The Fear of Conversion to Islam in Daborne’s *A Christian Turn’d Turk* (1609)

Fahd Mohammed Taleb Al-Olaqi[a],*

[a]Department of English & Translation, Faculty of Science & Arts-Khulais, University of Jeddah, Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. *Corresponding author.

Received 26 December 2016; accepted 12 February 2017
Published online 26 March 2017

Abstract

Robert Daborne’s *A Christian Turned Turk* (1609/1612) is about the conversion of Captain John Ward (1553-1622) to Islam. The play explores the threats and prizes of religious conversion, the probability of turning away from it, and then returning to Christianity and to England. Daborne depicts how Islam has regularly entered English public discourse and how Englishmen have imbued with Turkish Islamic manners and costume. Daborne emphasizes on conversion in participation of Elizabethan polemic against Islam. The conversion to Islam suggests the possibility of conversion on the basis of physical, bodily changes. The dreaded spread of Islam in England becomes a great threat. Elizabethan writers became gradually anxious with the Turks and Islam. Many Elizabethan dramatists introduced Islam as a spectre and danger to the Christian religion. Because of the fear of conversion, Daborne’s play deflects hostile remarks directed towards Ward as a Muslim outsider and it ends with the triumph of the virtue, that renegade Ward has been punished by his new faith in an indicted murder played by the Jew.

Key words: John Ward; Conversion; Islam; Muhammad; Turned Turk; Circumcision; Elizabethan drama

INTRODUCTION

The English public was interested in useful information which helped Elizabethan and reformation playwrights to establish a representation of the Muslims in exotic Turkish or Moorish characters, significant themes, ingenious plots, and remarkable scenes. Therefore, early modern Mediterranean piracy and conversion to Islam by Turks established hostile fears in the entire Europe. But a comprehensive fascination with features of Ottoman culture contradicts those hostile fears of the Christian Englishmen. The English has increasingly built up relationships with the great Islamic Ottoman Empire. The British incipient curiosity in Turkey made many famous Elizabethan dramatists to introduce the Turkish culture and Islamic faith in a hostile representation. Thus, Daborne’s play represents Islam in the Elizabethan period of English drama. The theme of the play is not only a religious conversion, but it also displays a bad sexual transaction of the converts in his new religion. English individuals are motivated to avert from Islam by a particular anti-Islamic agenda, prejudice or fake hate. For instance, Medieval Christians saw the Islamic world as a demonic other; however, as the experience of the English in Mediterranean traffic increased, statesmen and merchants began to rethink the old stereotype more pragmatically (Bak, 2006, p.201 & Vitkus, 1997, pp.24-44). In the fifteenth century, there was a massive conversion to Islam when the Ottoman Turks had taken over the heart of Christian Europe, Constantinople in 1453. The Turks had successfully converted many people of Constantinople to Islam but the Ottoman Empire was also a home to numerous religious and ethnic groups (Games, 2008, p.49). Since that event, Christian fundamentalists have been considering this as a shame on Christendom.

The Renaissance period was both fascinated and threatened by the Ottoman Empire which combined the features of a diabolical omen with those of a remarkably
efficient political-military organization. The Anglo-Islamic communications improved in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1577, the Sultan of Morocco, Abdelmelec, approved the British trading privileges in his territory and, in 1580, the British Diplomat to the Ottoman Empire, William Harborne, assigned the first Anglo-Ottoman commercial truce in Istanbul, concluding in the establishment of England’s The Levant Company, a corporation made only for trade with the Turks. Mattar finds that there is an evidence of presence of African origin Muslims in Britain belong to the Tudor and Stuart periods (Matar, 1998, p.45). It was a gap of nineteen years between the establishment of Levant Company (1581) and the performance of Daborne’s A Christian Turn’d Turk (1610) on London stage. During this period, British business in the Mediterranean was emerging quickly, and those who procured to the oceans for livelihood would have had straight occurrences with the Oriental authority, domains, and Muslims. Sir Robert Sherley describes the “Turks as being modern and great leaders of the world, with universal traits that led to the vogue for the Orient in Europe” (Chew, 1937, p.3). In fact, many Christians including Englishmen fought against the Turks and many fought for the Turks against other Christians (Dick, 1962, p.193). Many Englishmen fondled the power of Islam as it affected their marine economy.

The English fascination in Muslim nations, particularly the supremacy of Islamic domination to convert Christians to Muslims, documented in an outpouring of texts about North Africa and the Levant. Although, the interaction between Christians and Muslims was not primarily oppositional, there were also cultural, intellectual, and missionary engagements between them. The majority of accounts about the Ottomans were primarily negative. The print news about the Barbary pirates and the Ottoman Turks indicates the sharpened interest of the British society in the overseas commercial activities (Hoenelaars, 1995, p.29). Daborne’s A Christian Turned Turk originated much of its fearful confusion and lurid exoticism from the modern English awareness of Turkish power and the British commitment with the hazardous Islamic world. During the sixteenth century, a stream of reports had arrived in England from abroad testifying the success of the Turks’ military campaigns in both the Balkans and the Mediterranean. Richard Knolles’s Generall Historiaie of the Turkes, first printed in 1603, refers in its opening pages to “The glorious empire of the Turkes, the present terror of the world” (Knolles, 1603, p.1). Samuel Chew and Nabil Matar have exposed that the English anxiety about the Turks-and their power to convert Christians was intense (Chew, 1937, p.104; Matar, 1994, p.34). All these fears and worries in the Christian world initiated a process of demonization of the Ottoman Turks and their religion.

The Islamization of Europe is a part of the European fear of Turkey. All English narratives placed renegade Christians on the corrupt ethical level as infidels, blasphemers, and whoremasters. The religious, linguistic, and treasonous conversions are in plays like Robert Wilson’s The Three Ladies of London (1584), George Peele’s Captain Thomas Stukeley (1596), Robert Daborne’s A Christian Turn’d Turk (1612), and Thomas Heywood’s The Fair Maid of the West (1631). For some Elizabethan Dramatists, England, Islam is perceived as a threat to the Elizabethan civility in response to the Anglo-Ottoman interactions. Therefore, Daborne’s play materializes the religious conversion terror on London stage. Ward’s conversion is a pivotal part in the show and relates to existing anxieties regarding apostasy (Burton, 2005, p.93). It is a play on contemporary associations of the ‘Turk’ with falseness (MacLean, 2007, pp.6-8). The play socially works as one of the aspects to setback the menace of the Turks and their religion. The fear of the Islamic bogey was well established in the European consciousness (Vitkus, 1997, p.147). As the Ottoman Empire was expanding westwards, Western Europeans grew increasingly apprehensive. Elizabethan dramatists reacted to the conversion of Christians to Islam and Muslims to Christianity. For instance, the story of Leo the African, which was famous all over the Europe at that time, might have given him a clue to what might have happened to a Moor who converts to Christianity. Like Leo, in Dekker’s Lust’s Dominion, the hero Eleazar was a Moroccan Muslim who was enslaved by Christian Europeans and converted to Christianity and spent the rest of his life in Europe (Bekkaoui, 1999, pp.22-23). Like the majority of his compatriots, Shakespeare must have been worried by the great number of his European fellow citizens who chose for different reasons to convert to Islam. Therefore, Shakespeare’s Othello is a reaction of the panic conversion to Islam. Othello was a Moorish (Muslim) Prince who converted to Christianity and seemed to have preferred the European dress and to speak a European language. In Renaissance drama the externals of Oriental life are portrayed with fair accuracy yet religious and cultural allusions are frequently misinterpreted and distorted (Oueijan, 1966, p.15). The Elizabethan audience was much attracted towards the Orient; they considered the Orient to be domain of “War, conquest, fratricide, lust and treachery” (Nicholson, 1969, p.73).

The tragic–comedy of Captain Ward is a drama of conversion to Islam. The anonymous The Captaine Thomas Stukeley (1596). The end of Part II of The Fair Maid of the West depicts to convert the Moor, Joffer, to Christianity (Part II, V, iv, pp.184-186). The title of Daborne’s drama A Christian Turn’d Turk, has a double meaning, both religiously and politically. For the protagonist, Captain Ward is a traitor to England who embraces Islam. In the dialect of European languages, the word “Turk” stands for any Muslim, including the Moors of Africa. English playwrights refer to Christians “turning Turk” in a range of perspectives. There is a lucid
that period. Therefore, Daborne represents Ward as an Elizabethan England due to the political framework of (Housley, 2002, p.131). The kings of European states through fictional or false accusations of “turning Turk” Turks, or certainly simply as Turks, who is frequently opponent persons for working like Turks, worse than polemical strategies were also developed in tarring Anglo-Ottoman commercial relationships, several English seventeenth century. Owing to the development of the structure resembles “the manner of a sermon” (Matar, 2001, p.563).

The idea of the renegade is evident in published literature. The renegade Ward became a dramatic type, as well as a historical figure. The central idea is religious conversion, piracy, Islam and Protestantism. Daborne’s play has his main character, the English pirate John Ward and the Dutch pirate, Dansker. They were real-life current pirates and were noticeable in the seventeenth century culture. Ward arrests French traders and endures a mutiny to the safe dock of Tunis where he encounters and falls in love with Voda, the sister of the captain of the Turkish janissaries. The rest of the play displays the Turkish hard work to convert Ward to Islam. Voda pretends interest in the English Captain Ward until he converted and at this point she rejects his offer to marry him. This rejection clues to the play’s end when Ward renounces his conversion to Islam but he was punished over accusing him in a murder. He falls in a struggle to justify his execution of an indicted murder played by the Jew. The ethics play of Ward is a tragedy of damnation, not a godly comedy, and it ends with the triumph of the virtue, that renegade Ward has been punished by his new faith. Daborne emphasizes on conversion in participation of Elizabethan polemic against Islam. Matar terms the “polemical agenda” and the way that the narrative structure resembles “the manner of a sermon” (Matar, 2001, p.563).

The concentration on distancing Islam from the Christian populations at two different schemes of ethics and behaviour continues throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Owing to the development of the Anglo-Ottoman commercial relationships, several English polemical strategies were also developed in tarring opponent persons for working like Turks, worse than Turks, or certainly simply as Turks, who is frequently through fictional or false accusations of “turning Turk” (Housley, 2002, p.131). The kings of European states employed Christianity as a technique of accomplishing an alliance against the Muslim infidel army (Curtis, 2009, p.25). John Ward has reacted to Islamic faith and Turkish culture over time in piracy. Pirates turn to be heroes in Elizabethan England due to the political framework of that period. Therefore, Daborne represents Ward as an English hero. The pirate Ward is identified as the king of the sea and negotiates with Tunis governor as a legitimate authority. The play explores the threats and prizes of religious conversion, the possibility of turning away from his faith and goes back to the homeland.

1. CONVERSION TO ISLAM

The religious fear of the English from the early conversion of Christians to Islam is represented in Daborne’s A Christian Turned Turke. The play exemplifies “turning Turk” or Muslim in experience of the contact between the English and Turkish culture in the early modern Mediterranean, and examines the depiction of that experience on the London stage. Dimmock has argued that Christian playwrights employed the conversion expressions to Islam to assail their antagonists. By employing both their antagonists and Muslims in the matching category, authors associated themselves with a universal Christian comradeship (Dimmock, 2013, p.158). Degenhardt emphasizes on resistance to conversion. She claims that the physical nature of Islamic conversion intended in the play to resist physically conversion to any Christian sects on London stage (Degenhardt, 2010, p.67). Vitkus remarks that “the threat of conversion posed by Islamic and Roman Catholic powers” in which this case is brought forth by imported commodities from the East (Vitkus, 2007, p.44).

Renaissance audience deeply feared the rise of conversion in the elite Englishmen. Daborne’s play is a clear representation of that kind of Islamophobia. The play draws on the Elizabethan concerns about Ottoman invasions in Europe that allow the Englishmen to defend their society by all means. Therefore many writers tried to link the Turks and Moors to social and religious corruption by distorting their image in the eyes of the whole country. Vitkus remarks that “conversion to Islam was considered a kind of sexual transgression or spiritual whoredom” (Vitkus, 1997, p.146). Like other Elizabethan playwrights, the dramatist Daborne attaches the Muslims to a greater network of moral, sexual, and religious vagueness to terrify and titillate the audience that Islam and Judaism are faiths of the faithless. Although Islam has constantly been vilified in English polemical writings, Christians convert to Islam. Norman Daniel remarks on the image of Islam in the West that:

Ignorance of the true nature of Islam was not the only reason for the hostility between the Islamic East and the Christian West, since there was not enough firsthand information to dispel much of the ignorance (Daniel, 1960, p.45).

Islamophobia is a fear of the loss of both essence and identity in a world of logical, religious, and violent politics. Daborne draws on this issue in depicting Ward’s loss of his English identity when he misidentifies the English values and civilization by converting to Islam.
Even as a person, Ward also fails to know Voda who cheats him as being a virgin while she is a big whore like the Jewish Aga. Daborne displays Ward as being lost and cheated by Islam and Muslims. The impact of the depiction of faithlessness raises the anxiety of conversion to any religion such as Islam and Judaism. The Elizabethan Protestant or Catholic audience’s fear of Muslim and Jewish female sexual insecurity is interconnected in the show with racial and cultural anxieties in the other faiths. The fear of a black world enthralled Europeans in the early modern period as they encountered the Ottoman imperialism. Vitkus points out that the English come across with exotic alterity, and the theatrical depictions enhanced by that encounter, facilitated to form the growing identity of an English nation that was enthusiastically dreaming about having a realm, but was quiet in the initial phase of its colonizing ambition. Vitkus states that Elizabethan theatres raised the multicultural Mediterranean matters such as concerns over religious conversion, external trade and cross-cultural marriage which were vital factors in the establishment of English identity (Vitkus, 2003, p.65).

This anti-Islamic prejudice is apprehended by the new word “Islamophobia” well-defined as “hatred or fear of Islam, especially as a political force; hostility or prejudice towards Muslims” (Islamophobia, 2011). Some researchers such as Tariq Modood (1997), Robert Purkiss (2003), and Goran Larsson (2005) argue that Islamophobia is not a distinct form of religious prejudice but a form of cultural racism. Early modern Christian hostility to Islam, made Europe to look at Constantinople as the seat of the Anti-Christ (MacLean, 2007, p.1). Conversion to Islam is often regarded as strange and odd, principally in understanding the reasons that make someone embrace a religion that is frequently alleged as deteriorating and running counter to the fundamental norms and values claimed by Western civilizations. Embracing Islam can be perceived as a challenge to a dual view of the world. From a British perspective, converts have the potential to accept the starring role of ‘bridge builders’ overlapping Western and Islamic cultures in this manner serving non-Muslims to realize more about Islam and born Muslims to have a grander understanding of non-Muslims and non-Muslim civilization (Zebiri, 2008, p.4). Converts may similarly be competent to assist the British to stop seeing Islam as a threat (Ibid., p.84). For instance, Daborne demonizes the representation of ‘the Muslim Turk,’ from the Western perspective of condemning the conversion to Islam. As Anglo-Turkish interaction increased throughout the Elizabethan Period, the English fascination in the Turkish culture, especially the power of the Ottoman imperialism to convert Christians to Islamic culture and religion, was increased and recorded in a torrent texts that dealt with Islamic civilizations in North Africa and the Levant. In England the early modern age saw a burst of written material about Barbary pirates and the Ottoman Turks, showing the sharpened interest that go along with the rise of English commercial activity in the Mediterranean (Potter, 1996, pp.124-40; Hoenselaars, 1995, pp.29-42). Matar remark that the Turks and Moors belonged to the “international community of trade, diplomacy, and military rivalry” that impacted England’s age of discovery. Because of their “geopolitical locus,” the Ottoman Turks were the biggest threat to Western Christendom” (Matar, 1999, p.19, 42). The Ottoman Empire was an unfriendly place, and “most readers had no way of accessing what life must have been like overseas aside travel and captivity narratives” (Colley, 2002, p.91).

Islam was feared as an attractive religion to which many Christian converted and also as a religion representative of a mighty Turkish imperial despotism. The horror of Islam functioned nationally and individually. Stories of conversion are causes of decisively social and religious problem. English traders and travellers forsake the Turkish religion and “turning Turk.” Daniel Vitkus remarks that Muslim converts were frequently distorted as atheists. The word “atheist” was someone “who did not conform to orthodox religious practice,” or who was guilty of “treasonous, criminal behaviour.” Vitkus adds that treason, in Elizabethan age, could often mean political treason but similarly sacred heresy, for religious and national individualities in Britain were intertwined (Vitkus, 2000, p.5). Daborne’s play spread misunderstandings and anxieties and served into the fear of the turban and the robes as symbols for Christendom’s archenemy. Daborne’s A Christian Turn’d Turk exposes out of a communal psychology of fear that exceeds the coherent facticity of topographical distance. However, English fears of “the Turk” were not totally paranoid or hysterical. A sort of sensitivity to a renegade is exposed by Daborne.

The downplayed negative images of the bad converted Turk are emphasizing the innocent pleasure of the good Christian. Ward’s Turkish dress was something converted Englishmen wore, and it was a daily reminder of a humiliating physical change in their identities (Barrer-Gall, 2013, p.10). For instance, apostates were frequently portrayed as ‘turning Turk’ for material advantage or sexual satisfaction (Matar, 1993, pp.491-492). According to Vitkus, the expression ‘turning Turk’ shows how sexual offenses in Turk plays and England’s commercial dependence on Mediterranean Turks and Moors could reckon as deeds of turning Turk. Burton explores that Muslims affected the shape of English notions about Islam,” and accordingly representing positive Muslim
figures in the drama (Burton, 2005, p.22). Burton thinks that the drama’s depiction of Islam is plainly demonized and stereotyped. As the Turkish armies invade any part in Europe, the ancient prejudiced identification of Islamic aggressors assumed by playwrights like Daborne who perceives the Turks and the Moors as corrupt as well as traitors. In early Reformation arguments several polemical approaches were correspondingly established to tar opponents for behaving like Turks, worse than Turks, or certainly purely as Turks habitually bogus claims of “turning Turk” (Housley, 2002, pp.131-59). Burton argues that to turn Turk was equivalent to an act of unfaithfulness and rebellion or to turn from Christian virtue (Burton, 2005, p.16). This actually points to the Western typecasting and depiction of the Turk as personification of evil. Vitkus states that “the stereotype of the devilish Moor or cruel Turk was sometimes employed to demonstrate the supposed iniquity of Islam and to portray Muslims as agents of Satan” (Vitkus, 2000, p.15).

The Islamic menace succeeded very close to England in “turning Turk.” Accounts narrated by Britons who engaged in ship robbery and converted to Islam were supposed to have headed successful; and the damage of their hopeless personalities was greatly grievous. They had destroyed themselves by conceding excitedly to the sensual, irritable, and lustful wishes they learned over socializing without restrictions with the Muslim women of North Africa. Vitkus finds out that some Englishmen sailors sleep with Moorish married women, and when discovered, they pay bribe to escape the death penalty; some persons suffer the punishment (Vitkus, 2000, p.33). Therefore, the national fears over the outcome of British and European adjacent trading and social encounters were re-enacted in an erotic perspective, with Turkish and Moorish loose females hunters wandering the lanes of Tunis and Malta desiring for European males. Such depictions originated at a period when the Barbary pirates demanded a shocking sum of money for English hostages and they converted them to Islam. Elizabethan dramatists tried to suppress intensified domestic concern by convincing the public against the attraction of Islam over dramatic productions like Fletcher’s The Knight of Malta and Daborne’s A Christian Turned Turk.

Daborne’s play gives an interpretation of Elizabethan references to Muslim elements. He relates them to their historical figures or central themes, and existing conventional images of the Turks or Moors as well as some tropes of conversion to Islam. The depictions of the Turk in response to their own trans-imperial anxieties Norman Daniel argues the predominant and fanatical European view that the religion of Islam was basically depended on an establishment of sensual permission which is clearly opposing to “the divine law” (Daniel, 1958, p.152). This convention of anti-Islamic argument, which looked at Islam as a religion of “fraud, lust, and violence,” is tolerated in the West (Vitkus, 1997, p.86). Daborne has made sexual desire as the allure of Islam, to attract Christians. The Elizabethan historian, Edward Ashton observes that “the incredible allurement is giving people free liberty and power to pursue their lusts and all other pleasures, for by these means; this pestilent religion hath crept into innumerable Nations” (Ashton, 1611, p.137). Vitkus finds that this was the actual threat of Islam: “the attraction of conversion to Islam—and the reluctance of Muslims to convert to Christianity—stemmed primarily from the greater sexual freedom allowed under Islamic law” (Vitkus, 1997, p.87). In Daborne, the notorious pirate Ward undergoes conversion to Islam, including circumcision and Turkish costume for the promise of marrying the Turkish Voda. In fact, Ward’s sexual favours has nothing to do with the Western polemic claim of the propagation of Islam among the Christian men was on sexual feelings, as Islam was associated with whoring and prostituting. Therefore, it becomes an instrument to attack Islam by distorting Muslim women, whether Turkish or Moorish as in Daborne the unfaithful Voda worked in converting Captain Ward. In fact, it is not true as Islamic teachings are strict in the dealing between Muslim males and females. In Turkey, Sandys’s account report how Muslim women never show their “beauties unto any, but unto their father and husbands” (Vitkus, 1999 p.136). Haideh Moghissi claims that “Sandys did not find the restrictiveness of the Muslim women’s lives objectionable;” Furthermore, Sandys emphasizes that Muslim women accepted their way of life in obedience to the “Alcoran” (Moghissi, 2005, p.137). As Norman Daniel remarks, “it was believed [in the West] that Muhammad not only allowed every male Muslim man ten wives, but every Muslim woman ten husbands” (Daniel, 1960, p.168). In fact, it is prohibited for a Muslim man to be alone with a woman, while Christian men were evangelically free to mix with Christian women in every place which is a chance of loose in sexuality. The whoring and prostituting houses (or now clubs) were legislatively all over Christendom. No Western or Christian man or woman can deny this practice though they all look at it as unholy. Some Westernized Muslim countries covertly contain some prostituting houses (or clubs) but they are not jurisdictionally approved. Vitkus states that “Islamic regulations governing concubinage, marriage, and divorce” were “misunderstood and reviled by Western Europeans” (Vitkus, 2000, p.87; Daniel, 1960, pp.158-169). Indeed, they were misunderstood and exaggerated in Europe to defend Western civilization.

2. THE DISTORTED RITUAL OF CONVERSION
The depiction of conversion and circumcision is both dramatized and fanciful in which the protagonist pirate John Ward appears swearing on an idol of ‘Mahomet’
in front of a judge figured as a “Mufli” (i.e. an Islamic scholar and expert in Islamic law) and the audience (Vitkus, 2000, p.236). The play of turning Turk is the central plot of the dissembling threat of apostasy for Britons in the Oriental world. The term of “turning Turk” is a common trope in early modern polemical plays. Some Elizabethan plays refer to conversion in several scenes such as Robert Wilson’s The Three Ladies of London (1584), and Thomas Heywood’s The Fair Maid of the West (1631). These scenes look more evangelical than Islamic. There is no ritual to become a Muslim than saying Shahada (i.e. testimony) that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad (Peace be upon him) is His messenger.

In Daborne, the dumb show of Act I Scene VIII portrays Ward’s conversion ritual. There are magical and ghostly connotations besides high-ranking administrators embodied by the Muftis who administer the ritual. The scenes were offered as a dumb show to show ‘the solemnity and spiritual importance of Ward’s supposed conversion’ (Mehl, 1982, p.24). Daborne mocks the conversion ritual to degrade the convert and his new religion. Along with this scornful depiction of a pitiful renegade, Daborne involved an extraordinary comprehensive stage course for the dumb show:

Enter two bearing half-moons, one with a Mahomet’s head following. After them, the Mufti, or chief priest, two meaner priests bearing a train. The Mufti seated, a confused noise of music, with a show. Enter two Turks, one bearing a turban with a half-moon in it, the other a robe, a sword: a third with a globe in one hand, an arrow in the other. Two knights follow. After them, Ward on an ass, in his Christian habit, bare-headed. The two knights, with low reverence, ascend, whisper the Mufti in the ear, draw their swords, and pull him off the ass. He [is] laid on his belly, the tables (by two inferior priests) offered him, he lifts his hands up, subscribes, is brought to his seat by the Mufti, who puts on his turban and robe, girds his sword, then swears him on the Mahomet’s head, ungirts his sword, offers him a cup of wine by the hands of a Christian. He spurns at him and throws away the cup, is mounted on the ass, who is richly clad, and with a shout, they exit. (Scene 8.1.11)

The scene definitely approves the lack of knowledge about Islam or Prophet Muhammad. Early English notions of Islamic religious information can only be perceived in terms of the Christian distorted polemics and outright dubieties about Prophet Muhammad during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Al-Olaqi, 2016a, p.138). An image or “head” of Mahomet plays a conspicuous part in which the convert Captain Ward is shown kising a head of Mahomet. Vitkus notes that the head of Mahomet, a common prop of the period, was not used to emphasise the religious nature of the scene but also to highlight Islam’s status as a pagan faith (Vitkus, 2000, p.236). Elizabethan prevalent drama infrequently distinguished between Muslims either they are Moors of Barbary or the Turks. Despite their radical monotheism, Muslims were still condemned as “pagan idolaters” by many Elizabethan playwrights (Vitkus, 1997, p.161). The Medieval tradition of the idol of Prophet Mahomet continued into Elizabethan Age. The English historian John Selden (died in 1654) comments on the exaggerated images of the Turks saying:

When our countrymen came home from fighting against the Saracens and were beaten by them, they pictured them with huge, big, terrible faces (as you still see the sign of the Saracen’s Head is), when in truth they were like other men; but this they [the English] did to save their own credits (Selden, 1992, p.43).

John Selden, one of the most learned Arabists of seventeenth-century England, protested against this Christian defamation of the image of Muhammad. Selden said that “they are called Images Mammetts and the adoration of Images Mammetry, that is Mahometts and Mahomety- odious names” of Muhammad; all the world knows that the Turks are forbidden to figure the images of their Religion (Selden, 2010, p.90). In Elizabethan drama and fiction, image of Prophet Mahomet was publicized as a deity who was “often made part of a heathen pantheon that also includes Apollin, Termagant, and other devilish idols” (Vitkus, 2001, p.9). In the word of Matar, “at a time when Christians were constantly being lost to Islam. There was a desperate need to present such a make-believe victory on the seventeenth-century stage” (Matar, 1993, p.501). The idea of the religion of “Moors,” “Mahometans,” and “Saracens” is a variety of pagan idol worship began in romance tradition. For instance, in the Chanson de Roland, the Muslim knights worshipped an unholy trinity of idols-Mahound, Apollin, and Jupiter, and had a remarkable persistence among educated Europeans (Daniel, 1984, pp.263-64). The Elizabethan theatrical and offensive device of the “Mahomet’s Head” is the misunderstanding and distortion of Islam. This fictitious figure of idol is endlessly recycled in the stories the English as shown in John Mason’s The Turk, George Peele’s Turkish Mahomet (1587), and Robert Greene’s Alphonsus (1587) and Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay (1590) (Al-Olaqi 2016b, p.447). In some Protestant polemics against Roman Catholicism, Elizabethan Protestant writers frequently equated Islam with Roman Catholicism (Chew, 1937, p.101).

Daborne’s distortion of the conversion ritual to Islam materializes in establishing Muslim identity with types of Islamic thought, practice and lifestyle. The visual codes that would have identifying the personality of a Turk in the English imagination throughout the period is his “robe, turban, scimitar, and moustache” (Lublin, 2011, p.189). Instead of trying to stage a circumcision, Daborne offered Ward’s conversion as a move in attire. Ward’s on-stage conversion is identified in his appearance with the turban, sword, and robes unaccompanied as in the public imagination as a heinous offense. The attires seemingly define the personality, challenging no description. The conversion was visually symbolic. The status of a turned Turk is a defining issue of his Islamic identity. Ward abandons Christianity to gain the Islamic seductress Voda. She utilises her feminist tricks to bait Ward to an entering
in hell. Agar does not simply deceive her husband, but she similarly utilises him in her challenge to seduce Gallop. And in the end, both the seducers and seduces suffer for their lust in blood.

The play underscores the physicality of religious conversion. The circumcision practice is “misunderstood or misinterpreted by many writers and is confused with the idea of castration, which has no connection at all with either Islam or Judaism” (Sahiner, 2007, p.106). For Othello to scratch himself echoes the ritual cutting of his foreskin, which was the sign of his affiliation in the community of tenacious misbelievers, the Muslims. To hit “the circumcised dog” is at once to murder the “turbaned Turk” and to reform a version of his particular circumcision, suggesting his return to the “malignant” sect of the Turks and his reunification with the misbelieving devils’ (Matar, 1999a, p.35). The Turkish costume asserts his rank, so the turban serves as an identifier for the Muslim practice of circumcision. When Ward puts up the turban, his conversion is habitually designated, and thus, he should undergo a circumcision operation. In this manner, the turban serves as the visible sign of physical difference. Nabil Matar argues that the idea of circumcision summoned significant anxiety for Christians in early modern Europe, for it was merged and mistaken with the notion of castration (Matar, 1999b, p.41). In The policy of the Turkish Empire, Fletcher remarks that ‘circumcision, according to Protestant theology, is an Abrahamic practice, abrogated by the coming of Christ and the new covenant:

As the lewes haue shewed themselues most obstinate in the blindness of their hearts by the retaining of this ceremonie and their olde traditions: So the Turkes likewise, no lesse vaine in the idlenessse of their owne imaginations, haue and do vse Circumcision, as a speciall token or marke of their fond and superstitious sect.... (Fletcher, 1597, p.22)

In the same way Daborne’s Jewish merchant Benwash converted to Islam for no other reason than to stave off “Mahometan dogs” from pursuing his wife: “Thou has forgot how dear / I bought my liberty, renounced my law / (The law of Moses), turned Turk—all to keep / My bed free from these Mahometan dogs” (6.73-76). Although Benwash has formally turned Turk he is nevertheless identified by the English officer Gallop as a Jew (6.63). In fact, seventeenth-century English Christians believed that adult-male conversion to Islam required circumcision. In their awareness, circumcision emphasized the sexual implication of the conversion of religion, thought mutually as a sort of castration or emasculation and as a mark of the Muslims’ sexual excess - the reduction of the phallus signifying the requirement to shorten powerful lust. In Heywood’s play The Fair Maid of the West, the clownish tapster, Clem, stupidly enquires to obtain the “honour” of an appointment as Mullisheg’s “chief Eunuch” in the imperial harem and realizes his stupidity when he is about to be castrated (4.1.61-2). In that play and in other

English depictions of Christians embracing Islam, there is a misunderstanding of castration and circumcision, of eunuchs and renegades who “turn Turk” (Shapiro, 1996, p.113). Ward’s conversion ritual is represented as a business operation which includes signing papers, altering names, exchanging attire, being exposed to circumcision, and abandoning his sword. At the same time, Voda’s purpose in all of this is for business, but it is her desire for the triumph of Islam in changing Christians. Just the once he transforms, she disdains Captain Ward, dubbing him “false runagate,” a statement that Alizia had formerly advised Ward (7.218-219). It does not halt at that; Voda and her greedy desire drive on the succeeding person— the masked Alizia. Going on realizing Voda’s treachery, Ward cries his misfortune and kills her.

Ward desires to delay execution, but he thereby turns back Christian. His conversion was to marry Voda. Ward’s conversion was staged in front of the Englishmen. The live or performative conversion of Ward is an exciting scene for the audience who is eager to discover and find it a Christian-like conversion. The Turkish dress apparently defined him as a Muslim. Ward has never lost inspiration of his Christian belief no matter the costume he was made to dress, bodily modification he had to endure for his love which he discovers that is gone in vain. Ward has passed through horrific and emotionally damaging experiences in conversion. He appears to have lost his conversion and position among the Turks and the Moors to serve a public re-possession of his Christian and English identity. An additional fascinating phase of the play is the prompt statement of Ward’s denunciation of Islam and his preference to Christianity. Daborne’s Ward is considered in the Renaissance culture as an infidel criminal and should be brought to justice (Jowitt, 2006, p.14). His conversion brought him damnation which is the fate Christians liked to imagine for all those who followed the path of Islam. Samuel Rowlands remarks that “God would punish renegades with damnation and death” (Matar, 1993, p.489, 495). Here lies the stark contrast between the Muslim Ward and the Christian Ward. Even though Ward lives among Tunisian Muslims, he renounces the faith of Islam. But the Ottoman judge’s subjection to Ward shows the partiality against Christianity. After the courting scene, he asks to the Christian Ward admits that he is half a Christian. Ward curses Mahomet but he converts, rather he chooses to pass away as pagan—than Christian or Muslim.

3. WARD’S TURNING MUSLIM

Daborne inaccurately dramatized the factual life of the English pirate Ward, who embraced Islam and came to be a Turkish corsair taking a marine off the shore of Tunis. In Daborne’s Turn’d Turk (1612), the Christian protagonist John Ward is a notorious historical pirate, he activated along the Barbary seashore in the early seventeenth
century (Meic-Beorh, 2009, p.56). Redeeming English hostages from Turkish bandits was besetting up prices in the thousands for Britain. Between 1609 and 1616, piracy goes high as 466 English vessels were apprehended. Piracy Terrorism began to rise over possible deficiencies in seamen to man the English royal fleet (Mattar, 2001, p.554). Legends of Ward’s piracy comprehensively influenced Daborne. Vitkus finds out that Daborne based his representation of Ward on two pamphlets which described accounts of Ward’s piracy (Vitkus, 2000, p.24). The booklets exposed him as a likable desperado and a risk-taker who emerged from deprivation to luxury. Ward’s seizing of overseas ships was applauded in numerous widely held ballads but there was quiet anxiety in England concerning “his crimes against God” (Vitkus, 2003, p.147). Ward would well ahead to make an arrangement with the Turks to use Tunis as a naval outpost for his piratical operations and would attack European ships in an effort to steal their lucrative cargo (Vitkus, 2000, p.24). Despite Ward’s assaults on European ships, he was a prevalent character throughout the early years of James I’s rule. King James I’s decrees against piracy in 1608-9, made Ward the most wanted pirate for his seizure of an opulent Venetian argosy in 1607 (Maquerlot, 2000, p.130). On the other hand, Ward’s transformation to Islam and claim to the name Yusuf Reis was considered scandalous, and hence, his ruthless and undiscriminating assaults on marine vessels triggered anxieties about the amount of money England as it was dropping due to the consequence of his piracy (Harries, 2000, p.153).

Jen Barrer-Gall mentions that many European Christians converted to Islam at a time when the Ottoman Turks constantly tried further Westward expansion. Englishmen became “Mahometans” and literary works were examples of the Englishmen continually fighting such reality (Barrer-Gall, 2013, p.42). For instance, Daborne’s play explores contemporary ideas of “Turning Turk”, and reflections of trade and piracy with Barbary and Turkey in the play. Anthony Barthelemy expounds the word Turk:

The word Turk itself carries many of the same connotations that Moor does, but Turk almost always means Muslim and hence an enemy of Christianity. The single greatest difference between Turk and Moor seems to be the recognition of the ethnic difference and the Eurasian origin of the former group. […] The Turk may be an enemy of Christianity, but he is neither African nor black. (Barthelemy, 2000, p.184)

In fact, any action of unfaithfulness or disobedience could be termed as turning Turk, and hence, any work acts like imitating Turks. Even friendship with Turks or Moors, or interests in Turkish or Moorish culture, could be defined as an act of turning Turk (Vitkus, 2003, p.147). The term “convert” is derived from the Latin word “convertere” which means “to revolve, turn around or head in a different direction” (Roald, 2004, p.13). According to the Oxford Dictionary to “convert” means “to change one’s religious faith or other belief” and to “revert” means “to return to a previous state or condition” (Soanes, 2004, p.312). However, the words turncoat and renegade, with the latter also implying apostasy, were in considerable use by the early seventeenth century, and both carried deeply negative connotations (Hopper, 2010, p.5). Other terms “Turk,” “infidel,” “Judas,” and “Skellum” are used for any defector. The word skellum had been used by Ben Jonson in 1611 and signified a rascal, scamp, scoundrel, or villain (Simpson & Weiner, 2000, p.15). For example, Shakespeare’s characters use the term “Turk” in a destructive sense. Jonathan Burton states that “the term Turk was coextensive with Islam in early modern European rhetoric” (Burton, 2000, p.126). In Othello, the antagonist Iago describes his evil plot as turning Turk: “It is true, or else I am a Turk” (II. I.114).

John Ward has reacted to Islamic faith and Turkish culture over time in piracy. Ward’s voluntary conversion does not entirely renounce either his national or religious affiliation. English Elizabethan writers did not discuss the idea of voluntarily turning Turk. Thomas Sanders remarks that Englishmen went into a voluntary conversion such as Thomas Pellow, Richard Burges, James Smith, William Harborne, Samson Rowlie, Sir Harry Verney and Master Blanket were circumcised, and become Turks (Matar, 1999b, p.69). Although early Modern English writers were knowledgeable, they misunderstood the converted. Like many other writers, Schwoebel had insulted and distorted the images of the converted. Entirely responsive of the truth that Rowlie had abandoned both England and faith, taken a new name, and converted, Harborne carefully addressed the renegade. Aga was the apostate the English is scared: the person who joined the “sworn enemies of all Christians” (Schwoebel, 1967, p.187). The criminality of the pirate Ward was not denounced much as the temptation for the Christians to turn to piracy or Islam for profitable advantage. The affluence of conversion to Islam and the lack of remorse among those converts were shocking, and the lack of godly revenge for converts because of their apostasy is upsetting for conservative Christians (Matar, 1998, p.33). Notwithstanding Ward’s conversion and continuous piracy, he was successful in Tunisia without suffering a divine or human retribution for his heresy (Ibid., p.57). In fact, Daborne has dramatized the misfortune for the unrepentant Ward at the end of the play as a divine punishment for his ill-deeds. Hence, he states an anti-Islamic angry outburst that follows to the prejudices of the play’s creative audience (Hoenselaars, 1992, p.173). Therefore, for Christians living in nations adjacent to the expanding Ottoman domains, identifying Islam with the Ottomans seemed naturally compelling, based though it was on a misunderstanding of both Islam and of Ottoman statecraft. But fear breeds superstition, and even as far away as England, hardly menaced by Ottoman armies, sixteenth-century churchmen encouraged the conviction that the Christian faith was under attack.
and the Turk’ became synonymous with Islam (MacLean, 2007, p.1).

The cultural richness of Islam has been attracting all the believers in other religions. Islam was rich in multiculturalism and England was afraid of the transr active influence that Islam could have in throughout transcultural methods. The consequences of the increasing cultural encounters between the Christian England and the Islamic East raised the story of Captain Ward as a traitor to England and when he has embraced Islam. MacLean’s claim refutes the possibility that English renegades or captives alike embraced Islam without any consideration of its socio-political benefits. It seemingly appears to have been ‘a performative action that could have actually been an assertion of identity in the new Muslim identity’ (MacLean, 2007, p.97). The Turks experience interacting with Christian foreigners helps them to convert to Islam. But many Elizabethan dramatists were proponents of cultural immersion (Barrer-Gall, 2013, p.26). And in the early seventeenth century, some English captives in Barbary had a slight faith to be redeemed, but many of them converted to Islam. According to Vitkus, they freely embraced Islam: “The temptation of lucrative employment motivated Christian sailors and soldiers to turn Turk and become renegade pirates, or, in some instances, to join the Ottoman army or navy as technical adviser” (Matar, 1994, p.37). The spiritual and civil authorities in England combated the issue of conversion and piracy which had its impact on the nation (Vitkus, 2000, p.5). In Daborne’s play, piracy looks as a justified profession, because of the bad English economy. Englishmen turned to ship robbery for the “Want of a little bread” (1.48), since the English soldiers are very poor (1.41-43). According to the play, the blame is on the government of the country when Francisco says, “We are no pirates, sir! Our country yields us more honest means of living” (4.313-314). When Ward turns Muslim and he vows “by thy God, by great Mahomet” (7.114), he is considered as most hateful theft (1.58-61). Thus, it was not piracy that the spiritual and civil English powers were chiefly anxious about but it was conversion to Islam that could not pass without punishment: “England suspected that there were pirates and renegades who led double lives, returning home when they wished and going unpunished for their apostasy” (Vitkus, 2000, p.5). Like the executions designed at widely unfavourable impending converted Englishmen to piracy and conversion, Daborne’s drama works as a shock-tactic for the religious and civil punishment.

The conversion panic to another religion was regarded heretical by the English with Judaism and Islam described as the most unwelcome religions (Vitkus, 2003, p.145; Mazzola, 1998, p.29). In the play, Daborne traditionally invents an ally between the Turkish Crosman and the Jewish Benwash which draws on the popular collision between the Ottomans and the Jewish elite. The play uses also common derogatory languages along with stereotypical pictorial signs of Jewishness. For instance, Daborne describes the wealthy Jewish Benwash as also “turned Turk” for business besides sexual reasons. Benwash plays a role in pleasing to Ward’s thought to convert:

> If this religion were so damnable,  
> As others make it, that God which owes the right,  
> Profaned by this, would soon destroy it quite. (7.38-40)

The character of the deceitful and disguising Jew was propagated by the Elizabethan drama, which both stimulated and backed to the general early modern English paranoia of dishonest conversions. The dissembling Benwash is shown as deceitful and disguising. Daniel Vitkus says that the culture of early modern England describes Jews as parasitical vagabonds, both and invasive. According to Eastern European representations of the time, they occupy no stable national or geographic position—they are defined as a kind of ‘runagate’ people, subversive of both the social and economic order and economically aggressive as well. (Vitkus, 2003, p.167)

Judeo-Muslims connection in the Orient seems normal as they have the same culture. The outlawed activities of the pirate Ward association to the Jews and Muslims depict the confused life of a convert. For example, the play depicts Ward’s conversion to Islam because he lives among the Muslim Moors in Tunis and falls in love with a Turkish whore. Therefore, at the end of the play, Francisco goes on describing Ward’s crisis and the failure to make out a mistress since his woman is unfaithful (13.36-37).

The representation of Muslim woman in Renaissance literature is negative. The Elizabethan closed views about the nature of Muslim woman are rooted in a certain perception of Islam. Mohja Kahf states that it “is constituted by rather the same gender constraints as her Western counterparts, functioning in a field of similarity and “indifference” rather than in one of “Otherness”” (Kahf, 1999, p.5). In the play, Ward embraces Islam to marry Voda, a lovely Turkish lady with whom he loves but she does not. Daborne’s drama approved leaps in artistic license to adapt to its audience’s prejudices by depicting Captain Ward to be an awkward soul who grieved in his marriage to a shrewish Ottoman woman. More approximately, the play efforts to comprehend why Ward living in Tunis has been fascinated in Islam and how they have offered and succeeded their decision to embrace Islam and considers the impact it has made on their lives. Ward’s love to Voda is a response that has changed him over time. John Wolfe quotes the Elizabethan Captain Hamilton who clarified the purpose which convinced some Christian apostates to live in Barbary: “They are tempted to forsake their God for the love of Turkish [i.e., Moslem] women who are generally very beautiful.” He forgave the poor wretches their weakness, for these women “are well versed in witchcraft... captives never
get free” (Wolfe, 1979, p.237). As a Barbarian pirate or a lusty Turk, Voda has secretly and abruptly cheated Ward. She has a round personality. She is an extremely obsessive character, used up by distrust and disbelief, but she is of less radical motivation than Daborne. She is evil-tempered, full of pride, arrogant, unkind and potent, but she turns generous and sympathetic at the end. Her final ambitious drive and concentration to triumph on whatever price of playing round hit into her feminine, motherly natures, and mortality to protect her personal interests. It similarly significantly presents Voda as overwhelming the males in the play, both the Muslim and English. It makes her as being treacherously enticing, which targets to increase male-controlled anxiety of anybody who planned to take on piracy and venture into the domains of Islam where the possibility of conversion at the hands of a Muslim woman was very extraordinary.

To sum, understanding Islam could overlap with the fears of Islamic civil reintegration as the Elizabethan interests in the Ottoman culture increased. Thus, Daborne’s play represents an official conversion ritual to Islam with erroneous representations of sacred sermons, to endorse the idea that Islam is simply a charm, for those who convert to it with its erotic demand of Muslim females. In fact, the conversion to Islam is a candid process of learning the divine monotheism and it is one in which much soul searching and efforts to resolve challenging and frequently vague matters will have taken place depending on reason and tradition. A continuous procedure of assessment and reconsideration is constant as the convert matures as a Muslim and as his acquaintance of the belief increases. However, Ward turns another Faustus who has traded his humanity to the fiend. Burton states that the procedure of attracting Ward into Islam rephrases infidelity in the array of Renaissance interpretations of Adam’s loss of Heaven, with Voda as the key element of Eve (Burton, 2005, p.136). On this mythical account, the Elizabethan audience guffaws at Ward’s conversion and damnation.

CONCLUSION

The play is established on common cultural traditions in England concerning religious and national superiority. The almost mythical status Captain Ward was extremely positive and left an impression on its audience. He turned a Turkish Muslim but he was a true Christian mind with an English heart. The play tracked the typically factual story of John Ward, an English Christian seaman who became a prevalent hero by revolting to piracy, and then becoming a symbol of national indignity by turning to Islam. Daborne introduced a controversial conversion to Islam, packed with Elizabethan fascinating and challenging depictions of Turkish culture, Prophet Muhammad, and Islamic practices, all of which expose an excessive deal about the common sense of a British identity in expansion through and against perceptions of otherness and Islam. The amicable European relation with the Ottoman Empire, the infidel enemy of Christendom, was seen as a great intimation to the European Christian civilization. The play explores English anxiety about conversion to Islam but it includes Elizabethan fascination in identity-construction, religion, nationality, and sexual role. The Moors, Turks or converts are imagined as fundamentally diverse and, at the same time, integrated with the evil.

Daborne’s play presents conversion to Islam as concerned with the Turkish threat to Christendom. Turning Turk is not shown as a course comprising the restoration of a mortal soul, but a trade course to promote the figure of Christian converts to Islam which considered as a treachery to overwhelmed Christendom. The play features Ward’s conversion to Islam and subsequent re-conversion to Christianity. In both tragic and comic chords, it responds to the question posed by the governor of Tunis, who he is a convert, in the middle of the play:

He’s too well read in poesy to be tied
In the slave’s fetters of religion.
What difference in me as I am a Turk
And was a Christian? Life, liberty,
Wealth, honour—they are common unto all! (7.27-33)

Many of these negative stereotypes and misinformation contributed to the culture of hate and hostility towards Islam in the West. The drive of the Islamic conversion narrative is to demonize Islam. The play displays a conversion panic than piracy. Elizabethan dramatists establish stereotypes of a corrupt convert to distort the conversion into a form of faithlessness. Daborne has created Ward and decided the type of Islam he is entering into without essentially holding the acquaintance and information to sort that distinction. Ward does not advance the capability to develop the information and talents that will allow them to transcend the traditional and cultural understandings of Islam. The play individually stages Ward’s conversion to Islam for love purpose. By Voda’s temptations, the play achieves the moralistic structure of conversion to Islam, which acknowledges the rising number of converts to the enticement and betrayals of the greedy desires of the Muslim women for Englishmen, and to caution Britons against offering in to Muslim female lures which target at nothing but converting them to be Muslims. The drive of the performance is stated by Ward at the conclusion of the show:

Lastly, O may I be the last of all my country
That trust unto your treacheries, seducing treacheries.
All you that live by theft and piracies,
That sell your lives and souls to purchase graves,
That die to hell, and live far worse than slaves,
Let dying Ward tell you that heaven is just,
And that despair attends on blood and lust.

(16.315-321)
The play employs anti-Turkish and anti-Semitic sentiment. This unfounded dread and dislike of the Orient and its religions are unjustified. The warm Christian portrayal of the Turkish Voda and the Jewish Agar are essentially an overturn of destructive commonsplaces about Turks and Jews. Dimmock states that these “ideologically neutral” characters are an illustration of an uncertainty to the Turks which mirrored shifting English attitudes towards Catholicism and the magnitudes of the Reformation in the late-sixteenth century (Dimmock, 2005, p.49). Like Turks and Jews, the apostate pirate Ward also highlights the association between conversion to Islam and damnation. Anxieties over apostasy in consort with the identification of Islam as a heretical doctrine or false faith, transmitted by a deceitful prophet and enthused by the devil, donated to the connotation of the character of the Turk with deceitfulness and treason in a further overall sense among the English. At the end of the play, the audience sees Ward transformed into a version of the Islamic tyranny, and as a convert, he is unable to achieve within an Islamic framework.

The English feared religious and cultural conversion upon growing communication with Oriental Muslims. The scepticism of integration with the Turks is the background of Daborne’s play reproduction of deep prejudices and instant aversion to Islam and Muslims. His play attempts to resist the allure of Islam and the religious and ethical diversity of the Ottoman Empire. The Western fear of the transcultural impact of the Islamic integration might bring multiculturalism to England. To avert from Islam is to underrepresent Islamic integration might bring multiculturalism to England. At the end of the play, the audience sees Ward transformed into a version of the Islamic tyranny, and as a convert, he is unable to achieve within an Islamic framework.

REFERENCES
Fletcher, G. (1597). The policy of the Turkish empire. The first booke London, John Windet. Retrieved from http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/cebo/A14028.0001.001/1:5:6?rgn=div2;view=fulltext
The Fear of Conversion to Islam in Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turk* (1609)


Selden, J. (2010). *Seldeniana, or the table-talk of John Selden, Esq; being his sense of various matters … Relating especially to religion and state*. United States, Gale Ecco.


