Chapter 10

"A Turk's mustachio": Anglo-Islamic Traffic and Exotic London in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of His Humour* and *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*

Justin Kolb

In Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of His Humour* (1599), the vainglorious knight Puntarvolo, an energetic self-fashioner "wholly consecrated to singularity," dictates the contract that will govern his upcoming adventure to "the Turk's court in Constantinople" and his relationship with his business partners (4.3.10–11).[1] He outlines the means of transportation he may use, provisions to guard against him or his companion turning Turk, the feeding of his dog and cat, and a promise to bring back "testimony of the performance" by bringing "thence a Turk's mustachio, my dog a Grecian hare's lip, and my cat the train or tail of a Thracian rat" (4.3.36–7). He also describes an elaborate set of provisions designed to maintain the delicate balance between social openness and guardedness necessary for such an adventure:

> That, after the receipt of his money, [the partner] shall neither in his own person, nor any other, by direct or indirect means, as magic, witchcraft, or other such exotic arts, attempt, practise, or complot

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

> anything to the prejudice of me, my dog or my cat: neither shall I use the help of any such sorceries or enchantments, as unctions to make our skins impenetrable, or to travel invisible by virtue of a powder or a ring, or to hang any three-forked charm about my dog's neck, secretly conveyed into his collar: (understand you?) but that all will be performed secretly, without fraud or imposture. (4.3.24–33)

Like most of the other characters in *Every Man Out,* Puntarvolo is attempting to preserve his affected *humour* in the face of an urban environment overcrowded with human and inhuman actors and influences that would disrupt its delicate composure.[2] These contractual safeguards ultimately fail before he even departs; his dog is poisoned by Macilente, and he is goaded into a violent rage by Carlo Buffone, sealing up the railer's offending mouth with candle wax. His loss of control is akin to his "turn[ing] Turk" (3.4.13), a loss of self-possession that nullifies his carefully constructed agreements and prior self.[3]

Part of the comedy of Puntarvolo's contract is that he invokes the familiar peril of turning Turk on a Mediterranean voyage and then immediately sets about protecting himself from his fellow Englishmen's efforts to bend his will.[4] Prone to "over-Englishing his travels," Puntarvolo relocates the anxiety that attended English contact with the Islamic world to England itself.[5] As Daniel Vitkus argues, "The idea of conversion that terrified and titillated Shakespeare's audience was a fear of the loss of both essence and identity in a world of ontological, ecclesiastical, and political instability" and was linked "to a larger network of moral, sexual, and religious uncertainty which touched English Protestants directly."[6] This essay seeks to connect two seemingly disparate corners of this network of uncertainty: the fear of turning Turk prompted by Anglo-Islamic exchange and the identity anxiety produced by life in the consumer economy of London.[7] In the hands of Jonson, turning Turk is subordinated to the problem of maintaining one's humour in a city where exotic commodities and one's countrymen are the real perils.

The artificial persons crafted and satirized by city comedies like Jonson's were products of a rapidly globalizing urban consumer economy that was extensively shaped by contact with the Islamic world, both in the Mediterranean and beyond.[8] Particularly central to this traffic was the Ottoman Empire, the "inheritor of Euro-Asian trading networks and participant in the contest for commercial hegemony on the economic space stretching from Venice to the Indian Ocean."[9] The Ottoman Empire was admired by the early modern English for

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

its wealth, power, and modernity and despised for its religion, heterogeneous national character, and avarice. John Foxe's claim that "the Turke is the . . . open and manifest enemy against Christ and his Church" shared cultural space with the Mercury in a Thomas Heywood pageant singing that "the potent *Turke* (though in faith aduerse) / Is proud that he with *England* can commerce."[10] Fear and anxiety produced by Turkish power coincided with fascination with the exotic goods and narratives that were rapidly reshaping city life. Language derived from points of contact with the Islamic world was put to work describing the artifice and mutability of city characters. The epithets "Scanderbeg" and "Tamburlaine" quickly descended from denoting martial prowess to signifying the rootless roguery and pretense of underworld bravos.[11] The Turkish title *Chiause* came to mean "cozener" after an expensive London visit by Sultan Mustafa I's emissary in 1607.[12] Techniques of disguise, dissimulation, and resistance described in the accounts of Mediterranean merchants and intelligencers found a new home in the petty intrigues of city comedy. Characters in both Turk plays and city comedies use similar means to preserve themselves from undesired influence: Puntarvolo's promise not to protect himself with rings and charms echoes the "relic" with the power "to keep the owner free from violence" that protects Paulina from Asambeg in Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* (1.1.147–9).[13]

Most importantly for this essay, many city comedies, especially Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* and *Every Man out of His Humour*, are structured around the efforts of characters to maintain self-control and an affected humour in the face of the myriad pressures, influences, and temptations offered by urban life. In Jonson's humour plays, strenuous attempts at self-possession tend to collapse into uncontrolled passion and subsequent humiliation, as when Puntarvolo "turns Turk" and explodes in rage at Carlo Buffone. The pressures urban life put on one's humour were partially understood in terms derived from traffic with the Islamic world, and vice versa; Othello's derangement by baseless jealousy was influenced by that of the shopkeeper Thorello in *Every Man in His Humour*.[14] Traffic with the Islamic world was an acknowledged material cause of the consumer economy that produced the forms of urban life documented by Jonson. His *Every Man out of His Humour* and his *Entertainment at Britain's Burse* illustrate how tropes and modes of thought from Anglo-Islamic traffic were refigured in city comedy and civic pageantry, two genres not typically associated with Turks and Moors.[15] Jonson's use of these tropes is bound up in his efforts to describe the effects of global commerce on English society and character, and the

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

inadvertent, accidental, or perverse relationships and dependencies this new social order created. Consequently, his treatment of Anglo-Islamic exchange deals less with any threat it posed to the idea of a coherent Christian self and more with the opportunities for consumption, self-fashioning, self-delusion, and interpersonal exchange that this traffic offered.

By 1599, when *Every Man out of His Humour* was first performed, over two decades of traffic with Turks had produced an English documentary and experiential archive with some fairly well-established tropes detailing the perils to body, soul, and treasure that faced a traveler in Ottoman lands. While commerce required extensive interaction with Muslims and other non-Christians, Englishmen were urged to keep a wary distance from their Turkish hosts and trading partners. Travel narratives placed great emphasis on the proper conduct of the Englishman abroad and suggested modes of behavior that would both enable traffic and preserve a fragile English self. Englishmen were urged to restrict their interactions with the Turk to commerce, to buy and sell and never become too intimate with their trading partners, lest they be tempted or coerced into turning. For instance, appended to Hugh Goughe's *The Offspring of the House of Ottomanno*, a 1569 collection of translated excerpts from continental texts, is a lexicon for a traveler in Muslim lands containing pieces of "a dialogue containing questions, and answers of a Turk with a Christian," written in both English and Turkish.[16] The Christian, alone in a strange land, resists the invitations of a suspiciously friendly Turk. The Christian is abroad to "exercise merchandise" or because his "business is into Asia." Noncommercial reasons are not offered for his conversation with the Turk. The Christian is cordial, but cagey and aloof, while the Turk is inquisitive and insinuating, eager to learn the Christian's plans, his business, and any news "spoken of in your parts." The Turk learns that the Christian is alone and invites him to his lodging, whereupon the reader is taught to show polite interest and commit the Turk to Allah, but to refuse any and all invitations, saying, "I will not go that way."[17] When the Turk cajoles, asking, "Oh, whom do you fear? Why come you not?," the Christian is steadfast, insisting "[m]y journey is not that way" and bidding the Turk "a prosperous night."[18]

The phrasebook's implicit advice is to avoid any sort of intimacy with the Turks while trading in their lands, but, as Jonathan Burton observes, "The nature of the threat to the dialogue's traveler is never made clear."[19] The author includes the dialogue, he explains, so that "thou maist understand, how gross and barbarous [Turks] be," but

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

it contains no evidence of gross and barbarous behavior. Instead the dialogue makes its point through an ominous mood, firing the reader's imagination with the suggestion of unnamed horrors and temptations lying just off the strict path of commerce in the intimate spaces of the Turk.[20] Puntarvolo's indentures are an example of the strictures travelers set on themselves. He sets strict limits on how and how long he and his partner will travel: "The time limited for our return is a year, and if either of us miscarry, the whole venture is lost" (4.3.11–12). The failure of these conditions results from Jonson's reversal of the traditional narrative. In his narrative of encounter with the exotic East, Englishmen interact not with real Turks, but with imported goods and symbolic tokens, like the "Turk's mustachio" Puntarvolo promises to bring home. It is precisely this commerce that destabilizes English identities, presenting numerous opportunities for self-fashioning and disordered passion. In this exoticized space, an Englishman's own countrymen are more likely to try to turn him away from himself than the Turk.

"This mastaccio a la Turqasia": Jonson's Entertainment at Britain's Burse

Ben Jonson never wrote a play with Turkish, Persian, Arab, or Moorish characters, or one set in the Islamic world.[21] This absence makes Jonson a bit of an outlier among his playwright peers, as writers ranging from Shakespeare to Middleton to Dekker to Peele at least touched on Islamic subjects. One can perhaps see a bit of the lascivious Turk in Volpone, who is attended by a eunuch and a dwarf and offers to transform Celia into a one-woman seraglio:

> Then I will have thee in more modern forms,
> Attired like some sprightly dame of France,
> Brave Tuscan lady, or proud Sophy's wife;
> Or the Grand Signior's mistress; and, for change,
> To one of our most artful courtesans,
> Or some quick Negro, or cold Russian. (3.7.225–31)[22]

Volpone's comparison of himself to the Turkish Grand Signior or Persian Sophy in the course of listing the sexual roles he would have Celia put on makes these Muslim potentates figures for both sexual rapacity and a sort of cosmopolitan appetite, acquiring its delicacies from around the globe. The sultan is figured not as a mighty statesman or dreadful infidel, but as a consumer par excellence, a man of

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

wealth and taste able to obtain the finest things on earth to glut his appetites. Jonson is less concerned with any specific reference to these monarchs or their nations than he is with using them to describe two major subjects of his comedies: the vast possibilities for consumption in a newly globalized marketplace, and the ensuing mutability of human beings. In Volpone's libidinous litany, Celia can become any woman in the world with just another costume acquired from the global trade in textiles. For Jonson, the mutable identities produced by Mediterranean trade are subordinated to an examination of the new modes of human action and association presented by a globalized urban consumer economy.

Had Volpone been a Londoner, he would have likely obtained Celia's fantastic garments at one of the city's emporiums of foreign trade, perhaps the Royal Exchange, or the New Exchange, a shopping center celebrated by Jonson in a work that he apparently sought to expunge from his canon. In 1609, Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, commissioned him to write an entertainment for the opening of the New Exchange, also known as Britain's Burse, an aristocrat-sponsored emporium for exotic imported goods and ostensibly a classier alternative to Gresham's old Royal Exchange.[23] The *Entertainment at Britain's Burse* was the last of several commissions from Cecil, one of Jonson's most important patrons.[24] Like most of Jonson's civic entertainments, the *Entertainment at Britain's Burse* for a long time was known only from contemporary documents (a description by Cecil's *homme de affaires* Thomas Wilson, surviving bills, ambassadorial dispatches, and printed chronicles). The details all suggested what David Riggs describes as "something quite anomalous: a royal entertainment in praise of trade."[25] The probably incomplete text was only rediscovered in a bound volume of state papers in 1997, leading editor James Knowles to suggest that its long absence from Jonson's canon was "probably the production of Jonson's careful self-presentation and self-censorship."[26]

The discovery of a Jonson entertainment "which, in praising a commercial building contains wholesale, apparently unironic, celebration of eastwards and westwards colonialism, and of the marvels of London's developing consumer culture" complicates the longstanding critical view that Jonson's city texts were motivated by what L. C. Knights called a "general anti-acquisitive attitude."[27] *Britain's Burse* stands in stark contrast to its immediate contemporary, *Epicoene*, which mercilessly satirizes the very consumerism and mingling of aristocrats and bourgeoisie that sustained the New Exchange. Built on the Strand by Cecil, the New Exchange "epitomized the conjunction

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

of court and city," bringing courtiers and ambitious bourgeoisie face to face with the merchants, projectors, and adventurers who equipped their self-fashioning.[28] Like the Royal Exchange, Britain's Burse was, in the words of Lawrence Stone, "a sort of stock exchange and estate agency…a kind of bazaar for the upper-class clientele which normally passed along the Strand between the Law Courts and the royal palace at Westminster, and the Inns of Court and the City to the east."[29] The New Exchange was a monument to the dawn of institutionalized capitalism in London, its first building stones fittingly taken from the abandoned monastic buildings of Saint Augustine's in Canterbury.[30] While we might dismiss *Britain's Burse* as a fragmentary piece of mercenary hackwork, a careful reading of its encomiums to commerce reveals a Jonson whose unease with the marketplace was matched by his fascination with its power to organize human actors and the things they exchanged in new and potent combinations. In describing the paths that bring fine wares to London, Jonson repositions the Turk within the larger systems offered by early capitalism, making *Britain's Burse* a surprisingly precise document of how the Turk was domesticated by an increasingly mercantilist England.

Just as the New Exchange secularized the stones of the monastery, the *Entertainment at Britain's Burse* secularizes the Turk, transforming sultans and renegades from enemies of the faith into mediators in a vast network of circulating goods that stretches from England to China. The entertainment features a shopboy crying, "What do you lacke? what is't you buy?" and offering a vast litany of "Veary fine China stuffes, of all kindes and quallityes" (lines 73–4). Housewares like "Purslane dishes" (82) and "Basons, Ewers, Cups, Cans, voyders, Toothpicks, Targets" (84) are indiscriminately mixed with items more fit for a *wunderkammer* or menagerie, like "Estrich Egges, Birds of Paradise, Muskcads, Indian Mice, Indian rats, China dogges and China cattes" (79–81).[31] While *Britain's Burse* has only three human actors, as attested by both the surviving text and Thomas Wilson's report to Cecil on the planning of the show, it no doubt featured an abundance of inhuman actors, the china and feathers and exotic gewgaws that were the real stars.[32] Wilson's letter complains about the lack of the "divers toys whereupon conceits are ministered" because "yet doth not the town afford such plenty as we expected."[33] The easy abundance offered by the entertainment remains potential, and Wilson apparently had to scramble to obtain the necessary goods.[34]

While the goods for sale come primarily from China and the Indies, the figure of the Turk appears as a mediator through whom these commodities must pass in one form or another. The master of

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

the shop takes over from the shopboy, urging him to sell the crowd "more gently" (88). He shows off his porcelain dishes, which are not "false and adulterate" (103), as in other shops, but "such as the graund Signior eates in I assure you" (104–5).[35] The sultan, cast here as the owner of the finest things on earth, becomes a mark of quality. He favors these dishes for a property that raises some sinister implications: "On my sincerity, you can put no poison in these, but they presently breake or discolour, out, of a naturall disloialty to man" (105–6). The dishes are useful because they will not passively go along with an enemy's attempt to poison their possessor, and this ability has been tested in the rarefied confines of the Sublime Porte.[36] The insistence that well-heeled Londoners might need such disloyal dishes suggests a parallel between the intrigues of the seraglio and the Strand. Puntarvolo's unlucky dog might have benefited from such a dish.

Another familiar Turkish character, the renegade corsair, appears when the master invokes the Burse's competition. As for the cheap china that will come to market "at the next return of the Hollanders fleete from the Indyes" (175), he assures his customers that "Warde the man of warre, for that is nowe the honorable name for a pyrate; hath taken theyr greatest Hulke, and in theyr second with a crosse barre shot . . . hath mode such a spoyle in the pursland, as it is thought they will come whom [home?] verye much dissolued" (177–81). Jonson invokes the famous renegade pirate John Ward, the protagonist of Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk,* not as a damned apostate or romantic rebel, but as an honorable ally of the English merchant, sailing beyond the Pillars of Hercules to prey on the Dutch East India Company. He is meaningful to the audience to the extent that he affects the price of porcelain in London.

In addition to china, the New Exchange apparently specializes in optical devices, including "a convexe [mirror] that deminisheth the formes & make your la[dy] looke like ye Queen of Farice" (188), evoking a familiar figure of artificial wonder from *The Alchemist,* and "[a] concaue that augmentes them. This glase would have made the great duchman look more like a Sarasen then he did" (189–91). He also shows off a perspective glass with which "I will read you . . . ye distinction of any mans Clothes ten nay twenty mile of ye colour of his horse" (198–200). While such glasses let one see others transformed, the Burse also offers the means to transform oneself, in the form of a "file of vissards & beardes" that allow the wearer to take on a variety of shapes (214).

Again, the figure of the Turk is invoked to describe these changes—"This mastaccio *a la Turqasia*: came in a year or two before with

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

casimere, but was borrowed by the Duke of shorditch in the same showe, an indeed fell of after the first hot service in the low cowntryes" (227–30).[37] In one sentence we see a double displacement of the mustache of the mighty Turk, as it becomes first a London fashion inspired by the 1578 visit of John Casimir, Prince Palatine, and then a prop of the Duke of Shoreditch's company that will not stay on the stage-Casimir's lip during the battle scenes.[38] The label "Turk" becomes detached from the people and empire it once denoted, and becomes part of the everyday lexicon of the consumer economy, denoting particular commodities for sale.

In the face of the amazing transformations made possible by the wares at Britain's Burse, the transformations threatened by the distant Turk begin to seem very small. Global trade has raised the specter not of turning Turk, but of a city that is so equipped with the tools of self-fashioning that it becomes as heterogeneous, strange, and mutable as far-off Constantinople. It is the things that pass through the hands of Turks and other foreigners that contain the power to change men. The power of exotic objects, not exotic people, was Jonson's subject when writing about England's traffic with the world. *Britain's Burse* is animated by a potent fascination with the fine devices of the East. It ends with a mechanical marvel, as "Apollos statue singe[s] / Gaynste natures lawe" (289–90). Knowles argues that Apollo was almost certainly a human singer, most likely Nicholas Lanier, rather than an automaton, but the spectacle of one of the wares at the New Exchange coming to life, after tales of disloyal dishes and storied mustachios, highlights the powerful and uncanny agency that exotic objects possessed in Anglo-Islamic traffic, and how central these objects were to the encounters most English people had with foreign lands.[39] Like the "mastaccio *a la Turqasia*" that has passed over so many lips to arrive on the Strand, they encountered the Turk through the tokens that traffic brought them. The centrality of these tokens to English imaginations of the Islamic world, and the sorts of self that emerged from the society they constructed, is also one of the major subjects of *Every Man out of His Humour*.

"Testimony of the performance": Turkish tokens and travelers' folly in *Every Man out of His Humour*

The sort of "Turk's mustachio" sold at the New Exchange is also mentioned in *Every Man out of His Humour* (4.3.36), where Puntarvolo promises to bring one home to London as "testimony of the

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

performance" of his journey (4.3.35). The joke is that Puntarvolo could just as easily acquire such testimony from any company of players.[40] As for his pets' tokens, how could anyone possibly tell whether the dog carries "a Grecian hare's lip" or the cat the "tail of a Thracian rat" (4.3.36–7), as opposed to bits of English rodents? Puntarvolo's ideas of Turkey are entirely derived from the circulating goods already available in London and showed off at entertainments like *Britain's Burse*. His expedition promises to bring back nothing that London does not already have in excess. Puntarvolo's ridiculous and ultimately futile indentures are part of Jonson's playful inversion of the traditional tale of turning Turk, in which the Turk seeks to win the Christian's soul by any means, but the Christian can resist through faith, courage, and careful self-regulation. In the place of this Turkey, Jonson presents an exoticized England where the real derangements of the soul are those Englishmen inflict on themselves with exotic goods—the "Switzer's knot / On his French garters" (112–13) that Asper rails against in the play's induction—and where no affected humour or legal stricture can withstand the assaults of foes as ruthless as Macilente or as unceasingly abrasive as Carlo Buffone. Macilente takes on the role of Turk, stripping away his victim's cherished identities by any means, and making a mockery of the careful precautions he has taken to preserve himself. The *insula fortunata* on which the play is set holds more dangers to the self than Constantinople ever could.

The dangers Puntarvolo seeks to avoid are described in texts like the anonymous 1597 book *The Policie of the Turkish Empire,* which insists that renegades convert because they are "not only rewarded with store of money, livings, and other necessaries for their maintenance, but commonly they are preferred and advanced to great offices."[41] Thomas Dekker's *If This Be Not A Good Play The Devil is In It* (1612) puts it even more bluntly, answering the question, "What ist turns you into a Turke?," with: "That for which many their religion / Most men their Faith, all change their honesty, / Profit" (4.1.6–9).[42] Turkish efforts to win Christian souls were thought to be a pervasive part of the atmosphere of any voyage to their lands. *The Policie of the Turkish Empire* warns:

> The Turks desire nothing more than to draw both Christians and other to embrace their religion and to turn Turk...For this cause they do plot and devise sundry ways how to gain them to their faith. (19–20)

The malevolent Turk becomes a sort of pervasive subtle intelligence behind the myriad experiences and influences presented to the traveler,

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

making every sort of encounter suspect. Plays and published travel narratives tend to counter this anxiety by highlighting moments of resistance in which Islam's "seductiveness and power are ultimately shown to be merely surface," but some accounts highlight the derangement the expected paranoia could cause in English travelers.[43]

The diary of English organ-maker Thomas Dallam, sent to the imperial city by the Levant Company in 1599 to assemble a mechanical organ for Sultan Mehmed III, recalls a night spent in a "Darke uncomfortable house" three days' journey from Constantinople.[44] Thomas Glover, secretary to English ambassador Henry Lello and later ambassador himself, had spent the evening speaking "verrie muche of Aderes, snaykes, and sarpentes" and the other "strainge varmen and beasts he had sene in that contrie" (54).[45] Going out to "make water" late at night, a member of the party feels his untied garter blow around his leg and cries out, "A sarpente! a sarpente! a sarpente!" The outburst causes chaos inside the house:

> On the other side, we that weare in the house, did thinke that he had said: Assalted! assalted! for before nyghte we doubted that some tritcherie would happen unto us in that towne, so that we thought the house had bene beset with people to cutt our Throates. (55)

Venomous serpents transform easily into murderous Turks in the unsettled imaginations of these Englishmen. In the ensuing uproar, one man "strouke about him with his sorde, and beate down the shelfe and broke the pitcheres and plateres which stood thar on" and another attempts to escape through the chimney (55), which promptly collapses on his head. An affected paranoia was as likely to result in smashed crockery as heroic resistance.

Puntarvolo's turning Turk draws on this aspect of the experiential archive produced by Anglo-Islamic exchange, as carefully cultivated characters guard against imagined foes rather than real ones, causing comic descents into quarrelsomeness and humiliation. Macilente mockingly refers to Puntarvolo's planned adventure as he poisons the dog, "Sir, you'd be travelling; but I'll give you a dram shall shorten your voyage…Now go to the Turk's court in the Devil's name, for you shall never go o' God's name" (5.1.74–7). Carlo Buffone's joke that Puntarvolo should "flay me your dog presently, but in any case keep the head, and stuff his skin well with straw, as you see those dead monsters at Bartholomew Fair" (5.6.37–40) finally shatters the knight's composure and triggers a shocking spasm of violence. The man who earlier took pride in his wit and erudition is reduced to sputtering oaths—" 'Sdeath,

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

you slave, you bandog you" (5.6.53)—as he beats Carlo and threatens to kill any man who intervenes. In the face of this onslaught by a man driven out of his humour and turned Turk, Carlo begs, "Hold in thy fury, and 'fore heaven, I'll honor thee more than the Turk does Mahomet" (5.6.62–3). Candle wax soon seals his lips and ends these pleas. Puntarvolo mockingly asks, "So; now are you out of your humour, sir?" (5.6.77). The new convert quickly converts another.

While Anglo-Islamic traffic is clearly a minor theme in Jonson's plays, he nevertheless drew on its commercial and experiential legacy in crafting models of the humours produced by a globalized consumer marketplace. The elaborate networks of transportation and transformation produced by global trade and described in the *Entertainment at Britain's Burse* informed his efforts to describe urban life. He domesticated the process of turning Turk in describing Puntarvolo's descent from cultivated gentility to brutish rage in *Every Man out of His Humour*. Taken together, these two works are prescient documents of the domestication of the legacy of Anglo-Islamic traffic as the experiences and anxieties it produced were folded into the fabric of life in an increasingly cosmopolitan London.

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

NOTES

1. Ben Jonson, "Persons of the Play," *Every Man Out of His Humour*, vol. 1, *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson*, ed. G. A. Wilkes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), 13–14. Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent references to the play (act.scene.line numbers) will be indicated parenthetically.

   When the Ottoman Empire captured Constantinople in 1453, the city's name was changed to Istanbul. However, English and other European texts continued to refer to the city as "Constantinople," and I follow their usage.
2. In early modern texts, the word *humour* at once denotes the four natural fluids that circulated in the body; the physical, mental, and emotional states that arise from their combination and interaction with influences from outside the body; and one's chosen demeanor or self-image. The induction to Jonson's *Every Man out of His Humour* offers a concise description of how the humours were thought to function:

   [A humour] is a quality of air or water,
   And in itself holds these two properties,
   Moisture and fluxture: as, for demonstration,
   Pour water on this floor, 'twill wet and run:
   Likewise the air, forced through a horn or trumpet,

Flows instantly away, and leaves behind
A kind of dew; and hence we do conclude,
That whatsoe'er hath fluxture and humidity,
As wanting power to contain itself,
Is humour. So in every human body
The choler, melancholy, phlegm, and blood,
By reason they flow continually
In some part, and are not continent,
Receive the name of humours. (Ind.88–102)

Given the specific medical and psychological ideas associated with the humours, I have chosen to retain the British spelling, *humour*. I do this in order to reflect the spelling in my primary texts and maintain a distinction from the modern American definition of *humor*.

3. Connecting *Othello* to contemporary accounts of Englishmen "turning Turk," converting to Islam, and piracy in the Mediterranean, Daniel Vitkus, in "Turning Turk in *Othello:* The Conversion and Damnation of the Moor," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48 (1997): 145–76, argues that Othello's tragic fall is a conversion to stereotypically "Turkish" cruelty, violence, and irrationality.
4. While *Every Man Out*'s "*insula fortunata*" (Ind. 263) is never explicitly identified and the character names are mostly Italian, references to places like St. Giles' Cripplegate (Ind. 72), the Inns of Court (1.2.61), and St. Paul's Cathedral (3.5.33) clearly identify the fortunate island as England and the city as London.
5. Jonson, "Persons of the Play," 13.
6. Vitkus, "Turning Turk in *Othello*," 146.
7. The fear of losing oneself and turning Turk was bound up with the broader trope that excessive commerce with other lands and overvaluing of exotic fripperies would make the English into a race of mimics with no essential character of their own. Thomas Dekker writes in *The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (1606), ed. H. F. B. Brett-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922):

An English-mans suit is like a traitor's bodie that hath beene hanged, drawn, and quartered and set up in seuerall places: his Codpeece in *Denmark,* the collar of his Dublet and the belly in *France*; the wing and narrow sleeue in *Italy*; the short waste hangs over a Dutch Botchers stall in *Utrich*; his huge sloppes speakes *Spanish*; *Polonia* gives him the bootes; the blocke for his head alters faster than the Feltmaker can fit him and thereupon we are called in scorn *Blockheades.* And thus we that mocke euerie Nation, for keeping one fashion, yet steale patches from euerie one of them, to peece out our pride, and now are laughing-stocks to them, because their cut so scuruily becomes us. (44)

The Englishman's body has already been replaced by his wardrobe, by the modish "*Apishnesse*" (44), to use Dekker's term, which drives

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

the Englishman to thoughtlessly botch himself together from the garments of other nations. This mimicry could become a paradoxical sort of self-fashioning: Dekker approvingly cites the artist for a book of national costumes who drew the Englishman “starke naked, with Sheeres in his hand, and cloth on his arme, because none could cut out his fashions but himself” (44).

8. In using the term “city comedy,” I am primarily drawing on Douglas Bruster’s redefinition of the term in *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) to mean plays arising from “the collective focus of many dramatists on the essence of the physical world and its often demanding claims upon the foundations of urban existence” (38). Jean Howard, in *Theater of a City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), situates Jonson’s city comedies within the category of “London Comedy,” those plays set in London (or a thinly veiled stand-in) and dealing with “the arenas of life—gender and family life, commerce, encounters with foreignness—where change was most immediate and solutions least pre-scripted” (22).
9. I follow Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama, 1579–1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), in using *traffic* as a particularly fitting term for the range of bilateral Anglo-Islamic encounters produced by foreign trade (15). This word arose from Mediterranean commerce and potentially derived from the Latin sources like *tra/trans* (across) and *facere* (to do or make) or the Arabic *traffaqa* (to seek profit) and *tafriq,* signifying “distribution.” *Traffic* entered English in the sixteenth century to describe the transport of merchandise for the purposes of trade between distant or distinct communities. See Palmira Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany, New York: SUNY Press, 1994), 175.
10. John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of matters most speciall and memorable, happening in the Church, with an universall history of the same,* 2 vols. (London, 1596), 1.675. Thomas Heywood, *Londini Emporia, or London’s Mercatura* (London, 1633), sig. B3v.
11. In Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in His Humour* (1601 quarto), Stephano angrily calls the clever servant Musco a “Whoreson Scanderbag rogue” (1.2.21), citing Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour: A Parallel-Text Edition of the 1601 Quarto and the 1616 Folio,* ed. J. W. Lever (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971). Thomas Randolph’s *Hey for Honesty*, in Randolph, *The Poetical and Dramatic Works*, 2 vols., ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (London: B. Blom, 1968), features a character boasting that he will be “the Scanderbeg of the Company, the very Tamberlain of this ragged rout” (3.1), an example of how the names of both characters became associated with braggarts and pretensions to martial prowess. The hybridity and heroic self-fashioning

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

that Edmund Spenser celebrates in his dedication to *The History of George Castriot, Surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albanie.... By Jacques de Lavardin, Lord of Plessis Bourrot, A Nobleman of France. Newly Translated out of French into English by Z. I. Gentleman* (London, 1596), and which Marlowe appropriates for Tamburlaine, are comically refigured as rootless cunning, dissimulation, pretense, and roguery. See Justin Kolb, "*'In Th'Armor of a Pagan Knight': Romance and Anachronism East of England in Book V of* The Faerie Queene *and* Tamburlaine," *Early Theatre* 12.2 (2009), 194–207, for an analysis of the influence of the historical and literary figure of Scanderbeg on Spenser and Marlowe.

12. See Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist* (1.2.26), in Jonson, vol. 3 of *The Complete Plays.*
13. Philip Massinger, *The Renegado,* in *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England,* ed. Daniel Vitkus (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
14. See J. W. Lever, Introduction to Ben Jonson, *Every Man in His Humour: A Parallel-Text Edition*, xxiv–xxvi.
15. While rarely present in city comedy, Eastern characters and motifs were common enough in court and civic pageants for Linda McJannet to argue that they "constitute a third wave of iconography" in "Pirates, Merchants, and Kings: Oriental Motifs in English Court and Civic Entertainments," in *The Mysterious and Foreign in Early Modern England,* eds. Helen Ostovich, Mary V. Silcox, and Graham Roebuck (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 249. This wave superseded the English folklore and biblical motifs of the Middle Ages and the classical themes of the Tudor era and provided the iconography for pageants, like *The Entertainment at Britain's Burse,* that described disparate peoples as linked by a global trade network. See also Richmond Barbour, "Britain and the Great Beyond: *The Masque of Blackness* at Whitehall," in *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama,* eds. John Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan, 129–53, which reads Jonson's masque as a bridge between popular and aristocratic conventions of impersonating Moors and nascent English imperialism.
16. Hugh Goughe, *The Offspring of the House of Ottomano, and Officers Pertaining to the Great Turkes Court* (London, 1569), sig. G3r.
17. Ibid., G4r. The English phrase "I commit you unto God" is rendered as "Tsamarlodach tseni Alaha" in Turkish.
18. Ibid., sig. G4v.
19. Burton, *Traffic and Turning,* 95.
20. In *Traffic and Turning,* Burton argues that Goughe refers to travel narratives in which the Islamic threat is "twofold, a combined assault on the male Christian body and soul" that threatens both religious faith and masculinity (98). The threat of conversion is bound up with

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

threats of penetration, sexual assault, and castration. This argument is in line with Vitkus's argument that conversion to Islam "was considered a kind of sexual transgression or spiritual whoredom" (147), the transformation of a free man into another's thrall or punk.

21. A few such characters can be found in Jonson's court masques. *The Masque of Queens* in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques,* ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 122–41, includes a Persian queen, "Victorious Thomyris of Scythia" (line 377), as well as other classical queens from Egypt, Asia Minor, Palmyra, and Ethiopia. *The Masque of Blackness* (47–60), features the allegorical figure of "Niger in the form and color of an Ethiop" (line 39) and attended by "Negroes" (43), but any connection of this masque to Islamic themes is remote. Like most English writers addressing African topics in this era, Jonson drew upon "Pliny, Solinus, Ptolemy, and of late Leo the African" (13), referring to John Pory's 1600 translation of Leo Africanus's 1550 *Geographical Historie of Africa*. Bernadette Andrea, in "Assimilation or Dissimulation?: Leo Africanus's *Geographical Historie of Africa* and the Parable of Amphibia." *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 32.3 (2001): 7–29, reads Leo Africanus, a Moorish convert to Roman Catholicism, as an author function who exercises "literary, cultural, and political agency within the Islamic context of *taqiya*—defined as cultural dissimulation under the pressure of forced assimilation," and argues that "he represents the prototypical liminal subject on the cusp of Western European expansionism" (10). See also Bernadette Andrea, "The Ghost of Leo Africanus from the English to the Irish Renaissance," in *Postcolonial Moves*: *Medieval through Modern*, eds. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 195–215. Jonathan Burton has written on Leo Africanus, most recently in *Traffic and Turning* (233–56).
22. Ben Jonson, *Volpone,* vol. 3 of *The Complete Plays.*
23. For the text of this recently recovered piece, along with essential historical context and speculation on why Jonson never counted this entertainment for hire among his achievements, see James Knowles, "Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse,*" in *Re-presenting Ben Jonson,* ed. Martin Butler (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 114–51.
24. Ibid., 114. See also David Riggs, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989), 130. Jonson praised Cecil in an ironically naive epigram in 1605, asking, "What need hast thou of me, or my muse / Whose actions so themselves doe celebrate?" (2), portraying Cecil as a man of self-evident worth with little need for a poet's praise. Ben Jonson, "XLIII: To Robert, Earle of Salisbvrie," vol. 8, *Ben Jonson,* eds. C. H. Hereford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), 40.

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

25. Riggs, *Ben Jonson,* 157.
26. Knowles, "Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse,*" 114.
27. Ibid., 115; L. C. Knights, *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (1937, rpt. London: Chatto and Windus, 1962), 200.
28. Riggs, *Ben Jonson,* 157.
29. Lawrence Stone, "Inigo Jones and the New Exchange," *Archeological Journal* 114 (1957): 106–7.
30. Ibid., 115.
31. This shopboy is a cousin to the prompt boy who opens Jonson's 1632 play, *The Magnetic Lady*, vol. 4, *The Complete Plays*, by crying, "What do you lack gentlemen? What is't you lack? Any fine fancies, figures, humours, characters, ideas, definitions of lords and ladies? Waiting-women, parasites, knights, captains, courtiers, lawyers? What do you lack?" (Ind. 1–4).
32. Thomas Wilson to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, March 31, 1609, Hatfield MSS 195/100, in *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury, Part 21 (1609–1612),* (1970), 37.
33. Ibid., 37.
34. Knowles suggests that the show borrowed items from Sir Walter Cope's *Wunderkammer* ("Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse*," 116).
35. The sultan's dishes resemble the "yellow Purcelaine dishes" described by Ottavino Bon's "the Grand Signor's Serraglio," published in *Purchas His Pilgrimage,* vol. 2 (London, 1625), sigs. 7S2r. Although this account had not yet been published, Bon's service at the Ottoman court overlapped with that of the English ambassador, Sir Henry Lello, a regular correspondent of Cecil's. It is possible that this firsthand knowledge of the sultan's dishes reached Jonson via Cecil, on which see Knowles, "Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse,*" 144n104.
36. The Sublime Porte was the ornate main gate to the divan, the residence of the Ottoman court in Istanbul. In Europe it came to serve as a synecdoche for the Turkish state.
37. This description of a mustache falling off due to "hot service in the low countries" evokes the effects of syphilis as well.
38. Mustaches were stereotypically associated with Turks, especially on stage, where actors playing Turkish parts sported extravagant false mustaches. Preparing his production of *Soliman and Perseda* in Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy,* Hieronimo asks Balthazar, who is to play the Sultan Suleiman, to "provide a Turkish cap, / A black mustachio, and a fauchion" (4.1.144–145) in *English Renaissance Drama,* ed. David Bevington *et al* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), 3–74. See also Nathan Field's *A Woman Is a Weathercock* (1611), V.i., "*Abra*. And a huge mustachio? / *Neu*. A verie Turkes" (*Oxford English Dictionary* 3rd ed., 2003), s.v., "mustachio," 1c.

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826

39. Knowles, "Jonson's *Entertainment at Britain's Burse,*" 117.
40. Much as Face disguises himself as a Spaniard in "Hieronimo's old cloak, ruff, and hat" (Jonson, *The Alchemist*, 4.7.71).
41. *The Policie of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1597), 20–1.
42. Thomas Dekker, *If This Be Not A Good Play The Devil is In It* in vol. 3, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 113–224.
43. Jack D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (Tampa: University of South Florida Press, 1991), 132.
44. Thomas Dallam, "The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599–1600," in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant,* ed. J. Theodore Bent (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893), 54. Subsequent references are indicated parenthetically.
45. An experienced trader and diplomat, and English ambassador to the Porte from 1606 to 1611, Glover appears in several English travelers' accounts of journeys to Istanbul or the Levant, including William Lithgow's *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures, and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Years Travayls, from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica* (London, 1632). Glover's role in prompting the comic panic of Dallam's party is an illustration of how firsthand accounts of the Islamic world could sow fear as much as understanding.

© McJannet, Linda; Andrea, Bernadette, Aug 02, 2011, Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds
Palgrave Macmillan, New York, ISBN: 9780230346826