mary Rowlandson and, an examination of the culture of time represented and portrayed by English travelers to the Levant such as Henry Timberlake. A closer scholarly look by those who work on these travel writings at depictions of Egypt in Moryson, Timberlake, and their ilk seems to be in order; the geographic focus seems to be mostly on Bilad al-Sham (for it contains the Holy Land), the Greek islands, and Constantinople. A digital humanities project, utilizing the locations and dates of the intrepid wanderers via their published travelogues, would also be of aid to scholars of this material, if only for its aesthetic value in contemplating disparate data points in one place.  

The set of travel writings can be situated, not only diachronically, stuck somewhere between Medieval and post-Medieval wonder tales and travelogues and more “objective” imperial and

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258 For those interested and wanting to have a go, there is an open-source software available called Gephi, used to visualize networks. For an example of network visualizing software, see Stanford’s charting of the epistolary links though space and time, called “Mapping the Republic of Letters,” at http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/. If you, dear Reader, can create a functioning map of the travels of Fynes Moryson, George Sandys, William Biddulph, and Henry Timberlake, please email me with the properly-formatted source data; I’d sorely wish to see such a project done. This project would also emulate the EMP’s maps being slowly filled in; in other words, the totalizing reach of lines, numbers, and borders, disciplining fluid and disorganized space and movement.
colonial accounts in the 18th and 19th centuries, but also in the wider European context. The issues raised in this thesis are by no means confined to those such as Thomas Dallam and Fynes Moryson. The turn of the 17th century was a time of increased movements of peoples betwixt East and West, the New World and the Old, and within those spaces. The same questions that plagued Henry Timberlake and George Sandys bothered their counterparts in Europe.

One instance of commonality would be the ambiguity with which Protestants regarded the Holy Land and sanctity based on the physical realm such as pilgrimage sites extended beyond just Anglicans. A central part of being Protestant was the rejection of certain Papist practices such as the cult of images in which people find deem pictures or bits of bone or physical spaces worthy of veneration as holy, enough to prompt them to travel from far and wide to see them. This manifested in many authors who traveled to sites imbued with sacral history such as Jerusalem denouncing pilgrimages as false practice. However, their own attitudes could range from scorn to devotion when encountering the places where their Savior or his mother moved and touched. This dynamic of denunciation coupled with alternations of distain and religious fervor can be seen in German Lutheran travelers to the same space.259 This uncertainty about the pilgrimage practice reached beyond sectarian lines; during the early modern Period and the Counter-Reformation, the Catholic hierarchy and community were likewise re-conceptualizing what it meant to locate the sacred in mundane and profane. The issues of where to locate Empiricism, the idea that true knowledge was derived through experience and the senses, also featured throughout the travelogues of Western Europe, in the French and Spanish contexts. This was especially marked as they encountered new places with which they had no textual sources to

mediate directly upon, but can be discerned as a general trend through all writings about “natural” or “real” phenomenon.

Another interesting possible line of research could be a comparative examination of textual mediation in the travel tales of learned gentlemen from England and from the Ottoman Empire moving through the same physical space. Similar projects have been pursued before; I have in mind “The Chaplain and the Sufi” by Nabil Matar which concerns itself with the different sources of mediation and coloring of Jerusalem in the travelogues of Henry Maundrell and ‘Abdu’l-ghani Al-Nabulsi. One conceivable project could be comparing the famed Istanbulite sojourner Evliya Çelebi’s Seyâhatnâme with George Sandys’ Relation of a Journey. The comparison would be interesting for both are learned elite men who have a chorographic interest in the place they see, but with a different set of textual and intellectual traditions to refer back to, the latter being thoroughly engaged with Biblical and Greco-Roman Classics while the former was more concerned about how Persian Classics such as the Shahname corresponded to the physical, material spaces he saw before him when going through Egypt or Syria.

The stories of these British preachers and gentlemen belong to a wider narrative than one limited to just Europe or the Mediterranean world, as has (hopefully) been demonstrated in this paper. Allison Games, in “Beyond the Atlantic: English Globetrotters and Transoceanic Connections” and subsequently in her 2008 book The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660, argues how English travels in the Ottoman Empire has to be understood in a framework extending above the level of single bodies of water. According to Games, “geographic space that guides research can impose unnatural constraints;” “the modern political boundaries that determine regions of study (as departments define such entities) can be
confining because early borders—where they existed or were acknowledged—were porous, contested, and shifting.**260

The highly personal nature of early modern English trading movements allows for people to historians to later track their travels and take it as evidence of a web of connections between the Atlantic and Mediterranean world, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean world, so interconnected, in fact, that it may not be useful to regard them as separate spheres; by which I mean that these things were not yet controlled by massive state bureaucracies, but rather by a couple of rich guys that the king or queen was buddies or friends of friends with who they entrusted with diplomacy and trade with far off places (those couple of rich guys, in turn, would have close relations who they would entrust with running parts of the operations and down the lines of trust would trickle).261 This model of decentralized engagement with the rest of the world is markedly dissimilar to that of the empires based in Iberia which had elaborate court systems and organized Catholic missions to terra incognito beyond their borders.

George Sandys, the learned gentleman and appraiser of agricultural fruitfulness who penned A Relation of a Journey, would go on to succeed his brother Edwin as a high post in the Virginia Colony, helping run finances. Fynes Moryson, author of the aforementioned Itinerary, took part in the major English imperial project of the period, the military subjugation of Ireland which would lead further in the stream of time to the “improvement” of land by new English settlers on the lands of the defeated Earls’ lands and even further down the line, to Irishmen being sent to the Carribean as slaves and fleeing starvation in their homeland for the New World. On the flip side, William Strachey, who detailed his time after shipwreck in the Bermudas in his famed True

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Reportory and became the Secretary of the Colony of Virginia, had served under Sir Thomas Glover, the diplomat and employee of the Levant Company in Constantinople (the one that Biddulph had a testy relationship with). Similar themes of land as fruitful/waste/in need of improvement, experiential knowledge existing alongside textual knowledge, and so forth exist in the travel literature of these disparate places because it was the same set of people who moved through them.

Nabil Matar paints a similar picture in his book Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery with the concept of a “Renaissance Triangle,” imagined as a place where the British sea routes sewed together, which stretched from the Caribbean islands to the Barbary States, from Aleppo and Thessaloniki to the New England colonies. George Carteret, the founder of New Jersey, lived in that triangle, residing in Venice during his exile for his royalist convictions, and going to North America after the Restoration. John White, known for his ethnographic watercolors of the Indians in Virginia, also portrayed the Turks in his artwork. The adventurer John Smith, most famous for his involvement in setting up the Virginia colony, had his coat of arms adorned with three Turk heads on it, a nod to his time fighting against the Turks in the Ottoman-Hapsburg Wars. Various places in the New World had names referring to the Turks on them. And it was not just the English lived, worked, and moved through this triangle; Muslims and Indians did as well. Captured Indians in war were sold to slave markets in Egypt while captive Turks and Moors could be found in the Caribbean and pirates from the Ottoman-controlled lands would raid British ships sailing to the New World.

As seen in this set of travelogues, cultural productions such as plays, history books, and travelogues to do the work in the English mind what ships and caravans did in the real world. They connected the reader (both contemporary and in the 21st century) with the wider watery
world of early modern trade and movement, relaying images of far-off places. Those travelogues also integrate us into this world, allowing people to reach beyond the constraints of time and place, to get a glimpse, if not more, into a different world. That space is now a lost one, with the fluidities of identity, both of land and of people, having solidified and hardened with the present age of nationalisms. This was an age when sea-discoverers to new worlds have gone and the ever-expanding maps to others these new worlds on worlds have shown. This was also an age when seemingly distant ends of the Old World met again and Englishmen left their island to go east and see what they might see.
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The image on the title page is a map from the third edition of George Sandys’ Relation, published in 1627.
Appendix: Pretty Pictures

Figure 1: Map of the city of Jerusalem and surrounding land made by Fynes Moryson. The number represent various landmarks. For example, 5 represents “the ruines of the house or pallace of the High Priest Caiphas” where the cock crowed at Jesus’ death and where now houses Armenian Christians. 18 represents “Salomons house, of old having a Gate leading to the Temple, and it is now inhabited by the Turkish Cady, who hath an Episcopall office.” Note the mixing of past with present identities and uses of space.
Figure 2: View of the Bosphorus from George Sandys’ *Relation of a Journey*

Figure 3: Henry Timberlake dressed in Oriental garb and his faithful Moorish companion going to Grand Cayro. Presumably the animal is a giraffe (or a really odd dromidary that they rode along the Nile) and is there for exotic flavor. The background land is barren, either to make a point or out of laziness. Found on the cover of The True and Strange Discourse of Timberlake and was the only image found in that manuscript.
Figure 4: Cover Page of George Sandys' Relation of a Journey. Note the images alluding to Classical and Scriptural histories of the lands Sandys saw, alluding to the Apis Bull and Isis along with the Cumra Sybil and Mount Olives. Off-center, the figure of Ahmed, the tyrant, steps on...At the top, the classicizing figures of Truth and Constancy alert the readers to the reliability of the authors as a teller of tales about the engaging images below. Constancy, wearing a cross on its chest, also affirms that the author was constant for his faith while traveling through these confessionally different lands.
Figure 5: The 1645 cover of Francis Bacon’s Novum Organum, a work which formulates a methodology for seeking true knowledge which begins with ocular knowledge (the observation step of the scientific method). The image depicts a view looking out onto the Atlantic Ocean from the Mediterranean Sea at the Pillars of Gibraltar. The legend at the bottom quotes Daniel 12:4, linking knowledge and travel.