

**T.C.
BİNGÖL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ**

**ORIENTALISM IN TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT AND ANGLO- OTTOMAN
RELATIONS IN ELIZABETHAN ERA**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Halil İbrahim Arpa

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Anabilim Dalı: İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı

Danışman: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Metin Barlık

Tezin Enstitüye Verildiği Tarih: 29 Şubat 2016

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Yrd. Doç. Dr. Metin BARLIK danışmanlığında, Halil İbrahim Arpa'nın hazırladığı "Orientalism in Tamburlaine the Great and Anglo-Ottoman Relations in Elizabethan Era" konulu bu çalışma 29 / 02 / 2016 tarihinde aşağıdaki jüri tarafından İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı anabilim Dalı'nda yüksek lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Bu tezin.....Anabilim Dalı'nda yapıldığını ve Enstitümüz kurallarına göre düzenlendiğini onaylıyorum.

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ÖNSÖZ

Bu tezin yazılmasında emeđi geen bařta danıřman hocam Yrd. Do. Dr. Metin Barlık'a, Do. Dr. Bülent Tanrıtanır'a ve Yrd. Do. Dr. Aydın Görmez'e teřekkürü bir bor bilirim. Ayrıca Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi ve Bingöl Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı bölümlerine řükranlarımı sunarım. Mezun olduđum Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı bölümüne bařta hocam Yrd. Do. Dr. Sedat Bay olmak üzere üstümdeki emeklerinden dolayı müteřekkirim. Bu süreçte desteđini esirgemeyen ailem ve eřim için...

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INGREDIENTS:

| | |
|---|------|
| ÖNSÖZ..... | ii |
| ÖZET | iv |
| ABSTRACT | vi |
| TABLE LIST | viii |
| FIGURE LIST | viii |
| 1 INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 2 ORIENTALISM | 5 |
| 2.1 ORIENTALISM IN ELIZABETHAN ERA | 8 |
| 2.2 MARLOWE AND ORIENTALISM | 11 |
| 3 ANGLO-OTTOMAN RELATIONS IN ELIZABETHAN ERA..... | 20 |
| 4 TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT | 30 |
| 5 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION | 46 |
| 6 APPENDIX | 55 |
| 7 MATERIAL AND METHOD..... | 61 |
| 8 SUGGESTIONS | 62 |
| 9 REFERENCES | 63 |
| 10 ÖZGEÇMİŞ..... | 71 |

ORIENTALISM IN TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT AND ANGLO- OTTOMAN RELATIONS IN ELIZABETHAN ERA

ÖZET

1564 yılında İngiltere’de dünyaya gelen Christopher Marlowe Rönesans döneminin Shakespeare’den sonraki en önemli sanatçısı olarak kabul görmektedir. Bu dönem, Şarkiyatçılığın, İspanya Krallığı’nın tehdidi altında olan Britanya’nın kendinden ve İspanya Krallığından daha güçlü bir imparatorlukla diplomatik ilişkiler kurmaya çalışması hasebiyle daha çok siyasi ve politik alanda hissedildiği bir dönem olmuştur. Her ne kadar İngilizler, İspanyolları Osmanlı’nın yardımı olmadan yense de; bu olay eserin yazılışından sonra meydana gelmiş ve eserde, henüz yenilgiye uğramamış Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Timur tarafından yenilmesi, Elizabeth döneminde zaferleriyle nam salmış bu imparatorluğun devrin bir diğer süper gücü Habsburg’lara karşı olası bir ittifak için sonsuz güvenirlilikte yahut güçte olmadığı vurgulanmaktadır. Fatih Sultan Mehmed’in İstanbul’u fethetmesiyle başlayan Batıdaki Osmanlı realitesi, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman ile ivme kazanmış ve tüm bu süreçte Türklerle ilgili çeşitli konular üzerinden tiyatro eserleri kaleme alınmıştır. Ancak İngilizlerin Türklerle ilk diplomatik teması Kraliçe Elizabeth döneminde gerçekleşebilmiştir. Bu süreçte, Sultan III. Murad ile mektup yoluyla ilk resmi temaslar kurulmuş ve İspanya Krallığı’na karşı işbirliği zemini aranmıştır. Batıda adeta korkuyla eşleşmiş olan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile kurulan ilişki İngiliz halkında endişe uyandırmıştır. Günümüzde yöneten ve yönetilen arasındaki en önemli iletişim aracı olan medyanın görevini Rönesans döneminde tiyatro görmekteydi ve İngiliz hükümeti bu endişeye tiyatro aracılığıyla cevap vermek için Christopher Marlowe’u görevlendirmişti. Yazarın bu görev için seçmiş olduğu başlık ise bu tezin de konusu olan *Tamburlaine the Great* idi. Bu çalışmada Marlowe’ un *Tamburlaine the Great* adlı eseri kimi zaman gizliden kimi zaman aşikâr bir şekilde verilen Şarkiyatçılık mesajları bağlamında incelenmiş, böyle bir eserin o dönemde niçin, nasıl ve hangi amaçlarla yazıldığı hususuna cevap aranmıştır. Kullanılan tarihsel yanılısama yoluyla Timurlenk üzerinden Osmanlı’ya inceden inceye mesajlar verilmiş, yazarın Yıldırım Beyazıt’ı ve İslam dinini tasvir ederken kullandığı şarkiyatçı söylem çerçevesinde tiyatro izleyicilerine bu imparatorluğa karşı duyulan korkunun yersiz olduğu, Timur’un Beyazıt’ı yenisi üzerindense yenilmez bir imparatorluk olmadığı vurgulanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu yeni diplomatik ilişki korkuyla

yahut endişeyle karşılanmamalı çünkü bu ittifak Osmanlı'ya boyun eğmekten çok, İspanyollara karşı bir önlem ve yeni bir ticari pazar olarak değerlendirilmelidir. Elizabeth dönemi İngiltere'sinin doğudaki bu ilk diplomatik ilişkisi ileride güneş batmayan imparatorluk olma yolundaki ilk adımlardan belki de en büyüğü olmuştur. Sonuç olarak, Christopher Marlowe'un *Tamburlaine the Great* adlı eseri yazarın şarkiyatçı söylemi ve yazıldığı dönemdeki Osmanlı-İngiliz ilişkileri açısından incelenmiştir. Neticede, her ne kadar eser Timur ve Yıldırım Beyazıd'ı karşı karşıya getiren Ankara Savaşı üzerine kurgulansa da, "tarihsel yanılısama" yoluyla yazarın; yaşadığı dönemin olaylarına atıfta bulunduğu görülmüş ve yeni bir eleştirel bakış ihtimali gündeme gelmiştir.

Anathar Kelimeler: Christopher Marlowe, Tamburlaine the Great, Yenilmezlik, Tarihsel Yanılısama.

ORIENTALISM IN TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT AND ANGLO- OTTOMAN RELATIONS IN ELIZABETHAN ERA

ABSTRACT

Christopher Marlowe is accepted as the second most crucial artist in Renaissance period after William Shakespeare. Orientalism was in sight of diplomacy, policy and theatre in the extent of time when England was under Spanish threat and tried to find an ally who was powerful enough against rivals and enemies of England. Even if, England won the battle against Philip II without help of Ottoman, *Tamburlaine the Great* was written after that war and it is meant in the play that Turks are not infinitely trustworthy and mighty because of their early biggest defeat against Timur. Apart from his style and unique literary language, there is another point that calls attention to way of communication between the Kingdom and public of the period when reign of Queen Elizabeth shares nearly the same time with her contemporary Ottoman Sultan: Murad III. While in today's world impression management is handled by media, the period was the time of theatre as the most crucial communication tool. The first formal diplomatic relation was found in their ruling times which brought along also fear and anxiety to society of England. In this respect, because the fear which had appeared since conquest of Istanbul and increased after rising period of the Empire with Sultan Suleiman, that fear was tried to be eliminated by theatre plays and hidden codes in these plays. Christopher Marlowe is only one of the artists who adopted such a duty. His young age, conditions of the period when *Tamburlaine the Great* is written, his resources, reasons and claims of being a spy are the primary sources behind this study. Not only encoded messages are indirectly send to Ottoman Empire by "refraction of history or historical refraction" through Tamerlane, but also with his orientalist discourse while narrating weakness of Bajazid and so-called false prophet of Islam, it is symbolized on the stage that the fears are in vain because the empire is not mighty and invincible enough. For this reason, the new born relation should not be feared because it does not mean surrender but a precaution against Spain and other enemies. The first diplomatic relation of England of Elizabethan Era in the East with a Muslim Empire was likely the biggest step through being "the empire on which the sun never sets" (which was used for Spain before) whose size became larger than any other empire in history. Consequently, *Tamburlaine the Great* of Christopher Marlowe is

examined in light of his orientalist discourse and Anglo-Ottoman relations. And, eventually it is deduced that however the playwright narrates Timur and Bajazid, he referred to events of his lifetime by “historical refraction” and so, possibility of a new critical reading of the play comes to the fore.

Key Words: Christopher Marlowe, Tamburlaine the Great, Invincibility, Historical Refraction.

TABLE LIST

| | <u>Paper No</u> |
|---|------------------------|
| Table 1: Theatrical and Political Events in lifetime of Marlowe | 11 |
| Table 2: Plays Concerning Turks (Mark Hutchings)..... | 44 |
| Table 3: Plays Concerning Turks (Louis Wann)..... | 45 |

FIGURE LIST

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 1: Refraction..... | 47 |
| Figure 2: Spearing Fish | 48 |
| Figure 3: Map of Ortelius | 55 |
| Figure 4: Mongol and Timur Dominions | 56 |
| Figure 5: India and Babur Empire | 57 |
| Figure 6: Religions in Europe, 1560..... | 58 |
| Figure 7: Europe, 1494-1560..... | 59 |
| Figure 8: World Map of 1400s | 60 |

INTRODUCTION

“My argument is that history is made by men and women, just as it can also be unmade and re-written, always with various silences and elisions, always with shapes imposed and disfigurements tolerated, so that "our" East, "our" Orient becomes "ours" to possess and direct”.(E. W. Said, 2003, p. XVI)

Christopher Marlowe, born in 1564 in England, is known as the most precious playwright after William Shakespeare. His lifetime period which is also recognized as Elizabethan Era, was a time when England was under Spanish Kingdom threat, tried to establish diplomatic relations with an Empire which was more powerful than itself and the Spanish Kingdom to ease its naval benefits. In this manner, correspondence between England and Ottoman Empire came into existence for the first time while Queen Elizabeth and Sultan Murad III were rulers of their empires. After conquest of Istanbul by Sultan Mehmet II, there had appeared an Ottoman reality in Europe and it increased with Sultan Suleiman I, and from this period various theatre plays began to be written about Turks on different issues. Fear and anxiety against ‘the other’ are the fundamental concern of these issues. The new born relationship between the two empires evoked these feelings again because of the rooted prejudices before. On one hand, media is the basic communication tool between the ruler and the ruled in today’s world, on the other, this duty was performed by theatre in Renaissance England. To tolerate spreading fear and anxiety, a playwright was employed called Christopher Marlowe. In this study, Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine the Great* is examined by given messages of Orientalism directly or indirectly and the reason behind writing such a play with which reasons at such a time is questioned by investigating Orientalism and Anglo-Ottoman relations.

However, Crystal Bartolovich summarizes diverging views of Marlowe and *Tamburlaine the Great* as following, there have not been enough studies based orientalism and state relations of the era when the play was written:

“Emily Bartels, for example, situates the play with English travel narrative, Stephen Mead associates it with its “idea of Empire”, and James Shapiro argues that Shakespeare’s echoes of Marlowe in *Henry V* can be attributed to *Tamburlaine*’s force as an “Armada play.” Thomas Cartelli sees Marlowe as writing with an eye to English designs on the New World, while Nick de Somogyi sees him as interested in the use of maps in war reportage emergent at the time. Furthermore, the plays’

spatial interests have sometimes been seen as imbricated with domestic social disruption and aspiration, such as in Mark Burnett's essay linking *Tamburlaine* to the worries of early modern elites over the social problems they labelled "vagrancy" and wandering".(1997, p. 31)

Park Honan who is a key figure of Marlowe Studies, summarizes progress of writing *Tamburlaine the Great* with social facts and its course through reaching top of plays of the Admiral's Men; a theatre company for which Marlowe wrote. It is purely understood that he meant to win the public with a new kind of heroic tragedy whose origin dates back to Asia which was an admirable continent for merchants, adventurers and politicians of Europe in Age of Discovery:

"Some of the capital's paradoxes had been guiding Marlowe's pen. He finished his new play by the summer or tidied up what he had written at university, and offered *Tamburlaine the Great* to a troupe. Its hero has a representative quality in reflecting the zeal of overseas traders, as well as the dreams of young people in the shops; and, as if to appeal to the thoughtful, the poet includes a strong theological interest, although his sketch of a 'scourge of God' is neither Christian nor limitedly doctrinaire. He meant to win the public with a new kind of heroic tragedy, and his Tartar's victories were just as impressive as the play's flexible, brilliant verse, so there was reason, here, for authorial confidence. In major crises of his life, he relied on his friends, and Watson, Lyly, or even young Walsingham could have said a word about him to actors in the Lord Admiral's men. Even if his drama had a brief, early debut on a stage under different auspices, it soon became one of the Admiral's chief offerings".(Honan, 2005, p. 164)

As Said (2003) asserts his argument above however history is made by hands of humanity, it can be re-written by hands of other even after many long years. History or historical matters have been handled by also literature. According to expectations of audience or reader, writers have narrated various historical plays. For Mills, reason of writing such kind of a play by Marlowe is propaganda:

"While earlier English history plays tried to incorporate as much information as possible from their sources, Marlowe focused on the events that would contribute to his play from a storytelling perspective. In doing so, he not only provided the link between history and tragedy which would be elemental to later English Renaissance history plays but also set a new standard for effective use of the history play as propaganda".(Mills, 1934, pp. 11-31)

It is clear that *Tamburlaine the Great* is a historical tragedy as Leech says "Marlowe, whom we customarily think of as the first major tragic writer of the Elizabethan-Jacobean

years, had his Tamburlaine published in 1590 as ‘Deuided into two Tragicall Discourses’ (which is indeed vague), and his Doctor Faustus appeared as a ‘Tragicall History’ in 1604”(1994, p. 26). When Aristotle describes tragedy as catharsis which purifies pity and fear by arising them, he asserts that art is useful because literature provides a kind of information and tragedy presents purification. Moran cleverly sums up connection between history and literature:

“To narrate a person neck and crop is not concern of art but of history. Artist portrays human being and world in another way. He does not attempt to describe a person basically; but a life, life of humanity and universal elements of life, not facts but fiction. For this reason, elements, details and randomness related to essence of the point are dismissed, but necessary ones are sorted out and relation among them is considered by the artist to construct a sequence of events. Construction of microcosm of human and structural unity of a work is constituted by such an elimination of elements, details and causality. If life is reflected as it is, various meaningless conversations take part in the work, and so, the writer cannot reflect the whole; but the single. Yet, as a result of the elimination, he depicts the whole by revealing what kind of facts a character may causes, how he is affected by them and in what way they may occur. If not, the facts of life of the main character are collected patchily and objective causation cannot be easily and clearly described. Therefore, plot is essential for Aristotle, because it shows formation and evolution of a fact in accordance with causality principle. A historian has to content with facts; but an artist may either benefits from a story or fictionalize one by organizing facts in such a layout that probability in this organization carries sense of scientific generality”.(2010, p. 29)

Sympathy for power has been one of the aforesaid common facts of abundant people since even before Elizabethan era to the present day. Christopher Marlowe was well aware of such an issue and he aimed to keep playgoers observant while performing his play with ordinary sensations of the day. While Marlowe writes a historical themed play, messages are given to the present time when the play is performed. That’s why, the playwright uses reflection theory to reach the common and the general:

“Desire, love, pain and fondness for their children are common feelings of humanity and do not change. To reflect essence of human nature means determining the common grounds, leaving specific, domestic and abnormal ones apart. In this way, while reflecting the common, artist mirrors the essence”. (Moran, 2010, p. 32)

Therefore, just like purification of Aristotle, Christopher Marlowe tried to purify the fear of Ottomans of playgoers by capitalizing catharsis at such a time when Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relations had just started. Even if England and Ottoman Empire

became allies, the ideal must have been reflected on the stage because of the rooted prejudices of the society against Turks. Marlowe does not reflect a friendship between the two countries but he makes custom plays concerning Turks to continue:

“Tragedy mirrors weaknesses and faults of people on the stage to make them dismiss evil and warns them by portraying cases of irony of fate, the justice of God. However, bad ones cannot always be punished in reality and god people may not reach high spirits, justice must be served in the play. If one of the duties of a writer is to teach audience, then the ideal must be reflected on the stage. This doctrine was always advocated by Scaliger, Sidney, Corneille, and Dr. Johnson”. (Moran, 2010, p. 38)

1 ORIENTALISM

The idea of a cultural division between East and West, between the Orient and the Occident (from the Latin *occidens*, which means “west”), dates back to Greco-Roman times, where in texts as diverse as Herodotus’s *Histories* or Varro’s *On the Latin Language*, distinctions were made between Asia and Europe, which corresponded to Orient and Occident as Lundquist says (1722). The word orientalism derives from the Latin *oriens*, which means “east.” Throughout the Middle Ages, there was a growing perception of a distinction between a civilization that was the heir of the Judeo-Christian, Greco-Roman traditions (the West) and one that was the heir of the Indian and Chinese religious traditions (the East). (2004, p. 1722)

In literature, Said asserts that *Iliad*, *The Persians* and *The Bacchae* are first examples of appearance of the East:

“Consider first the demarcation between Orient and West. It already seems bold by the time of the *Iliad*. Two of the most profoundly influential qualities associated with the East appear in Aeschylus’s *The Persians*, the earliest Athenian play extant, and in *The Bacchae* of Euripides, the very last one extant”. (2003, p. 56)

At first Said describes the East by describing the West: “The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe’s greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the “other””. (2003, p. 1) For him, there are various explanations of orientalism:

“The most readily accepted designation for Orientalism is an academic one, and indeed the label still serves in a number of academic institutions. Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient—and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist—either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism”.(2008, p. 2)

For Said, Orientalism has turned into an academic tradition by time in which literature, philosophy, economy and politics became milestones of the field:

“Related to this academic tradition, whose fortunes, transmigrations, specializations, and transmissions are in part the subject of this study, is a more general meaning for Orientalism. Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an

ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident." Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social, descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, "mind," destiny, and so on".(2008, p. 2)

Rather than rooted prejudices of Hellenism, Middle Ages or Elizabethan Era, Orientalism turned into a profession especially in 18th century which was shaped into an imperialism as citation of Loomba from Bottomore says : "Marxist thinking on the subject locates a crucial distinction between the two: whereas earlier colonialisms were pre-capitalist, modern colonialism was established alongside capitalism in Western Europe". (2005, 9) and went far beyond earlier colonialism:

"Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient-dealing with it by making statements about it. Authorizing views of it. Describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short. Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient".(E. W. Said, 2008, p. 3)

Besides many descriptions of various people, Said summarizes all kinds of Orientalism in diverse fields:

"Therefore, Orientalism is not a mere political subject matter or field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship, or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it representative and expressive of some nefarious "Western" imperialist plot to hold down the "Oriental" world. It is rather a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of "interests" which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it is, rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world; it is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what "we" do and what "they" cannot do or understand as "we" do). Indeed, my real argument is that Orientalism is—and does not simply represent—a considerable

dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with "our" world".(2008, p. 12)

But, interest in the East which compromises basis of differing professions clearly needs a root and it dates back to two Europeans; Herodotus and Alexander who lived there before:

“But concern with the Orient had its own tradition of classification and hierarchy. From at least the second century B.C. on, it was lost on no traveler or eastward-looking and ambitious Western potentate that Herodotus— historian, traveler, inexhaustibly curious chronicler—and Alexander—king warrior, scientific conqueror—had been in the Orient before. The Orient was therefore subdivided into realms previously known, visited, conquered, by Herodotus and Alexander as well as their epigones, and those realms not previously known, visited, conquered”.(E. W. Said, 2008, pp. 57–58)

Formal existence of Orientalism as a study dates back to Church Council of Vienne. Some of the delegates who wanted the city of Granada to be taken back from the Muslims; but others wished a crusade to the east only. As Irwin Robert asserts that “The council also decreed the establishment of chairs (professorships) of Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic at the Universities of Avignon, Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca, although the chairs of Arabic were not actually set up”(2007, pp. 47–48). While goal of the council appears to be a crusade, to task orientalism as an academic field was also handled there for the first time:

“Strictly speaking, Orientalism is a field of learned study. In the Christian West, Orientalism is considered to have commenced its formal existence with the decision of the Church Council of Vienne in 1312 to establish a series of chairs in "Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Avignon, and Salamanca””. (E. W. Said, 2003, pp. 49–50)

Rather than Crusades or other European countries, as Macfie cites from John MacKenzie, the author of *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (1995) that Orientalism is directly related to England:

“In the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth, the word came, in the context of British Rule in India, to acquire a third meaning. There it was used to refer to or identify a ‘conservative and romantic’ approach to the problems of government, faced by the officials of the East India Company”. (2002, p. 3)

1.1 ORIENTALISM IN ELIZABETHAN ERA

“No other non-Christian people interacted more widely with Britons than the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the North African regencies of Tunisia, Algeria, and Libya, along with Morocco”.(Matar, 2013, p. 3)

After schism of Henry VIII from Catholic Church and foundation of Anglican Church, the religious pressure on theatre decreased step by step and reasoned born of new literary genres. It is known that Seneca's themes of bloody revenge became the new muses of the Elizabethan dramatists. The new custom had begun with the first English tragedy, *Gorboduc* (1561), and continued for long with help of translation:

“The power of translation is nowhere more evident than on the English stage. It would hardly be overstating the case, in fact, to suggest that English comedy and English tragedy, as we now understand them, sprang directly from the imitation of classical models. Once more the native genius, or what is generally taken to be a wholly native art, was created and maintained by a broadly European culture. The Latin tragedies of Seneca were first printed in 1474, with further editions some twenty years later. They were translated in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The first known performance of Senecan tragedy in England, that of the *Troades*, took place at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in the winter of 1551; eight years later the first English translation of the play was published. Three years after that publication, in 1562, what is generally regarded as the first English tragedy, *Gorboduc*, was staged in the hall of the Inner Temple. The important point, in this medley of dates and places, is that *Gorboduc* itself is directly based upon the play s of Seneca; the line of English tragedy then continued with *Jocasta* and *Gismond of Salerne*, which are also modelled upon Seneca in their fervent rhetoric and sensational effects”. (102)

In addition, Senecan style was convenient for English theatre because of their legacy of imagination from Middle Ages:

“These Roman plays were profoundly congenial to the sixteenth-century English imagination, filled as they were with high sentence and bloody action, impassioned meditations upon fate and melodramatic turnings of the plot. Out of *Gorboduc* and *Jocasta* come Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine* and the whole panoply of English tragedy; the basic five-act structure of the drama was also copied out of Seneca, and the plangent bombast of his monologues helped to colour the blank verse of the English stage. It is a direct example of the manner in which translation becomes a creative principle”. (Ackroyd, 2007, p. 102)

But plus Senecan tragedy, Marlowe benefits from morality plays and interludes which constitutes the Elizabethan Theatre. Çalışkan says that “After the foundation of Anglican Church in the middle of sixteenth century, church plays and cycles were replaced

by interludes and morality plays which were experimental genres developing skills of playwrights and making them innovative. Marlowe did not only change simple and monotone morality plays but also he made his plays multi-functioned by sub-plots.” (2006, 11)

Actors followed public tastes, but a new kind of clientele was emerging. The repertory system meant that a troupe frequently staged several different plays in a week, so there was a keen demand for fresh shows including dramas which mocked traditional offerings:

“The Queen’s players—whom Walsingham favored—dominated the stage when Marlowe arrived, and so far had acted in every urban locale available to them. Richard Tarlton, their plebeian clown, drummed on a tabor, fingered a pipe, and shuffled in a jig obscenely while giving his court, city, and country *Jests*; audiences shouted remarks, which he topped in reply. There was a timid variety in many shows, which could be followed by fireworks, or even by bear-baiting or bull-baiting. The serious fare included dramas about famous people such as Preston’s Cambyses King of Persia, comedies such as Robert Wilson’s *Three Ladies of London*, moral allegories such as Ulpian Fulwell’s *Like Will to Like*, or lurid romantic pieces such as the anonymous *Sir Clyomon and Clamydes* about two royal knights”.(Honan, 2005, pp. 161–162)

While there was a demand for fresh and new plays in Elizabethan Era, from Middle Ages to 18th century, Orient had become a milestone and one of the most used topics of English Theatre. And theatre scene was only a matter of orientalist’s experimental microcosm. Said sums up role of theatre in orientalism as following:

“The idea of representation is a theatrical one: the Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined. On this stage will appear figures whose role it is to represent the larger whole from which they emanate. The Orient then seems to be, not an unlimited extension beyond the familiar European world, but rather a closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe. An Orientalist is but the particular specialist in knowledge for which Europe at large is responsible, in the way that an audience is historically and culturally responsible for (and responsive to) dramas technically put together by the dramatist. In the depths of this Oriental stage stands a prodigious cultural repertoire whose individual items evoke a fabulously rich world: the Sphinx, Cleopatra, Eden, Troy, Sodom and Gomorrah, Astarte, Isis and Osiris, Sheba, Babylon, the Genii, the Magi, Nineveh, Prester John, Mahomet, and dozens more; settings, in some cases names only, half-imagined, half-known; monsters, devils, heroes; terrors, pleasures, desires. The European imagination was nourished extensively from this repertoire: between the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century such major authors as Ariosto, Milton, Marlowe, Tasso, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and

the authors of the Chanson de Roland and the Poema del Cid drew on the Orient's riches for their productions, in ways that sharpened the outlines of imagery, ideas, and figures populating it".(2003, p. 63)

Elizabethan Era is the most significant period of English history because apart from the most powerful states of the era Ottoman and Spanish Empires, soul of a new Empire was being founded by voyages of sailors as result of necessity of the fresh and the new:

“Only three years after the Turkey Company had been established in 1581, Sir Walter Raleigh’s first project for settlement in Roanoke, Virginia, was launched (1584), and in 1585, two years before the second Roanoke project was undertaken, the Barbary Company was formed to strengthen England’s trade with Morocco, which had existed since the 1550s. The ventures to North America and to North Africa and the Levant occurred so close together in time that, throughout the period under study, the English were in a triangular geographical relationship. They lived and traded among the Turks and Moors while simultaneously or subsequently trading with the American Indians and living in their lands”.(Matar, 2013, pp. ix–x)

Apart from theatre, the East was also a crucial concern for other disciplines which is shaped step by step to its final stop called British Imperialism:

“From the days of Sir William Jones the Orient had been both what Britain ruled and what Britain knew about it: the coincidence between geography, knowledge, and power, with Britain always in the master's place, was complete. To have said, as Curzon once did, that "the East is a University in which the scholar never takes his degree" was another way of saying that the East required one's presence there more or less forever”.(E. W. Said, 2003, p. 215)

Conquest of Istanbul by Ottomans did not only put an end to Empire of East Rome, Europe came across with a new threat for their countries. Like Elizabethan Era of England, 1453 of Ottoman Empire was the beginning of foundation of one of the most powerful empire in history. After the conquest, lots of literary works were penned concerning Turks and Muslims and became the spring of Elizabethan Theatre and led to the deep-seated ideas to be performed on the stage:

“1453 changed the political landscape, reverberating across Europe as the Turks advanced further west. The late-Elizabethan playhouse drew on a conventional narrative of fear that was also, as is now widely recognised, one of fascination, spectators secure in the knowledge that England was largely out of reach of the Ottoman threat. But this staging of the Ottoman Empire (and of English perceptions

of Turks) was also energised by two linked events, both momentous and both with far-reaching consequences for England and its relations with "the East" – and "the West": the Reformation during the reign of Henry VIII, and his daughter's promotion of Anglo-Ottoman relations following her excommunication by Pope Pius V in 1570. One of the many consequences of this was that in the last decade or so of the sixteenth century a sizeable proportion of the playhouse repertory became deeply influenced by this development, and the result was a complex artistic, ideological, and commercial phenomenon".(Hutchings, 2007, p. 9)

1.2 MARLOWE AND ORIENTALISM

“What matters here is that Asia speaks through and by virtue of the European imagination, which is depicted as victorious over Asia, that hostile "other" world beyond the seas. To Asia are given the feelings of emptiness, loss, and disaster that seem thereafter to reward Oriental challenges to the West; and also, the lament that in some glorious past Asia fared better, was itself victorious over Europe”.(E. W. Said, 2003, p. 56)

Throughout lifetime of Marlowe several crucial events took place in England. In 1570 Elizabeth excommunicated by Pope. In 1572 Ridolfi plot planned to replace Queen Elizabeth with Mary Stuart. As a result, Elizabeth broke off diplomatic relations with Spain. In 1576, Martin Frobisher’s voyage began and followed by Francis Drake. In 1579 Dutch Revolt against the rule of the Roman Catholic King Philip II of Spain sprung and supported by England. In 1580, Ottoman Empire granted capitulation to England as result of diplomatic relations. At last, while Marlowe was writing *Tamburlaine the Great* Pope declared crusade against England in 1587 and then Spanish Armada defeated one year later in the Battle of Gravelines. Fanon cites from French poet Rene Char who correlates poetry which is the way of Marlowe’s writing of his theatre play, and contemporary (topical) events of the time that “The poem emerges from a subjective imposition and an objective choice. The poem is a moving assembly of decisive original values, in topical relation with someone whom such an undertaking brings to the foreground” (1968, p. 226). Table 1 draws a great sum of his period:

Table 1: Theatrical and Political Events in lifetime of Marlowe

| Date | Theatrical events | Political events |
|-------------|---|----------------------------|
| 1564 | Elizabeth I sees Plautus’s <i>Aulularia</i> , Haliwell’s <i>Dido</i> and Udall’s <i>Ezechias</i> at King’s College Chapel, Cambridge. Rich’s Men become active. | |
| 1566 | Elizabeth I sees Marcus Geminus, Calfhill’s <i>Progne</i> and Edwards’s <i>Palamon</i> and <i>Arcite</i> at Christ Church | Revolt in the Netherlands. |

| | | |
|------|--|---|
| | hall, Oxford. Richard Farrant begins annual court play with Windsor Chapel Children. | |
| 1567 | John Brayne builds Red Lion playhouse in Stepney, east of London. | Duke of Alva in the Netherlands. The 'council of Blood'. |
| 1568 | | Mary Queen of Scots flees to England. |
| 1569 | Last performance of York miracle cycle. Sussex's Men become active. | Rising in the north against Elizabeth. |
| 1570 | | Elizabeth excommunicated by Pope Pius V. |
| 1571 | | Ridolfi plot. Elizabeth breaks off diplomatic relations with Spain. |
| 1572 | Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds (includes unlicensed travelling players). Richard Mulcaster begins annual court play with Merchant Taylors' boys. | |
| 1573 | Italian players (including women) allowed to act in London by command of the Privy Council. Leicester's Men active. | Diplomatic relations with Spain resumed. |
| 1574 | Elizabeth grants patent to Earl of Leicester's company. | Persecution of Catholics in England. |
| 1575 | Earl of Leicester entertains Elizabeth I at Kenilworth with shows. Mayor of Chester summoned for permitting performance of miracle cycle. Westcott using part of St Paul's school property for 'private theatre' performances. | New Poor Law. Anabaptists burned in England. |
| 1576 | James Burbage and John Brayne build The Theatre in Shoreditch, London. Richard Farrant takes over Chapel Royal plays and sets up Blackfriars 'private' theatre. | Edmund Grindal appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Frobisher's voyage begins. |
| 1577 | Strange's Men active. Curtain playhouse opens? Newington Butts playhouse built about this time. | Drake sets off around the world. |
| 1579 | Edmond Tilney appointed Master of the Revels. | Proposed marriage of Elizabeth I and Duke of Anjou. Military involvement supporting Dutch rebellion against Spain. |
| 1580 | Oxford's Men active. | |
| 1582 | Chamberlain's Men active. | |
| 1583 | Queen's Men formed. Oxford's Boys perform at Blackfriars. | Whitgift made Archbishop of Canterbury. Throckmorton plot. Raleigh fails in Virginia. Oath of Association to defend Elizabeth. |
| 1584 | | |
| 1585 | Admiral's Men active. | |
| 1586 | Will Kemp at Frederick II's court in Elsinore. | Battle of Zutphen. Babbington plot to free Mary Queen of Scots; her trial. Star Chamber forbids publications without ecclesiastical approval. |
| 1587 | Rose playhouse built. | Pope declares crusade against |

| | | |
|------|--|--|
| 1588 | Tarlton dies. | England. Mary Queen of Scots executed. Drake at Cadiz. |
| 1589 | | The Spanish Armada fails. James VI of Scotland marries Anne of Denmark. |
| 1590 | Paul's Boys cease playing. | |
| 1592 | Plague closes the playhouses for two years. Pembroke's Men on tour. | |
| 1593 | | Non-attendance at church punishable by banishment. |

(Milling & Thomson, 2008, pp. xx–xxii)

Christopher Marlowe was born in Canterbury around February 26, 1564. And “He went to King's School and was awarded a scholarship that enabled him to study at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, from late 1580 until 1587. Marlowe earned his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1584, but in 1587 the university hesitated in granting him his master's degree. Its doubts (perhaps arising from his frequent absences, or speculation that he had converted to Roman Catholicism and would soon attend college elsewhere) were set to rest, or at least dismissed, when the Privy Council sent a letter declaring that he was now working "on matters touching the benefit of his country," and he was awarded his master's degree on schedule”. (“Christopher Marlowe - Poet, Playwright,” 2016) In 1587 there appeared a problem to award him as a graduate Master of Arts degree because of a gossip that he went to the English college at Rheims to be a Roman Catholic priest. However, his degree was awarded then by the time the Privy Council recognized as a person who had "faithful dealing" and "good service" to the Queen. Marlowe's service to the Queen and letter of the Council to the Cambridge revealed a theory that Marlowe was a secret agent working for Sir Francis Walsingham's intelligence service. No direct evidence supports this theory, although the Council's letter is evidence that Marlowe had served the government in some secret capacity:

“Here is a wish-fulfillment scenario for Marlovian editors and biographers: in the bricked-off attic of a suburban London cottage, workmen clearing the way for a car park discover a parcel of old manuscripts, among them several letters dating from the 1590s and directed to “Christopher Marley” or “Marlowe.” They are partly in code but decipherable, and turn out to contain passages detailing his duties as an intelligencer in Her Majesty’s service. In the bundle are also several papers, apparently in the hand of Marlowe himself, elucidating such mysteries as the nature of his religious belief and the reasons for his brush with the Privy Council in 1593.

There are also drafts of letters sent by Marlowe; one of them, dated later than the rest, hints at his fears of assassination, thus lending support to time-honored speculation that his violent death was not just the result of private feuding”.(Marcus, 1996, p. 38)

Here is an original copy of the issued letter of the Council as following. It can be easily found online at The National Archive website and is open to access:

“Whereas it was reported that Christopher Marlowe was determined to have gone beyond the seas to Rheims, and there to remain, their Lordships thought good to certify that he had no such intent, but that in all his actions he had behaved himself orderly and discreetly, whereby he had done Her Majesty good service, & deserved to be rewarded for his faithful dealing. Their Lordships' request was that the rumour thereof should be allayed by all possible means, and that he should be furthered in the degree he was to take this next Commencement, because it was not Her Majesty's pleasure that anyone employed, as he had been, in matters touching the benefit of his country, should be defamed by those that are ignorant in th' affairs he went about”.(“Marlowe Society,” 2015)

However, the government was in an ongoing war against non-Protestants; society in the island was in fear of a battle. Protestantism is basis of the anxiety in England like “Wertenberg” of *Dr. Faustus* because the denomination change had not been an easy matter for them. As a result of turning bitter events of the era to muses for theatre, there became many plays concerning the issue:

“During the early and mid-1590s, issues relating to “Wertenberg,” and to other beleaguered centers of independent Protestantism on the continent, were at the center of public concern in England. The nation was in the grip of “war fever.” English troops were fighting in the Low Countries and France to aid the Protestant cause, but to the rage and frustration of England’s “hotter Protestants,” the central government was mired in factional strife and balked at a wholehearted commitment of troops and money on the Continent. There was “war fever” on the English stage as well. Numerous dramatic productions of the early and mid-1590s, among them Shakespeare’s Henry VI trilogy, capitalized on emerging nationalist sentiment by obsessively reenacting events of the Armada year or staging military conflicts which strongly resembled England’s ventures in France and the Low Countries. The public passion for interpreting plays and pamphlets in terms of England’s embroilment on the Continent was so intense that Thomas Nashe complained he had only to mention

bread to be taken as referring to Breden in the Netherlands”.(Marcus, 1996, pp. 56–57)

At the same time, xenophobia plays a crucial role when lifetime of Marlowe is described. There was anti-propaganda and defamation against non-Protestant churches in particular and it was alleged that Marlowe was a part of such insults. It was such a strong claim that the propaganda was named “from Tamburlaine”:

“At the same time, there was dearth, unrest, and xenophobia at home. Early in the decade, the name of Marlowe was swept into the ferment of wartime propaganda through the “Dutch Church Libel” of 1593. That document, affixed to the Dutch Church in London, threatened a massacre of resident foreigners on the grounds that they undermined English prosperity through unscrupulous trading practices while allowing the English to fight in their stead on the Continent: “Per. Tamberlaine,” according to the libel, the English were whetting their swords to “shedd” the blood of such “Machiavellian Marchant” strangers. Marlowe himself was not the author of the libel; rather, another individual or group chose to interpret the warmongering, xenophobic mood of the English in terms of the violence of Tamburlaine the Great—military commander, rapist, virgin murderer, and infidel. Marlowe was briefly questioned by the Privy Council in connection with the libel, then released, only to die mysteriously by violence ten days later”.(Marcus, 1996, p. 57)

It is time to examine why Marlowe concerned with Tamerlane and Asia in particular under such circumstances. As including Marlowe at the front, Said asserts that “Orientalists, whose subject is not so much the East itself as the East made known, and therefore less fearsome, to the Western reading public”.(2003, p. 60) One of the reasons is presented by Malieckal and said that Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar was main inspiration of the playwright:

“The purpose of this essay is not to dissect Marlowe’s presentation of the Americas and its gold, a topic that should be explored in another project, but to interpret the Tamburlaine plays’ understanding of India in the context of Asia, specifically the realms of Prester John and Akbar the Great. The former is an imagined, wealthy, Christian, and “Indian” monarch eager for an alliance with Europe against the Islamic powers. The latter—Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar (r. 1556–1605), known in the West as “the Great Mogor”—the most successful emperor of India’s Mughal Dynasty (1526–1857) and direct descendant of the historical Tamburlaine or Timur

(1336–1405) as well as Genghis Khan (1162–1227). Marlowe’s hero-villain Tamburlaine complements the English consideration of Akbar”. (2010, p. 132)

At the same time, Ottoman-Safevid wars among 1578-1590 may have attracted Marlowe because of affinity of Safevids to Mughals which may have inspired him to a new Mughal (Timur)-Ottoman battle. On the other hand, Özcan cites from *Memories of Jihangir* who is son of Akbar that “in his memories Jihangir proudly mentions about victory of his ancestor Timur against Bajazid and implies that Babür is still superior to Ottoman Empire. (“Osmanlı ve Bâbürlü Devleti Arasındaki İlişkiler”) And Malieckal supports his ideas with early moderns who were well-aware of Akbar’s connection to Timur. As the anonymous English writer R. B. reported in 1700:

“The Dominions of the Great Mogol are larger than the Persians, and equal to the Grand Seigniors. His strength lyes in the Number of his Subjects, the Vastnes of his wealth, and the extent of his Empire; his Revenue exceeding the Persian and the Turks both put together . . . The present Mogol derives his Original from Tamberlan the Scythian, who overcame all Asia, and took Bajazet the Ottoman Emperor Prisoner, putting him into an Iron Cage, against the Bars of which he beat out his brains”. (2010, pp. 132–133)

Such a connection cannot be calmly ignored because burning scene of Qur’an may be traced back to Akbar the Great and his views of religion and his belief in “Din-i Ilahi”:

“The contest between religions held under the gaze of the Mughal emperor involved much more than sharp arguments based on solemn scripture. When the matter between Islam and Christianity could not be settled by reason, Akbar had proposed a spectacular contest. A great fire would be lit and the Christians would enter the flames with the Bible in their hand, and the Muslims with the Quran. Those in the right would walk out unharmed. Although this ordeal never took place—the sources disagree on whose courage failed—we do know that Akbar was willing to see Muslims and Christians, the Quran and the Bible, burn together”.(Moin, 2014, p. 8)

In the light of Akbar’s words, it is unavoidable to look at the original scene and its similarities and differences to religious utopia of Akbar:

“Now, Casane, where’s the Turkish Alcoran,

And all the heaps of superstitious books
Found in the temples of that Mahomet,
Whom I have thought a god? They shall be burnt".(Marlowe, 1950, p. 110)

Even if, it is impossible to say that there is a direct connection between Marlowe and Akbar, it can be said that the playwright lived at boundaries of social acceptability which is described as a criticism to Renaissance humanism by some critics, because he could bear the consequences of burning a holy book:

"Today, in post-Rushdie England, the Quran-burning scene is often left out when the play is performed. But the ire Marlowe faced at the time came not from Muslims, who were rare in Elizabethan England and of little public concern. It was the Christian establishment that was appalled by the portrayal of a sovereign who taunted not only Islam and its prophet but, it seemed, organized religion itself". (Moin, 2014, p. 11)

But, burning a holy book may be a criticism of burning of someone alive due to his/her belief in that period:

"For some, Marlowe was not an atheist but a Unitarian who does not reject God but the Son and the Holy Spirit. Yet, being a Unitarian was as dangerous as being an atheist and a young from Marlowe's generation had been burned alive consequently". (Urgan, 2004, p.204)

Moreover, Honan goes far beyond to the possible claims about him and says that rather than Akbar or India he was concerning Catholic Scotland:

"Marlowe, I'd noticed, had served as a spy when the government feared invasion from the north. It was felt that King James VI might yet welcome a Catholic army from abroad, so perhaps the poet's fate involved Scotland. Also, since Queen Elizabeth's spymaster had taken steps to encourage good, sound, orthodox Protestant dramas, Marlowe's theatrical concerns must have interested his secret employers". (2005)

In addition, it is said that Marlowe was a member of "The School of Night" whose actions seen as anarchy and political troublesome. Richard Baines, an anti-Catholic spy for her Majesty's Privy Council, whose "task was presumably to provide his masters with what they required", charged in an unsworn deposition that he had heard from another that

Marlowe had "read the Atheist lecture to Sr. Walter Raleigh [and] others". ("The School of Night," 2016) Urgan says:

"Even if little is known about his life, Gabriel Harvey said that his character is as a peacock's fancy and arrogant as his dress. But what we know is highly controversial and interesting. In that, it is said that while Marlowe's critical thoughts were different from the government he was serving for them as a spy when English founded an agent network to control actions of Catholics. And, it is submitted that Marlowe was a part of it and worked abroad including France". (205)

Dependence of Raleigh and Marlowe to each other is remarkable because Raleigh was a crucial figure of infant imperial policy of England and he "...was pressing hard for English settlement of the New World. He obtained a patent for an American colony in 1584 and, in the following year, a settlement was established on Roanoke Island in the area he christened Virginia in honor of his queen." (Johanyak & Lim, 2010, p. 1) Due to Marlowe's secret activities and relations his death is associated with also Raleigh. Urgan supposes that "when he was killed, he was about to be questioned because of much heavier charges. For some, Walter Raleigh made him to be killed because of possible confession about him. For others, the council killed him for politic reasons." (206)

But beyond such issues, it is bound to happen that Elizabethan Theatre was rising with drama and opened its gate to a new genre that is called Turks plays:

"By the end of the sixteenth century, during Akbar's millennial celebrations, the English theater was entering its mature phase, soon to be ruled over by William Shakespeare. But the play that cleared the path for Shakespeare and launched the high era of Elizabethan drama was *Tamburlaine the Great*. Written by the young Christopher Marlowe in two parts, the first of which was performed around 1587, the play was a riotous success, and inspired a slew of "Turkish" dramas based on Muslim characters". (Moin, 2014, p. 10)

Moreover, Ottomans were not only popular but also Timur had become a crucial matter not only for England but also for Europe:

"English of Elizabethan Era was keen on Turks. In his letter to Spenser, Harvey writes that "Turkish affairs are familiarly known" while he mentions about interests

of Cambridge School. Over and above, Timur was very famous in Europe in his time. He was so feared that, III. Henry of Spain, VI. Charles of France and IV. Henry of England sent goodwill ambassadors to Timur". (Urgan, 208)

Now, Anglo-Ottoman relations of the time should be examined because of the new literary fashion regarding Turks, their belief and country. Against new-born diplomatic relation and possible capitulation of England from Ottoman Empire; Venetian, Spanish and French were not happy with the current issue like discomfort of Timur from Orcanes and Sigismund's mutual capitulation in the play. But Spanish was arch rival of England as Burton states: "For Elizabeth's government recognized that it was not the Muslim Turks who stood threateningly at England's door, but rather the Catholic Spaniards."(p. 137) In the same year Elizabeth excommunicated by Pope Pius V, Ottoman-Venetian Wars began which resulted in the capture of Cyprus by the Ottomans, and the defeat of their fleet in the Battle of Lepanto against Holy League consisting Spanish Empire. As it is clearly seen, Spanish were mutual enemies both of Ottoman Empire and England. Defeat of II. Selim against Holy League in Lepanto in 1571 may be linked to Battle of Ankara resulting defeat of Yildirim Bayezid to Tamerlane by Chirstopher Marlowe in his play. Because Pope declared crusade against England in 1587, Ottoman and English shared a common fate against Catholics because of the crusades:

"While the infamous Treaty of Varna alluded to in this scene is anachronistic, the sentiment expressed in Orcanes and Sigismund's mutual capitulation is not. Early modern Europe and the Ottoman Empire regularly spoke as friends and learned to "stand not upon terms." Like the treaty sworn to by Orcanes and Sigismund, the notorious association of Elizabeth I and Murad III was conditioned by a recognition of how a staunch contraposition of Christianity and Islam failed to address the growing complexities of early modern global economics and geopolitics".(Burton, 2000, p. 128)

2 ANGLO-OTTOMAN RELATIONS IN ELIZABETHAN ERA

However, it is known that early formal relationship between Turks and English dates back to Elizabethan Era, the first encounter of English with an Asian rooted society was about four centuries earlier. Voyages of Adelard of Bath to Caliphate of Cordoba and Syria are pioneer to later journeys of England. He is a scientist and lecturer of II. Henry of Angevin Dynasty who can be said that the first king having enough information about Muslims:

“Relations with Muslims are a natural result of neighborhood of England with an Islamic country. High Islamic civilization in Cordoba affected surroundings and English researchers who traveled there to learn Islamic and natural sciences, laid the foundations of English Orientalism. Adelard of Bath was a pioneer of them. He learned Arabic, studied its culture, translated many Arabic works to Latin and presented to Christianity. He was also lecturer of II. Henry of Angevin and attributed one of his books to him”.(Derin, 2006, p. 20)

However, Muslims and Turks had the same meaning for Europe for centuries, Bakır says that “But, the first meeting of Turks and English was during the first Crusade. Geoffrey Chaucer tells about a cavalry who goes to war with “infidel Turks” in Canterbury Tales.” (2012, p. 13) And Aksoy cites from Uzuncarsili that “Count of Lancaster joined the crusades with 1000 people and fight with army of Bajazid in Lepanto.” (1990, p. 39) Apart from wars, acts and memories of holy joes, explorers, prisoners and merchants in the East contributed a lot to imagination of their countries when they came back:

“Islam and Muslims have occupied the Western imagination for centuries. Ever since the rise of the Umayyads and the spread of Islam to I the erstwhile Christian lands, factitious images of Muslims and attempts to explain away their religion (variously called “Hagarism,” “Mohammadanism” etc.) have been present in Western attitudes, most emphatically highlighted in and reflected through religious as well as literary writings. One of the first few images include that of John of Damascus (d. 749) who, for part of his life, attended the Umayyad Court and wrote extensively on the nature of differences between Islam and Christianity. These writings were in the form of dialogues’ that were based on his actual encounters with Muslims.’ John of Damascus found Islam to be “an idolatrous worship of a false prophet who worked out his doctrine from biblical sources under the tutelage of an Arian monk.”(Kahf, 1999, p. 479)

On the other hand, it is an unavoidable truth that early feelings of Europeans including English to Turks and Muslims are not so warm. However, the first literary work concerning Turks is *The order of the greate Turckes courte* for Mcjanet and Baktır's citation from its writer that "Turks are scourge of God sent to punish Christians." (2012, p. 14); besides being a scourge, Çetin's citation from Matschke says that "news of defeat of Turks in battle of Ankara was welcomed in Empire of Byzantine and seen as favor of God by rulers and society of them." (2012, p. 197) But, Luther is precursor of such rooted comments like charges of "being scourge". In his "The Turk as a Threat and Europe's "Other"" Ingmar Karlsson claims that:

"In 1518 when he defended his 95 theses, Luther claimed that God had sent the Turks to punish the Christians in the same way as he had sent war, plagues and earthquakes. The reply of Pope Leo X was the famous papal bull in which he threatened Luther with excommunication and attempted to portray Luther as a troublemaker who advocated capitulation to the Turks".(Svenska Institutet för Europapolitiska Studier, 2006, p. 7)

The prejudices were so high that there were people who prayed to be protected from Turks in England. On the contrary to such actions, the Crown was keen in establishing a diplomatic relation with Ottoman Empire:

"Besides English merchants tried to gain trade concession care of Sublime Porte in 1578, subsequently fiscal relations become more of an official and a political issue between the Turks and the English. Queen Elizabeth had a political purpose: to ally with the Turks and make them wage war on Spain. Their policy was clearly becoming alliance; nonetheless, because of considering the Turks as a growing jeopardy against Christianity, their ultimate goal was far beyond goodwill. On one hand, it was a common issue to come across with sermons, pamphlets and poems that includes negative reflection of Turks in general. On the other, there are also prayers for Christendom to be preserved against the Turks". (Moran, 1958, p. 73)

Before the new possible formal relations, Ottoman reality had been in Europe since fall of Constantinople in 1453. From that day, lots of literary works were penned about Turks:

"We have seen what a flood of books poured over Europe in the sixteenth century, telling of the rise of the Ottoman Empire, relating in detail the exploits of the sultans, describing minutely the customs and religion of these powerful people. The

Elizabethans, like all the rest of Europe, were eager readers of these books. But it was not alone through books or mere hearsay that they acquired an interest in the Orient. The contact was much more real. From the year 1579, when three English merchants obtained from the Porte the same privileges for English residents in Turkey as those already enjoyed by other nations, the number of English merchants, travelers, and officials who visited or settled in the Orient constantly increased". (Wann, 1915, pp. 184–185)

With the help of history of Anglo-Ottoman relationships, Berna Moran tries to look at backyard of the scenes which includes Turks:

“However the first relationship between English and Turkish is assumed to date back the Crusades, it was only in the middle of sixteen century when there appeared a real and permanent concern about The Turks in England. After a while Suleiman The Magnificent ascend to the throne of Ottoman Empire, we see that literary works related to the Turks were published in England and works of Paolo Giovius, Bartelemeo Georgievitz and A. Geuffroy were translated in English who narrated Turkish history, culture and military organization”. (1958, p. 73)

Position of Turks in England was at peak because even Queen Elizabeth was accused of being Turk through the discussions of her realm. According to Andrea “to mitigate the negative impact of Elizabeth’s gender on her claims to sovereignty, the Anglican bishop John Aylmer nevertheless emphasizes her difference from the “Turk” in matters of religious allegiance and national loyalty and claims that “under her sister, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth was falsely imprisoned as one that hadde come out of Turkey to betraye Englande.” (2007, p. 15) In light of such claims, Elizabeth preferred to be ally with non-Christian Ottomans, not with her Catholic counterparts:

“It was in this context that the English during the latter half of Elizabeth’s reign sent a series of diplomatic missions to the Ottoman sultan in an attempt to move from under the wing of the French, who had maintained a virtual monopoly on Ottoman commerce with Western Europe since 1535. Attempting to establish England’s independent status, William Harborne, the queen’s inaugural ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (1582–88), traded on English differences with continental Europeans, especially religious differences”. (Andrea, 2007, p.23)

Johanjak cites from Dimmock’s *William Percy's Mahomet and His Heaven* that “It is interesting to note here that Catholics of the period accused the English of being the “new

turkes” of Europe eve as Protestants believed that “the Pope is a more perillous ennemie vnt Christe, than the Turke: and Popery more Idolatrous, then Turkery.”(2010, p. 89)

Claims against Elizabeth were strengthened later due to mutual similar views of her and of Ottoman Sultan in their religious belief:

“Early modern Protestantism and Islam held strong affinities, both politically (as allies against the Catholic Habsburg powers) and ideologically (as iconoclasts and rigorous monotheists). Ottomans favored Protestants – “‘Lutheran mezhebi’ – the Lutheran sect, as opposed to the Pope’s sect” – and considered them, when politic, de facto Muslims. Sultan Murad III, in a letter to “the members of the Lutheran sect in Flanders and Spain,” describes Protestants thus: “As you, for your part, do not worship idols, you have banished the idols and portraits and ‘bells’ from churches, and declared your faith by stating that God Almighty is One and Holy Jesus is His Prophet and Servant, and now, with heart and soul, are seeking and desirous of the true faith.” Pope Pius V’s 1570 excommunication of “Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended Queen of England,” combined with the papal arms embargo against the Islamic enemy, accordingly set the stage for England’s unique role in the Ottoman empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries”.(Andrea, 2007, p. 23)

Words of new king of Iran ring the bell of the new queen of England after Mary. In light of ongoing events at the time, a change of policy (maybe especially foreign policy) in ruling the country seems to be renewed:

“Thanks good Meander. Then, Cosroe, reign,
And govern Persia in her former pomp.
Now send embassage to thy neighbor kings,
And let them know the Persian king is changed”. (20)

Before battle of Ankara, the first relation between a Christian and Muslim countries were established by John Kantakouzenos and Yildirim Bajazid around 1352. He gave the castle of Çimpe for their use during his war against emperor John Palaiologos of Byzantine. This event is so crucial that “Fortifications played a major role from the very start of this process, the Byzantine Emperor John VI giving his Ottoman allies the small fort of Çimbi (Tzympe) as their first foothold in Europe around 1352.” (Nicolle & Hook, 2010, p. 8)That is to say, with words of Tamburlaine “Great king and conqueror of

Greece” (25), Marlowe may tries to remark an early relation with Turks because it had lead entering Turks into Europe.

The main reasons of such a brave diplomatic enterprise of Elizabethan England were based upon economic matters by Meram that:

“Through the late 16th century, the most critical problem of expanding English economy was to establish diplomatic relations with Ottoman Empire and its states. Resources of precious and valuable raw materials of these areas were virgin and fertile for marketing in the future. Till that period, France was far beyond England in matter of sustaining politic and economic success thanks to capitulation given by the Ottoman Empire”. (Meram, 1969, p. 11)

In addition to financial affair, Meram do not overlook politic reasons of the time:

“There are other reasons obliging England to establish relations with Ottoman Empire. As a large and powerful enemy of the era; Spain would have caused great loses against England. In order to change results of a possible war, there was a need building an alliance with Ottoman Empire. Terms were favourable because the Empire was in war with Spain. Due to religious politic and commercial reasons, Ottoman Empire and Spanish Kingdom had been enemies since period of Süleyman the Magnificent”. (Meram, 1969, p. 16)

But, flexibility of English diplomacy which has a worldly fame today can also be seen at 16th century. While, England was in contact with Ottoman Empire, Kurat says that they had relations with Bukhara Khanate and Babur Empire:

“After returning from Turkey, Jenkinson began to be interested with Safavids and Russia and searched ways of arriving Iran through Russia. At the end of his journey, he got capitulation from sovereign of Bukhara Khanate; Abdullah Khan”. (1953, p. 11)

Capitulations from Ottomans and then from Akbar the Great led up England to their imperial policy at future. Under guarantee of Ottoman Empire against French and Venetians at seas, their goal to reach India came into existence step by step which made England an empire after all:

“The defeat of the ‘Invincible Armada’ in 1588, at which time the Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, gave a fresh stimulus to maritime enterprise in England. In the following year a number of merchants presented a memorial to Elizabeth, praying for permission to send a squadron direct to the East”. (“Imperial Gazetteer of India,” 2016)

Despite radical visions of Turks for centuries, such a sudden U-turn is unusual and remarkable to be examined. Such an angle is also about merchants who were eager to new markets and affected especially by one of them. Interest in Ottoman Empire and Turks is called as *Turquerie* which was an orientalist fashion in Western Europe from the 16th to 18th centuries to pretend to have forms of Turkish art and culture that presented principally the merchants as cultured and open-minded:

“There appeared great changes in view of English society against Turks through the mid-16th century because of France and other European countries. Number of people who were in keen to have relation with other nations, rised especially in trade. After England fell out with Netherlands, capital of “The Merchant Adventurers” was moved to Emden of Germany at first, then to capital of Hansa Trade Corporation; Hamburg. English merchants began to trade with crucial cities of Europe. After all, mercantile class gained importance in England. Then, without control of any countries, desire in bringing precious goods of hot climates to England became the main subject among the merchants. At the same time, fanaticism dating back to Middle Ages against Muslim Turks began to slacken. Franko- Ottoman relations set an example to England because of advantages taken by France thanks to such an alliance. It should be accepted that military aid of Ottoman Empire to France was known by English politicians. It was natural that developing England was in lust for establishing relation with one of the most powerful empire of the era to benefit from “Levant Trade””. (Kurat, 1953, p. 6)

For Hutchings, such a manoeuvre is based upon Anglo-Turkish commerce of the time because of their mutual precious goods and markets:

“But it is worth touching on briefly why the Turk genre emerged when it did. There can surely be little doubt that it was directly related to the radical shift in foreign policy under Elizabeth, leading first to commercial links and subsequently to diplomatic relations. Anglo-Turkish commerce was visible in the form of goods available in England (though carpets had long been a luxury item) and accounts of diplomatic initiatives as well as commercial voyages circulated in print in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589; 2nd edn. 1598-1600) and Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), for example, as well as in pamphlets and newsheets.

Even Elizabeth's letters to and from the sultana were published. As controversial as her overtures to the "Great Turk" were, Elizabeth and her ministers made little effort to conceal what was regarded by Catholics throughout Europe as a betrayal of Christianity; rather, these proclamations contributed to the cultural environment in which the playhouse's "Turks" operated. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that even if Elizabeth intended a positive "spin" (as we might read it today) on her policy, it was wholly successful, for anti-Turkish sentiment is in evidence throughout the early modern period". (Hutchings, 2007, p. 10)

At last, inspiration of such a conversion in foreign policy was most likely emulated from France in 1560 when they had similar troubles with Spain. Just before Battle of Djerba, ambassador of France was in Istanbul to negotiate with Ottoman Empire against Spanish. Setton cites from him that "The French king wanted also to borrow Money from the Turks, "as being a loser, he found his kingdom exhausted." Should de la Vigne not be able to convince Suleiman to direct both his army and his armada against Alva and the Spaniards in Naples, "he is to accept what he can get, it being thought that to make Sultan Suleiman take the field cannot but prove very advantageous for King Henry, whether he continue the war or negotiate an agreement...". (1984, 698)

On the other hand, European view of Ottoman should also be examined while concentrating on Western perspective:

"After a while, Ottoman Empire constituted territorial integrity and became a danger again for European Christian countries; but Turks was out of concern in England at the time because of Hundred Year Wars and War of the Roses. Moreover, when Konstantinapolis was conquered by Ottoman Empire, there were no records in English documents of the time. Because European society was named as "Frenk" by Turks, there was no awareness of classifying nations as English or French until 16th century". (Kurat, 1953, p. 7)

Moreover, religious wars in Europe were possible advantages for Ottoman Empire because its western rivals had to deal in domestic issues:

"It was natural that English became sympathetic for Ottoman Empire in consequence of campaign of Lutherans against Catholicism, and establishing intimacy with Lutheranism made a possible alliance easier with Turks by reason of not being "idolaters" like Catholics. By this means, English people would have

better positions than French because they were true Christians and aspirant of true religion in the eyes of Turks. It is known that Huguenots send men to Istanbul to appeal for aid against Catholics and then supported when religious wars began in France. The only thing that Ottoman politicians knew about Lutherans was their campaign. It is understood that it is not clearly known in Istanbul that not only Catholics sees Turks as heathen but also Lutherans”. (Kurat, 1953, pp. 8-9)

Still, it seems that there were not similar concerns about England at the Empire, except traders and politicians, recent closing of countries diplomatically did not give impression of satisfaction of the new “pleasant” ally of Ottomans:

“Perception of Muslims in society of commonly protestant England was far beyond being friendly. In 1571, as news of defeating of Ottoman in Lepanto reached to England, there appeared a great pleasure and demonstrations of joy were held there. Shortly, even if merchants of London were about to get rid of the settled perception, the church pew was not ready yet and negotiating with Turks was accepted as a sin. The change in minds of merchants was because of French and Venetian predecessors and precisely economic emphasis. They were such economic issues as necessity of exporting proliferating goods and fabric of England, constructing English trade and especially desire of profiting a possible trade with Ottomans, which all encourage merchants and businessman”. (Kurat, 1953, pp. 8–9)

Place of Turks in literature was before the diplomatic relations and interest in them reached to such high level that there appeared a new theatrical genre in 16th century and as Daniel Vitkus points out, “The Great Turk became a European bogey partly on the strength of a dynastic track record of executions, poisonings, strangulations, and general familicide.”(Johanyak & Lim, 2010, p. 81):

“In these early years, then, the notion of a "repertory" as such – or at least one exclusive to a single company – is misleading. Matters changed, of course, during this decade, but it is symbolic (as well as material) that a genre that depended on imitation and intertextual allusion, and would become a staple for a number of companies rather than exclusive to one or two, took root during a period when some companies apparently interchanged plays from across the repertory. In a sense then the origins of the Turk motif lay in the collaborative environment of the nascent playhouse economy that was also, or would become before the end of the decade, a competitive market. But it was the urge to imitate, a halfway house, as it were, between collaboration and competition, that best defines and explains the rise of the Turk play and its flourishing in the 1590s”.(Hutchings, 2007, p. 16)

It is natural that an important scale of the literary works written in England because, as a result of papal suggestion, Catholic countries got rid of having a contact with “heathen” Turks. So, English writers had more information of Ottoman Empire than their colleagues abroad as Parker claims that: After Elizabeth’s excommunication by the Pope (1570), English Merchants could operate outside of the bounds of papal edicts that forbade trade with Muslims. (2013, p. 9) Yet, as a result of papal advice, rest of Christian Europe had to remain its prejudices resulting fear which traces back to 632 that constructs basis of the Crusades against a false prophet and his believers for them:

“Yet where Islam was concerned, European fear, if not always respect, was in order. After Mohammed's death in 632, the military and later the cultural and religious hegemony of Islam grew enormously. First Persia, Syria, and Egypt, then Turkey, then North Africa fell to the Muslim armies; in the eighth and ninth centuries Spain, Sicily, and parts of France were conquered. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Islam ruled as far east as India, Indonesia, and China. And to this extraordinary assault Europe could respond with very little except fear and a kind of awe”. (E. W. Said, 2003, p. 59)

Actually, partnership between two countries may get its inspiration from past when an association of England and Spain at issue. As the time marriage was put into words of Queen Mary of England, daughter of the second monarch of the Tudor dynasty; Henry VIII, and Prince II Philip of Asturias; son of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in 1554, there appeared a propaganda called “our greatest hope” in Europe. Thanks to the marriage, sectarian controversies were expected to end because two crucial empires unified under the flag of Catholicism against Protestantism. On the other hand, while hopes were high, England could not enjoy this so called greatness on account of losing the last land of Normandy:

“When we think about the marriage of Mary I and Philip of Spain, “*spes maxima nostra / our greatest hope*” is a far from obvious description. In terms of greatness, it rather tends to be seen as a “great mistake.” Its political circumstances were difficult: the bride was queen regnant of a country that had forsaken allegiance to the papacy twenty years before, and the bridegroom was a prince from a devout Catholic country within the Habsburg Empire. Due to English fears of “foreign dominance,” the marriage had been controversial ever since Mary’s intentions had leaked out in the autumn of 1553, and its critics were finally proved to have been right four years later when England lost Calais, her last possession on the continent, in Philip’s war against France”.(Streckfuss, 2010, p. 145)

As a part of The Age of Sail, 16th century was a period roughly corresponding to the early modern period in which international trade and naval warfare were dominated by sailing ships, lasting from the 16th to the mid-19th century. This is a significant period during which square-rigged sailing ships carried European settlers to many parts of the world in one of the most expansive human migrations in recorded history. Like most periodic eras the definition is inexact but close enough to serve as a general description. The age of sail runs roughly from the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, the last significant engagement in which oar-propelled galleys played a major role, to the Battle of Hampton Roads in 1862. Battle of Lepanto was between Ottoman Empire and Crusades and Spanish Empire was leading it. Because, there was an ongoing rivalry between them, Spain became a common enemy of English and Ottomans. Victor Duruy portrays role of Philip, King of Spain as “In the Mediterranean he possessed Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles, and was protector of the Knights of Malta. He could therefore easily dominate that sea, and he had the duty of there acting as police for European commerce”.(1894, p. 237)

Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry stamps the century and leads to change of map of the continent many times. In view of roles of maps on writers in Elizabethan Era and even before, it is hard to say that Marlowe were not affected by such changes on the continent while he was writing *Tamburlaine the Great*:

“The mid-16th century proved to be unsuccessful for Spanish efforts to contain Ottoman operations in the Mediterranean Sea. The ottoman victory at Preveza in 1538 was followed by victories over Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in Algiers in 1541 and Tripoli in 1551. By 1558, the ottoman navy led by piale pasha raided the Balearic Islands and the Spanish coastline. In response, King Philip II of Spain dispatched Juan, Duke of Medinaceli, who captured the nearby island of Djerba (March 7, 1560). However, this initial success was short lived. On May 11, the Christian fleet was destroyed at anchor by Admiral Piale Pasha and the Corsair Turgut Reis. The surviving European troops found refuge in the fort where is 5000 strong garrison under Alvaro de Sande managed to hold out till Kuly 31, 1560. The victory at Djerba marked the height of Ottoman naval dominance in the Mediterranean. Five years later their supremacy would be weakened in the failed expedition to Malta, and even more so, in the decisive defeat at Lepanto in 1571.”(Mikaberidze, 2011, p. 278)

3 TAMBURLAINE THE GREAT

“The historical figure Timur was important from a Christian perspective because he had saved Constantinople from the Turks in 1402, preventing its capitulation for half a century. It might reasonably be assumed then that the contemporary reception of the play may also be read as an endorsement of Tamburlaine's defeat and humiliation of Bajazeth”.(Hutchings, 2007, p. 12)

The conquest of Constantinople has caused various results directly or indirectly in world history. Yet, like it is narrated in *Tamburlaine the Great* that Ottoman's triumphs are just temporary and will have an avoidable end because the mighty Empire of the era is defeated by Tamburlaine and its emperor Bajazid is taken as a prisoner. Arising fears in the West after the fall of Constantinople was tried to be eliminated by theatre which became a paramount matter of impression management for centuries. But fears were great, to reply words of King of Morocco “the spring is hindered by your smothering host, or neither rain can fall upon the earth, nor sun reflex his virtuous beams thereon, the ground is mantled with such multitudes”, he says “ all this true as holy Mahomet; and all the trees are blasted with our breaths.” (26) Though, messages for eliminating such fears from the audience are given indirectly, they are prepared for a final reckoning. Such an army is defeated at the end. And, either Tamburlaine, Bajazid, Murad or Elizabeth claims the contrary, winnings root in sketchiness of the other and everyone tastes the defeat sooner or later. The day before the throne was Tamerlane's, yesterday Mehmed's and today Murad's. But it is not clear who will be the next one to wear the crown because kings like Bajazid and Tamburlaine arrange their own final because of their lust for desire and ambition. But the play includes messages for also England as Burton claims that “In Marlowe's plays, however, Islamic strength is shown to threaten a relatively weak Europe. Several critics argue that this strength is used by Marlowe as a mirror for burgeoning English imperialism.” (p. 127) Tamburlaine confirms that claim of “the empire on which the sun never sets” as saying “Measuring the limits of his empery by east and west as Phobus did his course.” (7) But Çalışkan asserts that there is also a criticism for present order of the time:

“Marlowe does not present II. Edward as God's representative in the whole play like his same attitude in *Tamburlaine*. There is not any word of Edward that he has spiritual rights. In fact, one of the most crucial doctrines of Elizabethan Era is that a

king is deputized by God. So, Marlowe says that the king does not get his power from God, he is not responsible for God and will not be punished by God but buy the ruled citizens if he does not fulfill his responsibilities. In that matter, the king must become a superhuman nearly like Timur". (15)

On the contrary, Theridamas describes kingship Timur as following. Presumably, even if it is hard to expect the audience to live at the same boundaries with Marlowe, he tries to make the audience to question the present system at least:

"A god is not so glorious as a king:
I think the pleasure they enjoy in heaven,
Cannot compare with kingly joys in earth;
To wear a crown enchas'd with pearl and gold,
Whose virtues carry with it life and death;
To ask and have, command and be obey'd;
When looks breed love, with looks to gain the prize,
Such power attractive shines in princes' eyes". (Marlowe, 1950, p. 21)

With Orientalism, writing of history is questioned again as Turner claims "The debate about orientalism (Said 1978) gave rise to a new approach to decolonization and the writing of history, especially the writing of Indian history.(1994, p. 3)" So, Marlowe's historical writing is examined in *Tamburlaine the Great* by reconsidering social, cultural and historical facts of the time when the play was written in this study. But, before examination of the play, it is also necessary to look up a brief summary of life, especially birthplace of Marlowe and its society. He was born in crowded and misery Canterbury in 1564. Çalışkan sums up situation of the city before and after Christopher Marlowe in short:

"Canterbury is a city of England whose population compromised various ethnic groups in 1600s, had carried a religious significance for the country. After schism of Henry VIII from Catholicism and foundation of Anglicanism, England became a safe place for people under pressure of Catholic Church. Apart from refugees from Wales, Scotland and Ireland, there were protestant people from Italy, Spain, Netherland, Belgium and France. Migration of Protestants to England also continued in middle of 16th century but the biggest one came into existence after 1572, and 1590 brought many people from Netherlands and France. However, Canterbury became an important city after the migrations; plague and misery surrounded it and resulted many deaths". (2006, p.7)

The play is opened by a Prologue, which is, for Honan: "At once, a sales pitch and an art manifesto, the most important so far heard in a London theatre. Indeed, these eight lines

do more than bash at commercial skits, and, at least in what they imply, they amount to the most influential lines ever written, in this age, about the theatre's purposes". (2005, 167) 'From jiggling veins of rhyming mother wits', Marlowe writes sharply invites the audience by giving a hint of high expectation by a prologue in which characters of the play are defeated one by one:

"And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
We'll lead you to the stately tent of War:
Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine,
Threatening the world with high astounding terms
And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword.
View but his picture in this tragic glass,
And then applaud his fortunes as you please". (1950, 1)

At first, the play's refracted historical basis dates back to 134 years before: The reign of Mehmed the Conqueror. By the time the Turks entered the gates of Byzantium after long lasting attempts, Ottoman Empire put the wind up the West. For all these reasons, Marlowe's Tamburlaine is an epiphany and a natural reflection of defense mechanism of Elizabethan Theatre against such a fear:

"By means of the perception of tragedy of the era, tragedians of sixteen century were trying to create fearsome, bloody, and dreadful scenes. That's why treachery and violence stories about the Turks in history books were so convenient for the goal of these writers. As a matter of fact, decapitation of Irene by Mehmed the Conqueror, execution of Mustapha by Suleiman the Magnificent, and Yavuz the Steadfast's poisoning his father were handled over and over by these writers. Therefore, the Turks generally symbolize cruel and bloodthirsty characters on the stage of Elizabethan Era". (Moran, 1958, p. 75)

To examine a play, a novel, poetry or any literary work, it is an unavoidable fact to face with the time of social structure of the play that is concerned. The interest in the Orient did not bear incidentally. It is naturally should be discussed with cause and effect paradigm:

"The legacy of 1453 in the western imagination – as historical event and as dramatised narrative – was such that the Ottoman Empire remained a potent threat, real or imagined, its new "role" as a potential ally in England's anti-Catholic foreign policy by no means erasing or superseding established cultural memory. Nor could Elizabeth's radical initiative overdetermine what happened between "Turks" and the

queen's subjects in their encounters beyond London – or on the city's stages. What recent scholarship in this area has shown is that the genre admitted a multiplicity of interpretations: the assumption that the figure of the Turk functioned simply and repeatedly as a convenient bogeyman has been challenged as texts are opened up to reveal layers of meaning – or potential meaning – for early modern playgoers and theatre historians alike”.(Hutchings, 2007, pp. 10–11)

Richard Karlsson gives a number of the books that is published from 1480 to 1610 and shows the impact of 1453 on Europe:

“In the 16th century about 2500 publications about Turks, over a thousand of which were in German, were spread around Europe and in these too the image of the bloodthirsty Turk was imprinted. In the period 1480 to 1610, twice as many books were published about the Turkish threat as about the discovery of the continent of America”. (2006, p. 62)

On the other hand, this play became a symbol of Anglo-Ottoman relations which had been conservative but then turned into a moderate mode:

“For if the appearance of Tamburlaine in 1587 produced imitations by rival companies, such as the Queen's Men (McMillin and MacLean, 156-60), it was these very imitations, and the textual echoes that followed, that served to complicate "orthodox" interpretations of Turks on the stage. Indeed, Tamburlaine the figure and symbol consequently emerges less as a fixed presence than as a fluid symbol of England's unorthodox relationship with the Ottoman Empire, mediated through the stage”. (Hutchings, 2007, p. 12)

However, there had been earlier examples of plays concerning Tamerlane; it is attention grabbing that why Marlowe’s version became so popular:

“About a hundred versions of his story were available to Elizabethans. Ignoring the hero’s bad right leg or crippled elbow, Marlowe selects his details from a variety of sources. There is no need here to cite any but the chief ones, and it would be hard to say where his reading in Latin or French stopped. He clearly knew of Pedro Mexía’s account of Tamburlaine in *Silva de Varia Leci3n*, published at Seville in 1540, though he seems to have used its English version in Thomas Fortescue’s *The Forest* (1571). He had read the succinct biography in Petrus Perondinus’s *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris Vita* (1553), and had found an elaboration of Mexía in George Whetstone’s *The English Mirror* (1586), and some of Perondinus in a book called *Beautiful Blossoms*, gathered by John Byshop”.(Honan, 2005, pp. 166–167)

The world order of the time when the play was written was a period of empires. Like today's countries, except wars, diplomacy was the best way of communication among all of them. Furthermore, each had their own way of security intelligence. To calm the public down Britain's best choice seems the theatre:

“Marlowe's connections with Seething Lane, his stints as a courier, and his fascination with overseas trade primed him to study the East. In 1578 Walsingham had penned a 'Memorandum on the Turkey Trade' about exchanges with the Ottoman Turks. A year later, Anglo-Ottoman relations had formally opened, and Queen Elizabeth's letters to the new sultan, Murad III, began to ensure a boom in trade”. (Honan, 2005, p. 173)

But before calming them down, invincibility of a Turk should have been depicted:

“I hold the Fates bound fast in iron chains
And with my hand turn Fortune's wheel about,
And sooner shall the sun turn from sphere
Than Tamburlaine be slain or overcome”. (Marlowe, 1950, p. 11)

And to give his hidden messages, he starts with arising emotions of the audience with possibility of Ottoman's closing to England is narrated by Marlowe as:

“Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!
What, can ye draw but twenty miles a day!
And have so proud a chariot at your heels
And such a coachman as Great Tamburlaine?” (Marlowe, 1950, p. 103)

To legitimate the relation with Ottoman Empire and to describe the sudden shifting policy to society, theatre was the perfect tool of the era to communicate with them:

“English representations of Turks were often rehearsals of conventional stereotypes, but they also could and did shift to accommodate historical circumstances, even going so far as to legitimate the arming of the Ottomans. This is not to say that Marlowe wrote his plays to justify an alliance with an Islamic power. What emerges from his construction of the Tamburlaine legend is less an articulation of an individual author's feelings concerning Islam than a perspective on early modern England's need to produce a rhetoric that could justify its controversial dealings with the Turks”. (Burton, 2000, p. 129)

As Ahmed describes media of today that “Media occupy a more prominent position in our social and cultural landscapes and their ubiquity has become a normal part of our lives”(2005, p. 109), it is understood that theatre of the time was not so different than media. To comprehend the role of theatre as a tool of channeling of the era, it may be enough to review prologues of the two parts of *Tamburlaine the Great*. Park Honan who has a great reputation on studies of Marlowe with his *Marlowe: Poet & Spy*, describes Marlowe as “He meant to win the public with a new kind of heroic tragedy, and his Tartar’s victories were just as impressive as the play’s flexible, brilliant verse, so there was reason, here, for authorial confidence” (2005, p. 164). Simkin claims that “The prologue works in a number of different ways. First of all, it functions as a kind of advertisement: Marlowe is calling his audience to attention by issuing a challenge, promising something new, and inviting the spectators to see how he lives up to the task he has set for himself.” (2001, p. 16)

Knutson claims that “Christopher Marlowe implied in the prologue to the second part of *Tamburlaine* that he was writing a sequel in response to audience demand, not for artistic reasons of his own.” (2001, p. 57) Like the first play, demands of the audience were critical for him:

“The general welcome *Tamburlaine* received
When he arrived last upon our stage
Hath made our poet pen his second part,
Where death cuts off the progress of his pomp
And murd’rous Fates throws all his triumphs down.
But what became of fair Zenocrate,
And with how many cities’ sacrifice
He celebrated her sad funeral,
Himself in presence shall unfold at large”. (Marlowe, 1950, p.60)

While information access was so hard at that time, it is not easy to estimate how Marlowe got his sources to write. Honan claims that “At Cambridge, Marlowe may have found a copy of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* compiled by the German geographer Abraham Ortelius or Ortelius. This was the first great atlas of the world” (2005, p. 171). As Turner asserts that “The English preface to Ortelius’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*(1606) argued that the atlas was ideally suited to the reading of history, because notable events could be better

understood by situating them topographically. (2001, p. 422) So, it is clearly understood that Marlowe's historical play can be traced back to map of Ortelius as a primary source. Additionally, Pirnajmuddin stresses that: "Arguably, the orientalism of Christopher Marlowe's plays is more politically inflected than those of his great contemporaries or near-contemporaries such as Edmund Spenser and John Milton. Moreover, political issues are much more significantly reflected in *Tamburlaine the Great*, a play more concerned with the Orient than any other of Marlowe's dramatic works." (2014, p. 1288) Aside from his interest in maps, it was a much more contrasting attraction than a pure geographical one:

"I have begun with the assumption that the Orient is not an inert fact of nature. It is not merely there, just as the Occident itself is not just there either. We must take seriously Vico's great observation that men make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend it to geography: as both geographical and cultural entities—to say nothing of historical entities such locales, regions, geographical sectors as "Orient" and "Occident" are man-made. Therefore as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other".(E. W. Said, 2003, pp. 4–5)

Marlowe shows that how one may turn into a monster with lust of power. But why Marlowe tells his suggestions over an empire of the East? Why *Tamburlaine*, *Bajazeth* or *Zenocrate* are the main characters of such an analysis? The play seems carrying didactic concerns. But for such a goal, it is appealing enough to look at the place where the play is structured. On the other hand, Marlowe's perspective paves another way of antagonist's ultimate end from his colleagues. His departure from the face of the earth is not an irony of poetic justice. Marlowe prefers a materialist end for the play. As it is understood from the following paragraph; the period was also suitable for shaping of such an ideology:

"If there ever was a time in the world's history when the eyes of Europe should have been turned to the Orient, the sixteenth century was that time. And if there ever was a period in which interest in the East was not merely one of curiosity or novelty, but an active interest made necessary by the conditions of the time, it was the Elizabethan period". (Wann, 1915, p. 444)

However Bajazid's cause of death is clouded, Marlowe presents a miserable downfall to him with astounding sharp lines. Suicide is achieved with the help of grates of a cage. Is it possible to think planning such an end without any intention by one of the brightest writer of the era? In fact, the reason shines like summer sun but insistently, it is handled it is handled cleverly shadowy. To clarify, Marlowe describes how Turks are fond of power and arrogance.

Even if there are lots of ways to separate reality from fiction, fiction cannot come into existence without reality. That is to say, all of these events of the time may have been used as primary sources for emulation of *Tamburlaine the Great*. By using hidden codes, Marlowe tries to narrate that not only Turks are cruel but also Tamburlaine is the greatest villain in the play. Yet, there is a message which is coded intentionally. The reason beyond this is crystal clear. Tamburlaine is a Tartar with whom Turks are two different branches of the same genealogical tree. In spite of the affinity, whether Tamburlaine or Bajazeth are seen as ingrained enemies, they have the same nation. The hostility is framed with lust for power and it is not the only theme used by Marlowe to encircle "lust".

Despite the controversy on his nation even today, Lamb cites from Tamerlane that "We are Melik-i Turan (King of Turkistan), we are Turks son of Turks, we are commander of the most magnificent and almighty nation". (2009, p. 5) Although, Timur is depicted as 'Scythian' at first, he is then described as a Mongolian. Çalışkan says that "Timur is not Scythian and as a result of using Ortelius' map, Marlowe means a region at west of Crimea which has a coast to Black Sea. But, the name is also given to all middle and north East Asia." (570)

By the time Turks appear on the stage, the play is mounted on the defeat of the Turks step by step. Even before the battle with Tamburlaine, the sovereign of Tartars shows that The Sultan's threats are in vain. And his rhetoric and highly astounding words are regulated by the writer to keep the audience observant. These high astounding words are so fascinating that it can be felt that defeat of The Turks gets closer words by words. Finally, impression of the audience of the play is managed artfully and it is realized unconsciously

that the Turks are not unconquerable. The origin of such an idea is nevertheless managed by Marlowe himself but by his predecessors:

“Needless to say, history was not then written in the scientific spirit. Each historian copied from his predecessor, with or without acknowledgment, and felt no compunction in coloring the narrative to increase its interest, or in mingling legend with fact, with the result that his successor honestly accepted the whole as fact and so transmitted it to his successor with his own embellishments. And while it is true that, especially among the writers nearest the scene of action in time or place, the essential truth of the narrative is rarely lost sight of, it was inevitable that later writers, who were more and more distant from the time and place of the events described, should lose the sense of proportion, elevate legends to the rank of facts, and so give to the whole story the tinge of romantic untruth. Many examples might be cited in illustration of this phenomenon”. (Wann, 1915, p. 174)

The main questions determine studying such a historical play are why a young man who is twenty four years old chooses such a historical title and what was the reason beyond writing an encoded play against Turks? T. S. Eliot sums the relation between a writer and history:

“Tradition is a matter of much wider significance. It cannot be inherited, and if you want if you must obtain it by great labour. It involves, in the first place, the historical sense, which we may call nearly indispensable to anyone who would continue to be a poet beyond his twenty-fifth year; and the historical sense involves a perception, not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence; the historical sense compels a man to write not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order. This historical sense, which is a sense of the timeless as well as of the temporal and of the timeless and of the temporal together, is what makes a writer traditional. And it is at the same time what makes a writer most acutely conscious of his place in time, of his own contemporaneity”. (“Tradition and the Individual Talent” 2016)

But, as writing history he makes anachronist mistakes probably because of his possible sources:

“Tamburlaine the Great, particularly in part 2, contains a great number of historical inaccuracies and alternative representations, partly because there was a limited amount of historical information available at the time and partly because Marlowe did not always interpret that information correctly, but mainly because Marlowe’s

dramatic goals differed from the historical reality. For example, since Marlowe likely did not conceive of the work in two parts, it was necessary to use events prior to Bajazeth's demise, and, in the case of Orcanes's defeat of Sigismund, nearly fifty years after it, in order to form a coherent drama in part 2. Also the play's depiction of Bajazeth and his wife's enslavement inside an iron cage stems from an alternative reading of the historian Arabshah. Other examples, such as Tamburlaine's love for Zenocrate, are entirely fictional, and reflect Marlowe's desire to cast the play in the manner most effective for developing his major themes". ("Tamburlaine the Great Summary," 2014, pp. 47–48)

There have been diversified assertions about Marlowe's muses. On one hand Izard claims that "It was unnecessary to search out Pope Pius, Baptista Fulgotius, and Philip Lonicer-them with their Latin. All this information was to be had in the none too elegant but perfectly clear and easily accessible English of *The English Myrror* by Marlowe's contemporary and fellow-Londoner, George Whetstone"(1943, p. 147). On the other, Belgasem and Essadek synthesize various assertions of basic sources of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* as following:

"This pioneering, exceptionally successful play dramatises the life of Timur, the Mongol conqueror (1336-1405). Marlowe chiefly depended on two sources: Pedro Mexia's *Sylva de Varia Lecion* (1542) and Petrus Perondinus' *Magni Tamerlanis Scytharum Imperatoris* (1553). Mexia's work was circulated in two English adaptations: Thomas Fortescue's *The Foreste or Collection of Histories* (1571) and George Whetstone's *The English Myrror* (1586). William J. Brown adds John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* as another source for Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, especially for his characterisation of the Ottoman sultan". (2013, p. 138).

On comments of Thomas and Cole following, Şahin says that "Renaissance historians studied history in order to teach from the past instead of learning from it. For this reason, the life and deeds of Tamerlane were anticipated within the moral or political platitudes of the authors who played the ideologists." (2010, p. 56) He is related to Alexander the Great who conquered and lived in the East before which is one of the strongest orientalist discourses that "the East was ours before":

"The historical image of Tamerlane available in the sixteenth century European accounts portrayed a late fourteenth century Tartar conqueror who was "a courageous, energetic, military and administrative genius with a reputation for his barbaric treatment of enemies and for both generosity and firm discipline in dealing with his armies". As a conqueror, his success was associated with that of Alexander

the Great. This portrait of the Tartar warrior became widely available throughout Western Europe during the Renaissance, as the Renaissance authors made use of the “cataclysmic phenomenon” of Tamerlane in order to validate certain views”. (2010, p. 56)

From this point of view, there appear countless dots under numerous hooks. Why Marlowe tells his suggestions over Turks? Why a better world is described over Turk's vandal world? Why Turks are the materials of admiration for people of England and their governance system? It is thought that Marlowe's religious belief has an important place in the play:

“He was often in no hurry to write. Foxe's ‘Book of Martyrs’ was known to Canterbury's canons and masters at the King's School, and there are good indications that Marlowe at an early point had seen the book and read its brief account of Tamburlaine and of the Christian Sigismund. For Foxe, Tamburlaine was a deific agent raised by a wrathful God to defeat the Turkish Bajazeth, and this Protestant view entered into Marlowe's dramaturgical design”. (Honan, 2005, p. 167)

But, one of the fundamental reasons of writing such a dissertation is that the role of Marlowe in Orientalism. Wann claims that: “The Spanish Tragedy, Soliman and Perseda, and Tamburlaine mark not only the beginning in oriental plays, but in the drama as a whole...”(1915, p. 167) and Wilson quotes “Edward Said argues that Marlowe's "oriental stage" helped fabricate the stereotype of Islam as Christendom's other...”(1995, p. 56). Yet, not only Tamburlaine is a touchstone for orientalism but also England's policy of the time carries a great effect on the issue.

The play is full of with antagonists. Overall, the playwright is not at peace with protagonists in his other plays. Further, *Tamburlaine the Great* is the place of highly desires. No matter they are Ottoman Sultans nor Tamerlane or the King of Persia; rulers of the East are all described as greedy characters.

Because of denominational campaigns in England through lifetime of Marlowe is possible to shape his view of religion. Doctrines of Islam and mythological elements mixed in the play due to his complex sentiment against religion. It is so natural that even the Queen of country declares herself as supreme in a complexity of Catholicism and

Protestantism in her saying “the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all the idolatry of all those unworthy ones who live against Christians, and falsely profess the name of Christ.”(Burton, 2000, p. 136) To Simkin:

“Tamburlaine’s act of blasphemy, however, is committed against Mohammed (and Islam) and consequently an Elizabethan audience’s response would probably have been complex. Tamburlaine was a monstrous figure in the annals of history and, as a follower of Islam, a heathen. Marlowe evokes the Islamic prophet Mohammed only to have Tamburlaine blaspheme against him; in so doing, Marlowe was simultaneously raising a spectre that an Elizabethan audience would have instinctively reacted against (Mohammed) and depicting Tamburlaine as a heretic to his own religion”. (2001, p. 83)

Considering Marlowe’s religious belief and as a result of rooted prejudices against the prophet of the Empire’s belief (Islam), he is referred with impotence and superstition. In this instance, fear is wished to knock out with taunting the religion of the Ottoman Empire:

“As so often, Marlowe seems to be playing a double game: it is likely that the Elizabethans may have enjoyed hearing a heathen religion attacked, but at the same time it is likely that many would have been shocked by Tamburlaine’s godlessness. Tamburlaine offers another challenge: for him, Mahomet’s failure to respond to the outrages he has committed against Islam is proof of his non-existence, or at least of his powerlessness”. (Simkin, 2001, p. 83)

Zenocrate is another critical figure of the play by virtue of Marlowe’s messages to the Orient over her. After her death Tamburlaine becomes more and more combative. Namely, rise of men arises from decaying stairs of the women in the play. Like all other mind games in *Tamburlaine the Great*, Marlowe diverts the attention of the audience from the specific to the general. Inasmuch as Zenocrate’s death pulls the trigger of Tamburlaine, he begins to do everything to alleviate his pain:

“The Orient was Orientalized not only because it was discovered to be "Oriental" in all those ways considered common place by an average nineteenth-century European, but also because it could be—that is, submitted to being-made Oriental. There is very little consent to be found, for example, in the fact that Flaubert's encounter with an Egyptian courtesan produced a widely influential model of the Oriental woman; she never spoke of herself, she never represented her emotions, presence, or history. He spoke for and represented her. He was foreign,

comparatively wealthy, male, and these were historical facts of domination that allowed him not only to possess Kuchuk Hanem physically but to speak for her and tell his readers in what way she was "typically Oriental." My argument is that Flaubert's situation of strength in relation to Kuchuk Hanem was not an isolated instance. It fairly stands for the pattern of relative strength between East and West, and the discourse about the Orient that it enabled".(E. W. Said, 2003, pp. 5–6)

Are Ottomans really powerful enough or their strain comes from impotency of their rivals? Even Sultan of the mighty Ottoman cannot resist against Tamburlaine. That is to say, no one, no empire is unconquerable. Thereby, Tamburlaine says that threats are all in vain despite the fact that they come from the Ottoman Sultan:

“By Mahomet my kinsman’s sepulcher,
And by the holy Alcoran I swear,
He shall be made a chaste and lustless eunuch,
And in my sarell tend my concubines;
And all his captains, that thus stoutly stand,
Shall draw the chariot of my empress,
Whom I have brought to see their overthrow!” (31)

The play narrates a period that is approximately fifty years before the conquest of Constantinople. After, the defeat against Tamerlane, Ottoman Empire lived in Interregnum. To disqualify the worries of British public, Marlowe reveals Interregnum period to show the powerless background of the mighty Empire of the time:

“By reason of mind set of Crusades, Turks were the greatest enemy of the Christianity for English people. Turkish victory at Nicopolis may have led to strengthen that idea. For this reason, as Timur had captured Bayezid and made Ottoman to face with danger of collapse, there appeared pleasure in England like other Christian countries. Glory of defeating Ottoman Empire was informed to Henry IV by Timur and he was congratulated by Henry IV with a letter”. (Kurat, 1953, p. 7)

Except Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine the Great*, there were many other plays concerning Turks at the same time, before and after the play. At the table 3 following, Louis Wann restricted his study to those plays produced from 1558 to 1642, in which the events portrayed take place or could take place since the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the thirteenth century. And he explains numbers of the plays as following:

“As Turkey was the land represented most often as the scene of action, so the Turks are the people occurring most frequently as characters. In fact, they occur oftener than the Westerners themselves—a fact more striking than appears at first sight; for the term Westerner includes all the Christian nationalities of Europe, whereas the Turk is only one of the half-dozen oriental races which figure in these plays. Clearly the interest in the Turks was stronger than in any other oriental race”. (Wann, 1915, p. 179)

Mark Hutchings whose research focuses primarily on early modern theatre culture, practice and performance especially on the stage's representation of the Ottoman Empire, denotes reference to Turks/Ottoman Empire in texts from 1588 to 1603-4. The table 2 is structured on a work's date, title, and type of play, author, and general source employed and source employed for the oriental matter. Besides, the titles italicized indicate non-extant plays and question marks symbolizes that it is not certain information but an assertion. The impact of *Tamburlaine* in 1587 was immediate but also long lasting; if the aesthetic eventually lost its appeal, the Turkish genre did not:

“Drawing conclusions from data that is incomplete or uncertain (and often both) presents obvious difficulties, but what the table confirms is not only (as scholars are well aware) Marlowe's influence on his contemporaries but also the centrality of the Turkish narrative to Marlowe's plays and those that followed in their wake. Marlowe did not invent the Turk motif when he wrote *Tamburlaine* in 1587, but the appeal of the new aesthetic (and its suitability for staging tyrannous sultans) led directly and indirectly to the rapid growth of the Turkish genre in the London repertories”.(Hutchings,2007,p.10)

Table 2: Plays Concerning Turks (Mark Hutchings)

| Date of earliest likely Perf. (Pub.) | Title | Venue | Company | Author |
|---|---------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| c.1588 | Doctor Faustus | Rose? | Strange's | Marlowe |
| 1590 (1623) | 1 Henry VI | Rose? | Admiral's/ Strange's? | Shakespeare |
| 1591 (1594) | The Taming of the Shrew | Theatre? | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1591 (1623) | The Comedy of Errors | Theatre? | Chamberlain's? | Shakespeare |
| 1591 | Edward I | | Queen's? | Peele |
| 1591 | Richard III | Theatre | Pembroke's | Shakespeare |
| c.1591 (1594) | The True Tragedy of Richard III | | Queen's | Anon |
| 1595 (1597) | Richard II | Theatre? | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| c.1595 | A Midsummer Night's Dream | Theatre | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1596 (1600) | The Merchant of Venice | Theatre | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1597 (1598) | 1 Henry IV | Theatre? | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1597 (1600) | 2 Henry IV | Theatre? | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1597 (1602) | The Merry Wives of Windsor | Theatre? | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1598 (1600) | Much Ado About Nothing | Curtain | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1598 | Every Man in His Humour | Curtain? | Chamberlain's | Jonson |
| 1599 (1600) | Henry V | Curtain/Globe | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1599 (1600) | The Shoemaker's Holiday | Rose | Admiral's | Dekker |
| 1599 (1623) | As You Like It | Globe | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1599 (1600) | 1 Sir John Oldcastle | Rose | Admiral's | Drayton, Hathway, Munday, and Wilson |
| 1600 (1601) | Cynthia's Revels | Blackfriars | Blackfriars Children | Jonson |
| c.1600-01 (1604) | Hamlet | Globe | Chamberlain's | Shakespeare |
| 1603-4 (1623) | All's Well That Ends Well | Globe | Chamberlain's/ King's | Shakespeare |

(Hutchings, 2007, pp. 10–13)

Table 3: Plays Concerning Turks (Louis Wann)

| Date | Title | Type of Play | Author | General Source Employed | Source Employed for the Oriental Matter |
|-------------|---|----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 1580 | <i>The History of the Soldan and the Duke of---</i> | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown | Unkonwn |
| 1581 | Solymanidae | Latin tragedy of palace intrigue | Unknown | Georgievitz (?) | Georgievitz (?) |
| 1587 | Tamburlaine the Great, I-II | Conquer play | C. Marlowe | Fortescue, Perondinus | Fortescue, Perondinus |
| 1588 | Soliman and Perseda | Tragedy | T. Kyd (?) | Wotton | Wotton |
| 1588 | The First Part of the Tragical Reign of Selimus | Conquer play | R. Greene (?) | Paulus Jovius | Paulus Jovius |
| ca. 1588 | <i>Tamber Cam, I-II</i> | Conquer play | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown |
| 1594 | <i>The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek</i> | Tragedy | G. Peele | Unknown | Unknown |
| 1601 | <i>Mahomet</i> | Conquer play (?) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown |
| 1602 | <i>A "Comedy" (on the capture of Stuhlweissenburg by the Turks)</i> | Comedy (?) | Unknown | Unknown | Unknown |
| 1606 | Mustapha | Tragedy | F. Greville | Georgie- vitz (?). | Georgie- vitz (?). |
| 1607 | Mulleasses, the Turk | Tragedy | J. Mason | Unknown | Unknown |
| 1610 | A Christian Turned Turk, or the Tragical Lives of Two Famous Pirates, Ward and Dansiker | Play of adventure | R. Daborne | Pamphlets, ballads | Pamphlets, ballads |
| ca. 1627 | The Courageous Turk, or Amurath I | Tragedy | T. Goffe | Knolles | Knolles |
| ca. 1627 | The Raging Turk, or Bajazet II | Tragedy | T. Goffe | Knolles | Knolles |
| 1638 | Osmond, the Great Turk or the Noble Servant | Tragedy | L. Carlell. | Knolles | Knolles |

4 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Christopher Marlowe is the greatest playwright after Shakespeare or rather the most greatest before Shakespeare. (Urgan, 2003, p.204). He is not only the greatest tragedian, but also the most talented poet using “blank verse”. (208) But what makes Marlowe different from Shakespeare is that he is lack of being someone else and talking from his point of view in his plays. He always describes his own character. (217) Moreover, Çalışkan says that “He is the most creative writer of theatrical character creation with 198 ones.” (12) and continues that “ His characters who have passions at a destroying density of mortals, grow up, rise with this feature and cast a spell on the audience with admiration when they are dead at the end of the play. Each of his plays echoed in London, staged over again and brought Admiral's Men a giant earning” (12) That is to say, using a literary work as a tool of politic concerns gives inspiration to future politic goals. In example of Defoe who is claimed to be a spy of England like Marlowe and “For a significant period of his life, Defoe worked as a political agent and a propagandist. Indeed he was a spy for Robert Harley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the year leading up to the Anglo-Scottish union.” (“The Defoe Society,” 2016) It is said that the government wanted to benefit from his popular master work *Robinson Crusoe* because of imperial politics when England was about to pass Netherlands and France in colonial race:

“Since my exclusive focus here is on the modern Western empires of the nineteenth and twentieth century, I have looked especially at cultural forms like the novel, which I believe were immensely important in the formation of imperial attitudes, references, and experiences. I do not mean that only the novel was important, but that I consider it the aesthetic object whose connection to the expanding societies of Britain and France is particularly interesting to study. The prototypical modern realistic novel is *Robinson Crusoe*, and certainly not accidentally it is about a European who creates a fiefdom for himself on a distant, non-European island”. (1993, p. xii)

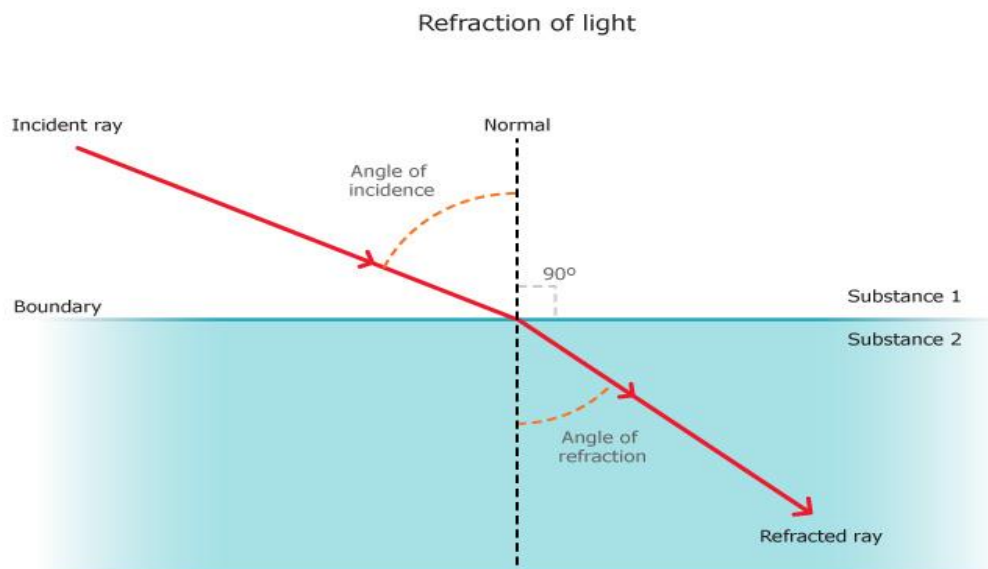
Additionally, Joseph Conrad served to imperial policy of England. In his own words, he says:

“The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretence but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the

idea—something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to...” (1993, p. xi)

Those who try to separate theatre from politics try to lead us into error – and this is a political attitude”. (2008, p. xxiii) Marlowe is the pioneer of such a custom which is based on serving to policy of their country with the literary works of them. That is to say, especially theatre has become a part of such a policy as Augusto says in his *Theatre of the Oppressed* that “all theatre is necessarily political, because all the activities of man are political and theatre is one of them. Dividing point of this study from others is that the refraction of history in *Tamburlaine the Great*. Refraction is described as “The fact or phenomenon of light, radio waves, etc. being deflected in passing obliquely through the interface between one medium and another or through a medium of varying density.” (“refraction” 2016) Figure 1 portrays physical fact of the phenomenon:

Figure 1: Refraction



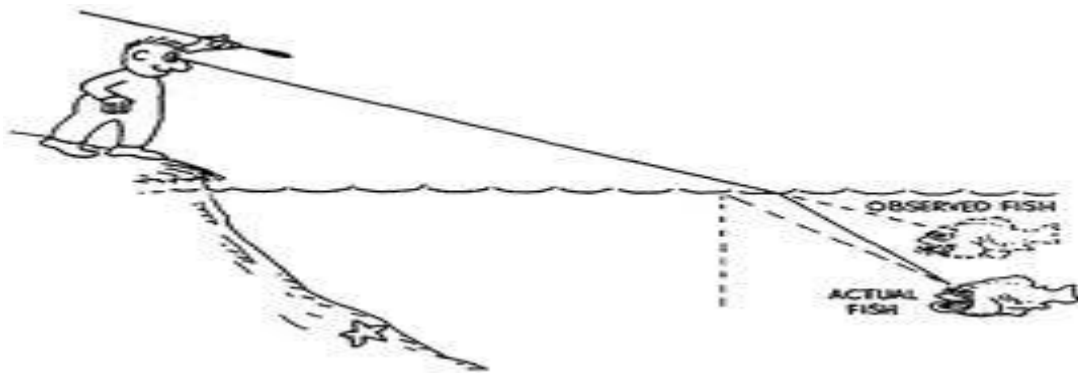
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(“Refraction of light in water,” 2016)

To ease the description, an actual fish is seen above its exact place to one who is in a higher position than sea level. After all, this study claims that Marlowe narrates Timur and Bajazid actually but what observed or inferred is that events of the Elizabethan Era. So,

audiences or readers can easily be wronged like a fisher. Bajazid is a symbol of conquerable Ottoman Empire and “Timur is a pagan who defends Christian Europe against Islam”. (Çalışkan, 21) And for him “Turks are full of brags, and menace more than they can well perform.” (29) Weakness of Bajazid mirrors that the Empire is not invincible and “shortness of the battle between Timur and Bayezid rather than expected, signals that he is like a kid comparing Timur who sets his mind on overcoming Gods.” (Aksoy, 23).

Figure 2: Spearing Fish



(Pizgatti, 2012)

Before their first meeting, Tamburlaine is the conqueror of Asia and Bajazeth is the ruler of an invincible empire:

“You know our army is invincible;
 As many circumcised Turks we have,
 And warlike bands of Christians renied,
 As hath the ocean or the Terrene sea
 Small drops of water when the moon begins
 To join in one her semicircled horns:
 Yet would we not be brav'd with foreign power,
 Nor raise our siege before the Grecians yield,
 Or breathless lie before the city-walls”. (25)

Turks are defeated for the first time. So their fame of invincibility is ended by Tamburlaine. Bajazeth tells the situation to his wife: Ah, fair Zabina, we have lost the field; And never had the Turkish emperor. So great a foil by any foreign foe. (1950, 35)

Because of Tamburlaine's threat, Bajazeth has to put an end to siege of Constantiople and conquer plan of Ottoman Empire is postponed for nearly fifty years. But his wife reminds him the victory before to encourage him against Tamerlane:

“Thou art deceiv'd. I heard the trumpets sound
As when my emperor overthrew the Greeks,
And led them captive into Africa”. (34)

But, after the defeat Bajazeth replies her that result of the battle is welcomed by Christians:

“Now will the Christian miscreants be glad,
Ringing with joy their superstitious bells,
And making bonfires for my overthrow”. (35)

Aksoy says that “Would it be as effective as Ottomans and Bajazeth, if Marlowe used Chinese and Empire of China? It is obvious that it would not. Because, as Adivar who analyzes character of Tamburlaine according to power complex, stresses that Marlowe needed a tough empire hard to be defeated, and it was no one but Ottoman Empire.” (81)

Aksoy sums Turk characters in the play and emphasizes proud of them:

“Tamburlaine always overcomes Turks but does not kill prisoners ones of them and humiliates them with keeping alive. He makes his carriage to be moved by Trebizon, Soria kings and spurs them. Turkish ruler of Balsera prefers death rather than surrender. Even at the end of the play, his mind is busy with son of Bajazeth but he is lack of strength to fight. In short, he takes his power from Turks also in that chapter”. (1990, pp. 80–81)

Echoes of the defeat of Ottoman emperor reach to King of Arabia and Soldan of Egypt and show its huge impact:

“Renowned Soldan, have you lately heard
The overthrow of mighty Bajazeth
About the confines of Bithynia?
The slavery wherewith he persecutes
The noble Turk and his great emperess?” (42)

Bajazeth's words meaning prophet Mohamed as his ancestor as Adivar says that “Marlowe does on purpose or not intentionally implies Mehmed the conqueror not the

prophet because he has a crucial role in mind of the West and England” (76), By Mahomet my kinsman’s sepulchre. And by the holy Alcoran I swear.” (31)

“Now, Casane, where's the Turkish Alcoran,
And all the heaps of superstitious books
Found in the temples of that Mahomet
Whom I have thought a god? They shall be burnt”. (110)

Even if Timur is fatal sick, he challenges and tries to kill Gods. For him mighty Tamburlaine cannot conquerable but at the end of the play he dies and defeated by the ultimate end. So, Marlowe may vividly imply that Turks are not invincible in example of two Turks; Timur and Bajazid:

“What daring god torments my body thus,
And seeks to conquer mighty Tamburlaine?
Shall sickness prove me now to be a man,
That have been term'd the terror of the world?
Techelles and the rest, come, take your swords,
And threaten him whose hand afflicts my soul:
Come, let us march against the powers of heaven,
And set black streamers in the firmament,
To signify the slaughter of the gods”. (114)

Fear of Ottoman Empire is clearly seen in the play. “Now shalt thou feel the force of Turkish arms, which lately made all Europe quake fear.” (33) While Bajazid describes his power, danger of their closing to Europe is seen there: “Thou knowst not, foolish-hardy Tamburlaine, what tis to meet me in the open field that leave no ground for thee to march upon.” (33) For Said the fear is one the fundamental concerns of Orientalism:

“Between the hard and soft schools, however, more or less diluted versions of the old Orientalism flourish—in the new academic jargons in some cases, in the old ones in others. But the principal dogmas of Orientalism exist in their purest form today in studies of the Arabs and Islam. Let us recapitulate them here: one is the absolute and systematic difference between the West, which is rational, developed, humane, superior, and the Orient, which is aberrant, undeveloped, inferior. Another dogma is that abstractions about the Orient, particularly those based on texts representing a "classical" Oriental civilization, are always preferable to direct evidence drawn from modern Oriental realities. A third dogma is that the Orient is eternal, uniform, and incapable of defining itself; therefore it is assumed that a highly generalized and systematic vocabulary for describing the Orient from a Western standpoint is

inevitable and even scientifically "objective." A fourth dogma is that the Orient is at bottom something either to be feared (the Yellow Peril, the Mongol hordes, the brown dominions) or to be controlled (by pacification, research and development, outright occupation whenever possible)".(E. W. Said, 2003, pp. 300–301)

Tamburlaine cages Bajazeth and his wife and starves them. This hunger is so intolerable that she suggest him to eat her. Tamburlaine uses Bajazeth as a footstool when he climbs high. But despite high tortures, they never give up their proud and challenges to him. In that, they even do not eat the things given to him and crushes them. At last, like a wild animal they suicide by striking their heads to the cage. All of such actions of them symbolize their persistence in proud because the defeat is the first of Empire history for the play.

Steps of English on way of becoming an empire and future India policy sounds in the play: "Then will we march to all those Indian mines, My witless brother to the Christians lost, And ransom them with fame and usury" (1950, p. 20) Not only future but also history is one of his concerns that despite of anachronism, Çalışkan says: "Marlowe originates his play from English history. It begins with Edward's ascend to throne in 1307 and narrates the action takes place until execution of Roger Mortimer in 1330. But, the playwright has the impression of yearlong event. Thus, chronology is wronged and distorted". (2206, p.15).

There are also messages to Spain and France which were arch rivals and enemies of England because of sect and policy:

"Nobly resolved, sweet friends and followers!
These lords perhaps do scorn our estimates,
And think we prattle with distempered spirits,
But since they measure our deserts so mean,
That in conceit bear empires on our spears,
Affecting thoughts co-equal with the clouds,
They shall be kept our forced followers,
Till with their eyes they view us emperors". (Marlowe, 1950, p. 8)

While the play is mounted by Tamburlaine, intentionally encoded messages direct us to another sovereign of another empire. As other plays concerning Turks and Orient as a

whole Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* naturally bears various questions that are harsh to be answered. Why a young man needs to get rid of panic of the public? While impression is managed by media in today's world, in Elizabethan world, as it is said before, it was duty of the theatre. His lifetime among 1564-1593 is the raising period of the Ottoman Empire and Sultan Murad was the emperor. But Ottomans were not issued by only Marlowe and his Bajazeth character. Ottoman reality and its echoes sounded in various forms and shapes by historical events. Killing of his son by Suleiman the Magnificent is one of them:

“The fact that this event (Mustapha's death) took place in 1553 and was, within less than a decade, performed on a Western stage indicates a European interest in the affairs of the Ottoman Court. This historical incident enjoyed a popularity that endured for three centuries. From the sixteenth to eighteenth century, the account of Mustapha's murder provided a sensational plot for English, French, Italian and German dramas”. (Belgasem & Essadek, 2013, p. 128).

Sultan Suleiman's final days were full of with game of thrones and like *Tamburlaine* he made his own son, Mustapha, killed in 1553. Then in 1561 his other son, Bajazid was sacrificed for the sake of the throne. Even if there is a red cross between reality and fiction, fiction cannot come into existence without reality. That is to say, all of these events of the time may have used as primary source for emulation of *Tamburlaine the Great*.

Even if centuries have passed, prejudices could not be eliminated especially in modern world. Popular images and social science representations of Orientalism:

“In the films and television the Arab is associated either with lechery or bloodthirsty dishonesty. He appears as an oversexed degenerate, capable, it is true, of cleverly devious intrigues, but essentially sadistic, treacherous, low. Slave trader, camel driver, moneychanger, colorful scoundrel: these are some traditional Arab roles in the cinema. The Arab leader (of marauders, pirates, "native" insurgents) can often be seen snarling at the captured Western hero and the blond girl (both of them steeped in wholesomeness), "My men are going to kill you, but—they like to amuse themselves before." He leers suggestively as he speaks: this is a current debasement of Valentino's Sheik. In newsreels or newsphotos, the Arab is always shown in large numbers. No individuality, no personal characteristics or experiences. Most of the pictures represent mass rage and misery, or irrational (hence hopelessly eccentric) gestures. Lurking behind all of these images is the menace of jihad. Consequence: a fear that the Muslims (or Arabs) will take over the world”.(E. W. Said, 2003, pp. 286–287)

But what remarkable is that however orientalist views of Marlowe may be tolerated because of hard conditions of time to communicate and to know the other, it is not easy to comprehend modern historians, artists, scientists who have still the same prejudices:

“As I suggest, European interest in Islam derived not from curiosity but from fear of a monotheistic, culturally and militarily formidable competitor to Christianity. The earliest European scholars of Islam, as numerous historians have shown, were medieval polemicists writing to ward off the threat of Muslim hordes and apostasy. In one way or another that combination of fear and hostility has persisted to the present day, both in scholarly and non-scholarly attention to an Islam which is viewed as belonging to a part of the world - the Orient – counterposed imaginatively, geographically, and historically against Europe and the West”.(E. W. Said, 2003, p. 344)

Tamburlaine the Great remains its popularity and still performed. At last, between 25 August and 12 September 2015, Lazarus Theatre Company and Tristan Bates Theatre staged the play. In 24 November 2005, it was reported that David Farr's production of *Tamburlaine the Great* had been censored to avoid upsetting Muslims. The director and adaptor of the play responds: “It is complete nonsense to suggest, as the Times did yesterday, that my decision to alter the burning-of-the-books scene in *Tamburlaine* was based on a desire to appease Islamic opinion. As I made clear, my decision to adapt the text was purely artistic.”(2005) But what made that interview interesting is that his critics on the play:

“But Marlowe also knew how to sell a play. Anti-Turkish feeling was running high in 1587 (think of the Turk's Head pubs still dotted around today). The Ottoman Empire was a threat to the great western hegemony - the unknown dark enemy threatening all that was great about Europe. The 23-year-old boy-wonder Marlowe tapped brilliantly into a well of anti-Turk feeling to make his first *Tamburlaine* (now known as part one) a huge hit, with the lead character as a kind of surrogate Christian avenger tearing the heart out of the dark Ottoman soul”. (2005)

Moreover, Handel composed a opera seria called *Tamerlano* in 1724 and Vivaldi built an opera called *Bajazet* in 1735. There have been also lots of literary books concerning Marlowe. In 1993, for the fourhundredth anniversary of Marlowe's death Anthony Burgess's *A Dead Man in Deptford*, Judith Cook's *The Slicing Edge of Death*, Stephanie Cowell's *Nicholas Cooke: Actor, Soldier, Physician, Priest*, and Lisa Goldstein's *Strange*

Devices of the Sun and Moon were published and between 2002 and in 2005 Marlowe became a major character in Harry Turtledove's *Ruled Britannia*, Martin Stephen's *The Conscience of the King: Henry Gresham and the Shakespeare Conspiracy*, Leslie Silbert's *The Intelligencer*, Louise Welsh's *Tamburlaine must Die*, and Rodney Bolt's *History Play: The Lives and Afterlife of Christopher Marlowe*.

At last, Christopher Marlowe wrote *Tamburlaine the Great* in light of early Anglo-Ottoman relations with his orientalist perspective at a time when England was under Spanish threat and tried to find an ally against them whose power was fearsome enough to worry Spanish. Even if, Spain had been defeated without help of Ottoman, Marlowe wrote the play after the war. Beyond his claims of invincibility of Turks, he most probably meant that Turks are not an infinitely trustworthy and powerful ally against Spain because of their weak Interregnum period because of the defeat by Timur. The first diplomatic relation was found in their ruling times of Sultan Murad III and Queen Elizabeth which caused also fear and anxiety for society of England. In this respect, because the fear of Turks which had appeared since conquest of Istanbul increased after rising period of the Empire with Sultan Suleiman, this fear was tried to be eliminated by theatre plays and with help of hidden codes. While impression management is handled by media at the present time, theatre was the most crucial communication tool in Elizabethan Era. Christopher Marlowe is charged with such a politic duty which transforms an imperial one at future in example of Joseph Conrad and Daniel Defoe. His young age and conditions of the period when *Tamburlaine the Great* is written, his resources and reasons have become the primary source behind this study. Not only encoded messages are indirectly send to Ottoman Empire by "refraction of history" through Tamerlane, but also with scenes depicting defeat of Bajazeth against Tamerlane it is symbolized on the stage that the fears are in vain because the empire is not invincible however Önalp cites from Duro that Jurien de la Graviere says that "it was so hard to defeat Turks in 16th century like defeating English in Abukir and Trafalgar". (2001, 194) For this reason, as saying the new born relation should not be feared because it is done only for precaution against Spain, not for a surrender to the non-invincible Ottomans; Marlowe finishes his secret homework from the Council with his *Tamburlaine the Great*.

5 APPENDIX

Figure 3: Map of Ortelius



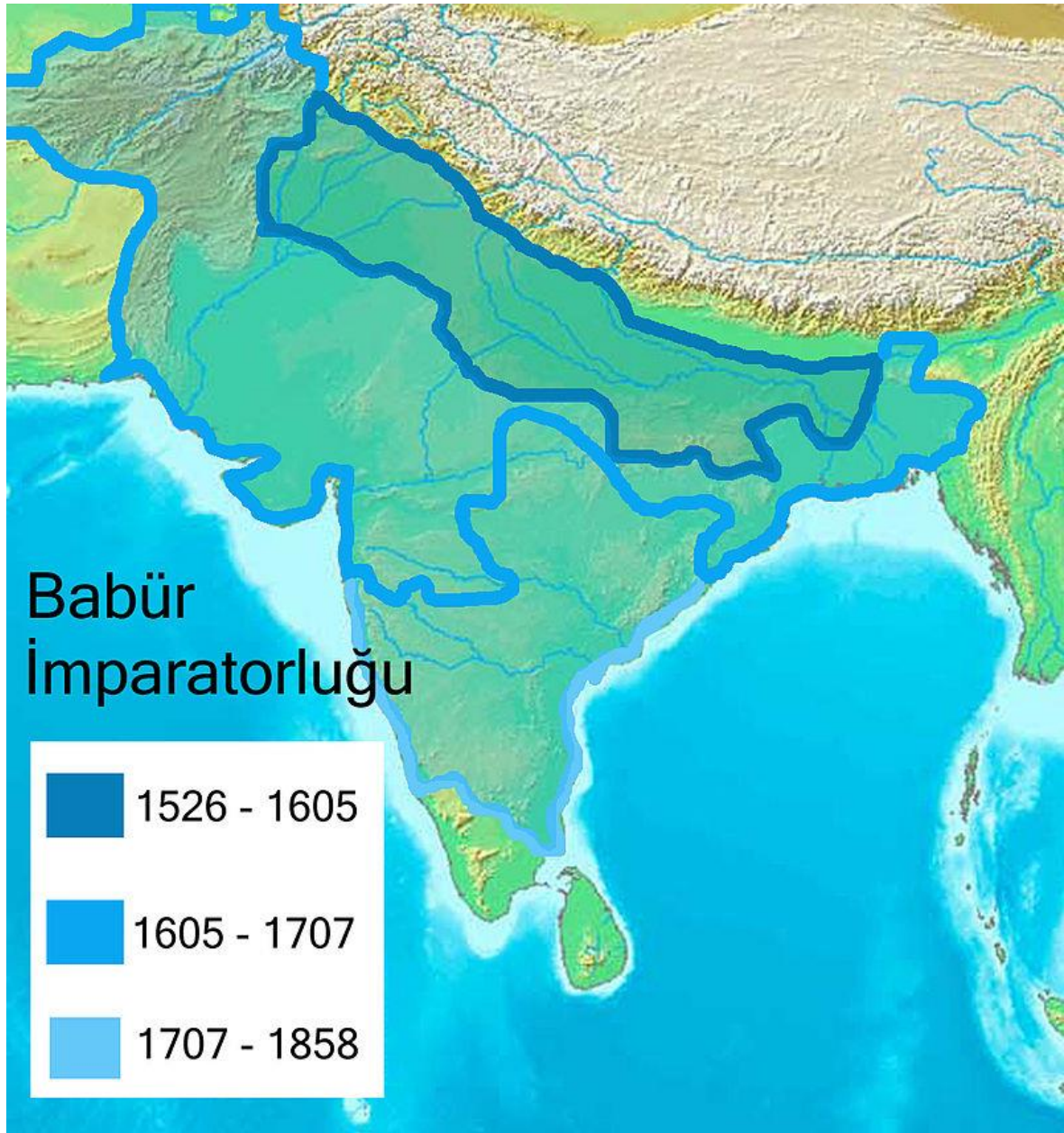
1570 Ortelius Map of the World: Asia, Europe, Africa (“1570 Ortelius Map of the World (first edition),” 2015)

Figure 4: Mongol and Timur Dominions



(“Asia,” 2015)

Figure 5: India and Babur Empire



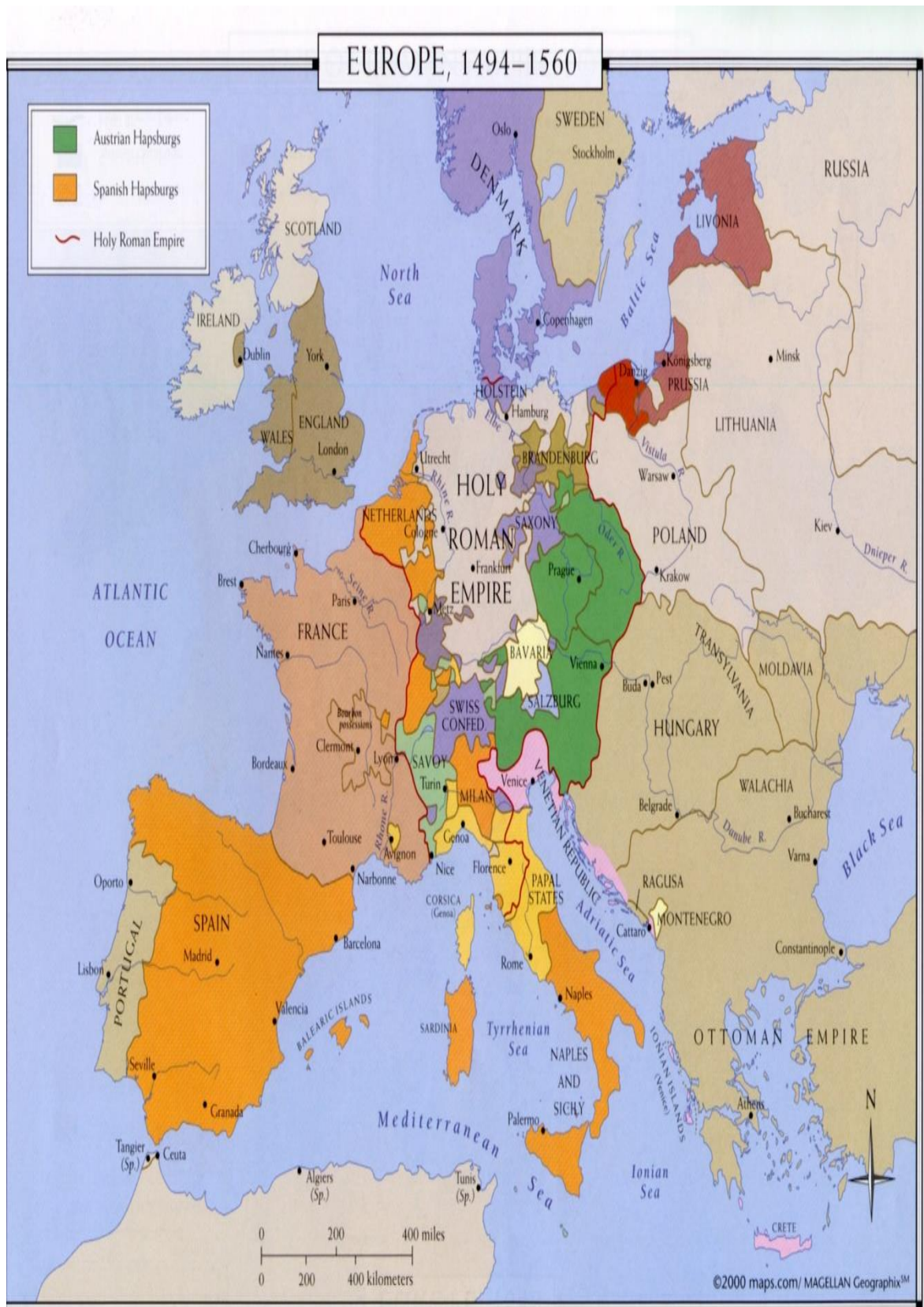
(“Babür İmparatorluğu,” 2015)

Figure 6: Religions in Europe, 1560

(“Mr. Yankey’s World History Class,” 2015)



Figure 7: Europe, 1494-1560



(“Letters to News Papers,” 2015)

Figure 8: World Map of 1400s



(“Euratlas Periodis Web - Map of Europe in Year 1400,” 2015)

6 MATERIAL AND METHOD

In our country, Anglo-Ottoman relations were firstly studied by historian Akdes Nimet Kurat in 1953. Numerous writers and academicians showed interest in this course after him. In 1964, Berna Moran wrote “Türklerle İlgili İngilizce Yayınlar Bibliyografyası”, Ali Kemal Meram’s “Belgelerle Türk-İngiliz İlişkileri” was published in 1969 and Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu penned “Osmanlı-İngiliz İktisadi Münasebetleri I-II” in 1974 and 1976 respectively. The last work in this field was printed for a symposium organized by University of Hacettepe to celebrate four hundredth anniversary of Anglo-Ottoman relations in 1983. For thirty three years, there has not been any hint of investigating such an issue as a whole. Even if, the period of Elizabethan Era is tried to be handled specifically in the thesis, origin of the relationship between two super powers of the time seems crucial to be probed with an aim at a better comprehension of literary works concerning Turks. For doing this, Orientalism is tried to be given as a reference in light of critical reading of Renaissance period.

7 SUGGESTIONS

Although orientalism is a popular field for a long time, attempts to recognize ‘the other’ have not been satisfactory enough in oriented countries. However, an avenger oxidental style is not the right direction to chase pavements, learning what orientalists gained in East, when, how, where and why they were in such a duty, trying to know the West in brief can improve representation ability of the oriented countries principally in academic field. For all these reasons, a theatre play called *Tamburlaine the Great* is preferred to examine orientalist elements in the framework of Anglo-Ottoman relations.

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