# Unresolved Subjects: The Renegade Pirate, Apostasy, and Sovereign Power in Early Modern "Turk Plays"

by

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## Abstract

Unresolved Subjects:
The Renegade Pirate, Apostasy, and Sovereign Power in Early Modern "Turk Plays".

*Unresolved Subjects* asks in what ways do the renegade pirate's encounters with the non-Christian worlds in which the plays place him contradict, challenge, or rethink the notion of Christian subjectivity that is produced by sovereign power. What are the stakes for the sovereign when the renegade pirate, as a sovereign subject, separates himself from the monarchic state? The renegade by rebelling against sovereign power in both its forms—the theocratic and the monarchic— engages with the duality that is entailed by the power of the sovereign. My study seeks to show how the challenges to sovereign subjection that the pirate's rebellion brings about reveals the ways in which religious judgment masks, or regulates the political subjectivity of the renegade pirate. I identify the indictment of the renegade pirate as one that needs to be understood through the theory of political theology because the problem of the renegade is located in the intersection between religion and politics. I argue that the renegade pirate as a concept can be interpreted only in its imbricated form. The works that form the bases of this study are three early modern "Turk plays" set in the Ottoman Mediterranean, namely, Miguel de Cervantes' *Los baños de Argel* (1582), Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1612), and Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* (1623). I draw on the theories of sovereignty by Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben to critique the plays' representations of the renegade problem. I link their theorizations of the 'state of exception' with the 'space of the renegade,' which I see as an area in which system(s) of law that are contradictory to sovereign rule, such as Algerian laws, Tunisian laws, and the Ottoman rule of the Islamic world, come to be staged. In these "Turk plays," the pirates are characterized in foreign climes and contradictory situations. The plays figure an imaginative construction of the conditions and possibilities of the 'state of exception' in the 'lawless' realm of the pirate. We find that the qualities and potentials that can be imputed to the 'state of exception' are given free rein in the characterization of the renegade pirate.

# Introduction

## The renegade pirate in early modern drama

> On the other hand, one can deconstruct and combat the sovereignty of the nation-state, the figure of the sovereign in general, even while recognizing that all the fundamental axiomatics of responsibility or decision (ethical, juridical, political) are grounded on the sovereignty of the subject, that is, the intentional auto-determination of the conscious self (which is free, autonomous, active, etc.). One cannot therefore, in a responsible manner, threaten the whole logic of the principle of sovereignty without compromising, by the same token, what are today the most stable foundations of morality, law, and politics, and the only requirements said to be universalizable. In particular, of human rights.
>
> Jacques Derrida, "Provocation: Forewords" to *Without Alibi* (xix).

In this study, I focus on early modern drama's representations of the 'renegade pirate' to examine the relationships between the exercise of sovereign power and the 'rights' of the renegade pirate as a dissenting subject. During the early modern period, we see the beginnings of the collapse of the concept of sovereign power in both its human and divine forms. It is fitting to locate the problem of the renegade pirate in relation to this crucial historical phenomenon because the renegade by rebelling against sovereign power in both its forms—the theocratic and the monarchic— engages with the duality that is entailed by sovereign power. Sovereign power has a dual conceptualization because it represents both the power of God's as well as the king's sovereignty. The figure of the renegade pirate by engaging with both these dimensions becomes an apt site for tracing the challenges to sovereignty. *Unresolved Subjects* is interested not so much in addressing the dissolution of the monarch's sovereignty during the early modern period,

as it is in studying the impact of this breakdown on the subject of sovereign power.[1] Through the figure of the renegade it seeks to look at the ways in which Europe's encounters with other lands contradict, challenge, or rethink the notion of Christian subjectivity that is produced by sovereign power. It asks: What are the stakes for sovereign power when the renegade pirate, as a subject of sovereign power, separates himself from the monarchic state?

The works that form the bases of this study are three early modern "Turk plays" set in the Ottoman Mediterranean,[2] namely, Miguel Cervantes' *Los baños de Argel* (1582),[3] Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1612), and Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* (1623). In my

[1] For trajectories of key contemporary theoretical arguments starting with Jean Bodin's definition of sovereignty in *The Six Books of a Commonweal* (1565), and Niccolò Machiavelli's and Thomas Hobbes works on sovereign power see Carl Schmitt (*Political Theology: Four Chapters in the Concept of Sovereignty*, 1985 and *The Concept of the Political*, 1996.), Jean Luc Nancy (*The Experience of Freedom*, 1986 and *The Inoperative Community*, 1988), Jacques Derrida (*Without Alibi*, 2002), and Giorgio Agamben (*Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life,* 1995 and *The State of Exception,* 2003).

[2] This geographical reference signals the vastness of the reach of the Ottoman Empire, which is a fundamental factor for the negative portrayals of its subjects and of Islam in these plays. In the early modern period, the 'Ottoman Mediterranean' was comprised of the eastern half of the Mediterranean basin and is identified by its formal acknowledgement of the authority of the sultan in Istanbul. But by 1574, this authority expanded to include the mainland coasts from Venice's Adriatic frontier to the borders of Morocco formally, as did all the major islands east of Sicily except Crete. For an in-depth discussion of the territories of the Ottoman Empire and their histories, see Joshua M. White, *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Mediterranean*.

[3] Strictly speaking, *Los baños de Argel* is not categorized as a "Turk play" by critics, and this appellation might even seem anachronistic. However, I have included it in my study because the play shares many thematic concerns with "Turk plays", including the apostasy and conversion to Islam of the renegade pirate, the abduction and captivity of Christians by renegade pirates and their subsequent enslavement in Islamic lands, the threat of "turning Turk" faced by Christians, the appropriation of wealth from these lands by Christians, and the conversion of Muslim women to Christians. I also include it in my study for its incisive figuration of the renegade pirate.

study of these plays, I do not take up the issue of early modern pirates at large, but rather, I address specifically the pirate who is also a renegade. In the early modern period, a renegade pirate was distinguished from pirates in general by the fact that in tandem with becoming a pirate he also gave up his Christian religion and converted to Islam. While a focus on the difficulties in the plays' determining and representing the renegade's subjectivity forms an indispensable part of my analyses, it does not extend to the broader field of interpreting early modern subjectivity. Excellent studies have already been done on this.[4] Rather, my inquiry seeks to show how the challenges to sovereign subjection that the renegade pirate's rebellion brings about reveals the ways in which religious subjectivity can mask, or regulate the political subjectivity as well as rights of the Christian subject.

***Reneague thou and forsake Christ?***

Dramas about renegade pirates represent their punishment mainly through a religious judgment. It is possible that these plays imagine a divine intervention as bringing about the just dues for the renegade pirate because a number of these pirates escaped justice and (as history testifies), even re-entered society quite easily., But the other, more significant, reason can be gleaned through the description of the pirate as a *renegade*. The term 'renegade,' which gives the pirate motif its definitive character in these "Turk plays," was associated with highly religious

[4] See for example, Adrian Streete's *Protestantism and Drama in Early Modern England,* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). The range in studies on early modern subjectivity is dazzling. From the perspective that shows the difficulty in articulating the early modern subject to one which shows the disappearance of the subject defined by a Calvinist Protestantism criticism has covered a vast array of research on this subject.

connotations in the early modern period because of the foundational role that religion played in the formulation and functioning of monarchy. Due to the symbiotic relation that religious rule held with the monarch's rule during this period the renegade was seen as one who acted against both religious authority and its earthly representative—the monarch. In his work *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611), John Florio, famed for his translation of Italian works to English and for being an important source for Shakespeare's plays, defines the renegade as "a foresworne man, or one that hath renounced his religion or country."[5] However, even though the renegade was considered a transgressor against both the state and the church, the judgment of renegade defection during the early modern period founds the term's etymology mainly in religion.

The word renegade refers to one who abandons an allegiance, such as to a religion, to a group, etc., but in the early modern period this term was associated more with religious belief than with the general understanding of the word. The Latin etymology of the verb *renegare* dates back to post-classical times and is defined as: "to deny, to reject, or to renounce"—words that have been strongly associated with religious belief during both medieval and early modern times. In 1548, we find Erasmus' paraphrase of *renege* from the *New Testament Book of Luke* when he uses the term thus, "Reneague thou and forsake Christ."[6] At a symbolic level, the verb "to deny" also brought to mind for the Christian the Biblical account of Peter's denial of Christ: "Whyle

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[5] John Florio. *Queen Anna's new world of words, or dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues*, new edition, 1611 (1 vol.). (London: Printed by Melch, Bradwood [and William Stansby], for Edw. Blount and William Barret) STC 11099.

[6] Desiderius Erasmus et al. *The First Tome Or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus Vpon the Newe Testamente*. Enpriented at London: in Fletestrete at the signe of the sunne by Edwarde Whitchurche, 1548.

Petur reneagueth, while he sweareth naie … the cocke crewe the secounde tyme."[7] And we come across the phrase "To blaspheme, and reneage, or denie God" in the 1629 *Speculum Iesuiticum*.[8] A few decades later, we see its use in reference to Protestantism by J. Trapp when he says in his 1658 exegetical commentary on the *Book of Job*, "[t]hose of this reformed Religion, who will not reneague it."[9] The reneging from God, also known as renunciation, was strongly associated with atheism as we see figured, for example, in Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* when Faustus renounces God and barters away his soul to the devil. These religious contexts of the early modern use of the word "renegade" imbue the political dimension of the term renegade with its religious genealogy, and this now becomes fraught with religious meaning. The renegade's offense is thus considered more a sin against religion than a crime against the state.

**Piracy in the early modern period**

These plays about renegade pirates and "turning Turk", written during the heyday of early modern piracy, engage with and respond to a complex history of wars, conquests, and trade

[7] Desiderius Erasmus et al. *The First Tome Or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus Vpon the Newe Testamente*.

[8] Definitions, examples, and etymological references for *reneger* (Latin *renegare*) and renegade are taken from the OED. See: https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/view/Entry/274702?redirectedFrom=reneger#eid; https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/search?searchType=dictionary&q=renegade&_searchBtn=Search

[9] Ibid.

that took place between Christian and Ottoman states.[10] The settings of these plays in Islamic lands such as Algiers and Tunis dramatize the threat to the solidarity and vigor of Christian faith and portray the captivity of Christians and the coercion of their conversion to Islam.[11] The Ottoman Mediterranean was a united legal space and dramatizing a Christian judgment of renegade pirates in these Islamic regions that were governed by the Ottomans allowed western playwrights to create fictions about Christian rule holding authority in Ottoman-ruled lands.[12] In these plays, Christians are either forced to convert to Islam, or do so in order to gain a better life for themselves and to escape suffering enslavement. In Miguel de Cervantes' *Los baños de Argel*, for example, a piratical attack on coastal Spain by Barbary pirates shows the Christians being captured and forcefully brought to Algiers through abduction. We get a critical glimpse of the ransom system when *Los baños* shows, on the one hand, the captive Lope an aristocratic Spaniard, (who is the hero of the play), waiting for a ransom to come through, and on the other

[10] Some important studies include Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean in the Time of Philip II*, 1996 and Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton's *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West*, 2005.

[11] The study of Spain's expulsion of the Moriscos and its historical and literary dimensions are brought together in a notable collection of translated essays by a wide range of critics in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: a Mediterranean Diaspora.* (Garcia-Arenal, Mercedes and Gerard Wiegers, Eds. Consuela López-Morillas and Martin Beagles, Trans. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014). Some related works of critical interest on the Moriscos are Vincent Barletta's *Covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain.* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Bristol, University of Minnesota Press, 2005), and Kevin Ingram's *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain*. (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave-Macmillan), 2018.

[12] The setting of the contexts of the problem of apostasy and showing a resolution of the same in the Ottoman Mediterranean suggest that these plays respond to the threat felt by Christendom against the vast jurisdiction that the Ottoman Empire held.

hand, the tragic situation of the Spaniard renegade Hazén who was captured at a very young age, and due to lack of family means has no one to ransom him. It also shows the system by which Christian captives are sold to wealthy people to serve as servants in the households of affluent Algerians. But during this period both Christians and Turks pillaged wealth from passing ships and carried thousands into captivity. This is a significant cause for "the establishment of a thriving, trans-Mediterranean ransoming industry," which in turn was supported by a wide range of lenders, brokers, and investors in these captives.[13] Ottoman regencies such as Algiers and Tunis, and Christian bases such as Malta and Livorno had well-established social structures of workers who were set to clothe, feed, and house slaves held for ransom.

Understanding the early modern contexts of piracy and slavery significantly enriches the interpretation of renegade dramas such as *Los baños, A Christian Turned Turk, The Renegado,* et al. Barbary corsairs and renegade pirates looted the cargo of ships they captured, as well the people they captured or abducted from various Mediterranean and European ships, and European and English coasts and vulnerable towns. These abducted victims were sold in slave markets or kept captive for collecting ransoms in exchange for freeing them. Slaves were put to work in quarries, building sites and galleys, and endured malnutrition from poor sustenance, diseases, and ill-treatment.[14] They were also used for building harbours and cutting trees, and for various

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[13] White, 7.

[14] The Atlantic slave trade also began during this period developed alongside the slave trade that was operated by renegade pirates. Both agents of slavery practiced the trade of humans to be utilized for labor and physical use. We cannot downplay the atrocity of either kind of enslavement—both kinds of slaves endured harsh and inhuman treatment, and mental and physical suffering. I do not have the scope to elaborate on the distinctions between the two kinds of slaveries in my study. However, I would like to note that the former has a highly racial element to it whereby the Africans who were enslaved were seen in a racially denigratory way

types of servitude. Those captives who had sufficient affluence and the possibility to fetch a ransom were held captive in conditions that kept them in much better health than those who were kept as slaves. But both captives and slaves suffered terrible life-conditions. They were housed in overcrowded prisons or baños as described by Cervantes and Antonio de Sosa, both of whom had first-hand experience of captivity at the hands of the Barbary pirates of Algiers. Since Islam forbade the enslavement of people, pirates and corsairs were not able to sell Muslim captives in Islamic lands, but this did not stop them from capturing Muslims to sell in non-Muslim lands. Captives in Islamic lands who converted to Islam were generally freed since enslavement of Muslims was prohibited. However, conversion to Islam meant that these Christians could not return to their native lands.[15]

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for their cultures, physical appearances, and skin colors. Renegade pirates' abductions and trafficking of human beings also had a racial component in that racial markers defined the abduction of Caucasian and white-skinned people who were sold in Islamic lands. However, here their race, especially with reference to their white skins, was considered a prized or admirable feature. They were sold to Turkish and African owners who saw such racial features as traits they would like to integrate within their own bloodlines. Such slavery held the possibility for social integration, although integration into Islamic society was practiced along strictly religious rules. For example, inter-marriages between Muslims and Christians had specific stipulations. A Muslim man who married a Christian slave/woman did not require her conversion to Islam. However, when a Muslim woman married a Christian slave/man he was legally required to convert to Islam, and to integrate pacifically into Islamic society. We see this accurately depicted in Philip Massinger's *The Renegado*. Vitelli, a Venetian Christian is imprisoned by the Tunisian Viceroy, Asambeg, for his offense of having a sexual relationship with Donusa, the niece of the Ottoman sultan. He is not a slave, but his life is in the control of the Tunisian Turkish rulers as would be a slave's life. Vitelli is sentenced to death, but he is offered a reprieve of his sentence if Donusa is willing to marry him and he in turn marries her and integrates into Tunisian society.

[15] For a critical account of the enslavement of white Europeans by renegade pirates see Robert Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500–1800*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. See also his article "Counting European Slaves on the Barbary Coast" in *Past and Present*, 172 (2001): 87–124.

In his study of piracy in the Mediterranean, Joshua White discusses the nature of early modern slavery and the purpose for it by noting that enslaving people was a common practice in the early modern Mediterranean. Such slavery was a means for states on all sides of the sea to get servile labour—Christians and Muslims targeted each other in such piratical ventures. But notably, however, in the eastern half of the Mediterranean the line between legal and illegal raiding was not religious.[16] White's study shows that Muslim pirates, such as the Sultan's corsairs, did not target their victims because they were Christians, and Christian pirates, such as the knights of Malta, did not abduct their victims because they were Muslims. Recognizing these bases of early modern renegade piracy leads us to understand that we cannot completely buy into the ideology of Christian victimization that is promoted in many early modern works. In *Los baños,* for example, the opening scene of the piratical raid of a coastal town in Spain shows 'Turks' raiding a Christian land, but this does not imply that 'Turks' carried out piratical activity on Christian lands based on religious reasons. Rather, this opening can be seen as identifying that the story is told from the Christians' perspective and is a means for representing their side of the story.

During the early modern period, piracy was not defined as a crime because the boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate violence at sea were permeable. Literary critics, such as Claire Jowitt, Lois Potter, Janice Thomson, Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems have pointed out that piracy itself is hard to define because of what constituted maritime crime.[17]

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[16] White 37.

[17] Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy, 1580–1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2010), Lois Potter, 'Pirates and "Turning Turk" in Renaissance

The margins between licit and illicit maritime activity were fluid, and in fact, they were often breached because piracy at sea as a state-sanctioned activity had been permissible since the twelfth century.[18] However, more often than not literary criticism has seen piratical activity in the high seas in terms of distinct classes of people, or operators. Such an interpretation leads to understanding the formation of pirates in terms of a moral psychology, as for example, seeing poverty and joblessness as preceding and giving rise to pirates. While this is the case at times, it is equally true that wealthy subjects and ambitious aristocrats were also practitioners of piracy. This shows that the problem of pirates and piracy cannot be straightforwardly categorized in terms of economic or social factors. The problem of piracy was more complex, and posed critical religious, cultural, political, and economical challenges to the European states at various levels. This complexity can be seen through studies that show that "pirates and corsairs were the same people, not just at different points in their career … but often [even] on the very same cruise".[19]

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Drama' in Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems (eds.) *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 124–40; and Janice Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Press), 1994.

[18] As Janice Thomson and Claire Jowitt point out that although the Statute of 1536 regulated piracy as a criminal offence, the criminalization of piracy developed further only with the emergence of international law in the eighteenth century. It was then that the pirate became an enemy of all nations, "a *hostis humani generis* subject to universal jurisdiction" (Christopher Harding, '"Hostis Humani Generis": The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea', in Claire Jowitt (ed.), *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder 1550–1650*. (Basingstoke, 2006), 20–38.

[19] White, 34; Pirates and piracy possessed a fluctuating identity registered in Cervantes's play but not in Daborne's and Massinger's. White's study helps us to understand this. He explains the flux in shifting identities in the early modern piracy by noting that, "Catholic corsairs—including the Knights of Saint John of Malta and their compatriots, the Tuscan Knights of Saint Stephen—wreaked havoc on the vital sea lanes connecting Istanbul and the Aegean ports to Egypt and ravaged the Levantine coastline" (White 7).

The shocking fact was that identifying pirates on any basis, social, economic, or otherwise was quite impossible because "[e]rstwhile full-time pirates might obtain formal commissions and privateers might indiscriminately raid the subjects of their own sovereign."[20]

Private individuals who held an authorized commission from the government were allowed to own and operate armed vessels against a hostile nation, and especially for use in the capture of merchant shipping. This practice had been long established by the 'letters of marque' issued by governments and the aristocracy (ruling classes) of western states.[21] The term 'privateering,' which describes such officially approved piracy, was in fact a later development.[22] The Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius writes in 1605 that "to individuals who despoil others through privately exercised force and without urgent reasons to do so … we give the name 'pirates' when their activities take place upon the sea."[23] Grotius's use of the phrase "privately exercised force" refers to this early modern distinction between official state-sanctioned piracy and the illegitimate piracy by free agents and renegados. However, who exactly fit into the category of "privately exercised force" is not easily distinguished because the boundaries between pirate and privateer were fluid and shifting. Piracy was a means by which western states

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[20] White, 59.

[21] Janice Thomson, *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Press), 1994.

[22] The term 'privateer,' a colloquialism for 'private man of war,' first emerged around the mid-seventeenth century (1641). Both the armed vessel and its leader and members of its crew were referred to by the term 'privateer.' (https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/view/Entry/151605?isAdvanced=false&result=1&rskey=gJtGxa& ).

[23] Hugo Grotius, *De jure praedae commentaries: Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty,* 1605. Ed. Martine Julia van Ittersum (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2006), 447.

competed and fought for power and religious authority. White's study of Ottoman law in the early modern period shows unambiguous pirates are difficult to identify in the sources.[24]

Each of the plays in my study deals with the rampant rise of the problem of piracy,[25] and represents renegade pirates as a threat to the very bases of the religious and social structure of Christian lands. In all three plays, the loss of Christian religion and the conversion to Islam become central and pivotal elements of the plot. However, the critique of renegadism in these "Turk plays" [26] is not limited to addressing the problem of renegade piracy and showing how the

[24] The frequent domestic and interstate legal disputes over ships, cargo, and captives that this caused left a plethora of paperwork in the forms of letters, petitions, court documents, legal opinions, ambassadorial reports, travel accounts, captivity narratives, and vast numbers of decrees. These have given historians and critics rich material that attests to the impact of piracy on lives and livelihoods throughout the Ottoman Mediterranean world. For a critical discussion of this history see White, *Piracy and Law*.

[25] Historians see the Ottoman-Venetian war for Cyprus in 1573 as marking the beginnings of the plague of piracy, which spread and flourished all around the eastern Mediterranean. Studies show that the activities of pirates and corsairs went unchecked, and privateers bearing the license of a sovereign and using the excuse of religious enmity routinely raided both Ottoman and European lands.

[26] First used by Daniel Vitkus, this term has proved a provocative and critical one. The "Turk plays" brought Turkish villains center stage, representing Islamic religion and culture in their representations of Moorish, or Turkish characters. These dramas about Islamic power were staged at a time when the Turkish empire was expanding rapidly. The Ottomans posed a sustained threat to Christian rule in Europe for nearly four centuries, starting with the 15th Century. Vitkus in his "Introduction" to *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* discusses its contextual meanings by noting that for Londoners, the dramas about Turks were not just a fantastical presentation of tyrannical and frightening figures. Despite their complicated and overdetermined plots and meanings, they can be seen as reflections of the anxious interest in Islamic power that people of Britain felt (Vitkus, "Introduction", p. 1-53). Such exaggeration produced dramatic and spellbinding effects that made the ultimate triumph of Christians appear all the more convincing. As Vitkus notes, in these plays more often than not Turkish cruelty and violence were threatened and then displaced. He gives a succinct list of prominent "Turk plays". The best-known examples in Elizabethan and Early Stuart theater are Marlowe's *Tamburlaine, Parts I & II* (1587-88) and his *Jew of Malta* (1589), and Shakespeare's

renegade comes to be punished, or to the interrogation of the renegade's disruption to Christian religious stability. It is true that religion serves as a touchstone to give form to the pirate's crime in these plays. But in their treatment of the renegade pirate, the plays move away from doctrinal and dogmatic concerns and reveal the provocative aspects of the renegade pirate's existence. While the plays' narratives seek to examine if the renegade pirate should face a religious judgment and be damned or redeemed, their reach extends far beyond it. The plays conceive the renegade pirate as both motif and character and represent the renegade as a figure of both controversy and fascination. The renegade comes to represent many taboo and forbidden experiences in Christianity and beckons his early modern audience to imagine the taste of such trespasses and transgressions. In these plays, on the one hand piracy holds the nature of a controversial and criminal act even if the law has not been able to demarcate it clearly as such. On the other hand, it appeals to the desire for violence and sexual freedom that has been linked with the development of a western masculine ethos and identity since classical times. The plays reflect the truism that piracy could not be easily or simply categorized as a religious threat, a social evil, a political degeneration of the state, etc. because these levels intersect and complicate a unitary analysis.[27]

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*Othello* (1604). Other notable examples of plays that dramatize Islamic might, murderousness, and wealth are George Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* (1588) and *Soliman and Perseda* (1590), Robert Greene's *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks* (1592), Thomas Dekker's *Lust's Dominion* (1600), Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the West, Part I* (1602), Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* (1610) Thomas Goffe's *The Courageous Turk* (1618) and *The Raging Turk* (1618), John Fletcher and Philip Massinger's *The Knight of Malta* (1618), Thomas Middleton and William Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust* (1620), and Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* (1623).

[27] Piracy has been studied from a number of perspectives to show its impact on western nations: It has been seen as branching into global trade, as improving the economies of states in

**The representation of the problem of the renegade pirate**

The literary representations of the renegade pirate respond to contemporary historical and political events such as the schisms within the Christian church, the large numbers of Christians converting to Islam, and the rising power of the Ottoman Empire. The plays show the complexity of these events in relation to the problem of renegade piracy. Western states lost Christian subjects to Ottoman states through renegade piracy. This proved more insidious than a charge of atheism or heresy brought about by the renegade's apostasy. For example, renegades were depleting the western states' military strengths and resources by giving them to the enemy. Technical know-how about weapons of war and shipbuilding were being passed on to the Ottomans by pirates. In his discussion of the role of renegade piracy's strengthening the military skills of the Turks, Vitkus states that above all nations the English renegades were the most cherished and supported by the Turkish janissaries.[28] He notes that the English, French, and Dutch renegades reciprocated the favourable treatment by the Turks by helping teach Moors and Turks about the latest nautical and military technologies. Turkish shipbuilders gained important knowledge from these renegades on how to construct and operate the new galliots that were

unimagined and controversial ways, as espionage that bolsters state security, as a recourse that was taken by those who fall out of the labor force in the flux of political changes and rise in unemployment in nations such as England, and finally even as a (reviled) means of the improvement of the impoverished poor of Europe.

[28] Vitkus, *Turning Turk,* 153. Here Vitkus is citing the Frenchman Le Sieur de Breves, a Frenchman who visited Tunis in 1606, and his critical discussion here draws on de Breves as well.

faster and more manoeuvrable.[29] Renegades who lived among the Muslims in the Barbary States also shared information about the manufacture of guns and cannons that were used on ships and on the battlefield. Vitkus cites the words of Captain John Smith, an Elizabethan Captain, to note that, "in the last chapter of his *Travels*, [Smith] describes how 'the Moors knew scarce how to sail a ship … those [renegades] were the first that taught the Moors to be men of war,' and explains how sea- men who had served lawfully against Spain turned renegade after James made peace."[30]

Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* depicts this history, for example, in its narrative of the renegade John Ward's life. Ward falls foul of the government of Tunis and is unable to appeal the charges against him. When sentenced to death he is filled with resentment towards the Tunisians and gives vent to an angry tirade against them. Ward's bitter condemnation of the Turks in Tunis in the closing scene of the play and just before he kills himself, reveals the role he has played while working as a corsair for the Turks in Tunis:

WARD:

… He that hath shown you
The way to conquer Europe—did first impart
What your forefathers knew not, the seaman's art.
Which had they attained, this universe had been
One monarchy. … (16.300-304)

[29] Vitkus, *Turning Turk,* 153.

[30] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 154.

In this grandiose claim, the "he" that Ward refers to is himself, but in the larger contexts of the threat of Islamic invasion of Britain the play suggestively extends the meaning of the "he" to refer to each and every English pirate who "turns Turk" and joins the Ottoman corsairs. Here Ward reference to "the seaman's art" therefore does not imply a general sense of the word. Rather, Ward is referring to the Europeans' engineering and nautical skills and knowledge that were useful for strengthening naval power to be employed in war. Both Christian and Muslim states had well-established naval armies. But, as Vitkus's study shows, the specific technical skill of building warships belonged to British and European sailors.

What is portrayed in this scene is a dominantly political issue. It has little if nothing to do with either Christianity, or Islam. Barbara Fuchs, in critiquing this scene writes that Ward's declaration placed at the very end of the play is a strategic evasion of the play acknowledging the pirate's economic betrayal of Europe by withholding this information until the very end of the play.[31] In contrast, we see that the play is more forthcoming about presenting Ward's descent to what the Prologue calls "the heart itself of villainy" (Prologue 14), i.e., Ward's "turning Turk". It thus diminishes the role of the European pirates as "double agents." As Fuchs' puts it "the troubling technological exchanges that the renegado effects" is displaced by "the narrative's moral and ideological thrust".[32] In Fuchs' reading, Ward's death, brought about by his trial under Tunisian laws is the English fantasy of punishing the renegade's betrayal of England. By showing him die the play enacts a kind of textual retribution for the pirate's cultural duplicity

[31] Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire, The New World, Islam, and European Identities*, 124.

[32] Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire,* 124.

that suggests that "he cannot be allowed to survive his betrayal."[33] Espionage was also facilitated through the enterprise and industriousness of renegades. All of these led to weakening the political and economic structure of western states and threatened to curtail their ambitions for empire.

Renegade pirates came to pose a threat to the class-based systems of government followed by western states. In the scene on the high seas, where Ward is confronted by a rival pirate Francisco, this issue is comically represented by the way in which Francisco jeers at Ward's lower-class background. As the two renegades fight over the spoils of the plunder at sea, Francisco addresses Ward by saying:

FRANCISCO:

A little calmer, sir! You are not in Kent,

Crying, "Herrings, seven a penny!" Nay, we have heard of you:

You can bawl well; you have served apprenticeship

Unto the trade, affrighting of whole streets

With your full oyster voice. (4.97-101)

And then Francisco goes on to denigrate Ward for his lowly fisherman background associating him with the foul and stinking habits imputed to such a class by English society:

FRANCISCO:

Poor fisher's brat, that never didst aspire

Above a mussel boat; that were not born

[33] Barbara Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire,* 125.

Unto a fortune ‘bove two cades of sprats

(And those smoked in thy father's bedchamber);

That by a beggar in mere charity

(Being made drunk) ‘stead of a mariner

Wert stole aboard, and being awake didst smell

Worse then thy shell commodity at midsummer. (4.103-110)

This scene stands as a stark contrast to the heights of affluence and social position that Ward is able to achieve in Tunis through his renegade piracy and his work for the Turks there. Pirates such as Ward acquired the means for great upward social mobility through their renegadism, and by serving the Barbary States.

**Interpreting the renegade pirate in early modern drama**

Although critics have studied the representations of the renegade pirate and piracy in early modern drama in relation to the pirate’s opposition of the monarch, as well as through the question of apostasy, they have not taken up the problem of the renegade pirate as a political one that is contextualized in relation to the growing challenges to the Christian concept of sovereignty and sovereign rule.[34] Nabil Matar, Daniel Vitkus, and Claire Jowitt, all prominent

[34] Literary critics who have addressed the subject of renegade pirates in the early modern period include Daniel Vitkus, Nabil Matar, Tobias Graf, Jonathan Burton, Claire Jowitt, Molly Greene, Barbara Fuchs, Jane Hwang Degenhardt, Lieke Stelling, Claire Norton, Laurie Ellinghausen, et al.; For historical criticism on the same see Joshua M. White, *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Mediterranean*, Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*, E Natalie Rothman, 2018, and Kris Lane, 2016; As an edited collection, *Colonization, Piracy, and Trade in Early Modern Europe: The Roles of Powerful Women and Queens* also takes up early modern renegades with essays written by various critics.

critics of early modern "Turk plays," have addressed the subversiveness of the renegade and the political significance of the problem of renegade piracy. Matar discusses the renegade problem in a number of his works. He focuses on the conversion of Christians to Muslims to develop a critique of the political aspects of renegade piracy. Matar explains that in fiction the renegade was either punished with horrid retribution for his apostasy, or he underwent a spiritual change and converted back to Christianity.[35] He goes on to say that at a time when Christians were constantly being lost to Islam, there was desperate need to present such a make-believe victory on the stage. Such characterization of the renegade was used to present Islam as failing to retain apostates, or to show a punishment of those who rejected Christianity. Matar notes that dramatists killed the renegade or showed his return to Christianity to demonstrate Christian victory not only in England, but "in the heart of Muslim land."[36]

Daborne's controverting the story of the real-life pirate John Ward to show a purely fictional ending of divine retribution shows the apprehension which prevailed in the English imagination about the practice of Christians converting to Islam and continuing to prosper. Matar sums such fictionalizing by noting that, "[w]riters sought to present the renegade as the villain par excellence because he was a traitor to his culture, national identity, and God. Indeed, by leaving the church for the mosque, the renegade embodied the demise of Christendom and the seemingly inevitable progress towards the numerical supremacy of Islam: while Christians converted to Islam, Muslims did not redress the demographic imbalance and convert to

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[35] Nabil I. Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 33.3 (Summer 1993): 489-505.

[36] Nabil I. Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination," 500.

Christianity."[37] For Matar, the renegade's apostasy pointed towards a fearsome historical inevitability: "as Christianity had replaced Judaism, so would Islam replace Christianity. Because the renegade was proof of that ominous possibility, English writers either defeated or reconverted him."[38]

Commenting upon Christian converts who became renegade pirates, Matar writes, "Christendom was losing converts to Islam albeit Islam was consistently being vilified in polemical writings: from theologians to millenarians, from John Foxe to Thomas Brightman and Francis Bacon, there was a continuous attack on Islam as an evil religion which would be destroyed by God."[39] In contrast to such prophetic beliefs, the renegade converted to Islam with no signs of any moral or spiritual anxiety, and having given up his Christian faith, did not suffer subsequent divine punishment but happily prospered as a Muslim. Matar comments upon the political ramifications of renegades who "turned Turk" for England by noting that what was especially frightening for the English was the fact that the renegade was an enemy from within: "he could be … an average Englishman-a sailor, a trader, a traveller—who wilfully renounced God and monarch and "turned Turk".[40] At a time of rising Turkish might, the renegade's crime of joining the enemy was seen as ominous because it augmented the strength of the Ottomans. The renegade represented the ease with which Christendom could collapse from within, and as

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[37] Nabil I. Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination," 501.

[38] Nabil I. Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination," 502.

[39] Nabil I. Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination," 491.

[40] Nabil I. Matar, "The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination," 490.

Matar explains the worst part of this threat was that with nothing striking or particularly fiendish about him it was hard to detect the renegade's villainy. Matar's analysis of the political contexts is thus one which addresses the military and commercial weakening of the state due to the renegade's actions.

Vitkus too brings up the political contexts of the problem of renegade piracy in relation to what is represented about it in drama. He notes, for example, that the historical record confirms the friction shown between the renegade pirates John Ward and Antonio Grimaldi and the Turkish rulers in *A Christian Turned Turk* and *The Renegado*—i.e., the relations between English renegade pirates and their Turkish overlords were not always harmonious. Vitkus foregrounds the political nature of the problem in his discussion of these plays. Drawing our attention to the fact that both plays show that the renegades regret their apostasy and come to despise and oppose their Muslim masters he discusses their political implications. According to him, these representations of renegades betraying and delivering crippling blows to their Muslim sponsors were imaginative expressions of political, military, and economic ambitions of western states that were achievable only to a limited degree. Vitkus contrasts what is represented in the English plays with the realities of the problem of piracy faced by Christian nations: "Christian armies and navies deployed against the Barbary pirates in the seventeenth century scored a few small successes" but "experienced several large-scale defeats."[41] The politics of maritime trade and economy between the Ottoman Barbary states and Britain is evoked in Vitkus's discussion of the attacks the nations made against each other. In this long-lasting conflict, it was the

[41] Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays*, 32.

Ottoman states that emerged as winners. Occasionally, there were Christian ships that raided North African harbours with an intent to cripple the Muslim maritime economy, but this was contrary to the promotion of peaceable, profitable commerce. During the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods trade and exchange between the opposing states, England and the Ottoman regencies, was normally carried out with "a posture of humble submission" to the North African port authorities of these regencies and their policies.[42]

Claire Jowitt's book on early modern piracy takes up the question of politics by placing the figure of the pirate in the contexts of English commercial, colonial, and imperial expansion. [43] In her reading, the figure of the pirate becomes a mode through which drama comments upon England's entrance into a global economy and critiques its shifting political and commercial alliances. Jowitt points out issues such as James I's refusal to intervene in European conflicts, the proposed Spanish marriage, and the efforts to rebuild the Royal Navy as examples of political issues. Her analysis of *The Renegado* emerges as a persuasive argument for seeing the figure of the pirate being used allegorically to show the politics of the Jacobean court. She argues that *The Renegado* offers a disguised comment on court politics that is related to the condemnatory lampoon of the proposed Spanish match for Prince Charles. According to Jowitt, the Italians act as surrogate English and as a result Anglo-Islamic relations in the play are dramatized through

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[42] Vitkus, *Turning Turk,* 152-53.

[43] Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy: English Literature and Seaborne Crime*. Also see her chapter, "'I am Another Woman': The Spanish and French Matches in Massinger's The Renegado (1623) and The Unnatural Combat (1624-5)" in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*. Edited by Alexander Samson. (Routledge, NY: Routledge, 2017), 151-72.

the cultural encounters between the Catholic Venetians and the Islamic Turks.[44] Vitelli's resistance to "turning Turk," his converting Donusa to Christianity, and the Italians' eventual victory over Tunis are interpreted in Jowitt's allegorical reading as a celebration of the superiority and triumph of English value systems.

Jowitt highlights the ambivalence of attitudes towards the ideology and practice of piracy. Maritime violence was permissible when Queen Elizabeth gave semi-official support to the "patriotic violence" of privateers such as Drake and Hawkins. As what constituted legitimate trade was not established in this period, piracy itself took on positive or negative meanings based on changes in commercial and political contexts. Ambivalent depictions of piracy also helped make the aristocracy's involvement in trade and commerce look respectable. Jowitt takes up the renegade's opposition to the monarch when she studies a ballad about the renegade pirate John Ward published in 1650, titled *The famous sea-fight between Captain Ward and the Rainbow*.[45] She claims that it depicts Ward challenging the monarch and explains that the ballad presents Ward appropriating monarchical authority. For Jowitt though, such appropriation does not signify orthodox national allegiance. She notes that, "the figure of the pirate combines orthodox and alternate political visions: traditional political power is ... joined with maritime alterity" in the ballad's depiction of Ward.[46]

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[44] Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy*.

[45] Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy*, 2-3.

[46] Claire Jowitt, *The Culture of Piracy*.

In Jowitt's critique of early modern English drama's depictions of renegades, the fear of the loss of English Protestant identity that is associated with "turning Turk" is mainly linked with the European contexts of Jacobean court exchanges. Jowitt does not address the ways in which the meanings of the pirate figure are imbricated in religious ideology, and her study gives little scope to interpret the renegade through the political contexts of rebellion against absolutist rule, and sovereign power. Her study of early modern pirates emphasizes the semantic flexibility of the pirate figure, but this flexibility does not extend to seeing the pirate through categories such as that of 'stateless persons' who are exempted from the protections of the law of nations, 'insurgents', 'outlaws', etc. These categories were crucial for early modern definitions of pirates, as we find for example in the noted Dutch early modern historian Hugo Grotius' work.[47]

In all the above discussed critiques of the renegade pirate it is the impact upon the political strengths and weaknesses of the state[48] and its implications that are gathered. It is not that these critics have ignored the role of politics in early modern treatments of the renegade and renegade piracy, but that they have not examined the imbricated nature of the concept of the renegade pirate in their studies. In other words, these studies do not take up the concept of the

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[47] Hugo Grotius, *De jure praedae commentaries*, (*Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty*), 1605.

[48] The term state appears in my study a number of times. However, my use of this term in reference to the early modern period does not carry the same meaning as a modern understanding of the state. During the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the term *status* is used to denote many things, but it does not denote an abstract entity that is wholly disconnected from both ruler and ruled (Jens Bartelson, *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*, 2017). This fundamental issue can be seen as distinguishing the modern sense of the term which starts from the point of seeing the state as defined by an autonomous discourse wherein the formation of statements pertains to a single system, namely, the modern concept of the 'state'. One only has to refer to the theory of the Divine Right of Kings to get a fuller sense of the early modern sense of the term.

'renegade pirate' as one in which religious and political imputations converge, and they do not critique the renegade pirate as a subject who opposes sovereign power in its duality. In early modern thought, the offenses of apostasy and treason that constitute the crimes of the renegade pirate are not seen in a discrete way. The renegade's rebellion opposes the sovereign power of the church, as well as the king. It is because of his simultaneous rebellion against both religious and political authority that the renegade pirate becomes a particularly critical and provocative figure in the early modern period.

In this study, I examine how the plays seek to construct the conditions and possibilities of judging the pirate in the lawless realm of the renegade space. Because I see the concept of the renegade pirate as an 'imbricated' one,[49] I look at how the plays consider, through the figure of the renegade, what dissent means in this simultaneity. Early modern culture was a religious culture,[50] and religion takes a crucial role in the plays' arguments about sovereign power. Religious injunctions stand at the heart of defining the renegade's apostasy as a crime. It is religious rule that is shown as judging the renegade's rebellion as an act that must be punished. In these plays, the contours of sovereign rule are traced by how the plays distinguish Christian identity from that of Islamic and Jewish peoples, and how its authority manifests in these foreign and remote lands that renegades live in. In all three plays an underlying issue is the issue of

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[49] This imbrication stands in a mimetically opposed relation to the concept of the sovereign monarch in whom both divine and human representations converge. The notion that the monarch held a dual body was itself brought about by belief in the mystical concept of the "King's two Bodies." This concept also promoted the belief that to lose one's *faith in God* was to also *go against one's king*, both events we see configured in the renegade pirate's rebellion.

[50] I discuss this topic in Chapter One while drawing on Debra Shuger's fine study, *Habits of thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture*, 1997.

religious recuperation of the fallen Christian: The question of 'if' and 'how' the state can legitimate the integration of the apostate and renegade pirate by religious recuperation becomes a focal one.

As I outline in my opening, my study seeks to trace a particular history of sovereign rule as it is evidenced through the representation of the renegade pirate as a dissenting subject. By reading the pirate as a figure, I move beyond interpreting the critique of the sovereign subject in terms of a literal representation that is historically fixed. When formulating a conceptual interpretation, we find that there is always a gap between the reality that is being conceptualized, and the concept of that reality. This gap occurs because we need to establish a distance both temporally and physically from the reality we seek to explain, in order to be able to gain a perspective of it. The figural, breaks through this restriction because it points to a realm of "incommensurable spaces, nonlinear dynamics, temporal complexity and heterogeneity, logic unruled by the principle of non-contradiction."[51] Erich Auerbach's definition of 'figura' is useful in understanding how figural interpretation can be an interpretation that is both historical, as well atemporal. Auerbach writes that figures "point not only to the concrete future, but also to something that always has been and always will be; they point to something which is in need of interpretation, which will indeed be fulfilled in the concrete future, but which is at all times present."[52] Auerbach's insight becomes relevant in reading how the renegade pirate figures a

[51] David Norman Rodowick, *Reading the Figural, or, Philosophy after the New Media*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

[52] See Erich Auerbach's essay "Figura" in his *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays*, trans. Ralph Manheim, (New York: Meridian, 1959), 59.

critique of rule because such critique is intrinsically tied to the complexity of the rule conceptualized by sovereignty. On the one hand, the rule represented by sovereignty participates in an eschatological sense of time because it has a divine dimension. On the other hand, by also representing the monarch, who is human, it participates in and is contextualized by a historical sense of time. Thus, the meanings I develop about the pirate as a figure are not just portrayals, or representations because they accommodate both the temporal as well as the ahistorical moment. They participate in the contradictions and paradox figured by the concept of sovereignty, and the notion of the 'state of exception.'

A careful examination of representations of Christian sovereignty in these plays reveals that they do not stand as singular narratives. Rather, when the plays set in motion the relationship between Christians and 'non-Christians' they are caught up in a dialectical relationship with the epistemologies of these cultures. Therefore, there is always a counter-narrative that can be gleaned if one carefully examines issues in the play that are attributed to Islamic cultures and investigates the elements that contradict or displace the overt arguments the play makes about Christian-Muslim relations. For example, in studying *Los baños*, in the instance of the fates of its renegade protagonists, one example of such a critique would be to not limit ourselves to the issue of Hazén's Christian indictment of Yzuf but to study in tandem how Algerian law responds to his violent actions. In the ensuing chapter, my analysis of Cervantes' *Los banos* seeks to read such counter-narratives. As opposed to the overt narrative of Hazén's successful attack of Yzuf, I show that Hazén is asked to account for his criminal actions by the laws of the state of Algiers.

## Chapter One

### Between religion and politics: the errant subject and sovereign power

In the "Turk plays" that comprise this study, the threats and challenges that the renegade pirate poses to sovereign power are addressed by masking the indictment of the renegade as traitor with the religious charge against him as an apostate. This mode of representation of the renegade pirate disallows the possibility of considering the political dimension of renegade piracy and investigating the legality of the offense. Only when the judgement of the renegade pirate is made transparent can the legality of the judgment be evaluated. When the political aspect of the judgment is masked by the religious one it erases the possibility of acknowledging the political rights of the renegade pirate as a citizen and subject of the nation, and undermines the scope for bringing these criteria into the consideration of the judgment. The issue of conversion to Islam therefore becomes a highly provocative issue, since these "Turk plays" set aside or displace the legal aspects of the pirate's crimes even as they emphasize the crimes of his apostasy and "turning Turk." In these "Turk plays," two salient issues emerge in the representations of the problem of the renegade pirate: one, we find that in this period it was hard to bring the renegade to trial and judgment and pin down his criminality because his piracy takes place in the nebulous regions of the sea and in lands that fall beyond the jurisdiction of Christian Europe; two, the plays propose that renegade pirates weakened the religious structure of Christian society and undermined religious self-sufficiency. The plays treatment of the above issues links them indirectly to the threat to economic and political organizations of western states.

**Divine and human: sovereignty in the early modern period**

In contemporary times, the term sovereignty is commonly understood as a concept that defines the state's jurisdiction. It is considered a political concept because it is interpreted in terms of the rule of the state, wherein rule functions as an independent authority over its citizens. The notion of sovereignty as 'supreme and absolute power,' however, has its origins in western Christianity, which perceived the Christian God as the supreme being and the creator and ruler of the universe. While God was perceived as the supreme power over all creation, his transcendent sovereign power was seen as embodied in the head of Christians, as in the Pope, or the King, who was the earthly representation of the sovereign power of God. This original notion thus had two dimensions—one that pertained to the nature of God as the supremely powerful being, and the other to the manifestation of his power as rule. The concept of sovereignty was thus conceived as a theological as well as juridical one, and it was this original concept of sovereignty that held sway in this period.

The early modern conceptualization of monarchical sovereignty is chiefly conceived through the two major doctrines of The Divine Right of Kings and The King's Two Bodies by which the earthly sovereign comes to be seen as the representative of God[53]. The theory of The Divine Right of Kings is a political as well as a religious doctrine because it confers both divine and political legitimacy to the king. It asserts that a king derives the right to rule directly from the will of God. The king is not subject to any individual or earthly authority including the Church. According to this doctrine, only God can judge an unjust king. The doctrine imputes that

[53] These two theories constrained the possibility of figuring religious and political worlds as functioning autonomously in the early modern period.

any attempt to depose the king, or to restrict his powers runs contrary to the will of God and is thus a sacrilege. A prominent work on the divine right of kings in early modernity, King James I's *Basilicon Doron*, written in 1597-98 before his accession to the English throne, is composed as a manual on the powers of a king. Here James I outlines the divine ordinance of the king by noting that a king "acknowledgeth himself ordained for his people, having received from God a burden of government, whereof he must be countable."[54] The concept of 'The King's Two Bodies' which also divinizes the King's body is drawn in relation to the medieval political concept of the "Body Politic" and emerges in the late Middle Ages. It attests that while the king's natural, mortal body would pass away with his death, he was also thought to have an enduring, divine body that could not be destroyed, even by assassination, for it represented the mystical dignity and justice of the 'body politic.'

The early modern period inaugurates the beginnings of the breakdown of the concept of sovereign power in both its human and divine forms. In the early modern absolutist state God becomes subordinated, "if not actually marginalized by the new political order."[55] The problem of sovereignty in the early modern period is thus intrinsically a political-theological one because the concept of sovereignty is defined by both political and theological discourses. The medievalist Ernst Kantorowicz's work, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political*

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[54] James Craigie ed., *The Basilicon Doron of King James VI*. (2 vols., Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1944-50), Vol. 1. 54.

[55] Victoria Kahn, *The Future of Illusion: Political Theology and Early Modern Texts.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 14.

*Theology* (1957), is the modern foundational study of this concept.[56] Here Kantorowicz studies the transformation in the conceptualization of political authority over the course of the Middle Ages. He traces the ways in which the Middle Ages and early modern period understood the role and persona of the king and his kingdom, in both corporeal and metaphysical terms. By examining the evolution of the notion of the two bodies of Christ, the *corpus naturale* (the consecrated host) and the *corpus mysticum* (the social body of the church), Kantorowicz shows how the notion of the *corpus mysticum* comes to be transferred to political entities, such as the 'Body Politic.' In other words, he traces the appropriation of theological metaphors for secular political purposes by the English common lawyers who work for the sovereign.[57] Kantorowicz uses Shakespeare's play *Richard II* as exemplum for demonstrating the concept at work in early modern body politics. As Victoria Kahn astutely notes, Kantorowicz shows that the myth of the concept gives way to fiction where fiction implies not just legal fiction but also the fiction of literature.[58] Kantorowicz is able to infer through his analysis of *Richard II* that literary fiction reveals the workings of legal fiction: Shakespeare depicts the fatal separation of the king's two bodies and thus anticipates the regicide of Charles I, and the rise of the English republic. This is

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[56] Kantorowicz's work is still the definitive study on this subject. He also focuses on the work of Dante in his study, and Kahn sums up his findings thus: "The King's two Bodies presents two arguments or narratives: the first concerns the Christological origin of secular constitutionalism in Shakespeare's England; the second concerns the secular religion of humanity best articulated by Dante" (58). See also *Representations*, Fall 2009, for a special issue devoted to the work of Kantorowicz that includes Stephen Greenblatt's Introduction titled, "Introduction: Fifty Years of The King's two Bodies."

[57] Kahn, *The Future of Illusion*, 57.

[58] Kahn, *The Future of Illusion*, 58.

understood when we see how "the idea of the two bodies could morph into the distinction between person and office," which is what happens in the case of Charles I who is dethroned in 1649.[59] During this period, we see the beginnings of a questioning of sovereign power and critical doubts about its legitimacy.[60] The advent of Protestant thought and the numerous schisms that arose within Christianity can be seen as signs of the breakdown of the sovereign power of the church.[61]

**The renegade subject and political theology**

The dual dissent of the renegade pirate presents peculiar challenges for the representation and interpretation of the pirate's subjectivity. When presenting judgments against the renegade pirate the plays will need to censure him as a subject who is primarily defined by sovereign power. But these renegades trade and thrive in foreign 'climes'[62] that are Islamic and defined by

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[59] Kahn, *The Future of Illusion,* 58.

[60] This difficulty itself is reflective of the move towards secularization and the dissolution of the absolutist state, a crucial development in early modernity when the concept of sovereign power begins to break down, and the new juridical orders struggle with separating institutional forms along sacred and secular lines.

[61] Liberal theorists, such as Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and John Locke (1632-1704, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), sought to resolve religious conflicts through proposing theories of secular rule and state formation. They argued that the liberal state can subordinate theological concerns by the creation of a social and civic space free from doctrinal influences.

[62] In *A Christian Turned Turk*, Crosman, the Captain of the janissaries, puns on the word "clime", when he asks the renegade Ward if Tunis does not agree with Ward's Englishness. The climate comes to allude to the ideological difference between the two states (*A Christian Turned Turk*, 7.10).

very different religions and political systems. This effects a disjuncture between the two realms—the religious and the political—because the renegades live in a context that cannot be interpreted or legitimized by referring to sovereign power in its theologico-political mode.[63] The concept of sovereignty becomes meaningless when it is set to function within a context in which religious rule and the state's rule do not cohere. In these plays, this becomes an inescapable event because these renegade pirates are shown traversing and inhabiting regions that are beyond the reach of Christian sovereignty. The plays are unable to coherently construct a narrative of sovereign power that will mete out judgment to the pirate because there is a critical rupture between rule and religion. They respond to this breach by leaning towards presenting the renegade's crimes dominantly as crimes against religion. This tendency can be gathered especially with reference to how the renegade pirate is judged and punished in each of these "Turk plays". Each play enacts an avowedly Christian judgement on the renegade, or it identifies it as one that is Christian. In Cervantes' *Los baños*, the play creates a vivid picture of a Christian judgment as it evokes the image of the hand of God in the scene of Yzuf's fatal wounding. The renegade pirate Hazén stabs the other renegade pirate Yzuf declaring that he is venting a Christian wrath and punishment upon Yzuf:

HAZÉN:

Bien dices; y aquesta mano
confirmarà lo que has dicho,
poniendo eterno entredicho.

[63] As Philip Lorenz notes it is a "bridge discourse". Philip Lorenz, *Tears of Sovereignty: Perspectives of Power in Renaissance Drama*. (Fordham University Press, 2003), 26.

à tu proceder tyrano. (808-11)

HAZÉN:

You're right; and this hand

will confirm what you've said

putting an eternal prohibition

to your tyrannical behaviour. (808-11)

In Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk*, the Prologue guides the audience throughout the play to anticipate and then witness the renegade Ward's punishment as a Christian one that will accord him eternal damnation. As the play opens, we hear the Chorus's ominous words tell us that in presenting a "Ward turn'd Turk" it will show its audience a "sin" that "transcends … all [other] black deeds". Its language and stance reveal the Christian terms by which Ward will be judged for "turning Turk". Later, when Ward undergoes the ceremony of conversion to Islam it expresses horror at Ward's conversion, and confirms his damnation:

WARD:

… Last, oh be he last,

Forswears his name! With what we blush to tell,

But 'tis no wonder, black's the way to hell;

Who though he seems yet happy, his success

Shows he exchanged with it, and wretchedness. (8.22-26)

This perspective is endorsed and emphasized by Christian characters in the play when they counsel Ward against conversion. The French merchant Ferdinand, who Ward captures and sells in Tunis, entreats Ward to refrain from "turning Turk":

FERDINAND:

Nay, do not shun our sight. Hear us but now,

… your soul, the dearest purchase

Of your Redeemer, that we regained you so.

Leave but this path damnation guides you to. (7.259-265)

In *The Renegado,* although the renegade pirate Grimaldi repents and is brought back to Christian religion, the process of his fall into dire despair, his desperate reaching for confession, and the forgiveness he is given thereafter all enact a Christian judgement.

As I had pointed out earlier, the renegade pirate as a concept can be interpreted only in its imbricated form and in these plays its dual meanings comes to represent the pirate's subjectivity in its duality. The relationships between the renegade pirate and sovereign power are thus necessarily linked to questions about subjectivity. When the pirate discards both God and monarch he comes to figure a kind of *tabula rasa* with respect to his subjectivity, and this is reflected in the plays' difficulties in articulating his character without recourse to religious ideology. We see, for example, such an impasse occur when *Los baños de Argel* shows the renegade Hazén censor the other renegade Yzuf's actions. In this scene, Hazén confronts Yzuf in order to censor him for abducting his own nephews from Spain in the recent piratical raid that they conducted for the Turkish rulers of Tunis.[64] I discuss this event in detail in chapter two, showing that Hazén when he accuses Yzuf of committing a supremely perfidious act flounders for words that can locate Yzuf's identity when he refers to him. The difficulty in naming the renegade pirate in terms of the formulation of identity emerges in his address to Yzuf. In the early modern period, the identity of a person is inextricably linked with religion, which in itself

[64] Tunis was one of the Barbary states that was under the potentate of the Ottoman Sultan.

is strongly tied to the authority of the king through the ideology of sovereign power. Thus, religious identity and political identity converge with the concept of the 'sovereign subject'. It is this subjectivity that the renegade pirate abandons through his apostasy and treason against the state. Thus, Hazén can address Yzuf only in terms of a lack of subjectivity,

HAZÉN:

… con quien tu alma avengas,
ni la de gracia ni escrita,
ni en yglesia ni en mezquita
a encomendarte a Dios vengas. (778-781)

HAZÉN:

… your soul keeps no law,
neither the letter nor the spirit,
nor do you commend yourself
to God in any church or mosque. (778-781)

Here, the scene shows Hazén's struggle in not being able to address the renegade Yzuf with reference to a relation to religion, or to the state of Algiers. He sees him as a person incapable of "ties"—as a mercenary. However, in terms of the plot of *Los baños* and its historical contexts this is not true because Yzuf does form a strong allegiance with the Turkish government of Algiers. We note here that Hazén, as a crypto-Christian, has not accepted being defined as a subject of the Islamic state of Algiers. He does not wish to be known as a "corsair" whose allegiance is to the Turks, nor does he see his "turning Turk" as an authentic religious transformation of identity. Yet, what Hazén expresses here when he refers to Yzuf reflects how Christians perceived the renegade who has severed himself from the ties of religion and law. It

alludes to the implicit questions contained in the identification of the renegade: Who exactly is the renegade? If he does not have a religion (Islam was not acknowledged by Christians as a religion), and he does not have a native connection then what is he exactly? The bond of nativity that creates national identity is erased when Yzuf severs his ties to his native land—he is no longer a Spanish subject, English subject, etc.). This difficulty in locating the renegade pirate's identity is one that each of the plays address, but with very different approaches, narrative constructions, and results.

In these plays, the crises in the plays' judgments of the pirate "turning Turk" emerge in the intersection between the discourses of religion and politics.[65] The figure of the renegade pirate traces the transformations of the political rights of the pirate as an errant subject even as it represents him undergoing a religious judgment. I argue that in these plays the threats and challenges that the renegade poses to sovereign power, although addressed through religious ideology, need to be contextualized not just as a religious or political problem, but as a problem of political theology. According to Julia Lupton, the question of political theology involves "the exchanges, pacts, and contests that obtain between religious and political life … to legitimate the sovereignty of monarchical power and its governance."[66] The problem of political theology

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[65] "Turning Turk" which is supposed to refer mainly to converting to Islam also comes to connote a large group of disconnected epithets that were used to refer to Turks. The onus of the phrase lies in "turning" which was broadly associated with metamorphosis, deceit, and infidelity. For some fine critiques on early modern "turning" see Patricia Parker, "Preposterous Conversions: Turning Turk, and its "Pauline" Rerighting." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, Volume 2, Number 1, Spring/Summer 2002, pp. 1-34, Dennis Britton, "'Re-turning' Othello: Transformative and Restorative Romance." *ELH* 78, 2011, 27–50.

[66] Graham Hammill and Julia Reinhard Lupton with a postscript by Étienne Balibar. "Introduction". *Political Theology and Early Modernity.* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

refers to problems arising in the relationship *between* politics and religion, and it is the dysfunctionality that occurs within this area of intersection that gives rise to it. The term 'political theology' can be misleading because political theology does not pertain to political or religious discourses *per se*. As Kahn explains, it does not refer to "the theological legitimation or theological essence of political authority."[67] It would be a misunderstanding therefore to see political theology as the transformation of a primarily theological thought process to a political one. Political theology has a long and varied history, and the relations between politics and theology have shaped western forms of government from ancient times. The term political theology originates in ancient Rome. We find tracts and discourses on this subject dating back to ancient times in texts such as Plato's *Laws*, the writings of the Stoics, and the sacred texts of the religions of the book—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The authors of these texts by grappling with the question of the law and its relation to a divine order sought to theorize rule in human life in transcendent, or metaphysical terms. They drew the pattern for a discourse of rule that sought to provide the link between a divine transcendent power and its application to earthly life. In clarifying its formal structure, Lupton points out that political theology cannot be interpreted conceptually as one would do with monarchy or republicanism, etc.; rather, political theology is understood "discursively".

The study of political theology becomes necessary to be able to take seriously the conjunction of religion and politics in a post-secular world. The turn to political theology has become useful as a way of thinking through the crisis of liberal democracy. In *The Future of*

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[67] Kahn, *The Future of Illusion*, 23.

*Illusion Political theology and Early Modern Texts* Khan relates the current powerful resurgence of interest in the problem of political theology to political events such as 9/11 and the Arab Spring. She argues that such events have prompted Western scholars to react to the rise of religious fundamentalism in the Muslim world. According to her, these events have led to such scholars seeing liberal values in the West as coming under threat and being incapable of defending themselves without recourse to religion.[68] Kahn's claims relate to the fact that Liberalism has not been able to "defend its own principles" such as "religious neutrality" and "religious tolerance." In the aftermath of terrorist attacks, Western intellectuals have come to a "guilty sense" that liberalism has not carefully reckoned with "the powerful bonds of religion."[69] Western rationalism now faces the task of defending the superiority of rational belief, as a legacy of Enlightenment reason.

My analysis of the role of sovereign power in these "Turk plays" relies in varying ways on the theorizations of political theology and critiques of sovereignty by Giorgio Agamben and Carl Schmitt. The provocative work on political theology by, the controversial figure, the German Nazi jurist Carl Schmitt has become an important starting point to understand the problem of political theology. In *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, Schmitt argues for the analogy between religious and political concepts in order to claim that the central "concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts."[70] His work *Four Chapters* studies how theology legitimated political authority in the

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[68] Kahn, *The Future of Illusion*, "Introduction" 1-22.

[69] Kahn, *The Future of Illusion*, 1, 2.

[70] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, 1985, 36.

early modern period in relation to the problem of its erasure in the later constitutional state. Schmitt's prominent claim regarding the secularization thesis argues that,

> All significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts not only because of their historical development—in which they were transferred from theology to the theory of the state, whereby, for example, the omnipotent God became the omnipotent lawgiver—but also because of their systematic structure, the recognition of which is necessary for a sociological consideration of these concepts. The exception in jurisprudence is analogous to the miracle in theology. Only by being aware of this analogy can we appreciate the manner in which the philosophical ideas of the state developed in the last centuries.[71]

In the above cited quote, "the secularized concepts" in "the modern theory of the state" (qua politics) are still "the systematic structures" from the past that are now interpreted within the sociological structure and order. As Tracy Strong points out, "Protestant theology presents a different, supposedly unpolitical doctrine, conceiving of God as the 'wholly other,' yet to determine if a particular theology is political or unpolitical, one has to address the question of secularization."[72] In developing his study of political theology, Schmitt focuses on the early modern period because for Schmitt this period not only marks the emergence of liberal political

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[71] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theolog*, 36.

[72] See Tracy Strong's "Introduction" to Carl Schmitt's *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*.

theory, but in tandem evidence the separation of the sphere of aesthetics from the political sphere and thus empties out the possibility of any genuine understanding of 'the political.'

But the crisis of political theology is not limited to the early modern period because the logic of transcendence that regulates the theological worldview is never relinquished even when the political order has supposedly become regulated by a secular juridical system. Secularization leaves an 'aporia' in the place that was occupied by God in the political order of the past. For Schmitt, this 'void' has to be filled with some concrete principle in order to uphold any form of political order. This problem forms the basis for his study of political theology and sovereignty. By drawing critical attention to the theological dimensions of the modern political state, Schmitt refutes the thesis of secularization of the state and critiques the project of modernity as being incomplete. To endorse this claim, Schmitt offers the analogy between religious thought and secular views to state that just as theology assumes a God who can suspend natural law through the creative force of miracles, so too does the modern state assume a juridical sovereign who can suspend positive law and decide exceptions.

Schmitt argues that the political is imbricated in religious concepts because there was never a complete separation from religion in the course of secularization i.e., in the development of the modern secular state. Political concepts of the modern theory of the state are always and already imbricated by theological concepts. Schmitt's study and critique of modern liberalism has become a provocative yet indispensable pivot around which debates about secularization and the theological-political transition to modernity have developed. The study of early modern conceptualizations of sovereign power has gained importance in recent decades because it stands as a foundational period for tracing and understanding the movement towards the secularization of law and governance, as well as for understanding the development of modernity. The early

modern period gives birth to the new forms of the nation state, and according to Schmitt's theory of modern state formation, it "is defined by the dissolution of the medieval symbolic order and by the first affirmation of the new juridical and spatial order of the earth" (nomos).[73]

**Rebellion, resistance, and insurgency: avatars of the state of exception?**

In *Political Theology*, Schmitt writes that it "would be a distortion of the schematic disjunction between sociology and jurisprudence if one were to say that the exception has no juristic significance and is therefore 'sociology.'"[74] In Schmitt's meticulous schema of the centrality of the exception, the exception is posited as a juristic concept. There is strong criticism against Schmitt's claim about the state of exception's juristic nature. However, his incisive theorization of the significance of the exception for understanding any theory of the rule of state has generated breakthroughs in sovereignty theory. We come to see that the exception is not a corollary of sovereign power, but is, in fact, the determining factor for the formation of sovereign power. Schmitt brings attention to the importance of this aspect even as he references Kierkegaard's work as the source of this knowledge.

Agamben too takes up this aspect as a significant issue in his interpretation of sovereign power. However, Agamben's interpretation of the exception as a limit concept leads him to see the dual potentials of the state of exception, and to argue that the exception is not plainly a

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[73] Carlo Galli, "Hamlet: Representation and the Concrete" in *Political Theology and Early Modernity*, trans. Adam Sitze and Amanda Minervini, eds. Graham Hammill and Julia Reinhard Lupton, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

[74] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 13.

juristic concept. As he puts it, "the state of exception is not a special kind of law (like the law of war); rather, insofar as it is a suspension of the juridical order itself, it defines law's threshold or limit concept."[75] Agamben's original and critical research on the notion of "sacred man" that underlies classical Roman theory of the *polis* leads him to show that human life needs to be excluded in order to be included into any theory of power. In the state of exception, the law or rule is set aside in order to address a situation where the law becomes inapplicable. In the general sense, the state of emergency faced by the state when dealing with internal sedition and disorder can be cited as an example of the exception. All legal processes which, in the peaceful course of state affairs, were seen to be essential, necessary, and mandatory are suspended during the state of emergency. Military control is imposed on civilian life.

The space of the renegade pirate shares many features that are attributed to the state of exception. The renegade pirate by threatening the sovereign power of religion and the monarchy brings about a situation analogous to the lawless conditions that result during the state of exception in an emergency. The plays' representations of the renegade pirate figure a 'space of lawlessness' that resembles the space of the 'state of exception' by showing the pirate operating in regions and places that are outside the reach of sovereign power. The pirate's rebellion is in essence a resistance to the monarchic state. In his discussion of the state of exception, Agamben draws our attention to the parallels between 'resistance' and the 'state of exception' to point out that "[o]ne of the elements that make the state of exception so difficult to define is … its close

[75] Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*. Translated by Kevin Attell. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 4.

relationship to …insurrection, and resistance."[76] He sees the problem of the state of exception as presenting clear analogies to that of the right of resistance, which is precisely the right that the renegade pirate claims.

Although the renegade space is not, in fact, a space of exception as it pertains to the concept of sovereignty, its parallel aura becomes a rich ground to imaginatively figure its potentiality as an exceptional space. The dramatic representation of the figure of the pirate is a mode by which the plays imagine the critical possibilities of this space. Each of these plays locate crucial questions about the nature and function of religious and political authority in relation to the renegadism of the pirate, who functions as a harmful, dangerous, disruptive, but also tragic figure. The plays' arguments about the threat of apostasy and loss of religious belief brought about by the renegade thus also become arguments that seek to address the renegade pirate as a figure of political disruption.

The renegade, due to his rebellion against sovereign power, can be seen as placing himself beyond the reach of the law. In claiming a space where laws do not apply, he comes to occupy a space that resembles 'the state of exception'. The 'suspension of the law,' a defining factor in the state of exception, and 'the space of lawlessness' the renegade occupies can both be seen as spaces where the law is not active. The space of sovereign exception and the renegade's domain share a congruence through figuring a 'non-function of the law.' This commonality that the renegade space shares with exceptionality, cannot, however, be assumed as a reason for seeing the unruly seas and oceans that pirates thrive in as a 'state of exception'. For example, in

[76] Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, 2.

the case of the pirate's lawlessness, the sovereign monarch holds the power to end the pirate's existence and put an end to the renegade space, as we find for example in James I's hanging of captured pirates at Wapping.

Renegade spaces are only 'a semblance' of exceptionality, and do not represent an actual state of exception. However, in the contexts of the sovereign power structures that the pirate opposes, the renegade's refutation of such power takes on a relation similar to that of the sovereign subject in the state of exception, i.e., he holds an intrinsic potential to affirm or refute sovereign power. Unless the pirate is captured and subjected to the law by the sovereign monarch, he continues his 'unlawful' life, spreads apostasy and conversion to Islam through his piratical work and undermines the sovereignty of the monarch. His 'anti-subjection' existence poses a threat to the authority of the state, and therefore recuperating the pirate back into the sovereign state is treated as a matter of great importance and urgency by early modern monarchy. In these 'Turk plays,' the pirates are characterized in foreign climes and contradictory situations. We find that the qualities and potentials that can be imputed to the state of exception are given free rein in the characterization of the pirate. These plays, as I argue in the chapters that follow, figure an imaginative construction of the conditions and possibilities of 'a state of exception' in the lawless realm of the pirate.

In his iconoclastic work on political theology, Schmitt argues that the concept of sovereignty, its defining factors and functions, can best be understood not by examining sovereign power, but by studying the 'exception.' The exception is the decisive instance by which sovereignty finds its own identity and becomes actualized. The exception represents itself as well as sovereign power. In opposition to Schmitt's interpretation of the state of exception as linked purely with sovereign power, Agamben posits other connections that it

holds. In his work *State of Exception,* Agamben shows that the space of exception can be linked with resistance and anarchy. This is clarified by his comments upon the resemblance between the 'state of exception' and resistance:

> in both the right of resistance and the state of exception, what is ultimately at issue is the question of the juridical significance of a sphere of action that is in itself extra-juridical. Two theses are at odds here: One asserts that law must coincide with the norm, and the other holds that the sphere of law exceeds the norm. But in the last analysis, the two positions agree in ruling out the existence of a sphere of human action that is entirely removed from law.[77]

The above remarks are contextualized by Agamben within a debate that occurred when Italian jurists were discussing the connections between the state of exception and the law. Agamben references key arguments about this debate by these jurists, and he discusses their drafting of the Italian Constitution. He mentions "Giuseppe Dossetti" as "one of the most prestigious of the leading Catholic figures" meeting with sharp opposition when he proposed that "resistance to oppression is a right".[78] Dossetti's argument, while it seems like a liberal perspective, actually attempts the opposite by its seeking to bring resistance within the jurisdiction of the Constitution. The possibility of connecting the two realms is scrutinized and reviewed by these

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[77] Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception,* 11. In my earlier discussion of Schmitt and Agamben, I had pointed out that both theorists see the 'state of exception' as fundamental to understanding any conceptualization of sovereignty. Despite radical differences between their critiques, we find that both theorists agree upon the centrality of 'the state of exception' in their theories of sovereignty.

[78] Agamben, *State of Exception,* 10.

jurists in relation to that which represents the system of law/rule—the Constitution. The point of contention, or rather the difference in interpretation among the debaters, arises in seeking to establish whether resistance can be included as a 'right' and considered as a fundamental liberty within the Constitution. In relation to this debate Agamben poses the question: Under what circumstances can resistance be moved from its role of opposing the law to seeing it as a right? He then clarifies how resistance gets interpreted by stating that, "[w]hen the public powers violate the rights and fundamental liberties guaranteed by the Constitution, resistance to oppression is a right and a duty of the citizen."[79] We note that here Agamben is referring to the (modern) liberal state, whose constitution is not the same as the absolutist rule in the early modern state. However, we recognize the coherence between the points in this debate about the space of resistance and the problem of renegade space. When the pirate repudiates religion and the state, he becomes a figure of rebellion and resistance. Irrespective of its historical instance, resistance to the authority of the state and rebellion to the monarch both carry the similar meaning of obstructing the authority of governance even though they are ensconced in different histories and political systems. They both function as oppositions to law/rule. Agamben sums up the debate on why resistance cannot be made a right, i.e., acquire a lawful character and become absorbed within a system of laws such as the Constitution by recounting the results of the debate: "Over the course of the debate the opinion that it was impossible to legally regulate something that, by its nature, was removed from the sphere of positive law prevailed, and the article was not approved."[80] Agamben brings to light the crux of the problem that is common to

[79] Agamben, *State of Exception*, 10.

[80] Agamben, *State of Exception*, 10.

both resistance and the state of exception. He explains this correspondence by noting, that in both the right of resistance and the state of exception, what is ultimately at issue is the question of "the juridical significance of a sphere of action that is in itself extra-juridical."[81] By this he means that the state of exception seems to have a relationship to the law, but it also simultaneously exists outside the law. Agamben's tactical point—that asks what is at the heart of this debate—applies to both resistance and the state of exception. The state of exception is a condition that is declared in relation to the law through the decree that it is the 'suspension of the law'. Therefore, it is inherently always connected to law.

**The literary figure and the law**

In his radical rethinking of the concept of sovereignty, Carl Schmitt begins with the resonant statement that the "sovereign is he who decides upon the exception."[82] This claim founds Schmitt's theory. It shows that Schmitt conceptualizes the state of exception as something that is lawful because it is the sovereign himself, the epitome of power and rule, who decides upon bringing it about. In disputing Schmitt's argument of locating the state of exception within rule, Agamben's critique of Schmitt focuses on the 'how' and the 'where' of the state of exception's location. Agamben points out that it is located in a space in which there is a "suspension of the law."[83] There are no laws in the state of exception, and as he has shown

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[81] Agamben, *State of Exception*, 11.

[82] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. Translated by George Schwab. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), 5.

[83] Agamben, *State of Exception*, 51.

in his conceptual discussion of this, the state of exception occupies an "extra-judicial" space, a space that is outside of the law. This same quandary or confounding issue in the interpretation of the space of the state of exception applies to the renegade space as well. When we map Agamben's provocative elucidation of the state of exception onto the renegade space we find that there are points of overlap. The sea as unchartered terrain puts the renegade pirate beyond the grasp of the monarch. How can the monarch exercise his sovereign power when the renegade has removed himself from the sovereign's jurisdiction? While God's sovereign power is all-compassing and undefined by space or time, the monarch's power is mapped within a geography, as in a territory. It has a border, a limit, and a territorial circumscription. We concede that the renegade space gets positioned outside the scope of the sovereign's rule. But his renegadism, the charge that he has committed a crime against church and state is made by sovereign power. In this regard, the renegade space is linked to sovereign power even as it exists outside the jurisdiction of sovereign power. The renegade space can be described as a space of paradox. Agamben's deduction of the paradox that arises in the concept of the state of exception is a crucial critique for understanding the rupture of sovereign power as well. Agamben theoretical interpretation of the state of exception is developed by the abstraction of the idea. His explanation of the contradictions in rule come to figure the culminating movements in his theorization of the state of exception, and they are presented through the concepts of the 'paradox' and the 'void.' Agamben's theory for understanding the "non-function of the law" is helpful in understanding the renegade space. However, the presentation of the concept of the paradox finds its limit in theoretical abstraction. In contrast, the dramatic mode allows for the possibility of seeing a representation of what is happening in the space that theory, in this case, has defined as 'void' and as 'paradox'. In the literary mode, the void is

brought to life through the work of actors and props. In these plays about renegade pirates, we are led to understand that the 'void,' which is conceptualized in Agamben's theory of sovereignty, operates differently. In the renegade space, the renegade is defined as a renegade by sovereign rule even as he occupies the renegade space. He thus come to be a part of the discourse of sovereignty. Yet he also severs all ties from sovereignty and is a renegade precisely because sovereign rule cannot judge him or have any authority over him. For example, the dramatic mode, examines how sovereign rule can acquire meaning by enacting if a Christian subject can exist where there is no tangible Christian law? In this regard, on the one hand, we see the power of sovereign rule manifest as ideology and internalized rule as we find in Hazen's actions. On the other hand, the recourse to sovereign authority that a Christian law needs is undercut by the void being occupied by anti-Christian law. We see this in the laws of Tunis taking over the judgment of Hazen's actions. There are no lawless or unlawful spaces that these plays can impute to renegade piracy, or if we are to put it in radical terms no irreligious spaces there are only spaces with anti-Christian laws, and non-Christian religions.

Agamben addresses the anomaly in the meanings held by the state of exception by arguing that it functions as a paradox, and is itself a paradox—it is both outside and inside the law:

> The simple topographical opposition (inside/outside) implicit in these theories seems insufficient to account for the phenomenon that it should explain. If the state of exception's characteristic property is a (total or partial) suspension of the juridical order, how can such a suspension still be contained within it? How can an anomie be inscribed within the juridical order? And if the state of exception is instead only a de facto situation, and is as such unrelated or contrary to law, how

> is it possible for the order to contain a lacuna precisely where the decisive situation is concerned? And what is the meaning of this lacuna?[84]

Agamben argues that the paradox created within the state of exception is a *lacuna*. He leads us to the realisation that the 'sovereign decision' that Schmitt endorses so forcefully comes to express an incongruity that can be encapsulated by the following question: How is it possible for rule (order, or sovereign decision) "to contain a lacuna precisely where the decisive situation is concerned?" Agamben therefore argues that the state of exception is a "void". In the plays in this study, I link this "void space" with the "space of the renegade" and see it as an area in which contradictory system(s) of power such as Algerian laws, Tunisian laws, and the Ottoman rule of the Islamic world that are contradictory to sovereign rule come to be staged. For example, in Chapter Three where I analyse *A Christian Turned Turk*, I link this space outside the law that the renegade occupies with the contradictory system(s) of rule that the renegade encounters when he enters the Islamic world. Here the renegade who is defined by a Christian ontology is presented with views about the state and rule that are un-Christian. I argue that in each of these plays, rather than moving the paradox that occurs in the 'space of the renegade's rebellion' to effect dialogue, dialectic, or at least syncretism the dramatists choose to show it resolved by death—an ignoble death by damnation in Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk,* and a lofty death as martyrdom in Philip Massinger's *The Renegado*. However, Cervantes' *Los baños de Argel* differs from the other two plays by seeking a balance in its resolution. It does this by having both the renegades die—not a fitting resolution for a play that wants its comic resolution of marriage to be a happy one.

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[84] Agamben, *State of Exception*, 23.

**The fluctuating experience of faith and religion**

Apostasy and conversion are concepts which converge within the renegade pirate who figures both atheism and "turning Turk" and disrupts sovereign power in both these forms. A knowledge of the contexts of early modern conversion is therefore essential to understanding the factors that underpin apostasy in the early modern period. Confusion about religious conversion appears as a major symptom of the reformation of Catholicism. With the advent of the Reformation, religious belief underwent a radical transformation. Revolting against religious iconoclasm and mysticism, Reformation thought abolished practices such as Catholic sacraments and exegetical practices, religious and moral drama that fostered faith, the belief in miracles and relics, etc., and the new religion, Protestantism, emerged as a harsh and rigid doctrine. Its central tenets were severe and uncompromising. The Reformation was broadly characterized by an "act of state and a coherent evangelical campaign. It sought national and personal conversion to a protestant faith with a distinct theology, piety, worship and church structure."[85] Its major denomination in England was Calvinism. Protestantism's two fundamental doctrines—justification by faith alone and the Calvinist tenet of double predestination—both created a sense of insecurity[86] in the Christian believer. The belief in predestination made salvation especially ambiguous: God bestowed salvation only to a small group of 'elect,' leaving damnation the only

[85] John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714.* (Routledge, NJ: Routledge Press, 2014), 328.

[86] For a perceptive study from the perspective of literary criticism see Adrian Streete's *Protestantism And Drama in Early Modern England.* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

judgment for all others. It depleted human agency in seeking God's redemption and doomed him/her to a predestined fate. Its principles thus left no scope for spiritual recourse or consolation; reformed Christianity brought about an emptying-out of the tenets of Christian doctrine.

In England, the populace was confronted by the reformed approach to Christianity. Different practices and aspects of the older Christianity, such as rituals, the belief and use of relics, the interpretation of the sacraments, were all removed or supressed. Protestantism's difference was established not only by such suppression, but also by redetermining what constituted religious belief. Christians needed to adopt and adapt to this new approach to religion. During this period, the definition of what constituted Christian faith was not a stable entity because it had not been clearly ascertained. The notions of religious belief and conversion were both caught up in this climate of flux. In tandem with this turbulent religious climate, new challenges and influences heralded a major transformation in England's views towards the interpretation of Christianity: her interest in trading in the Levant, in Persia, and countries in the East, as well as the ambition to travel overseas to build colonies in the New World and establish subsidiaries there, brought England in contact with the cultures and religions of these lands. The encounters with religious others such as Jews and Muslims in the Mediterranean, and Native American cultures, which were seen as pagan by England, challenged its own conceptualization of religion. It was also challenged by ideas about conversion that the encounters with religious others brought, while simultaneously contending with English Christians adopting the new Protestant approach to conversion.[87] These foreign others brought with them their own

[87] See Dennis Britton's *Becoming Christian* for a critical study of the racial underpinnings of

ideologies of what constituted religious belief. England felt especially challenged by its encounters with the Ottoman empire and its regencies, which all held Islam as their official religion. Islam, although it was a monotheistic religion, did not represent just one religion because it was not constituted by a single system of beliefs.[88] However, this was not comprehended by English Christians. In the post-Reformation, Christians were still struggling with the idea of sects within Christianity and could not fully grasp the notion of religious difference within a religion.

In Spain, the Morisco expulsion has already undermined the religiosity of conversion by claiming that not all converts could be considered as true Christians. Spain's expulsion of the Moors initiates an exposure of racial ideologies that underpinned European Christianity. The

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conversion to Christianity in Protestant England during the early modern period. *Becoming Christian: Race, Reformation, and Early Modern English Romance, (*New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).

[88]As Javad Ghatta argues, the Islam of the Persians was different from the Islam of the Turks. Tracing the Persians' earlier belief in Zoroastrianism he explains Islam's ties to these former religions even as Persia became an Islamic nation and absorbed the two major distinctions of Shi'a and Sunni within its religious diversity. Javad Ghatta. "By Mortus Ali and our Persian Gods": Multiple Persian Identities in *Tamburlaine* and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*". *Early Theatre*. Vol. 12 No. 2 (2009) . Linda McJannet in responding to Ghatta's critical work notes that the play demonstrates an awareness of the political and religious conditions in Safavid Persia at the time of the Sherleys' adventures. What had previously been seen as inaccuracy or derided as either ahistorical or libellous with respect to Persian religious beliefs and traditions was in fact quite an authentic picture of religion in Persia. See also Gerald Maclean's work *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (2007), where he argues for the necessity of scholarly work that will address European representations of Islam and Muslims in the early modern period and lauds the timeliness of critical work that is being done on this subject. Also see Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield eds., *The Religions of the Book: Christian Perceptions, 1400-1660*, and Linda McJannet, *Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds*.

concept of conversion becomes an arena on which Spain grounded its ideology.[89] Moors were considered as ineligible to be converted because of their racial difference and Islamic forbears. Spain's distinction of seeing the Moorish converts as dissimulators argued that European Christians, referred to as old Christians, were authentic Christians but the Moors were not. By creating a distinction among its Christian subjects as old and new Christians, Spain expelled the Moors.[90] With the onset of the Reformation this transformation in the interpretation of conversion undergoes further changes because Protestant theology made radical ideological changes in the interpretation of faith. One can even say that conversion itself is a definitive aspect of early modern political history because of the Reformation. Conversion in the early modern period could no longer be seen plainly as an adoption of Christianity and Christian faith.

Whereas Catholicism in classical and medieval times had interpreted conversion mainly as individuals adopting Christian faith and the belief in Christ, Reformation England revised this traditional concept of conversion. Conversion came to be reinterpreted along new tenets of faith, but it also became a politicized act.[91] The reference to conversion as "turning" comes from the

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[89] For critical examination of the political contexts of conversion in early modern Spain see Kevin Ingram, Ed. *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009.

[90] Mercedes García-Arenal makes a comprehensive examination of the politics of Morisco conversion in her work, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013).

[91] This is an argument that Lieke Stelling also makes in *Religious Conversion in Early Modern English Drama*. However, many critics have also argued that England's shift from Catholicism to Protestant belief cannot be seen as conversion. Some important studies that take up this argument are Christopher Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation' in *The English Reformation Revisited*, Christopher Haigh (ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1987, 176 – 208 and Steven Mullaney, *The Reformation of Emotions in the Age of Shakespeare*, 2015.

Greek term for the ‘turning of the mind—'metanoia.’[92] It is usually associated with the religious notion of repentance as it denotes a turning away from a ‘sinful’ or ‘erroneous’ life to follow the ‘moral’ life. Thus, we come across descriptions of conversion such as Augustine’s conversion, or Saul’s conversion, etc. But as Mary Morrissey points out, conversion during the Protestant Reformation as denoting a change of religious affiliation gains significance when historical developments “prompted doubts about one’s own church as the truest teacher of doctrine.” Protestantism entailed ceasing to be one kind of Christian, and becoming another.[93] According to Morrissey, “conversion is a term whose history in Western thought is hard to accommodate to the large-scale political reorientation that a change in a national church involves.”[94] While the theological meaning of conversion denoted the transformative moment when the convert enters into a morally uplifted relationship with Christ, the confessional meaning that develops during the Reformation changes the centrality of the original theological meaning. Now conversion becomes more a question of the verification of the 'belief' or attestation of 'faith.' As Morrissey argues, religious belief and religious allegiance are not co-extensive, but neither are they separable. We find that the “Turk plays” become critiques of this re-envisioning of the term “conversion” along these new historical usages of the term because they underscore the performative nature of confessionalism.

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[92] Mary Morrissey, “Confessionalism and Conversion in the Reformation,” *Literary Studies - 1500 to 1700*, (Oxford Handbooks, Oct 2015), 2.

[93] For a critical account of the politics of religious allegiance during the Reformation see Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625*. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[94] Mary Morrissey, “Confessionalism and Conversion in the Reformation,” 2.

Confessionalism, which is a mode by which 'religious affiliation' is declared, also becomes a means by which one professes a 'religious identity.' In the early modern period, it becomes a development by which the question of religious identity gains political importance due to sectarian politics. In my study of these "Turk plays", I see sovereign rule as being deeply invested in controlling the religious allegiances of its subjects in order to maintain its own power. At the heart of establishing this control, whether it is by papal sovereignty as is the case of Catholic Spain, or the monarchic sovereignty found in England, there is the challenge of verifying conversion. All these plays show the ambiguity in confessionalism and the difficulties in proving the truth in conversion as religious, or spiritual change. Recent research on conversion during the Reformation has thus "considered the process by which lay people acquired a religious identity, whether it began merely as an act of political obedience or by a sudden 'conversion' to new doctrines."[95] Morrissey notes that the people "who proselytised with the greatest enthusiasm, the ones for whom an intense concept of conversion was really important, regarded themselves not primarily as agents (or enemies) of the State, or its established Church, but as emissaries of grace."[96] The proliferation of print, preaching, and visual arts such as drama that is designed to persuade people ... to follow the beliefs authorized by the church or state develops what Andrew Pettegree has described as 'a culture of persuasion.'[97] In such a culture,

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[95] Mary Morrissey, "Confessionalism and Conversion in the Reformation," 13.

[96] Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625*. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996). 3, 201. Cited in Mary Morrissey, "Confessionalism and Conversion in the Reformation," 6.

[97] See Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For another insightful examination of this issue see Torrance

conversion becomes politicized because as Molly Murray describes conversion as ‘a change of heart” in individuals is linked with the public and political organizing of religion in early modern Europe.

Elizabethan theatre, which emerges during the beginnings of the Reformation is itself also marked by these transformative religious ideas. Early modern English drama’s representations of conversion reflect the state of flux that religion experiences in England. This drama which developed in tandem with consolidation of Protestantism in England was faced with various challenges. Early modern England had to contend with the ambivalences towards belief that pervaded this period. It was faced with a dual challenge: firstly, to distinguish what belief entailed in the new reformed version of Christianity so that English men and women are cognizant of the bases of Protestant faith; secondly, it had to contend with the simultaneous entry of new religions and belief systems into its arena of faith.[98] Early modern drama in England engaged deeply with the question of religious conversion through its focus on the transformations that are expected to occur as a result of such conversion. On the one hand, with its radical revision of what constituted faith the Reformation became a catalyst in bringing to the fore the questionable nature of religious conversion thereby unfolding the notion of the

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Kirby, Persuasion and Conversion: Essays on Religion, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2013).

[98] Huston Diehl, links Protestant scepticism towards the visible, the theatrical, and the imaginary to argue that Elizabethan and Jacobean drama explores the disruptions, conflicts, and radical changes wrought by the Protestant Reformation. Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Re-forming the Stage*, 1997, 2, 3-4. Other examples include Donna B. Hamilton, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England*, 1992; Bryan Crockett, *The Play of Paradox: Stage and Sermon in Renaissance England*, 1995.

fictionalizing potentials of conversion for drama.[99] On the other hand, a surge in encounters with foreign others—people from non-Christian religions such as Muslims, Hindus, and the religions of the New World—led Christians to interact with people of different religions. The development of trade that was inaugurated in this period brought about an increased engagement with Jewish traders and merchants as well. Foreign religions and peoples thus came to hold exciting and dangerous potentials for playwrights as they sought to examine and establish Christian religious identity. Drama's critical arguments about conversion to other religions are caught up in the problem of negotiating between competing notions of belief.

Early modern drama registers a huge shift in its imagining religion for an audience that was not defined by a unified Christianity. Lieke Stelling points out that in reformed Christianity conversion becomes an urgent concern for Protestants because faith "was no longer seen as partly instigated by human action."[100] This unease came about because the Calvinist doctrine of salvation argued that humans cannot use their own will to act morally, and redemption can be given only by God. Protestantism's paradoxical construction of religious faith—the Christian is encouraged to be faithful but that does not guarantee his/her redemption—is reflected in early modern drama's representations of conversion. The idea of conversion to Islam was used by writers and playwrights to explore England's fluctuating experiences of faith and conversion.[101]

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[99] Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England*, 2006.

[100] Lieke Spelling, *Religious Conversion in Early Modern English Drama*, 2019.

[101] See Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England, 1640-1685*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007.

Representation of religious belief and conversion become rich ground for imagination as playwrights faced these changes.[102] The motifs of 'the apostate' and 'the renegade' held dramatic allure because the period saw new and fascinating possibilities for the formation of identity at various levels—religious, cultural, social, political, etc. In *A Christian Turned Turk*, for example, the governor of Tunis is shown asking the renegade pirate Ward "What difference in me as I am a Turk / And was a Christian?" (7.29-30). Such a remark must have been shocking to the early modern audience and held unimaginable depths of transgression for the devout Christian. The answer to such a question could not have been easy for them, or for Christian states either. Critics have pointed out the link between the advent of Protestant thought and the breakdown of the concept of sovereignty. Through its insistence that every Christian contribute individually to the act of understanding the Word of God, Protestantism encourages the act of interpretation at intense levels of engagement by the laity. This gives birth to the growth of scepticism, as an inadvertent outcome of an unprecedented increase in hermeneutic work. The mysteries of sovereign power thus become subject to Protestant scepticism.

The plays in this study thus become particularly pertinent for studying the problematic representations of conversion because as plays featuring Spanish and English renegades in the Barbary coast, they present European characters who engage directly with early modern Islamic worlds. Their portrayal of conversion and religious identity when seen against the context of the

[102] Diehl's work, *Staging Reform*, gives a provocative analysis of the imaginative outcome of Protestantism on early modern drama to argue that its iconoclasm led dramatists to use drama as a means by which the potentials of the image can be explored. This insight can account for a reason why we find exaggerated and dubious spectacles of conversion in early modern English drama.

state of flux in religion become not just an ironic comment about the threat to Christianity, or the ease with which religious identities could be exchanged. They also offer a deeper critique of the negative value the act of conversion itself had begun to acquire during the Reformation. They become reflections on the confusions about religious identity that prevailed in this period. If we limit ourselves to seeing for example the pirate Ward's renegadism in *A Christian Turned Turk* (as its 'Prologue' suggests we do) to be shaped by his conversion to Islam, then we significantly narrow and limit our scope for understanding this critical history of conversion and the critique that the representation of Ward's conversion effects in this play. The critical history of early modern conversion inflects the meanings in these plays about Turks.

# Chapter Two

## "… con quien tu alma avengas, ni la de Gracia ni Escrita"[103]: The Renegade's Resistance to Interpellation

### Introduction

In this chapter, I approach the crisis created by the ruptures to sovereignty by looking at the implications of this breakdown for the sovereign subject in Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's (1547–1616) 'captivity play', *Los baños de Argel* (1615). I argue that the definitive elements of sovereign power—the notion of a subjectivity that is Christian, and the submission effected upon the Christian by the process of sovereign subjection—are brought into question when the Christian subject encounters the competing ontologies represented by foreign 'others.' A contradiction arises when the Christian characters in the play seek to affirm sovereign rule, and to establish its authority to govern human life in the foreign setting of Algiers. The duality of the concept of sovereignty in which religion and law, monarchic and theocratic power, become inextricable is unique to the Christian conceptualization of sovereign power; its longevity can also be attributed to this. It is only in the early modern period that this indivisibility is brought to crisis as absolute rule comes to be questioned. The concept of monarchic sovereign power is re-imagined and re-thought through the rule of state. When the monarch's body no longer carries the meanings of inviolability attributed to it through the transcendental force of divine power it

[103] When deriding the renegade Yzuf for stealing his nephews from their native land, Spain, the renegade Hazén says to him: "… con quien tu alma avengas, ni la de Gracia ni Escrita" ("… your soul keeps no law, neither the letter nor the spirit"). Through this accusation the play evokes what epitomizes the renegade pirate.

ceases to be sovereign. This historical transition is registered in the need to conceive of rule that is devoid of a theocratic dimension of power that was conceived through the belief in a divine and transcendent power. The removal or absence of divine power in the concept of sovereign power that occurs in the process of reconceptualizing it as plainly a monarchic one renders that space empty. This "empty" conceptual space becomes the crux around which theorists of sovereignty have built their critiques.

In *Los baños* a contradiction arises between the belief in the sovereignty of Christian rule and an Ottoman rule that has been conceived to assimilate various religions and ethnicities. *Los baños* addresses the problem of representing Christian rule by using the performance of faith as a significant mode by which Christian identity is established. The representation of the Christian beliefs also becomes a way of showing Christian subjectivity in the non-Christian realm of Algiers. As this subjectivity is defined by the discourse of sovereign power, the religious beliefs of the Christian itself become a site that can preserve the discourse of sovereign power. In the play, we see the renegade Hazén making a Christian judgment upon the other renegade Yzuf for his abduction of his nephews from Spain. However, the play's presentation of the grounds on which this judgment is based is not so credible, and it is not clear whether Yzuf's actions are judged as political offenses or religious ones. As numerous events in the play that precede this confrontation are framed by an oppositional relationship between Christianity and Islam it is easy to slip into seeing, along with Hazén, that Yzuf violates what is held as sacred by Christians. I argue that what is being presented here as a sovereign judgment that is dominantly religious is also politically motivated, but due to the ambiguity of how the crime is categorised the judgment masks the political stakes that are at work here.

*Los baños de Argel* was first published in 1615 shortly before Cervantes's death. It belongs in a collection of eight newer plays that Cervantes published under the title *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos, nunca representados* (*Eight New Plays and Interludes, Never Performed*). It also forms one of a quartet of plays that specifically take up the theme of captivity at the hands of Ottoman rulers.[104] While the play falls under the genre of *comedia*, Cervantes brings an innovation to this genre by lensing the literary fictions in the play with the urgent contemporary historical phenomenon of religious schismatic wars and the burgeoning of renegade piracy. The harsh reality of captivity in Islamic Algiers forms a backdrop for *Los baños'* main plot of the romance of a Spaniard Christian captive Lope and a Moorish Muslim woman Zara. All the action in the play except for the piratical raid is set in the North African Barbary state of Algiers,[105] then a major coastal port. Cervantes creates a subgenre within the genre of *comedia* in which the theme of 'captivity' comes into its own. The 'captivity play', as a genre, figures a narrative in which European Christians are made captives in Islamic lands where they face the threat of conversion to Islam; its plot devolves around the idea of the preservation of Christian identity. Cervantes was the first playwright to draw critical attention to the impact of captivity brought about by piracy and dramatize it in terms of inter-religious strife.[106] His play's

[104] The three others include his early *Los tratos de Argel* (1580, The Traffic of Algiers), *La gran sultana, Doña Catalina de Oviedo* (1611 *The Grand Sultana*), and *El gallardo español* (1612, The gallant Spaniard).

[105] Barbary is the name used in the sixteenth century to designate the coastal area of northern Africa, roughly from Tripoli to Morocco.

[106] Critics such as Maria Antonia Garcés and Barbara Fuchs have pointed out that Cervantes' own experience of captivity in Algiers at the hands of the Turks following his fighting in the battle of Lepanto gives depth and gravity to his portrayal of Christian-Muslim relations.

representation of the political ambiguity that haunts narratives of conversion brings to light some of the defining moments in early modern thought about statehood, and the early modern state's attitude towards cultural and religious difference. His work was also an important source of inspiration for English playwrights and was variously imitated by them. Both Robert Daborne and Philip Massinger, the dramatists included in this study, imitate Cervantes' work, and seek to rework the problem of captivity in their plays. However, they do so more in terms of a fear of "turning Turk" than in terms of the experience of 'captivity.'

In *Los banos*, the primary plot concerns the escape of the Spanish captive Lope that is planned with the help of Zara, the beautiful daughter of a wealthy and influential Moor, Agi Morato. This plot draws on the interpolated story of 'the captive' in Part One of *Don Quixote*. Zoraida/Zara, who secretly believes in Christianity, chooses a Christian captive, accompanies him as his lover, and helps him escape. The secondary plot is about two young lovers Costanza and Fernando, of Spain's aristocratic class, who are brought as captives through a piratical raid on a coastal town in Spain conducted by the corsairs of the Ottoman regency of Algiers. They work as slaves for Cauralí, the leader of renegades, and his wife Halima (a companion of Zara). who both attempt to seduce their Christian slaves. The Christian couple pretend to go along with their masters' attempts at seduction, even as they plot to join the escape planned by Lope and Zara. I do not elaborate on or analyse this plot as that is beyond the scope of this study.

These two plots are countered by the sad pathos of the subplot of two young captive Christian boys, Juanico and Francisquito who are also abducted in the same coastal raid along with their father. These little boys, we come to find out shortly after the raid, are also Yzuf's nephews. This issue stands at the heart of the conflict between the two renegades Hazén and Yzuf. Hazén accuses Yzuf of betraying the "sacred bonds" of nativity by abducting his nephews

and bringing them to Algiers. The altercation between the two renegades Hazén and Yzuf over this issue leads to a violent confrontation and ends in the death of the renegades. Here one can see that the renegade pirate is intrinsically linked with the plot about the two Spanish boys and their fates as captives. The threat and possible presence of sodomy and pederasty at the hands of the Turks are shown as controlling their fates as captives. Realism and stereotype vie with each other for priority in the viewer's responses to their characterization as tragic victims. The small boys are shown enduring cruelties from the Cadí,[107] and Francisquito so angers the Cadí with his refusal to convert, that he has him impaled. A clownish character—a church sexton called Tristan contributes ironic and absurd (comic) and political perspectives and insights to the drama as a whole and moves between the three plots. The figure of the renegade pirate acts as a connection, or a common factor between the play's three plots. While each plot tells its own story, the play as a whole develops a complex narrative about 'captivity' due to the three plots being intertwined historically, as well as thematically.

**Two kinds of apostasy**

The different ways in which the two renegades Hazen and Yzuf view religion becomes a basis for *Los banos* to unfold the connections between Christian subjectivity and sovereign power. Within its First Act, the play distinguishes Hazén from Yzuf to show that they represent two very different kinds of apostates.[108] The one, the renegade Hazén who has been abducted at a

[107] In Muslim polities, the Cadí served as both bishop and judge. (Fuchs,)

[108] The play referring to Yzuf as a renegade is somewhat incorrect or exaggerated. Yzuf's rebellion against Spain's sovereignty cannot be defined as treason because it is Spain that

young age, has (been) converted to Islam under enforced conditions. Hazén's renegadism, i.e., his apostacy and piratical work for the Turks, is presented quite straightforwardly. Hazén sees himself as a victim of the Turks. According to his own acknowledgment he works as a corsair but does not treat Christians cruelly. He is a crypto-Christian who holds true to his Christian faith secretly, and longs for the day when he can free himself and return to his Christian homeland, Spain. At various points in the play, we see Hazén intent on declaring his Christian faith and in explaining the circumstances that have brought about his fall from Christianity.

Hazén's apostasy is contrasted with the apostasy of Yzuf, whose conversion to Islam is pictured mainly in relation to his piracy for the Turkish regency of Algiers, and to the strong allegiance he shows to its Islamic rulers. Yzuf's renegadism is presented through the raid of a coastal town in Spain. His determination to carry it off successfully stands as an emphatic and incontrovertible evidence of his stance towards Christianity and his piracy. His decisive role in the piratical raid of the Spanish town, and the respect he commands within the regency of Algiers all point to his commitment to his work as a corsair for the Ottomans.[109] The King of Algiers, Hazén Veneziano, comes to greet them. All the officials who gather to meet the returning pirates agree that the success of the raid was due to the bravery of the pirates, and they especially single out Yzuf in their praise. The baños' Warden speaks of him to the King as

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intentionally banished the Moors. So too his conversion to Islam comes from being driven out of the Christian fold and cannot be seen as an apostacy from Christianity.

[109] We now understand that these renegade pirates are in fact privateers for the Ottoman regency of Algiers.

"Yzuf, whom fame proclaims […] a good Moor,[110] and good soldier."[111] These lines of contrast between the two kinds of renegades, drawn even as the play begins, are also the means by which an ideological opposition between the two renegades is presented.[112]

In the "Captive's Tale" that is found in *Don Quixote*, the sovereignty of the Christian state is promoted as a founding belief when representing the heroism of the Spanish captive. He is cast along chivalric lines and his endurance of his captivity and his escape from Algiers are shown as brought about by the strength of his Christian pledge of loyalty to God and king. Here the narrative of the experience of wars that the captive presents is told through his knightly perspective and presents his ventures (be they war, or romance) as noble and fitting of an ideal Christian. The captive's narrative of his experiences shows that it is done in the service of the holy head of the Church. Such a perspective is disrupted or fragmented by the dramatic representation which displaces the authoritative position held by the narrative voice of the captive. There are stories and experiences that are not that of the captive, and they have their own distinct protagonists and narrators. Therefore, there are multiple authorial voices and

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[110] Unlike English playwrights who confuse and lump together the ethnic identities of the Islamic world, Cervantes, as Fuchs points out was very precise in his ethnic identifications of characters.

[111] *Los baños* de *Argel's* representation of the conflict between the two renegades brings to light this dimension of the threat to sovereign power, i.e., that of ideological oppositions arising from another religion, Islam. The play does this by showing that what one renegade considers as a violation of the native) land, a wounding of the bonds of family and loyalty to family ("cut" of the tender shoots that grow on the land), the other does not. It is assumed that Hazén's sense of injury is invoked from the private discourses of family values and does not represent a political problem.

[112] I draw attention to this scene because it shows a cataclysmic ending to the religio-political opposition of the renegades Hazén and Yzuf. In this scene, their furious confrontation and the violence it elicits brings about the deaths of the two renegades.

narrative coherence is established by the intersections of the various stories. The stories of these other characters acquire as much significance as the captive's story because they are essential for showing the various contexts that impinge upon the captive's story. narrative coherence of the play. This undercuts the possibility of seeing heroism being represented only by the Captive. While the novel was able to fashion the captive as the ideal sovereign subject in the 'Captive's Tale', the drama's multiple narratives make such idealism questionable.

**Spain's recalcitrant renegades**

As *Los baños* opens we see a piratical raid in progress. Unwary townsfolk are dragged from their homes by pirates and herded into a waiting ship like animals. Their ruthless treatment gives a glimpse of the fate that awaits them as captives. Their abductors will take them away to lands far away from their homes. Depicted with many minute details, the scene presents an incisive portrait of renegade piracy. What is also of note is the scene's identification of the religious and ethnic differences in these characters. The person who first sees the pirates entering the town is the sacristan, and he raises the alarm. He is petrified by fear as he cries that he must ring the church bells quickly to warn the town of the pirates' attack:

SACRISTÁN:

Turcos son, en conclusion.

Oh torre, defensa mía!,

ventaja à la Sacristía

hacéis en esta ocasión.

Tocar las campanas quiero,

y gritar apriessa al arma:

[*Toca la campana*]

el corazón se desarma:

de brío, y de miedo muer. (39-46)

SEXTON:

It's the Turks, after all.

O tower, my defense!

You trump the sacristy

on this occasion.

I must ring the bells

quickly sound the alarm

[*he rings the bell*];

my heart is losing its courage

and I'm dying of fear. (39-46)

Here the reference to a Christian clergyman and church bells identifies that the town that is being attacked and the people who are being treated brutally by the pirates are Christian. This distinction is reiterated by the exclamation of fear by the sexton, "It's the Turks, after all." The Sacristan's cry evokes the horror with which these Christians viewed being abducted by Turkish pirates. There was a tremendous fear of becoming captive at the hands of pirates because of the terrible fate that awaited captives. The reasons for such fear were not only for the terrible life of

hard labour and slavery that awaited them,[113] but also the fear of being coerced to convert to Islam and be subjected to Islamic practices that were seen as perverse and sinful by Christians. The renegade pirates who are the perpetuators of this horrific raid are Muslims, and the people who have been captured by them and become victims of their barbarous cruelty are the Christians.

While the scene of the raid and abduction represents the problem of Turkish renegade piracy at large, it is the revelation that the abduction is being conducted by pirates who know the "terrain well" that shows it as very particular kind of piratical raid; it is a raid by Turks that are not foreign to this coastal town in Spain. We realize this when we hear the renegade Yzuf talk to the leader Caurali about his familiarity with the land, "I was born and raised in this land, / and I know well its ins and outs" (10-11) ("Naci, y creci, qual dixe, en esta tierra, / y se bien sus entradas, y salidas" (10-11).[114]

The play thus characterizes the renegade Yzuf as a Turk who is a native of Spain. Through the connections that can be made between what Yzuf says, his conversion to Islam and his work as a corsair for the Algerian Ottomans, and the reference to him as a "Moor" (636) (made later in the play), *Los baños* draws an explicit connection between the political history of the recent expulsion of the Moriscos, and Yzuf's renegade piracy as a Muslim corsair. It identifies Yzuf as a morisco from Spain. Spain in consolidating itself as a "pure" Christian nation

[113] The captive was put to work in building sites, road work, as galley slave, or sold as a slave in many regions around the Mediterranean. The conditions in which captives lived were sordid, or unbearable. Antonia Garcés discusses in detail the …

[114] *Los baños*, 10-11.

finalized its expulsion of Moors and Muslims from its regions in 1609.[115] Due to its persecution, thousands of Moriscos from Granada "opted for '*pasar allende* [passing overseas] to North African Barbary. These émigrés declared a holy war against Spain".[116] Moriscos (Moor exiles expelled from the peninsula) who fled from Andalucía and Valencia became renegades serving the Barbary states. Piracy was not novel in the early modern Mediterranean as it had been practiced for centuries by both Christians and Muslims. However, Muslim privateering grew to large proportions due to the Ottoman Barbary regencies enlisting Spanish Moriscos expelled by the Reconquista in their armies.[117] Spain, by its invasion of the Maghrib states and the strongholds it built there, sought to control the activities of these exiles who fled the Peninsula after the fall of Granada in 1492.[118] But this was brought to an end in 1574 when the Ottoman empire conquered Tunis and brought the eastern and central Maghreb under its control and protection. With the Ottoman empire taking over the Barbary states the Spanish Conquista of

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[115] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Vol. 1*, 1996.

[116] Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 20.

[117] But as Maria Antonia Garcés notes, many Europeans were willing partners in enlisting with the Muslims through their apostasy and conversion to Islam, those who were mere numbers in the different social strata or classes of their nations acceded to a more egalitarian society in Algiers, where individuals were valued for their wealth and personal qualifications. Referring to the work of Antonio de Sosa, who like Cervantes was a captive in Algiers for many years, she points out that "[e]ven Sosa grudgingly conceded that these apostates might have had more intricate reasons for embracing Islam than the sins of the flesh he constantly denounced." (*Topografía*, I: 53–54).

[118] Spain's North African conquests with dates were: Melilla (1497), Cazaza and Mers El Kébir (1505), Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera (1508), Oran (1509), Algiers (1510), Bejaia (1510) and Tripoli (1510); Fortresses such as La Goleta were Spanish outposts in North Africa.

Northern Africa, which started in 1497 under the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, had to cease as well.

*Los baños'* revelation of the Morisco identity of Yzuf even as it evokes the politics of the expulsion gestures towards the discourses that underlie this expulsion. Spain has professed that it is creating a "pure" Christian state as the reason for its expulsion. What such purity entails makes the expulsion a political and highly racist process. According to Spain's definition of "pure". Christians of Moorish ethnicity or descent could not be granted Spanish citizenship. The expulsion was not only carried out as an ethnic cleansing, but also with the goal to create a specific kind of religious group. The Inquisition decreed that every Spanish citizen should be a "true" Christian, but these "true" Christians could not be Moorish Christians or have a Moorish ancestry. This act of control that sought to bring about a certain religious homogeneity is primarily an act that consolidates the authority of the pope over Spain's subjects. It is therefore strongly connected to the discourse of sovereignty. The sovereign power of the pope circumscribes Spain within its reach by creating ideal Christian subjects. Here an absolute religious homogeneity is a necessity for the sovereign power of the pope to be upheld. It is only when a populace has a strongly unified perspective on religion can the ruler emerge as sovereign.

**Sovereign power and the religion of the subject**

The subject of sovereign power is inscribed within a Christian worldview that is defined by Christian ideology. Thus, the sovereign exercised his power on subjects who in a sense are all defined by a uniform and Christian subjectivity. When critiquing and developing a theory of sovereignty theorists have taken into consideration the nation, land, and state as well as the inhabitants of these terrains, i.e., the sovereign's subjects. But theorists have not specifically

addressed an element which is taken for granted in the interpretation of the subject of sovereign power. This element consists of how religion and religious ideology intervenes in the formation of the subject. It is not that those theorists do not recognize or acknowledge the question of the subject. It is more a question of beginning with the assumption that the land or the nation over which the sovereign rules is made up of homogenously religious subjects. For example, Schmitt's and Agamben's work displays this problem. The problem is best understood by examining the conceptualization of sovereignty itself.

Schmitt and Agamben take up the interpretation of sovereignty through a focus on the conceptualization of sovereign power, a power that explicitly (as in the early modern period) or ideologically (as in the modern period when religion and state have been separated) is defined by a Christian world view, i.e., it becomes meaningful through concepts and discourses that define monarchic and theocratic rule.[119] Setting aside the critique of Schmitt's theory of sovereignty that Agamben's develops in his own conceptualization of sovereignty, let us for the moment, humour Schmitt, and allow for both Schmitt's and Agamben's theories to be viable ones. Not simultaneously, but as two different perspectives towards the defining of sovereign power. We find that irrespective of their differences, in both Schmitt's and Agamben's theories the genealogy of the concept of sovereignty admits to an element that is Christian in nature. Even though Agamben critiques Schmitt's theory he does so by ---- of a Christian ontology. In other

[119] One might contend, that in our contemporary and modern era theocratic rule is no longer feasible due to the secularization of the state. However, Carl Schmitt has persuasively argued that the process of secularization has never been completely achieved, and that the theocratic concepts become transferred to concepts that constitute the modern and secular laws of today. His fundamental critique of sovereignty proposes that concepts of theology have been transferred to the secular notions of the modern state.

words, the very idea of sovereignty cannot be approached without considering that it was originally conceived as a Christian concept defined through both human and Christian divine agency. In both Schmitt's and Agamben's approach to the theory of sovereign power we find that the critique of sovereignty unfolds in terms of "*who*" is holding this power. They set about defining the sovereign who exercises his power on the subject. And they do so with the implicit assumption of a homogeneity of the subject's ontology of the world because the subject is tied to the sovereign's world and carries the same ontic meanings that the sovereign does. This assumption is essentially logical in nature because the world view that informs the sovereign and his subject are both encased within a Christian approach to 'knowing' things.

It is this issue of creating subjects with a homogenous and unified worldview that both the papal and Inquisitory authorities consider when they expel the moriscoes. In other words, they have recognized and acknowledged the necessity of studying the conceptualization of the subject in their establishing the Church's/papacy's sovereign power. In England there was the early expulsion of Jews (1290 CE), who it saw as a threat to its religious homogeneity. So too, we find that Spain set about aggressively routing the Moors and Muslims from Granada and Valencia. Even the fact that Moors had converted to Christianity did not suffice for its requirements of granting Spanish citizenship. Spain conducted its expulsion on ethnic and proto-racial lines. Among Christian nations, Venice was an exception because it accommodated different religions and ethnicities. However, Venice's political rule was established by defining itself as republic. The act of removing persons who can pose a threat, however negligible, to building a monolithic worldview is essential for the conceptualization of sovereignty. Religion is the most coherent and relevant mode by which sovereign power can cultivate a uniform worldview; such a worldview is known as a Christian worldview.

Approaching the problem of sovereign power through the question of the subject coheres with the importance given to the state of exception by both Schmitt and Agamben. The meanings that each of these theorists give to the 'state of exception' is intrinsic to their formulation of a theory of sovereignty. In Chapter One, I had discussed the analogous nature of the space the renegade pirate inhabits and the space of the 'state of exception' by referring to the notion that both these spaces share the common event of the "non-function of the law." Here, I had posed the conditions by which the lawlessness attributed to renegades and the worlds they occupy and the space of the state of exception as theorized in Agamben's theorization of sovereign power both come to share a commonality. In both Schmitt and Agamben's work on sovereignty, the state of exception, in different ways, is seen as pivotal to defining sovereign power. The strong significance given to the space of exception in the theory of sovereign power can be linked to the study of the subject because it is the subject who occupies the space of exception. In these "Turk plays," the inter-religious encounter obligates taking into account the question of "whom" sovereign power is exercised upon. In other words, in the realization of sovereign power it becomes pertinent to examine the part played by the Christian subject who lives in a non-Christian land. More importantly, such criticism will need to acknowledge definitive elements of the early modern period, such as accounting for the phenomenon of global trade and commerce; and conceding the impact that the Ottoman empire, as a dominant power, had on the western subject. In these plays, the defining elements that unsettle the concept of sovereign power are the Christian's encounters with Muslims and the inter-relationship between Christian and Islamic peoples. Even at a basic level such experiences muddy the waters of the question of Christian subjectivity. Renegade piracy brings to the fore the realization that in the early modern period Christian states are confronted for the first time with the challenge of maintaining religious

homogeneity. In *Los baños*, this fundamental dimension within sovereign power, i.e., what is entailed by the religion of the subject who is part of the logic of sovereign power, is underscored by the play's efforts to promote Christian religious identity when it is faced with the problem of renegade piracy.

**Captives and renegades: the Christian-Muslim divide**

The presentation of the raid that is conducted by Barbary pirates upon a coastal town in Spain in the play's opening scene introduces the two provocative motifs that are associated with renegade piracy— "turning Turk" and "captivity". This opening frames how the relationship between sovereign power and Christian subjectivity will be interpreted by showing it as a conflict between 'good' versus 'evil.' While the innocent victims of the raid do not deserve this harsh fate of captivity enlisting the sympathy of the audience for these victims is framed along religious lines—the Christian subjects need to be rescued and return to sovereign Spain,

The portrayal of the ruthless raid of the coastal Spanish town in the opening scenes of the play frames the actions of the Turkish pirates as causal to the tragic fates of the Christian captives in the *baños*.[120] The characters such as the old man, his two small sons Juanico and

[120] Pirates and privateers attacked regions all around the Mediterranean and the Barbary coast. As discussed in my "Introductory Chapter", privateering was the legitimized version of early modern piracy. Braudel has argued that piracy is a "secondary form of war" and arises just as strategies of war did, and in the contexts of the competition for hegemony between states, both Christian and Islamic. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. 2 vols. Trans. Siaˆn Reynolds. London: Collins, 1973), 2:865.

Francisquito, the church Sacristan, the noble lady Costanza, her fiancé Fernando are just some of the captives among the numerous victims of the coercive abductions by the pirates.[121] Shortly afterwards we come to know that among these captives there are also two very young boys.[122] The Turkish Algerian officials—the Pasha of Algiers, Caurali, the renegade leader, and the Cadí—begin to discuss the recently abducted captives with the pirates. In the course of their conversation the Cadí asks the renegade Yzuf, "Are there any young lads?" (667) to which Yzuf replies that there are "[o]nly two; but of a rare beauty, as you'll soon see" (668). The Cadí's question following so swiftly after the callous raid by Muslim pirates takes on a negative connotation that reinforces the common Christian impression of Turks as sodomites with perverted sexual tastes. In his reply to the Cadí about the boys Yzuf assures the Cadí that he would "marvel at these" (673) and then adds that they "both are my nephews" (673). Here Yzuf himself brings up the boys' relationship to him. This along with his unapologetic stance towards his abduction of these children both stand at the heart of the conflict that develops between the renegades, Hazén and Yzuf.

**But I am my brother's keeper: *sangre contra la patria***

Yzuf's abduction of his family members brings about the confrontation of the pirates, Hazén and Yzuf. Hazén had already decried Yzuf to the captives Lope and Vivanco by noting

[121] For a critical account of such abductions, see Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

[122] Yzuf's role in it establishes the link between the Morisco expulsion by Spain and his renegade piracy.

that Yzuf treats Christian captives cruelly. He casts Yzuf's character as diametrically opposed to his own by telling them that, unlike Yzuf, he (Hazen) "treated Christians very affably, / without Turkish cruelty in word or deed;" (389-391). He has also "aided many" (392) Christians. He sees Yzuf as an enemy of Christians and is critical of his wilfulness in the piratical raid of the Spanish town. But what exacerbates Hazén's anger and transforms it into rage and revenge is the fact that Yzuf has helped abduct his own nephews and their aging father. The play now enacts Yzuf's indictment at the hands of Hazén, who calls Yzuf a "savage" (676).[123] In an impassioned speech in which he reviles Yzuf for his betrayal and condemns his actions, Hazén declares:

HAZÉN:

… con quien tu alma avengas,
ni la de Gracia ni Escrita,
ni en Iglesia ni en Mezquita
à encomendarte a Dios vengas:
con todo, de tu fiereza
no pudiera imaginar
cosa de tanta estrañeza
como es venirte à faltar
la ley de naturalezà.

---

[123] In this regard, the dramatic confrontation between Yzuf and Hazén, Hazén's rage towards Yzuf with its emphasis of betrayal of one's kith and kin, extends to the argument about betraying one's native land. Yet, what is the affinity that Yzuf is supposed to feel for Christian Spain? Where should his loyalties lie? And more importantly why? This scene thus serves as a crucial revelation of the fractured or divided sense of religious identity that was a persistent issue for the existence of the Muslims in Spain even before their banishment.

Con sólo que la tuvieras,
fácilmente conocieras
la maldad que cometías
cuando à pisar te ofrecías
las Españolas riberas.
Qué Falaris agraviado,
qué Dionysio embravecido,
o qué Catilina ayrado,
contra su sangre ha querido
mostrar su rigor sobrado?
Contra tu patria levantas
la espada? Contra las plantas,
que con tu sangre crecieron
tus hozes agudas fueron? (778-800)

HAZÉN:

… your soul keeps no law,
neither the letter nor the spirit,
nor do you commend yourself
to God in any church or mosque.
Yet despite all this, I could never
imagine cruelty so rare
as to ignore

the law of nature.
If you obeyed it,
you'd easily recognize
the evil that you committed
when you set foot
on Spanish shores.
What aggrieved Falaris,
what enraged Dionysus,
or what angry Catiline
has ever vented his overwhelming
cruelty on his own flesh and blood?
You raise your sword against
your own homeland? Your sharp scythe
cuts down the shoots
that grew from your own blood? (778-800)

Hazén's censure of Yzuf's actions and character becomes a kind of manifesto of Yzuf's renegadism and his betrayal of his native land. His indictment carries many connotations within the contexts of the play, and I address these in order. Hazén sees Yzuf as a mercenary as he accuses him of lacking both soul or law (rule), and irreligious as he cannot be faithful to Christianity or Islam. His accusation of Yzuf: "you … sold your uncle and your nephews, and your land…" and have "vented … overwhelming cruelty on [your] own flesh and blood" weaves together the ties of blood and the ties to the land. The image of brutal mutilation that Hazén pictures within his speech: "Your sharp scythe cuts down the shoots that grew from your own

blood" presents the tender shoots that rise in Spring as a metaphor for Yzuf's nephews. He compares Yzuf's abduction of his nephews to the shoots being sliced by a sharp blade. The metaphor becomes especially powerful because the concept of the land is common to both the shoots and Yzuf's young nephews and imparts the significant meaning of fostering and nurturing these tender beings.

The idea that a violation has been committed to that which fosters and nourishes, i.e., the native land, resonates in this scene. The evocative language fuses the image of the "cutting the budding shoots" from the land with the "cutting of blood-ties" of his young nephews and their father. It thus brings together the 'personal judgement of relations within the family' and the 'impersonal judgment of cutting the shoots from the land to see them both as the violation of bonds to the native land. In the imagery developed in this scene, the land itself come to be a metaphor for the family. At another level, Hazén's words "sold your family and country … to unbelievers" evokes for the first time in the play the notion of the "*patria*" (homeland) [124] of the renegade pirate and addresses this issue as a tie that is binding at the personal level—as a tie of "*sangre*"—as something that is distinctive from its official denotation of state. Yet we need note that even as it consolidates this personal tie a slippage occurs simultaneously between the use of the term "*sangre*" and the term "*patria*":

HAZÉN:

[124] The word *patria* can be translated as homeland or country. In the context of the angst contained in this exchange it can also be approached through its Latin root as in *pate*r, wherein *patria* then relates to the father and the practice in patriarchal societies to trace lineage through the father. And this is the meaning that Hazén's words evoke when he brings the charge against Yzuf, and it connotes that "you (Yzuf) go against the land of your fathers, your lineage, your nativity.

… qué Catilina ayrado,
contra su sangre ha querido
mostrar su rigor sobrado?
Contra tu patria levantas
la espada? Contra las plantas,
que con tu sangre crecieron
tus hozes agudas fueron?

HAZÉN:
… what angry Catiline
has ever vented his overwhelming
cruelty on his own flesh and blood?
You raise your sword against
your own homeland? Your sharp scythe
cuts down the shoots
that grew from your own blood?

Couched as it were between "cruelty" to one's "own …blood" and "cutting down … your own blood" the word "*patria"* devolves between two senses—nativity and political subjectivity. The distinction between the land where he was born and can indisputably claim nativity and the land as in the Christian-Spanish state that has unjustly expelled Yzuf becomes erased. The reference to "*sangre*", a term that is here used to refer to the ties to kith and kin, comes to connote the bonds to Christian-Spain as well.

Through this conflation of the two senses of land, land as the native land and land as Christian Spain, *Los baños* presents the betrayal of family as not just an abomination against family and native land, but also against Christian Spain. Yzuf's attack upon his family, his role in the abduction of his nephews and his bringing them to serve the Algerian Pasha, serve as an interrogation of this aspect of renegade piracy—the pirate's ties to his family.[125] Hazén's censorious remarks are set to force Yzuf to declare what beliefs guide his actions. However, Yzuf says nothing about the reasons for his actions. There are many questions that the play leaves unanswered in this representation of Yzuf's family relations such as why a Moorish lineage is not figured in these nephews, while it is in their uncle, Yzuf. As for the audience we are set to consider the implications of the renegade's severance from state and religion in relation to ties that can still connect him with the state he abandoned. By bringing up, in an unexpected way, the idea that the renegade has a family with whom he has continued to relate, it also leads us to see the renegade in more humane terms.

We do not, however, hear directly from Yzuf himself his views on the crucial issue of abducting his own kith and kin. Could it be that he sees that life can be better for his nephews if he brings them to Algiers? The Cadí's remark to Yzuf earlier "[y]ou've done them a great favour" is perhaps the only useful clue the play offers in gaining some insight into why Yzuf abducts his own nephews. In her gloss about this, Fuchs' explains that the Cadí's observation indicates that "Yzuf believes that life in Algiers might improve his nephews' prospects, as many

[125] The familial relationships that the play outlines for these nephews might seem improbable but are in fact perfectly plausible. The aging father is Yzuf's uncle and father to the two young boys. Yzuf is an uncle to the two sons of this aging man. This could imply that Yzuf's uncle is married to Yzuf's sister (the uncle must probably be their mother's brother due to incest taboos related to marrying the father's brother). Thus, the children are his nephews while the father is his uncle.

janissaries started out as captive boys but were later raised to be soldiers". Yzuf does not express these thoughts himself. It is possible that his status within the Algerian hierarchy limits such a free expression of his thoughts, and we will need to garner his intentions from the Cadí's speech. However, we see that he does want his nephews to be favoured by the Pasha and the Cadí for he brings the boys to their attention during the discussion about the captives by saying, "Only two; but of a rare beauty". This desire to see them favoured coheres with the gloss that Fuchs provides and suggests that Yzuf might indeed be hoping to bring about their careers starting out as janissaries for the Ottoman empire, and thereby to reach greater achievements and ranks.[126] High ranks within the empire, however, can be accessed only if the person converts to Islam. The King of Algiers or Pasha himself serves as a prime example of the achievements that can be made in working for the Ottoman Sultan. The Pasha, Hasan Veneziano, was a Venetian who was captured at a young age and then taken to Tripoli, where he apostatized. From an initial position as a tax collector, he rose meteorically by serving the corsair Uchalí (Alūj Ali) in Istanbul as official accountant and bursar, finally becoming king of Algiers in 1577.[127] We therefore can assume that Yzuf imagines for his nephews a prosperous life through military prowess, or some other profession within the empire.

[126] Because the Cadí held a highly influential position within the hierarchy of rule in Ottoman-ruled regions it is possible that Yzuf presents the boys so appealingly to the Cadí in the hopes of bringing them closer to the bureaucratic circles of Algiers and thereby to enlist them into the Pasha's service. There are many questions that the play leaves unanswered in this representation of Yzuf's family relations such as why a Moorish lineage is not figured in these nephews, while it is in their uncle, Yzuf.

[127] Maria Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 89.

The play suggests through Yzuf's actions and Hazén's denigration of the same that the attack of one's native land is an act of betrayal because it cuts the links to nativity which are upheld as almost sacred. The notion of 'belonging to the land' and the 'land belonging to one' is a powerful ideology that undergirds concepts of national identity and individual subjectivity. When a subject is banished from the land of one's birth and one's forbears without having committed any offence or crime, he/she loses his native identity, which in the early modern period was defined by an amalgam of religion, nativity, and ethnicity. *Los baños* brings up this reality through the figure of Yzuf as it evokes the deprivation of political rights and national identity that is experienced by Moriscos. Contextual clues such as his being a Moor, knowing well the Spanish town that he and the pirates raid, and the desire to wage war against Spain all point to Yzuf's Morisco identity and past. As a Morisco Spaniard, Yzuf's native identity was taken away and the physical bonds to the land of Spain by which he can experience his native identity have been severed. The use of the word "unbeliever" in his criticism of Yzuf primarily refers to Yzuf's apostacy and conversion to Islam, but in the context of the expulsion of the Moors it becomes an allusion to Spain's argument that Moors are dissimulators who pretend to be Christians.

The personal domain as in the relationship between members of a family intersects with the public issue of the ties to the native land. The individual's personal and intimate life that makes up the bonds to the family is linked with the public and social structure of the state through the notion of the native land. Yzuf's piratical abduction of his nephews, presented as a betrayal of his family, in being opposed by Hazén, becomes a means by which the play reflects upon whether the state can determine laws that will rule the bonds to one's family. In most of the European Christian lands, apostacy and treason were recognized as crimes against the state and

were punishable by death. Although Yzuf is no longer a part of Christian Spain, Hazén sees his actions of severing his family from Spain and along such lines i.e., as a treasonous act that deems a fit punishment. He thus punishes Yzuf by stabbing him. In keeping with the typical rationale of the death sentence that sees the cessation of a problem by killing the criminal, Hazén too declares, "I will put an end to you so that I can end your actions." Enraged at what he sees as his fellow pirate Yzuf's betrayal of his nativity and native Spain the renegade Hazén stabs and fatally wounds Yzuf. In the space in which no Christian law functions, the renegade Hazén appropriates the power to enact this law on behalf of the *native land* (*la patria*) Spain, and the figure of Hazén thus becomes representative of the sovereign power of the Christian state.

The fatal wounding of Yzuf is thus presented as brought about or executed by the ideology that underpins Christian sovereignty. In the confrontation between the two renegades Yzuf does not defend his piracy work or his abduction of his nephews to Hazén. He merely censures Hazén for his stupidity and expresses shock when he hears Hazén admit to his crypto-Christianity. He responds to Hazén accusations, and shouts at him: "My God, Hazén, you horrify me!" He sees Hazén's accusations as "nonsense" and points out that it is Hazén who is "false". Yzuf has assumed that Hazén, like himself has converted to Islam and but when he hears Hazén call him an "unbeliever" he realizes that he has been fooled by Hazén's pretence and declares to Hazén, "[y]ou must be a Christian". Yzuf's emphatic accusation which strips Hazén of his pretence and puts an end to his crypto-Christianity also catalyses his end by bringing about his fatal stabbing at the hands of Hazén. Hazén now openly acknowledges his Christianity by stating:

HAZÉN:

Bien dices; y aquesta mano

confirmarà lo que has dicho,
poniendo eterno entredicho.
à tu proceder tyrano. (808-811)

HAZÉN:
You're right; and this hand
will confirm what you've said
putting an eternal prohibition
to your tyrannical behaviour. (808-811)

Hazén's desire to murder Yzuf allows the play to suggest that to abduct one's own kith and kin and take them to a Muslim state is a political crime. The fatal wounding of Yzuf is thus presented as brought about or executed by the ideology that underpins Christian sovereignty. Hazén's articulation of Yzuf's crime and his announcement of his own murder as the punishment for this become an emphatic means by which the play presents a Christian judgment. By sequencing the murder of Yzuf within a short time after the callous raid of the Spanish coastal town, the play enacts a certain kind of justice on the renegade, Yzuf. The words "y aquesta mano" make the 'hand' of Hazén a symbol of the 'hand of God' and a Christian law that judges Yzuf's actions as a "proceder tyrano". The expansion of the Ottoman empire which catalyses the movement of wealth and resources away from Christian states is presented as subverted by the play's fiction when it shows renegades lives coming to fatal ends. It enhances the sense of triumph figured in the Spanish captive Lope's flight with Zara, wherein Christian captives are shown appropriating the wealth of Islamic lands and taking away beautiful and wealthy Muslim women.

Hazén's violent actions transform the renegade space figured by "a non-function of the law" or "void" of western law into one where a Christian judgment comes to prevail, and Spain's sovereign power is thus brought into force. The play thus presents an imaginative construction of the ideology of the Spanish Christian state through Hazén's actions. The injunction that a pirate cannot attack his native land or bring about a severance of his family's ties to that land is made through him. The renegade pirate does not have any ties with the state he rebels against, but in the case of Morisco renegades there is contradiction within this statement. The Moor was expelled from his native land and abandoned because he is not a European and this injustice deprives him of his ties to the homeland. But through figuring Hazén's as an avenger of the "*patria*" the play sets forth the argument that despite his expulsion the Moor Yzuf is supposed to act in good faith towards the land in which he was born, i.e., uphold a sense of Christian loyalty to Spain. It is these complex issues that emerge as a result of the confrontation between the pirates Hazén and Yzuf.

In *Los baños,* an ideological opposition that is brought about between the two renegades' views towards Spain and Christianity also becomes a mode by which the play sets in motion the notion of allegiance as determining national as well as political identity.[128] The two issues—national identity and political identity—can be seen as separate because of how they get played out in the lives of renegades. Realizing this truism in what appears as a strange anomaly underscores the crucial changes that occur in definitions of identity and subjectivity in the early modern period. The growth in global movement of people which goes beyond trade and travel to now deal with the ransom industry, and the privateering ventures and colonial thrust of Europe

[128] Not the conversion of the two renegades, but conversion in itself.

are but some of them. By their very status of rebelling against the authority of the state renegades choose to give up an affiliation to a Christian state, but that is not the case in the Ottoman empire and its regencies. The contradictory political policies of the Ottoman empire with reference to Christian states necessitates identifying political identity as a distinct issue. In the case of relations with Christian states, the renegade by severing himself from sovereign rule and in no longer being subject to the state relinquishes any right to both national and political identities. However, this was not the case in the Ottoman empire which integrated into its power a diverse and varied population and peoples, including renegades. In the regions ruled by the Sultan it was possible for renegade pirates to acquire a certain degree of political rights without become part of the Islamic land they used as a base, i.e., without becoming a subject of that land.

It is the representation of the opposition between the two renegades that brings to light the slippage between the religious and political dimensions in the condemnation of Yzuf's act of abduction as crime. The renegade space becomes a critical space where questions about what right rule is, and the renegade's right to rights are played out.[129] The climactic altercation that takes place between the two renegades shows that sovereign rule does impact the life of the

[129] I believe that this aspect of sovereign power, the concept of the subject of sovereign power is not viable any longer because of globalization and all that it entails. Sovereignty too becomes undermined in this transformation of the social structures of society. It is possible to propose this as a significant argument that can counter Schmitt's theory of sovereign power. With the advent of global movement, of trade, slavery, conversion, cultural exchange, et al the worldview of the subjects of western states can no longer maintain insularity (i.e., a uniformity in the subject's worldview is no longer possible). Even if a secularized Western law encodes the concepts of Christian theology within itself its efficacy is countered by concepts of subjectivity that enter its jurisdiction in unpredictable and subtle ways. These concepts are comprised of differing religious worldviews that either do not interpret or are unable to interpret it as it should be interpreted. Their differing ontological perspectives disrupts acts of Christian ontologies and interpretations.

renegade Yzuf indirectly. The play's investment in Christian sovereignty leads us to interpret Hazén's renegadism differently from that of Yzuf, and Christian redemption hovers over Hazén throughout his presence in the play. When we start thinking of each of the renegade's piratical acts through the ideology of Christianity that the play presents, we are drawn into taking a moral position towards how their crimes should be judged. However, if we do this, it is possible to miss the contradictions in rule that come to light in this scene. The play itself shows the contradiction as unresolved when it presents a denouement of the scene in which both the renegades die. The tragic deaths of the renegades Yzuf and Hazén lead us consider how the play justifies the sovereignty of Christian rule that operates here. The ways in which the judgment supports a discourse of the state makes us realize that the offense the play wishes to present as a religious transgression is more political than it is religious. One can also argue that the two dimensions are so intricately intertwined that to unravel one is to have to reckon with the other as well. The play by employing religious discourse to contextualize the crimes of the renegade elides the political dimensions of the crime. However, such erasure is not registered as such, and the play makes no compensation or reparation in its presentation of the ensuing loss of the political rights of the renegade.

In the case of the renegade pirate Hazén it is not clear whether he has chosen not to be a subject of Algiers, but as a renegade he can be seen as not necessarily affiliated completely with Algiers. Different moments in the play also allude to his hopes and failures of being rescued by relatives ransoming him from the Algerian governments so he can return to Spain. Also, as I show in the analysis that follows Hazén enacts an imagined Spanish national identity even as he participates politically by his work as a corsair for the Algerian rulers. In this distinction in Hazén, his political role versus his severed Spanish national subjectivity we can that the two

issues can bring about a distinction in identities. From the very fact that the Christian renegades in Algiers are expected to subscribe to the rules of the state we can infer that they are linked with Algiers in a political capacity. This is consistently portrayed in all the plays in this study when renegade pirates are shown engaging directly with the laws of the land and with questions of legal rights. This accountability of the renegades applies both ways, i.e., if a resident of Algiers, including renegades and visitors, violates the rights and protection accorded to another resident he is liable to be punished even if the person he has injured is not a subject of the state of Algiers. Thus, among the people who travelled to and lived in regions of the Ottoman empire there existed the possibility of holding a political identity while not having a native or regional identity.[130]

Even as we acknowledge the distinction between the two identities, native versus political identity, we are set to evaluate the very processes of "apostasy" and "conversion" by seeing how they play into the various discourses of family life and political subjectivity that impact upon the renegade pirate. In *Los baños* the renegade space of the pirates Hazén and Yzuf comes to be presented as one that is vulnerable to the law of the Christian sovereign despite its autonomy and disconnectedness from it. Although theoretically beyond the jurisdiction of

[130] About this aspect of rule, White relates a particularly interesting anecdote that takes place in the Ottoman court with reference to a Muslim Tunisian merchant's (an Ottoman subject) unlawful treatment of a slave (who is not a subject of the empire) whom he has just acquired. He is brought before the Sultan's court to answer for his crime. He cites that he does not yet have the evidence that will prove him innocent of the charges made against him and is given two years to produce this evidence as per the law. The merchant uses this option shrewdly and flees the land (Tunis / Istanbul) in fear of the punishment that he will surely be given for his misconduct.

sovereign Spain this space is shown as upholding the authority of its sovereign power to interrogate and punish the renegade.

In Hazén's justification for punishing Yzuf, the play sets aside religion in order to focus on politics, In the representation of political subjectivity figured in the renegade we find the question of his apostacy has been displaced to allow for focus on his betrayal of "*la patria*".[131] Religion and faith themselves become highly politicized concepts, and their expressions become a way by which Hazén (as a Christian) imagines, appropriates, and enacts political actions. The play shows Hazén's invoking familial bonds as national bonds when he judges Yzuf, and through this it figures his claim to a Spanish Christian subjectivity. The dramatic representations of the conflicts in faith of the two renegades becomes a means by which the play gives opposing perspectives towards the interpretation and definition of sovereign power. These lines of contrast between the two kinds of renegades drawn even as the play begins are also how an ideological opposition between the two characters is created.

The approach to faith as something that needs to be made visible is something that occurs in relation to establishing a Christian identity and subjectivity. For example, we find that Hazén's declarations of his faith are not just about a dramatization of the contemporary debates concerning confessional identity but reflect more a desire to make visible a Christian-Spanish identity. They seek to create (a Christian) subject when he or she is deprived of all the markers

[131] As I have discussed in my Introductory chapter, the term renegade that appears in the early modern plays refers not just to the renegade's apostasy from Christian faith, but also his conversion to Islam. However, Yzuf is no longer a Spanish subject. Only when he is legally acknowledged as a Spanish subject (i.e., to acknowledged by Spain as a native of Spain, a citizen of Spain, and as a Spanish Christian) can his violation of allegiance to the family be tried as a crime.

that go towards establishing such subjectivity, i.e., in the non-Christian realm of the Ottoman regency of Algiers. In the play, this issue of making religious belief visible is addressed to a large extent by not only the question of articulation or 'what is spoken', but also by 'what is made visible' in terms of 'performance.' Not only is faith articulated but it is also enacted, and the interior is thus exteriorized. The problem of conversion in Christianity is thus both a problem of changing the interior as well as having proof of that change, i.e., being able to prove that the change has occurred.

Here we need to remind ourselves of the Ottoman empire's policy towards religious conversion. It acknowledges the political dimension in religious conversion overtly when it bestows Islamic converts with social and political advantages and permits them to rise in its bureaucracy. This political aspect of converting to Islam is observed in Yzuf when he abducts his relatives and brings them to Algiers. He is presented as attempting to secure positions for his nephews with the Pasha himself. There is no mention by him about their converting to Islam because it is the true religion or superior religion. Whereas many incidents in the play show that there are economic benefits as opposed to religious ones for renegades and immigrants who choose to work for Algiers. Yzuf does not see religion *per se* as a force that dictates his actions at the political level. In keeping with this approach to religion, Yzuf adopts Islam but does not subject himself to it in the same way as Hazén does to Christianity. Through Yzuf, the play suggests that Islamic religious belief and conversion does not operate through subjection.

In Yzuf, the play represents the political act as something that arises within his renegade piracy that gives him a means to oppose Spain and take away his nephews from it. In contrast to Hazén's crypto-Christianity, the pirate Yzuf has firmly rejected Christianity and converted to Islam as a result of being expelled from Spain. His Algerian subjectivity is contrasted by and

stands in opposition to Hazén's desire to regain a Spanish-Christian subjectivity. Having been stripped of his Spanish-Christian subjectivity, Yzuf now re-thinks his subjectivity not along the religious lines that Christianity fosters but along a direct relation with the Algerian state, and by the work he does for the state. His decision to bring his family members into Ottoman service is shown as his personal decision,[132] and is not regulated or controlled by issues of religious or national allegiance. When he was expelled from Spain, he was divested of a Spanish-Christian religious and native allegiance, and his rights to them have been severed or taken away by Spain. He has now become a corsair in the Algerian Pasha's service.

Hazén's murder represents a political act when he assumes the right to oppose Yzuf for what he sees as a violation of familial bonds. On the one hand, Hazén's desire to be identified as a Christian leads him (to feel the need) to show that his subjection to Christ is total, and that it defines every aspect of the self—his public self, and his private self. On the other hand, Hazén's pretending to be a Muslim while secretly holding on to his Christian belief, his crypto-Christianity, points out that ideological conformity can also be pretended or acted out. In this regard, his murderous stabbing of Yzuf becomes the ultimate act that will *thwart* the idea that his adherence to Christian belief is a pretence. Here the act of violence becomes a testament of Christianity and a testification of Christian faith. It echoes the old testament narrative of Abraham's willingness to kill his son to confirm to God his faith and obedience to his will. One can say that in Hazén the figuration of a Christian subjectivity itself is made manifest by his setting about murdering the "unbeliever" (Yzuf). His Christian belief places him in a zone of

[132] I discuss this issue earlier in the chapter where I analyse the play's representations of the renegade's "blood" ties (*los lazos de* "*sangre*").

internalized subjection in which he appropriates the subjectivity of Spanish-Christian subject-hood, but it is the ideology that underpins the Christian state that propels him to judge Yzuf's actions and to punish him for it.

But despite this professing of Christian faith, due to his renegade piracy Hazén too like Yzuf has no real physical bonds by which to reclaim his former Spanish Christian identity. He might be a man who has unwillingly turned apostate and converted to Islam due the experience of captivity, but this does not mean that his bonds to Spain as its subject and his identity as a Spanish-Christian have remained intact. Once he has become an apostate and a Muslim, despite these choices not arising of his own volition, his native identity had to be relinquished and with it his claim to any ties to his native Spain. He cannot regain these ties, not unless Spain takes him back. He exists in a nomadic space with reference to Christianity and Spain while he strives to claims the right to be recognized as a Spanish subject even as he is employed as a renegade by Algiers. Who can appreciate his secret loyalty to his religion and his native country, and who will reward him for this allegiance? There is no scope for him to have recompense or feel acknowledgement of his allegiance in the livelihood he has to take up in Algiers.

In *Los baños*, the representation of the problem of conversion thus becomes one that also impacts or shapes the relation between the public and the private, between the political subject and the private citizen. Apostacy, as that aspect of the renegade which will be used as the critical point of attack, stands as a crux or a mediatory point and a pivot around which the politics of the public subject versus the private citizen revolve. In other words, the play's interrogation of the apostacy of the renegade opens the scope to examine the rationale for the link between 'bonds to the family' and 'bonds to the state'. Through Hazén's critical perspectives the play brings about the insight that the ideology by which family bonds are conceptualized is closely related to the

ideology by which the political bonds to the state are conceptualized. This approach to seeing religious discourse as a mode that helps conflate the personal and public self serves to also enhance the monarch's power to subject and consolidates his sovereign power. But can the renegade's ties to his family be purveyed by the state?

In *Los baños*, the sustained attention given to the performance of Christianity shows that such performance carves a religious subjectivity and national identity which cannot otherwise be known or identified in an alien situation.[133] For Hazén, this performance of faith itself becomes a means for creating a Christian space by which to claim a Spanish identity. Through Hazén's performance of Christianity, the play shows that such performance is not just a matter of making faith visible, but it also becomes a means by which he takes possession of Spanish-Christian subjectivity. Throughout the play and until his death, Hazén's numerous declarations and outward gestures seek to confirm his Christian faith.

We hear a moving account of one such declaration in the scene in which he approaches the gentlemen captives Lope and Vivanco for signatures that will help him to become reconciled to Spain.[134] The belief that Moors were dissimilators can also be a reason for Hazén's vociferous

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[133] While an older Christianity conceptualized faith by emphasizing practices—be they ritual or unspiritual—that were largely conceived through lived experience, the early modern period begins to emphasize the performative over lived experiences in its approach to faith. This period also witnesses a radical change in how religious belief is perceived. It seeks to transform faith into an entity that can be scrutinized. Both Humanism and the Reformation can be seen as powerful forces that bring about this detrimental change in religious belief. In different ways then, Catholic nations as well as Protestant ones begin to place emphasis in the performance of faith (as opposed to the practice of faith). We see this crisis represented in how the renegade Hazén expresses his longing to be re-joined with Spain—he performs Christianity.

[134] Renegades are rarely pardoned for their crimes and are usually put to death for being traitors to the country.

declarations of faith—they reflect his desire to not to be seen as a false Christian as he thinks the Moors are. The renegade who desired to be reconciled to Christianity and to Spain was required to prove his repentance to the Catholic Church (Pope/Inquisition /Maria Antonia Garcés). This involved his undergoing a formal investigation of his Christian religious character before the Church permitted his "reconciliation" with it. Hazén hopes to use the signatures that Lope and Vivanco give to submit to the Inquisition as part of the attestations of his Christian character. He brings to them a written a statement in which he describes his treatment of Christians and Christian captives. Hazén relates his loyalty to Christianity to the captive Lope, an affluent man from Spain. Declaring his faith in Christ he explains the circumstances that have brought about his apostacy and conversion to Islam. He relates that he came to join the Turks after he was captured by them. He reads aloud from this statement, which he then gives to them to attest to his loyalty and faith:

HAZÉN:

(*Dales un papel escrito*)

Aqui và, como es verdad,
que he tratado à los Christianos
con mucha afabilidad,
fin tener en lengua, ô manos
la Turquesca crueldad.
Cómo he à muchos socorrido
cómo, niño fui oprimido
à ser Turco: cómo voy
en corso; pero que soy

bué Christiano en lo escondido,

y quizà hallaré ocasión

para quedarme en la tierra,

para mí, de promissión. (387-399)

HAZÉN:

(*Reads from a written statement*)

… It is true

that I have treated Christians

with much affability,

neither in word or deed shown

the Turkish cruelty.

that I have aided many;

that, as a child, I was

compelled to become a Turk;

that, though I go roving, I am

a good Christian underneath.

Perhaps I'll have a chance

to remain in what

for me is the Promised Land. (387-399)

In this written affidavit, Hazén shows himself to be an innocent victim of piracy—he has been abducted at a young age, made captive, and these circumstances have forced him to convert to

Islam.[135] The note also shows that now as a man, he is employed by the Turkish rulers of Algiers to work as a corsair. Here Hazén's words convey that this too, i.e., his current piracy work, like his conversion is something he does unwillingly for he states, "though I go roving, / I am a good Christian underneath".[136] But the necessity to attest to one's faith and belief was always an intrinsic aspect of Christianity and an underlying process in its practice. In fact, the concept of a confessional identity arises in this practice. This was brought about through the relationship of subjection that the Christian has with his/her God. Christian faith is defined by becoming completely subject to God—attesting to one's faith is a means by which being true to Christianity as well as being loyal to the king are confirmed. The process of subjection also promoted the belief that Christianity needs to be experienced at all levels of human experience, and through both the tangible and the intangible. Thus, in a Christian subject's psyche there is developed the notion of an interiority which is also Christian—one's inner-most thoughts and beliefs must be Christian, and there is no dimension of the self that can be hidden to God, and to religious scrutiny. From that point in the play in which Hazén reads from his written affidavit to Lope and Vivanco,[137] Hazén professes his Christianity many times. Before he stabs Yzuf he

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[135] Various factors collide in the play's representation of Hazén's performance of Christianity. The play develops many layers of critiques through this (C as performance). It shows the facet of Hazén's need to highlight his Christianity.

[136] Christian captives chose to convert to Islam for a variety of reasons ranging from finding less taxing slavery work, to improving their social and economic status, to widening their job prospects, and gaining administrative positions within the Ottoman empire.

[137] Hazén thoughts about religious piety are conflated with political loyalty in statements such as the one he makes to Lope and Vivanco about his hopes to return to Spain. He declares to them,

| | |
|---|---|
| HAZÉN: | HAZÉN: |
| Con vuestras dos firmas solas | With just your two signatures |
| pisarè alegre y contento | I'll happily set foot |

cries, “That’s true: I’m a Christian”. After the stabbing, the Cadí questions him, “Eres Christiano?” (“Are you a Christian?”) and Hazén declares,

HAZÉN:

Si soy;
y en serlo tan firme estoy,
que desseo, como has visto,
deshazerme y ser con Christo,
si fuesse possible, oy.
Buen Dios, perdona el excesso
de auer faltado en la fe,
pues, al cerrar del processo,
si en público te negue,
en público te confiesso!
Bien se que aqueste conuiene

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| | |
|---|---|
| las riberas españolas; | on Spanish shores; |
| lleuarè propicio el viento, | I’ll have a favourable wind, |
| manso el mar, blandas sus olas. | a calm sea with smooth waves. |
| A España quiero tornar | I want to return to Spain, |
| y a quien deuo confessar | and to one to whom I must confess |
| mi moço y antiguo yerro; | my childish and ancient error, |
| no como Yzuf, aquel perro | not like Yzuf, that dog who |
| que fue a vender su lugar.(377-386) | went back to sell out his village. (377-386) |

His reference to “just your two signatures” alludes to the power that the captives Lope and Vivanco can wield at the administrative level of the Spanish government. Lope and Vivanco come from a higher social class of Spain, and they have an influential role in Spanish society [RESEARCH]. Their status placed them in a position of authority that could be influential in vouch for Hazén’s Christian character.

que haga a aquel que te tiene

ofendido como yo. (827-839)

HAZÉN:

Yes, I am,

and so firm a Christian

that, as you can see, I seek

my own end to be with Christ,

today if possible.

O Lord forgive the trespass

of my lack of faith,

for, at the end of the day,

If I denied you publicly,

I now affirm you publicly!

I know that this is what

I must do as one

who has offended you. (827-839)

When he is sentenced to death by impalement[138] by the Cadí for his murder of Yzuf, Hazén's declarations clarify his Christian position and beliefs. In this image, the play stages the death of

[138] "Impalement was a torturous method of execution commonly depicted in European accounts of Barbary captivity. It involved piercing the victim's body with a stake and letting him hang on it until he died" (Garcés 207).

Hazén along lines of Christ-like suffering repeating and echoing the meanings contained in the crucifixion: the wooden cross, lying on the hard cross, the necessity of suffering for salvation are all evoked here. Hazén as he dies enacts Christianity to show that he is a Christian—he uses speech to declare that his death is a Christian one, but he also acts it out as we see for example, in his drawing links between the pole used for his impalement and the wooden cross of Christ's crucifixion. The reference to the wood of the cross and the wood of the pole become metaphors of his own identification with Christ's suffering and death. Hazén enacts Christianity as he dies, and he makes a visible representation of his faith by stating:

HAZÉN:

Mientras yo tuuiere aqueste,
con quien el alma regalo,
lecho será en que me acueste,
el tuyo, Sardanapalo.
Dame, enemigo, essa cama,
que es la que el alma mas ama,
puesto que al cuerpo sea dura;
damela, que a gran ventura
por ella el cielo me llama.

[*Saca vna cruz de palo.*]

No le mudes la intencion;
buen Iesus, confirma en el
su intento y mi peticion,
que en ser el cadi cruel

consiste mi saluacion. (843-856)

HAZÉN:

While I yet have this wood,

with which I gratify my soul,

yours will be a bed to lie on,

Sardanapalus. O my enemy,

give me that bed, which my soul

longs for; although it be

hard on the body, give it to me,

for heaven calls me to a

great reward for it.

[*He takes out a wooden cross*.]

Don't change his mind,

sweet Jesus; confirm

his intent and my plea,

for in the Cadí's cruelty

lies my salvation. (843-856)

Hazén's asking the other captives to "tell [his family] that [he] died a Christian death" underscores the performative aspect of his faith, and the metatheatrical nature of his request:

HAZÉN:

Christianos, a morir voy,

no moro, sino christiano:

que aqueste descuento doy
del viuir torpe y profano
en que he viuido hasta oy.
En España lo direis
a mis padres, si es que os veis
fuera de aqueste destierro. (862-869)

HAZÉN:
Christians, I go to my death not
as a Moor but as a Christian:
this can count against the low
and profane life I've lived until
today. Tell my parents in Spain, if you
find yourselves freed from this exile. (862-869)

But the scene as we come to understand also creates a layered understanding of the reasons for Hazén's death because it also shows the Cadi's evaluation of the situation. The Cadí questions Hazén by asking, "Why did you kill him, dog?" and Hazén reasons his murderous stabbing thus: "I banish him from life not because he was a hunting dog but because his *breed* always erred in hunting". In other words, Hazén argues that if Yzuf had "hunted" other nations he would not be "erring", but because he has acted against his *patria* he needs to be punished. His use of the derogatory "his *breed*" sees Yzuf as a kind of Judas figure, a *breed* that betrays (emphasis added). It also refers to Yzuf's Morisco background to suggest a kind of racist labelling that

implied that Moriscos were treacherous and false as a people, as a "*breed*". In his final moments as well, Hazén seeks to affirm and reiterate his Christian faith and identity by voicing it:

HAZÉN:

Christianos, a morir voy,
no moro, sino christiano:
que aqueste descuento doy
del viuir torpe y profano
en que he viuido hasta oy.
En España lo direis
a mis padres, si es que os veis
fuera de aqueste destierro. (862-869)

HAZÉN:

Christians, I go to my death not
as a Moor but as a Christian:
this can count against the low
and profane life I've lived until
today. Tell my parents in Spain, if you
find yourselves freed from this exile. (862-869)

In *Los banos*, there is a powerful rhetoric of martyrdom in the play that pushes aside the fact that Hazen is held accountable by the laws of Algiers. Through the theatrical and performative mode of Hazén verifying for the audience the reasons for his dying, the play underscores and profiles the Christian nature of his endurance as he goes to his death. Indeed, the performative nature of

early modern Christianity colludes with the play's thrust of emphasizing a Christian perspective on events resulting in a meta-theatrical representation of the death of Hazén. Its meanings are vociferously presented to its audience by the condemned Hazén who reiterates the Christian belief that he chooses to die for the sake of a Christian cause and to uphold Christian faith by emulating Christ's suffering on the cross.

However, the play undercuts its own argument about a Christian sacrificial death by presenting a contradictory picture of Christian belief. It is unable to square contingent issues such as Hazén's prior conversion to Islam with the proposition that his dying now is for the sake of his Christian beliefs. This criticism of the representations of Christianity, however, is not meant to trivialize Hazén's sacrifice for a cause—a cause that is idealized by him and for which he pays the heavy price of lives—both Yzuf's and his own, but rather to show that religion and belief cannot be pinned down as systematic processes that can be conceptualized in terms of certainties such as "steadfast faith" and "rock-like certainty". Despite the enormous weight *Los baños* places on establishing Hazén's Christian character and the authenticity of his charges against the renegade Yzuf it does not convince us about what exactly defines Christian concepts such as apostacy, conversion, or even religious faith and belief. In *Los baños* we find that despite the powerful rhetoric of Christian piety, the religious choices of characters are made by also considering practical factors and are often subjective.

An examination of the spaces figured by the renegade pirate in *Los baños* foregrounds the need to critique the question of sovereign power—its dubious viability—not just through the contexts of Western law but through a world view that will also accommodate the global elements that interact with and influence the laws of Christian western states. In these renegade spaces the threat to sovereign power is not a question of the "non-function of the law", nor is it

the "void" or "emptiness" that is deduced by an Agambenian conceptualization of sovereignty and the state of exception. Rather, what is absent here is western rule, and while early modern plays about renegade pirates wish to present the pirate as a lawless figure, we find that these other spaces with which he engages with are lawful in that they uphold the laws of *another* land.[139] In these plays, a Christian rule cannot be brought into play to condemn the renegade because the worlds that the renegade pirate occupies are not void of rule. This is made apparent when a kind of absolutist reach that is attributed to the sovereign rule of the Christian state is thwarted by the counterpoint actions of Algerian law which intervene upon Hazén's crime.

*Los baños* promotes the Christian-Muslim bond between Lope and Zara while it simultaneously shows the underlying strife and acts of resistance and violence that take place in the lives of the renegades Hazén and Yzuf who are both uprooted from one religious identity and take on an opposing one. It develops a complex level of critique when it sets us to consider issues such as the familial bonds of the person who relinquishes oneself to take an antithetical one elsewhere. If in the romance plot, we are shown Zara the Muslim woman willingly leave her homeland behind, the renegade plot shows that the Morisco who leaves his homeland faces the crisis of a divided subjectivity. *Los baños'* approach to comedy complicates an idealized concept of the romance hero. On the one hand, the play promotes the idea that cultural alienation can be romanticized when the Muslim is separated from their native, and on the other hand it shows that romance does not square the vacuum that occurs in the life of the renegade who represents a figure that is devoid separated from "kith" and "kin".

[139] Here the term "other" within the word "another" appears as a precursor to the colonial conquests that begin during the early modern period.

# Chapter Three

## "What difference in me as I am a Turk, and was a Christian?": Englishness and the sovereign state in *A Christian Turned Turk*

### Introduction

*A Christian Turned Turk*'s representation of the renegade pirate's life in Ottoman Tunis presents a complex dynamic of inter-cultural and inter-religious relationships. In this chapter, I interpret the play's representation of "turning Turk" by situating the figure of the "Turk" in its inter-national arena. As I have done in the previous chapter, here as well, my approach to the question of "turning Turk" moves away from religious critique. I am interested in examining how the play reveals the political discourses of sovereign subjectivity that underpin the rhetoric and representation of "turning". I take up the problem of the renegade pirate "turning Turk" in relation to the discourses about the concepts of 'state' and 'national identity' that emerge within the conversations and interactions that the pirate John Ward has with the Tunisian officials and people. Specifically, I look at how the early modern ideas of statehood that underpin the sovereignty of the Christian monarch, intersect with the play's presentations of anti-Islamic arguments about religious and political identity.

*A Christian Turned Turk* (1612) is one of only two surviving plays by the English playwright Robert Daborne, who was later to give up the theatre and become a clergyman. Written sometime between 1609 (when its sources first became available) and 1612 (when it was first staged), the play follows the life of the pirate John Ward and his commerce with Tunis, a Barbary State in the northern shores of Africa. We can get a sense of its theme and its protagonists from its extended title—*The Tragicall Liues and Deaths of the two Famous Pyrates,*

*Ward and Dansiker*. *A Christian Turned Turk* plots a tragic trajectory in which John Ward, an apostate pirate, slides from a life of crime, to reprobacy, and finally into "turning Turk" all leading to his fateful death. Daborne based the plot of *A Christian Turned Turk* on events recounted in two pamphlets about the real-life pirates, John Ward and Simon Dansiker[140]: Andrew Barker's *True and Certain Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Overthrows, and now present Estate of Captain Ward and Dansiker, the two late famous Pirates. . .* (London, 1609) and the anonymous *Newes From Sea, Of Two Notorious Pirates, Ward. . . and Dansiker* (London, 1609). The pamphlets recount the life and exploits of the historical John Ward, a fisherman from Kent, who became a notorious pirate and operated from the Barbary Coast in the early 17th century. He became a wealthy and affluent man by his piratical raiding of merchant ships and selling captives in slave markets. The accounts condemn Ward as a renegade, traitor,

[140] The Dutch pirate Simon Dansiker and the English pirate John Ward were the two most prominent renegades operating in the Barbary Coast during the early 17th century. Both these pirates sailed and captained pirate ships that were made up of English and Turks in Algiers and Tunis. Matar notes that these two men became so famous that they were remembered by a Tunisian writer, Ibn Abi Dinar, toward the end of the seventeenth century. His work, *Kitab al-Munis fi Akhbar Ifriqiya wa Tunis*, is the only reference in Arabic sources to Ward, whose Arabic name had been changed to Wardiyya ("of the rose"). Dinar described the successful activity of the Tunisian fleet under Yousef Dey who succeeded Othman Dey (Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the age of Discovery*, 61-62). Matar translating from Dinar, writes, that, "[d]uring his time [Yousef Dey], the corsair captains [ru'assa'] of the sea increased in number, and his ships became famous and fearful. Of the greatest corsair captains in his time were Captain Samsom and Captain Wardiyya: they were Christians, and sailed in his time while still Christians, but they turned Muslim later. They were famous at sea" (62). Dansiker came to be known by the name *Simon* Re'is, and in his career as a corsair for the Turks in Algiers he captured about 40 ships in a two-year period after "turning Turk." His piracy was brought to an end only due to his capture and execution in 1611.

and thief, but also open the way for many ballads about him that celebrated the pirate even as they vilified him.[141]

The meanings imputed to the term "turning" during the early modern period are intrinsically tied to the loss of religion—to the apostasy of the European from Christianity and his conversion to Islam. Both fictional and non-fictional accounts of apostasy in early modern England show that the English feared that they were losing subjects to the Ottoman Empire because many English men abandoned England, sought employment with the Ottomans, and often also converted to Islam.[142] Nabil Matar argues that Islam posed serious challenges to Christian authors and theologians. The impact of the encounter with the Ottoman Empire challenged influential men such as Pope Pius II and Martin Luther. Matar points out that the interaction between Christendom and Islam was taken up by almost every significant writer in Europe as well as by almost every famous Christian playwright. As he notes, playwrights who have defined entire canons from Cervantes to Shakespeare to Racine, and popular English dramatists such as Massinger and Heywood found it necessary to acknowledge and write about

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[141] I discuss Jowitt's critique of this fascinating history briefly in chapter one. See her *Culture of Piracy* for an in-depth discussion of the ballads, songs, and poems that were written based on the pirate John Ward.

[142] Contemporary studies of critics such as Nabil Matar, Jonathan Burton, Jyotsna Singh, Daniel Vitkus, Richmond Barbour, and many others show that English sailors, privateers, and adventurers discovered not only the weakness of English power when they travelled the Mediterranean, but the attraction of Islam as well. There are many examples of the English converting to Islam, while few examples exist of conversion to Christianity. This phenomenon posed a great source of cultural anxiety and fear. The experience of Islamic culture, despite its 'infidel' status, seemed more hospitable and accessible to English sailors than did their native England, whose oppressive systems of class hierarchy left no means for social mobility.

Muslims and their cultures.[143] All these authors could not help but recognize that Christians were converting to Islam more often than Muslims were to Christianity. There was a widespread fear in England of being conquered by the Ottoman Empire and of the threat that Islam would displace the Christianity of the English. *A Christian Turned Turk* responds to these fears, and the overt rhetoric at work in the play sets about showing the dire consequences that will befall the English subject who abandons his God and country, and "turns Turk". The play also presents the notion that Englishness and national identity are intrinsic to religious identity as a covert or subtle argument. The question of the renegade's apostasy from Christianity thus becomes as much a political issue as it is a religious one.

The pivotal issue of "turning" in Turk plays cannot be addressed without first examining the term "Turk". What is signified by the term "Turk" and what does the "Turk" signify? On the one hand, it pays to trace the historical sense of the term to understand how it enters the European vocabulary. On the other hand, it is necessary to understand how and why the meanings of "Turk" in the languages of early modern Europe have little to do with the meanings of the historical Turk. The crusades to the Holy Land that Christian Europe had led during the 12th and 13th centuries against the Turks of the Seljuk Empire contributed to Europe's first impressions of Ottoman Turks. Prior to the Renaissance, European Christians knew very little about their religion and culture and mostly drew on the widespread stereotype of Turkish cruelty. While the terms 'Turk' and 'Muslim' have been associated together by Europeans for a long time and used interchangeably, the collapsing of ethnic and religious identity began mainly in the

[143] Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 19.

early modern period. In the early modern period, the term ‘Turk’ came to be used in a synthetic way and its central association with Islam was made by western Christians in order to refer to any person who was a Muslim as a Turk, and vice versa. Ironically though, religion was the least pertinent meaning in the use of the term ‘Turk.’ By referring to numerous negative and derogatory qualities such as a cruel or tyrannical person, anyone behaving barbarically or savagely, bad-tempered, or unmanageable, a man who treats his wife harshly, etc. by the word Turk, the term came to be used more as an opprobrium, or insult. And the linking of ‘Turk’ with all Muslim peoples allowed the transfer of the very same derogatory qualities to the religious identity of the Muslim. In a cumulative movement this misnomer of Muslims also allowed the homogenising of distinctive cultures and ethnicities leading to conflating distinctions between Turks and Moors as well. It did not matter if the Muslim came from a North African region or state, or whether they came from states in Central Asia, or if they were the ethnic peoples of Turkey. All these ethnic groups were denoted by the term ‘Turk,’ or ‘Moor.’ For example, the region of Anatolia was inhabited by Turks, but the western areas of North Africa were populated by the inhabitants of different ethnic origins of which the most distinctive were the Moors. But the peoples of all these distinct regions and cultures were interchangeably referred to as ‘Turks’ and ‘Moors’ by most European cultures.

The English drama *Othello, The Moor of Venice* (1604) stands out as a prominent example of this interchangeable usage. In its opening scenes, the Venetians are confronted with the threat of the “Turks” who are about to attack Cyprus. However, after this single reference and the threat never materializing, we find that there is no “Turk” in the play, that is, not until

Othello's own vehement question to his men: "Are we turned Turks?"[144] (2.3.151). As many critics have pointed out, in *Othello* the identity of 'Moor' is represented as interchangeable with 'Turk' because Othello who is a Moor comes to be characterized as a Turk in the course of the development of his tragedy.[145] In the early modern English imaginary, the identities of the 'pagan' Moor and the 'infidel' Turk merge together in the racialized othering of Muslims. This conflation becomes pervasive in English thought and emerges even in contemporary studies of the 'Islamic Other.' As Nabil Matar discusses, it detrimentally impacts scholarship on Islam because "representation of . . . Muslims in English Renaissance writings … has been nearly always limited", and "North African Muslims and sub-Saharan Africans have been conflated and identified" imprecisely.[146] Indeed, here Matar refers specifically to the misinterpretation of the national and ethnic groups in Africa. But the problem he addresses, i.e., homogenising regional and religious differences and identities is one that is common to the interchangeable use of ethnic distinctions "Moor" and "Turk" as well. But more serious consequences follow in terms of it becoming a strategy to divest the different Islamic peoples of the political roles they play in the arena of global power. Matar points out that, "numerous historians have examined the

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[144] Citations are from William Shakespeare, *Othello*. ed. E. A. J. Honigamann. (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, UK: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd for The Arden Shakespeare, 1997).

[145] There is too large a body of criticism on *Othello* that addresses Othello's Moorish identity, but for some insightful critiques see, Emily Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From "Alcazar" to "Othello"*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), Dennis Britton, "'Re-turning' Othello: Transformative and Restorative Romance." *ELH* 78, 2011, 27–50, and Imtiaz Habib, "Othello's 'malignant Turk' and George Mainwaring's 'A True Discourse': The cultural politics of a textual derivation." *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 26, 2013, 207-239.

[146] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the age of Discovery*, 6.

representation of black Africans", (Matar refers to these groups as sub-Saharan) "on the same pages where they have dealt with North African Muslims, as the "Moors." No distinction was established between the two geographical, and more importantly, political, referents."[147] As Matar argues, the "encounters with the Muslims and the American Indians took place at different political, colonial, and military levels. But within the Elizabethan and Stuart discourse of Otherness and empire, the two encounters were superimposed on each other so that the sexual and military constructions of the Indian were applied to the Muslims."[148] In Turk dramas, anyone who joins the Muslim pirates, or becomes a member of this group is said to have "turned Turk," and is imagined as "radically heterogeneous, but at the same time, united in depravity."[149]

How then do we theorize, or interpret the figure of the Turk? Firstly, it is essential to acknowledge that the motif of the "Turk" is not a type, nor is it an identity, i.e., it does not represent a specific character or person. The figure of the Turk cannot be interpreted subjectively since this cannot enable one to grasp its critical significance. The Turk on stage functions as 'a complex cultural trope' and it is essential to study the figure of the Turk through the performative and theatrical nature of its representation.[150] The figure's complexity arises from the fact that it can represent contradictory values, can be naturalized across borders, and yet also remain elusive to definition. Its very elusiveness becomes a basis for critical reflection.

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[147] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the age of Discovery*, 7.

[148] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the age of Discovery*, "Preface", x.

[149] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 36.

[150] Jacques Lezra, "Translated Turks on the Early Modern Stage." In *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theatre*. Eds. Robert Henke, Robert and Eric Nicholson, (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2016),

Interpreted at the level of figure and as a theatrical structure that can hold a variety of meanings the figure of the Turk does not stand for, or signify, any kind of conflated stereotype. The Turk on stage is shaped, determined, and overdetermined by the political and cultural fantasies of the European regions and cultures by which he comes to be figured. Although the Turk is a mysterious figure and is difficult to understand dramatists show him as being shrewd and astute at summing up people and situations. If we stop short at seeing the figure of the Turk as a stereotype, we fail to grasp the layers of meaning that the trope can convey. The possibilities for European theatre's imagining munificent identities itself comes about by the contrastive identities it drew from the figure of the "Turk". The reading of the Turk can therefore not be limited to historical meanings, or literary devices. A critique of "turning Turk" cannot be interpreted in oppositional terms either. It is easy to slip into a binary and unilateral interpretations when we perform oppositional readings. In such readings, the Christian-Muslim encounter is seen as a static event that depicts a hierarchical relationship of hegemony and domination where one side triumphs, and the other loses. Such criticism ignores the relationships of exchange and reciprocity, and it is especially problematic because it does not acknowledge the politically powerful position that the Ottoman Empire and its regencies held during this period.

Criticism on "Turk plays" argue that the plays abound in negative portrayals that usually picture the Christian's 'turning' as turning into the vilified and abhorred Muslim 'other.' They discuss the representations of "turning Turk" in these plays through the contexts of cultural exchange to critique the negative and stereotypical representations of Islam and Muslims, the conflation and homogenizing of Islamic ethnicities, and the plays' nascent racial ideologies. However, such critiques have inevitably engaged with, or linked the interpretation of "turning" with religious turning, which is also what is overtly presented as the pivotal issue in "Turk

plays." In these readings and representations, the issue of "turning" is therefore contextualized through the discourses of religion. For example, Vitkus's work, which is a salient example of the breadth of the meanings in "Turk plays,' also connects "turning" with the question of religion, and conversion to Islam. In *Turning Turk* Vitkus states that his study addresses the English understanding of conversion to Islam by asking questions such as, "Why did Christians convert? What was the appeal of Islam? What were renegades like? How did the Ottoman Empire function as a kind of multi-ethnic nation of converts? After answering these questions, this chapter will move on to analyse the larger, more figurative sense of an English cultural "turning" that was impelled by interaction with the multicultural Mediterranean."[151]

As we can see, in this approach to the analysis of "turning" the critique of turning emerges in relation to questions about religion. It is not my intention to discount this central issue of religious conversion in "Turk plays," and in fact, it is implicitly acknowledged in my analysis. It is certainly necessary and indispensable to take religion into account when studying any aspect of early modernity. Deborah Shuger's study illustrates this truism powerfully.[152] Given this fact of the fundamental role that religion played in early modern culture it is not surprising that most criticism on the problem of "turning Turk" has approached it in relation to conversion from Christianity. However, I argue that "turning" was not plainly a question of religious conversion and any study that interprets early modern England's understanding of Islam and Muslims will need to consider the many levels at which the phrase "turning Turk"

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[151] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 108.

[152] Debora Kuller Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture*, (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

functions. My analysis of the play follows recent critical research on the global contexts of early modern plays and the exchanges this initiated between cultures and religions.

Following the claim I make in my first chapter about the imbricated nature of the concept of 'renegade pirate,' I argue that if we are to critique renegadism as a political crime as well as a religious one then we must also consider the fact that the renegade pirate abandons not just Christian religion, but the Christian state as well. I thus shift my perspective away from religion and focus on the concept of "turning Turk" as a 'turning away from the absolute rule of sovereign power that held sway in Protestant England. In Daborne's play about the renegade pirate John Ward, the act of "turning Turk" holds the transformative potential to undo Ward's English subjectivity because it releases the freedom for Ward to choose to be a subject of any of the Ottoman nations such as of Tunis, or Algiers, or Constantinople. I argue that when the play associates "turning Turk" strongly with religious conversion to Islam it subverts the interpretation of "turning" from manifesting this political potential.

*A Christian Turned Turk's* argument about religious conversion can thus be interpreted as an attempt to subdue, or displace this latent political agency held by the pirate who "turns Turk" by drawing attention to and focusing mainly on representing "turning" as conversion to Islam. The audience's attention is sustained by presenting Islam along sexual and controversial lines. The temptation to "turn" is presented as a sexual lure and seduction, and conversion to Islam is also presented as a deviant sexual act. These modes allow the play to promote the meanings that can lead to seeing the religious "turning" of the western Christian as a turning into the vilified and abhorred Muslim 'other.' Islam is presented along lines of greed, lust, and sexual debauchery. In *Turning Turk* Vitkus discusses the western and Christian association between promiscuity and religious conversion to note that in the "Mediterranean along the unstable

border between Islam and Christendom, in places like Cyprus or Rhodes, erotic infidelity is linked to religious conversion."[153] The play imports such meanings where religious apostasy and adulterous behaviour are presented as connected in its representation of Muslims, especially women. We see this for example in the Tunisian Muslim woman Voada being characterized as a temptress who first seduces Ward, and then while married to him turns her attention to Fidelio her page (she is unaware that Fidelio is Alizia cross-dressed as a man). At the same time, Voada being attracted to the feminine page also becomes a way for the play to allude to Voada as having a lesbian nature and the desire for homosexual relations, both traits that were associated with Muslim women in general. Same-sex love was another taboo issue for Christianity, often linked with the Biblical accounts of Sodom and Gomorrah. These ideas about sex, imputed to Islam, held much transgressive appeal for Christians whose religion held a highly censured and repressive approach to sex and sexuality.

*A Christian Turned Turk* begins not in Tunis, the setting where the renegade pirate John Ward "turns Turk", but in the high seas proximate to some Irish shore. It opens on a scene of trickery as Ward and his men play the game of "hazard" with cards and dice with a group of French merchants, who do not realize that they have placed their lives in hazard. During their game, Ward drops anchor swiftly and sets sail effectively capturing the French merchants who discover too late that they are on a pirate-ship. When Ward attempts to have them join him as pirates, he is vehemently opposed by the merchant Ferdinand who decries piracy:

FERDINAND:

Piracy, its theft most hateful, swallows up

[153] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 123.

The estates of orphans, widows, who – born free –

Are thus made slaves, enthralled to misery

By those that should defend them at the best. (1.58-61)

As Ward and his crew sail towards Tunis, Ward attacks merchant ships and takes more captives—a gentleman Raymond, his two sons, Lemot another well-born man, and his sister Alizia. During the fight, Alizia's brother Lemot is killed by the pirates and thrown overboard. Ward now arrogant with his success starts to treat his men high-handedly. Therefore, while the rival pirate Francisco and Ward argue and duel over the spoils, Ward's right-hand man Gallop and some of his crew betray him and abscond with the raided loot and ship. Ward and Francisco subsequently join forces and sail on to Tunis to sell the remaining captives.

The plot now shifts to Tunis which served as Ward's base for his piratical expeditions, and it is here that the motif of "turning Turk" is brought into play. As the pirates arrive at the harbour the play introduces the Jewish merchant Benwash, his servant Rabshake, his wife Agar, and her sister Voada. Jewish merchants acted as middlemen in the Barbary States buying stolen commodities and captives from pirates and reselling them to Christian merchants. Ward sells the captives Alizia and Ferdinand, but in the sale of the old man Raymond and his two sons, Benwash offers only thirty crowns for the father so Ward refuses to sell the old man. The sons are then separated while the father weeps and laments. The pathos of this scene is heightened when we see the father die as his sons are hauled away. However, Ward is unmoved by their grief, and callously laughs, taunts, and curses his victims. Calling for women and wine he seems incapable of any human sensitivity. We also see in these early scenes in Tunis, Ward's defected principal, the pirate Gallop, who is busy plotting to seduce Benwash's wife, Agar. Benwash's vain attempts to prevent being cuckolded forms a comic subplot in the play.

Because Ward stands to contribute much to the Tunisian coffers through his highly profitable piratical activity the Governor of Tunis tries to lure Ward into joining Tunis. In the course of their persuasion the Governor, Crosman, the captain of the Janissaries, and Benwash want Ward to convert to a Muslim, but the different arguments they use to convince him fail. The trio then use Voada to lure Ward into converting, and as Crosman puts it "what devils dare not move / Men to accomplish, women work them to" (7.87-88). Ward had resisted all their persuasions so far, but when he meets Voada, the sister of Crosman the powerful janissary leader, he finds her irresistible. Ward's sexual attraction for Voada brings the play's central themes of "turning Turk" centre stage. By stating that she cannot marry one "whose religion speaks [her] an infidel" (7.121-122), Voada convinces Ward to "turn Turk". But Ward is blind to her selfish interest to divest him of his wealth and lets his libido triumph over both faith and reason. At this point, Ward's fate of damnation is still unsealed, and the play shows the enslaved captives Alizia (who as Fidelio serves as Voada's page), and the French merchant Ferdinand both entreat Ward not to give up Christianity and accept "the abhorred name of Turk" (7.206, 209). Alizia tries to warn him against conversion and from succumbing to Voada by begging him: "Sell not your soul for such a vanity / As that which you term 'beauty,' eye-pleasing idol!" (7.207-8). Daborne wants to emphasize the heinousness of Ward's conversion and stages the ceremony like a spectacle but does so completely through dumb show. The Chorus is set to assure spectators that Ward's "black deed" (Prologue 6) of subscribing to "the laws of [the Muslims'] damned Prophet" (8.16) "will have black ends" (8.28).

The other prominent renegade pirate in the play, Dansiker, has been granted pardon by the French, but needs to fulfil their demand to assassinate the Jewish merchant Benwash. He comes to Tunis to burn its ships and kill Benwash, but when he gets to his house Benwash

blames him for murder and Dansiker is arrested by Turkish law officers. Dansiker proudly confesses his intentions to destroy Tunis, calling it the city of "infidels" (16.224), and rather than taking the option given to save himself by "turning Turk", he kills himself, declaring:

DANSIKER:

Let my example move all pirates, robbers,

To think how heavy thy revenging hand

Will sit upon them. I feel thy justice now.

Receive my soul; accept my intended vow. (16.233-36)

With her sexual promiscuity and greed for wealth Voada soon reveals her duplicity, and Ward's connections in Tunis begin to deteriorate. After "turning Turk" he has numerous misfortunes: he loses his credibility with the Turks when Dansiker burns all the ships in the harbour except for Ward's, and when he seeks Voada's love as solace she scorns him by stating that "[their] Prophet hates false runagates" (13.27) while condemning him as a false and "a most abject slave" (13.34). Voada's rejection is compounded by finding that she plans to cuckold him with her page Fidelio. Enraged by the failures he faces, Ward plans a revenge for his wife by which Voada will mistakenly shoot Raymond, Fidelio's (/Alizia's) fiancé. He is unaware that Fidelio is not a man but is in fact Alizia in disguise. In the climactic ending which takes place in a dark corridor of Ward's castle where Voada comes to meet her Fidelio, Ward sets-up Raymond as a rival to Voada. The jealous Voada shoots Raymond dead and in grief Alizia, his fiancée, commits suicide. Voada gets injured in the fight, and Ward is imprisoned for the crime of wounding his wife.

To avoid torture and humiliation Ward commits suicide, but before dying delivers an anti-Muslim rant that echoes early modern prejudices against Turks. He dies cursing them,

offering himself as an example to all future pirates and renegades: “Let dying Ward tell you that heaven is just, / And that despair attends on blood and lust (16.320 -21). Ward’s last words warn the play’s English audience with their injunctions against “piracy.” In a terse summation of Ward’s life, and a warning for all who would emulate his path the play ends with his words,

WARD:

All you that live by theft and piracies,

That sell your lives and souls to purchase graves,

That die to hell, and live far worse then slaves,

Let dying Ward tell you that heaven is just,

And that despair attends on blood and lust. (16.317-21)

Ward dies, full of remorse, and the epitaph that the Governor of Tunis describes for him makes his end clear: “Ward sold his country, turned Turk, and died a slave” (16.326).

The scope for interpreting the problem of “turning” as a political one arises in the play’s efforts to present Islamic culture and rule as an anomaly. It comes about in relation to the question of Ward joining Tunis, which is evoked when the play brings up the Christian’s relation to his homeland. In Scene 7, we find Ward being approached by the three most powerful members of Tunisian society—the Governor of Tunis, Crosman (who is the Captain of the Janissaries), and Benwash the affluent and converted Jewish merchant—who all come to Ward’s house to invite him to join Tunis. The officials’ persuasion of Ward to join Tunis, and the negotiations that take place between Ward and the Tunisian officials creates for its audience a portrayal of what it is like to belong to Tunis, an Islamic country. In this pivotal scene, which sets the stage for Ward’s eventual renunciation of England and his gravitation towards “turning Turk,” Ward engages in a conversation with the three officials. Because of the significance of

this scene for interpreting how the play unfolds a conversation about the concepts of the state, I cite from it at length:

SCENE 7

(At Ward's House in Tunis).

Enter Governor, Ward, Crosman, Benwash.

WARD:

I am o'ercharged, sir, with so high a favor

As your descending thus to visit me.

GOVERNOR:

You are the man we covet, whose valor

Hath spake out, so impartial worthy,

We should do wrong to merit, not gracing you.

Believe me, sir, you have injured much your self,

Vouchsafing familiarity with those

Men of so common rank as Dansiker.

Your hopes should fly a pitch above them.

CROSMAN:

It may be that our *clime* stands not to give

That full content, the air you drew at home,

And therefore purpose shortly a return.

WARD:

I know no country I can call home.

What by your courtesy I might, my desert stands

Not to make promise of.

GOVERNOR:

Detract not from yourself; call this your own.

I see there speaks a fortune in your brow

Will make us proud to have acknowledged you.

BENWASH:

I'll gage a thousand ducats on equal terms,

I live to see him the sultan's admiral.

CROSMAN:

Why not as well as the great customer,

My allied kinsman governor—neither *born* Turks? [154]

WARD:

I dare not look so high! Yet were I employed,

'What a poor Christian could, I durst make promise of.

BENWASH:

Christian or Turk, you are more wise, I know,

Than with religion to confine your hopes.

GOVERNOR:

He's too well read in poesy to be tied

In the slave's fetters of religion.

[154] Emphasis added.

What difference in me as I am a Turk

And was a Christian? Life, liberty,

Wealth, honor—they are common unto all!

If any odds be, 'tis on Mahomet's side:

His servitors thrive best, I am sure.

WARD:

Is this the hook your golden bait doth cover? (7.1-34)

Right at the beginning of the conversation, the officials bring up Ward's native identity—his 'Englishness.' They point out to Ward that it is not necessary to be born in Tunis or be of Tunisian lineage to become a part of Tunis. In their statements of Tunis's inclusivity, it is the issue of nativity, of Ward being born in England, that is evoked. Ward is reassured by Crosman that this aspect of his self-identity—being born an Englishman—poses no obstacle to the Tunisian state accepting him. When Crosman, the captain of the Janissaries tells Ward, "[m]y allied kinsman Governor, neither *born* Turks"[155] he is attempting to reassure Ward that giving up one's nativity and then joining the Ottomans has had a precedent because he and the Governor are examples of this—"neither" he nor the Governor were "*born* Turks". Here the use of the word 'Turk' functions to mean both nativity as well as religion. As I had discussed earlier, in early modern texts the use of the term "Turk" is conflated with the religion of Islam as well, and the word "Turk" was seen as a synonym of Islam. Being born into a religion stretches the meaning too much for this scene, but it precisely reflects the English Protestant ideology that

[155] Emphasis added.

promoted the idea that race is intrinsic to religion. The use of the word "born" through referring to the idea of nativity and bloodline, can be seen as a prelude to the racial meanings that come to be developed within Protestant Christian identity. Because these words are spoken by Crosman, the commander of the sultan's janissaries, they also establish a connection between giving up a foreign nativity for the possibility of powerful and influential positions in Tunis. His comment, made in reference to the lenient approach the Ottomans held towards those of different religions and nativities, in using the term "born" becomes suggestive of a potential erasure of Ward's 'Englishness'.

Here the historical reality of the political structure of Tunis, and the Ottoman Empire's policies on rule are used as an antithesis for western ideas about rule. In this scene of politics, Ward who was formerly an English Christian subject is placed in a position in which the key political concepts of English and Christian subjectivity come to be examined. When the Tunisian government officials refer to his 'nativity' their explanation sets aside Ward's religion and his former status as an English subject to instead focus on his native identity—his 'Englishness.' In this representation, nativity is given a meaning that precedes and comperes both religious and political subjectivity. It is presented almost as a genealogy for the above two concepts. When it is nativity that is referred to as not being an impediment to joining Tunis it also signals that when Ward joins Tunis it will result in an absolute erasure of his identity as an Englishman. It does this because it discounts the significance of nativity for determining religious and political identity. Whereas England saw English nativity as intrinsic to its conceptualization of the English Protestant subject. It is this possibility that the play seeks to avert as well as educate its audience about. It wishes to show its audience that the Ottoman idea of citizenship, and the way in which the Ottoman state defined its subjects (i.e., saw as the requisites for defining Tunisian

subjectivity) are an anomaly to how Christianity defined it. Ward's responses are framed as counter arguments to the Governor's statements. This discussion of nativity and all that it entails is set to serve as a foil for an idea of Christian subjectivity that the play seeks to uphold. The negative value, or impression that the play develops about a subjectivity that does not take nativity into account is imputed to Tunis by suggesting that Islam does not enable Tunis to conceptualize lineage in its definitions of subject formation.

In this regard, Ward's response is worth scrutiny because it unfolds a discourse of how sovereign subjection will relate to the renegade pirate while he is in Tunis. If we wish to look beyond the scene's framing of a devious trap, we will need to pay careful attention to the meanings developed within Ward's response to the officials. Ward states that, "I dare not look so high! *Yet were I* employed, / What a poor Christian could, I durst make promise of" (7.23-24).[156] In his response, by saying "so high" Ward seems to pander to the officials' powerful status in a flattering manner and conveys the idea that he sees them holding a noble and powerful position. That he could never aspire to such a height is seen in his framing the sentence with "I dare not". Ward then astutely positions himself on lowly terms as— "a poor Christian"—and casts himself as a meagre and humble man. Here the play dramatizes Ward's insolence; he aspires above his class and threatens the bases of the aristocracy when he voices ambiguous sentiments about 'low' and 'high.' While the play, in keeping with the Prologue's promise, had set out to represent the evil lure of Islam its according a contradictory position for power in Tunis produces a tangential effect. It ends up showing an interaction between a citizen, who in English society had

[156] Emphasis added.

no ‘class,’ and the official representatives of the state and it shows him voice a right over his life,[157] specifically a right to state how he will use his physical labour.

Ward’s responses here to the Governor of Tunis, however, are hypocritical[158] because as we know from seeing him in action when he storms the French merchant’s ship that Ward is ruthless, arrogant, and domineering. Yet Ward’s devious positioning of lowliness is not just due to hypocrisy, or a politic way of refusing the Governor’s invitation. A conditional appears in-between the “high” position he is offered, and his own lowly “poor” status in the words: “yet were I”—meaning “*if”* I were. This conditional *if* is then followed up with the question of work by the word “e*mployed*”. Ward’s conditional way of phrasing his reply to the officials of Tunis suggests that he still holds on to his Christian identity. At the same time, his response sets aside ideologies of religion and state and brings the issue down plainly to the question of working in Tunis. Moreover, here he does not refer to ‘work’ in the sense of asking to be employed because his reply is a conditional statement. Through its indirect articulation Ward’s reply comes to convey the idea of a right.

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[157] As we came to know earlier, Ward was a fisherman from Kent. Such a profession was taken up only by the lowest class of people.

[158] When he captures the merchant ship, he pillages it for wealth and goods. He ruthlessly murders the sailors who fight him while capturing the other crew to sell as slaves in Tunis. The play shows that Ward is brutal, greedy, and deceitful even when his ship stands at an Irish shore, and much before he comes to Tunis and turns “Turk”. He abducts the merchants through his deceitful pretence, throws the wounded and bleeding brother of Alizia overboard without a second thought, and ridicules/laughs at the pleas of two of the captives who plead with him not to separate them from their aged father. The father dies as a result of this separation. However, Ward’s reply contains more than just a humble refusal.

The scene presents a negotiation of power between Tunis and Ward in which the conditional "if" balances the outcome, which could go either way, i.e., 'if the Tunisians offered him employment' balanced by 'if Ward chose to accept it'. What is particularly significant in this exchange is that Ward is not a passive participant in this discourse of the allegiance to the state of Tunis. This negotiation puts him in a quite different subjective position of from the one he held in England. Here subjection is fashioned not as intrinsic to the subject, whose work is a sign of belonging to the state, because Ward sees his work for the state of Tunis conditionally. It thus transforms Ward's former English subjectivity where his rights were controlled by the state to fashion him in terms of a different kind of personhood, one that has rights to determine how he will be used, or to put it differently, fashions him into a person who controverts the sovereign subjection by which his subjectivity was constituted in the western Christian state. Ward maintains an autonomy, or independence over himself by deciding how he will enter into a relationship with Tunis, and further, he qualifies it by seeing it as employment, and not service. This relationship suggests that, in Tunis, Ward is not a subject of the sovereign power of the state. In the fact that the Tunisian officials ask him to join them we see figured a relationship with the state that is conceived in terms of the subject being an object of power.

The dramatic representation of Ward's conversion seeks to counteract the weakening position of Christianity by creating a spectacle of Ward's conversion to Islam and showing it as a "trivial ceremony". The play shows Ward's conversion to Islam as a dumb show in which Ward comes on stage riding on a donkey:

CHORUS:

The accursed priests of Mahomet being set,

Two knights present the wretch, who finds no let

To his perdition: to whom nor shame, nor fear,
Give any curb. Dismounted from that steed
Did best befit the rider: they then read
The laws of their damned Prophet. He subscribes,
Enrolls his name into their pagan tribes.
Now wears the habit of a free-born Turk,
His sword excepted, which lest they should work
Just villainy to their seducers, is denied
Unto all runagates, unless employed
In wars 'gainst Christians. Last, oh be he last,
Forswears his name! With what, we blush to tell,
But 'tis no wonder, black's the way to hell;
Who though he seems yet happy, his success
Shows he exchanged with it, and wretchedness. (8.11-26

This ridiculous representation of conversion of Islam can be linked to the increasing numbers of English converts to Islam, and as Stephanie Kucsera points out, "scenes of Christian conversion to Islam functioned much like scare tactics to discourage apostasy abroad or [were] drained of their seriousness through irreverence … because Christian defection occurred with troubling frequency."[159] Patricia Parker argues that Ward here reads the laws of Mahomet the "damned

[159] Stephanie Kucsera, "'Such Cures as Heaven Hath Lent Me': Tending to Broken Bodies in Philip Massinger's *The Renegado*." *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England,* vol. 31, 2018, 219.

prophet," in a speech in which the word "sub-scribes" evokes not only the forswearing of his baptismal name but a perverted orthography, writing, or scripture."[160] The scene interrogates the question of Christian subjection in the conflicted views that Ward displays when confronted with the rule in Tunis. On the one hand, it dramatizes the onset of awareness in Ward: What was at stake in the freedoms he wished to claim as a pirate? Could he summarily give up the claims to the norms of religion, race, and language? Can Ward satisfactorily reclaim an identity that is based on Christian beliefs, or will he give them up to join the "Turks"? This moment in the play registers a transformation in the operation of power. In keeping with the oppositional terms along which the play develops its discourse of religion and subjectivity, to move away from Christianity and towards Islam, therefore, is to also give up the idea and experience of one's 'English' identity.

In western history, sovereignty emerges as the key concept that has shaped and influenced identity in a variety of ways. The belief that God and the king exercise absolute rule and authority on a Christian does impact all aspects of early modern culture. Even as we associate the concept of sovereignty with political meaning from a modern perspective, we are impelled to consider that in early modernity sovereignty was interpreted in terms of both religion and politics. The fundamental associations of sovereignty arise within the concept of God's sovereign power and are extended through allied signs to the rule of the monarch. In her work *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance* Deborah Shuger explains that,

[160] Patricia Parker. "Preposterous Conversions: Turning Turk, and its 'Pauline' Rerighting." In The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies. 2 (2002), 20.

> ... the relation between religion and culture needs careful explication if religion is not to be confused with society itself or narrowed into theology. ... Religious belief is "about" God and the soul as much as it is "about" the socio-political order. Whether or not one believes in the former two entities, one gains very little by assuming that the culture under investigation did not itself comprehend the essential nature of its preoccupations. But it is equally true that in the Renaissance religious discourse enfolds more than such specifically theological concerns as the manner of Eucharistic presence, the necessity of church elders, or the fourfold senses of Scripture. Religion during this period supplies the primary language of analysis. It is the cultural matrix for explorations of virtually every topic: kingship, selfhood, rationality, language, marriage, ethics, and so forth. Such subjects are, again, not masked by religious discourse but articulated in it; they are considered in relation to God and the human soul. That is what it means to say that the English Renaissance was a religious culture, not simply a culture whose members generally were religious.[161]

The willingness towards subjecting oneself to God's sovereign power is extended to the king through the mystical belief in the 'King's Two Bodies' and the 'Divine Right of the King.'[162] Thus, the identity of the English Christian is conceptualized through subjection to the monarch, and by which act such subjection becomes a political one. M. Prior, a Vicar of Bray & Sir T. More in Wks. put forth this idea pithily when they state: "My knowledge in Divine and Human

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[161] Deborah Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance*, 5-6.

[162] For a discussion of these concepts see chapter one.

Law gave me to understand I was born a Subject to both."[163] Sovereign subjection, as I had discussed in chapter one, was upheld as a willing experience, and a valuable and even sacred one in early modern Europe because it is primarily religiously constituted.[164] Western political subjection can be seen as an ideology that originates in, and arises from, the concept of the Christian God's sovereignty. In such a conceptualization of power, subjection emerges as a necessity and *the* strategy for the formation of the state.[165] In Christian nations there is a chiasmic conceptualization and operation of political power in which religious subjectivity becomes governed by political ideology and political subjectivity is ruled by religious ideology. The figure of the sovereign stands as the binding entity between what would otherwise be defined as two discrete realms of power. The disruption of the ideology of sovereignty and of religious subjection, are both represented by the figure of the renegade pirate who is a fundamental challenge and threat to sovereign power.

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[163] Cited in OED, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/view/Entry/192686?isAdvanced=false&result=1&rskey=wUDJcL&

[164] I use the term subjection here in reference to religion in early modern England. It refers specifically to the religio-political dimension of subjecting oneself to God and the king. This meaning of subjection, although it does denote submission, is not the same as religious submission to God practiced in a broadly religious sense. Most religions uphold this practice, which is interpreted variously as showing reverence, acknowledging divine power that transcends human experience, cultivating humility, etc.

[165] When I use the term subjection in reference to the western early modern state, I am referring specifically to the idea of subjection that is related to rule. In addition, the subject here is not the modern subject such as the one formulated within Foucauldian or Marxian discourses of the subject.

In contrast to Christian nations, the Ottoman Empire in its integration of people from various religions and nationalities conceives its subjects as participants in the way in which it conceives the power of its empire. This claim is not meant to idealize the Ottoman subject. The practice of captive slavery and human trafficking give a dark side to Ottoman rule. But we need to recognize that the Ottoman Empire's political system and exercise of power bring about a very different definition and function of empire from that of the western state's notion of empire. Notwithstanding the criminal activity of renegade pirates, which were after all put to use by both western states as well as the Islamic lands, the fact remains that there are marked differences between the Christian states and the Ottoman Empire in how they conceived of political subjectivity. This differentiation is crucial to any discussion of empire, or the discourse of state formation, and shows that the concept of empire that describes western expansion and hegemony cannot be applied universally. Although the play does not set out to show the Islamic regency (Tunis) in a positive light it cannot avoid differentiating between the functioning of power in Protestant England and the Islamic city-state Tunis.

Upon Ward's hesitation in joining the ranks in Tunis, Crosman asks Ward if he wishes to return to his homeland England because the "clime" (7.1) in Tunis does not suit him.[166] Crosman's, who is the captain of the janissaries, remark about Ward joining the Tunisians might have reminded Ward of his former ties to England. However, Ward has chosen the life of piracy precisely to eschew being limited by institutional structures of rule. For him to now accept the

[166] Here the word "clime" in addition to being a reference to weather—the contrast between the cold weather of England, and the decidedly hot one in Tunis--, given the nuances that are developed in this scene, "clime" becomes an allusion to conditions other than the weather as well.

governor's invitation would put him in the very relationship that he has intentionally severed. He thus makes the blanket declaration that he calls "no country" his "home" (7.). The position of being an outsider and a freewheeler frees him from having to fulfil any obligations, contracts, or "promises" to the English, or the Tunisians. The very fact that he sets himself apart from any "country" frees him from being bound by the rules of governance of the state. Ward's resistance to power is figured in his declaration that "no country" is his "home": "I know no country I can call home" (). His associating himself with the term "desert" when he states that, "my desert stands / Not to make promise of" is particularly telling as it pictures him in a space of autonomy that is beyond the reach of institutionalized systems of rule. At one level, the word "desert" conveys the meaning that he has deserted England his native country and separated himself from its "rule". At another, the word "desert" stands as a metaphor for the place Ward claims for himself, which is a space that is beyond the rules of the western state. Cut-off from controlled spaces and untrammelled by any kind of state structure or organization the desert follows no jurisdiction. The oceans and seas that Ward traverses, through his reference to the desert, are like the desert, an area of non-jurisdiction.[167] In addition, and as I had pointed out earlier, the play presents the possibility of the state and the church in turn deserting the renegade pirate. A wariness towards any idea of the state is a symptomatic of Ward's attitude to power. Religion fails to offer a persuasive definition of state The Tunisian officials' conversation with Ward about political allegiance brings up religion as the ultimate bond that proves one's allegiance. The allegiance to Ottoman Tunis must come about through religion: for us to trust you, you must

[167] As Claire Jowitt notes the treaties of nations claiming oceanic space came about only in the latter part of the 16th C.

"turn Turk" says the governor. Ward responds to this persuasion to convert to Islam from the perspective of his renegadism, i.e., from the point of view of opposing both religion and the state while also demarcating them as two different issues for he says, "*that* were the way to *more* uncertainty" ( emphasis added). Here we note that Ward does not specifically state that Islam is the way to uncertainty. Because he does not specify the religion Ward's reply connotes that he is possibly referring to religion in general, i.e., both Christianity and Islam. Further, by qualifying the "that" with a "more" Ward's response suggests a comparison, one in which it is not one religion being compared against another, but religion being compared to the state. We recall here the earlier part of the dialogue when Ward was invited to join Tunis, and it is worth repeating here that in this scene the play seeks to show its Christian audience the dangers and sinfulness of "turning".

We can see through Ward's comparing religious authority with other kinds of authority that here his attitude towards Christianity is represented not in terms of belief alone. Ward's response shows that he is critical of what he thinks religion means: "Is this the hook your golden bait doth cover?" (7.1.34). He sees religion in itself as something that ensnares, calling it a "hook" and in this case it is an invitation to "turn Turk" covered by the "golden bait" of wealth and a seemingly more open political system. Therefore, while the Islamic characters' side of the dialogue can be labelled as their ignorance of Christian truths Ward's responses cannot be forgiven so easily by its Christian audience. Ward's thought process here, by its atheistic nature and its radical attitude towards God's sovereignty, emerges as blasphemous. It builds anticipation in its audience who wait with bated breath for the moment when damnation will fall upon Ward's head, and he will be lost forever.

Through the Tunisian officials asking Ward to "turn Turk" the play broaches the notion that Ward will need to give up any claim to his former beliefs. This raises the issue that the play has been promoting all along that conversion is not just an act of accepting a new set of religious beliefs. Does being a Turk make one different from a Christian? If so, where does this difference lie? What is the nature of this difference? This scene of the initiation into conversion is haunted by this quandary. This is a problem that is at the heart of the concept of religious belief itself. Does the apostate relinquish his Christian belief completely when he converts, or does he not (Hazén)? And is this the same as giving up any claims to that former belief (Yzuf)? More complex, then, the recuperation of the apostate by the Christian state, for in addition to testing the veracity of the repentant Christian's belief, the state is also to reckon with the new beliefs he has acquired in the meanwhile, i.e., during the time he/she was away from Christianity.

If punishment for religious transgressions were going to be dealt out in the afterlife how does fear of punishment for sins figure in earthly life, and where is the boundary between sin and crime? It is this blurring, that shows Ward opting for a third choice when he says that it is "nature" that shapes his desires and intentions and that this nature is something he imagines in terms of "kind"—as lions will have a common nature, and sheep a certain one, so too will humans. Ward eschews the role of religion for determining his character and life by stating that, "… It is not divinity / but nature [that] moves me, Which doth / in beasts force them to keep their kind. (7.1.44-46). Here Ward's categorization of how groups are formed is almost biological and is opposed to the ideological. By such a radical view of what builds a community or a society, Ward narrows the good life down to a question of the body: nature moves beasts to come together to keep to their kind. Such grouping is an instinctual response. When he says that what drives him is a nature akin to beasts, he alludes to the notion that he too like beasts sees his life

as being dictated by bodily needs defined here by him as “kind” (7.1.46), and almost as a biological distinction.

By bringing up the notion of bestial life Ward opens a discourse of life that is shaped plainly in terms of the body. Ward’s response also brings the question of life to a broader perspective where it should not be circumscribed by religious norms, nor should the demands of the state be used to define the natural life of the citizen. Ward removes life from its contained position in the Christian state and seeks to places it in relation to things that are other than religious beliefs. Referring to Christianity as an “foe” and Islam as a “feigned friend” he says: “Men sooner open foes then feigned friends try” (7.1.59). Ward claims that it is better to have enemies than false friends. By seeing religion along negative lines as “foe” and “feigned friend” Ward sees it not as something that brings out the good (because it is a foe) although it appears to do so (because it is a feigning friend). In other words, Ward argues that a belief in a religious ideology cannot be the basis for forming bonds between humans because such belief masks a person’s nature.

The counter-perspective to Ward’s view that he, like beasts, allies himself more on bodily terms is given by Crosman who now puts the discussion on humanist terms: He talks to Ward of man existing within a telos: humans are different from beasts, he states, because they conceive of life as a telos, life exists within time and allows humans to imagine life in futuristic terms as well. Whereas beasts live only in terms of the present. By putting life on these terms Crosman argues for the necessity of “safety and profit” that all men need, and which the Tunisians are willing to offer Ward, Crosman brings in the political aspect of life.  Setting aside idealisms, Crosman points to the necessity of “safety and profit” (7.1.47) that all men need, and which the Tunisians are willing to offer Ward). Alluding to a notion of the civic propensity of man

Crosman wants to rein in Ward into the Tunisian state. Crosman, who presents Ward with this counterargument declares that life lived only in terms of the present, lacks "safety" and "profit." These traits can be seen as a broad outline of what an organized system of rule promises to a group and recalls the Aristotelian desire to define the group as a polis, as a state.

At this point the argument comes to a stasis because as Benwash predicted "this gudgeon" (7.1.62) —Ward "does not bite" (7.1.62). I argue that this moment in the scene, which shows Ward refusing to commit to the state, is a critical one because by bringing the dialogue to a standstill it points to an impasse in the discourse of the state that the play has been developing. Throughout, Ward prevaricates upon joining the Turks not as the Prologue proposes in the face of the temptation of Islam, but as his part in this dialogue reveals from having to consider the consequences of conversion in terms of the loss of his freedom. The play shows in the renegade's thought process his questioning of where religious obligations end and political commitments begin through his understanding of his own natural desires.[168]

Through the wariness, scepticism, and prevarications that Ward displays the play heightens the sense of the temptation that is put to Ward. The asides and exchanges between characters show the scene to be one of sexual temptation as well. As Vitkus notes, in "early modem Protestant sermons and discourses conversion to Islam or to Roman Catholicism was referred to as "a kind of sexual transgression or spiritual whoredom." [169]

Crosman: *[aside]*

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[168] But we note that "nature" is what Ward calls it, i.e., he does not see it in terms of identity, or as subjectivity. Desires might be another way to think of it.

[169] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 78.

He enjoys too much by promise to be won.

T'must be a woman's act, to whom

there's nought That is impossible.

What devils dare not move

Men to accomplish, women work them to. *[Enter Voada.]* (7.1.84-88)

The scene continues to develop the theme of Ward's seduction into Islam. The governor of Tunis plays upon Ward's alienated status by tempting him with the sense of belonging, saying: "then call this [Tunis] your own" (7.1.16). He impresses upon Ward that Tunis will be privileged by Ward's allegiance by declaring that it "[w]ill make us proud to have acknowledged you" (7.1.18).[170] Ward response registers the awareness that he is in dialogue with the official representatives of the Tunisian state, who are the representatives of Ottoman power.[171] Here as in many other instances, the play elicits many provocative allusions for its audience by placing the renegade pirate in a position of having to defend his English identity.

If in the Spanish context we saw *Los baños* allude to Spain's disavowal of Moorish Christians in order to establish for itself a "pure" Christian Spanish identity, in Daborne's play, the preservation of English Protestant identity is evoked through the reference to Ward's ethnicity. While the Governor of Tunis and the Captain of the Janissaries point to the lenience of Tunis by stating that Ward being born an Englishman is no impediment for his joining the Turks,

[170] Despite the governor's invitation to him to live in Tunis, the very fact that …

[171] Although Tunis was the regency of the Ottoman empire and answered to the Sultan the Ottoman empire followed a principle of *laissez faire* while allowing its regencies to determine their specific policies.

what the play suggests is that this is a laxity and is an attempt to tempt him away from Englishness. This idea gestures towards a key criticism against the renegade – i.e., that when Englishmen became renegades and joined the Ottomans England was losing her subjects to the enemy and her religious solidarity was being attacked. The scene culminates with staging the seduction of Ward by the corrupting and loose nature of the Turkish woman, the sexually promiscuous Islamic woman Voada. There is a current of dubiousness in this scene that proposes that the Ottoman state and the Islamic religion operate on base motives and intentions. This is because of the framing of the scene which is characterized in terms of a lure in which Islam is the trap.[172] For example, we hear a salacious remark from Benwash, who in sensing that Ward resists the invitation to join Tunis says in an aside, "[t]his gudgeon *will not bite*" (7.1.62 emphasis added), evoking imagery of trapping with 'hook' and 'bait'. From the Tunisian government's point of view the invitation to "turn Turk" intrinsically implies joining Tunis as a citizen and participating in its economic institutions. The governor has no missionary intention to convert Ward into a Muslim. (But the play can show Islam as bodily contamination and soiling of the soul only if it shows turning as religious conversion. The play is heavily invested in sexualizing the scene. Vitkus argues hence the addition of Voada to Ward's conversion trap. Shortly afterwards when he sees that Ward is not convinced by their arguments for "turning Turk" and joining Tunis, Crosman plans to use his sister to seduce Ward and in an aside to Benwash, says, "Work in my sister presently" (7.1.80). Such asides enhance this sense of luring

[172] Although the topic here is about fitting into the state of Tunis the play does not register this. Nor does it relinquish its overall theme that Ward is being drawn towards Islam. Religion acts like a lens for the entire scene, and indeed predictably, the scene culminates with inviting Ward to "turn Turk".

Ward. Here the questions of both political allegiance and religious allegiance emerge as underlying issues in the alluring offers put forth to Ward.

While the trickery and sexual depravity of the Turks is promoted by this scene, the dialogue it represents is played down and can be overlooked. I would like to point out that this scene also presents ideas about national consciousness played out in dialogue with the foreign Other not in a hostile or antagonistic way but as an intellectual conversation. Although the scene is meant to show its English audience aspects of Tunis and conversion to Islam along tempting, deceptive, and even alienating lines its meanings exceed this reach. Through putting the question of Ward joining Tunis in the context of the Christian's relation to his homeland the scene gains the transformative potential to show the problem of "turning" as a political one. The governor's comment about a person's ties to their *native land* outlines a foreign idea of statehood even as it distinguishes it from one conceived by sovereign power. However, because the scene is framed as a lure or a trap, the play's representations of the Ottoman empire's concept of rule that the Governor and the captain of the Janissaries put forth to Ward, come to represent a dubious ideology by which the Tunisian Islamic state defines itself. Such framing focuses audience's attention on the mood created in this scene, which looks like manipulation that is based on devious reasons, instead of on what is actually being said. The association of Tunis with sexual transgressions is meant both as a thrill and a means to warn the viewer against Tunis because it displaces the main issue that Crosman is talking about, which is about Tunisian citizenship. This makes Crosman's words to be seen mainly in terms of the difference between being a native "Turk" versus a foreigner, a Muslim versus a Christian.

Yet, when we look at it in reverse, say from the point of view of the 'land' instead of the 'native', it opens out on a whole different set of issues. The land as in the state or nation is also

implied in Crosman's remark. The invitation to become a Turk comes after all from the officials in charge of rule in Tunis. The exchanges in this scene propose that Tunis, and all the lands ruled by the Ottomans are not built upon common racial, ethnic, or even linguistic grounds. In the context of the racial and religious lines along which early modern western states were in the process of conceiving themselves this was a highly radical, and even irreligious idea. It was radical in that it disrupted the racial and religious ideologies upon which the concept of political subjection rested. It becomes in addition an irreligious one because it threatens the central tenet in the English idea of the nation that one must be a Christian to understand and participate as a civic subject.[173] *A Christian Turned Turk* can be grouped within a group of plays that depicted global contexts, "Turks", and inter-religious romance that are contextualized by the mercantile and colonial ventures of European Christian states with the East and the New World. The problem of the English renegade pirate John Ward—who moves between many worlds, forms alliances with French pirates on the high seas, carries his Englishness into multicultural Ottoman regions, converts to Islam in Tunis after giving up Christianity, etc—engages powerfully with the discourses of global exchange that this period inaugurates. By considering the complex propensities of the figure of the "Turk" and the global contexts that it engages with, Ward's defection to Tunis confronts the question of leaving one nation and joining another.

Ward give up his English subjectivity to join Islamic Tunis and in doing so he moves away from the sovereignty of England. The state's sovereign power to subject is thwarted by the renegade pirate who has defected from England and its king. Ward's engagement with the

[173] Christian religious belief is an indispensable aspect of acquiring a relation with God. The Christian subjects himself to God's power in order to come to an understanding of the self.

Tunisian world itself thus becomes a movement towards a worldview that does not conceptualize power through a Christian mode of subjection. In order to portray the disloyalty and betrayal of the renegade the play examines this issue by bringing up Ward's Englishness. His identity despite his treason against England is intrinsically linked with the subjectivity that is entailed by sovereign power. In *A Christian Turned Turk* the scene that depicts the sexual temptation of Islam promotes that the idea of the Englishness is what anchors Ward's identity in this foreign setting. It seeks to show for his English audience that despite his apostasy and treason the renegade pirate is still different from Tunisians and Islamic people because he is defined by Englishness. The quality of Englishness becomes a way of distinguishing the Christian renegade when his apostasy precludes the play from referring to him as a Christian and when his abandonment of England no longer allows for referring to him as a subject of England.

In this scene we find that the invitation to join Tunis is presented on political grounds. We do not see a group of Islamic priests and holy men coming to Ward's house to persuade him to convert. But the piquancy of sexual profligacy and eroticism is what holds the attention of the audience. It is more savoury than a discussion of statehood. The play represents Islamic Tunis as antithetical to a Christian nation in a number of ways because it seeks to show the notions of religious and national difference as unsurmountable. Even as the sexual allure of Islamic Tunis was set to thrill it had to be shown as decadent, sinful, deviant and to be avoided at all costs. Thus, presenting the idea of becoming a citizen of Tunis leads the play to show Ward in relation to opposing representations of civic allegiance: Islam as antithetical to Christianity also comes to figure Ottoman subjectivity as countering a Christian sovereign subjection. It serves as an essential and intrinsic element in the play's discourse against becoming a citizen in Tunis. In presenting for the audience all that is negative and dangerous about conversion to Islam one of

the arguments the play comes to promote is that the Ottoman empire cannot function as a sovereign power.

In his influential study *Forms of Nationhood* Richard Helgerson argues that the impact the Renaissance had on England can be linked to a crisis in English identity as it was simultaneously confronted with a conflict between its aspirations for power in the global arena and the insecurity promulgated by its awareness of the Greek and Roman histories and cultures of antiquity.[174] When Greek texts from antiquity became known to English writers and poets it led to a realization in these authors of what the notable Elizabethan poet Spenser has described as being "consigned to perpetual subjection and inferiority."[175] Helgerson notes that Spenser's need to out-Virgil Virgil underlies his works such as *The Faerie Queene* and *The Shepheardess's Calendar* which seek to carve for England a Protestant identity in the global world. In the light of such critique, we realize that the negative representations of 'infidels' such as the Muslim Saracen knights is more about Spenser's desire to carve an English Protestant identity for England than it is about Islam. Spenser uses the romance figure of the Saracen knight to develop racial and ethnic ideologies for such an identity.

In this period, the notion of a separate race implicit in the idea of Englishness becomes intrinsic to the ideas of literature and literariness that was conceived by Elizabeth poets and authors. Helgerson's study sees this phenomenon as a symptom of the desire to rival the greatness of Greece and Rome. I argue that in all this the ideology of sovereign power takes on a

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[174] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 11.

[175] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 3.

crucial role as there is an onus on England's identity as a monarchy in this thinking-through of inter-religious and inter-cultural encounters. As Helgerson argues the Elizabethan poets' conception of national consciousness takes place "under the aegis of Tudor absolutism."[176] English came to represent a language through which early modern English authors and poets created a nation and a national literature. Spenser, for example, with the desire to carve a national epic that was meant to be a uniquely English Renaissance epic composes the *Faerie Queene*.[177] The English needed to be seen not only as an equal or superior producer of culture, but they also needed English to be seen as a language that held spiritual power.[178] Britton points out that Spenser uses the Italian *Ariosto* as the basis to fashion an English Protestant version of Ariosto's epic hero Ludovico Ariosto.

The drama that arises in early modern England serves as a crucial fictional form for exploring and shaping nascent national consciousness for the English, and the ideal of an English national identity appears in drama not as a concrete entity but as an imaginative experiment. Helgerson argument can be seen as supporting the inference that English drama articulates England's urge to establish cultural hegemony through using other cultures to serve as inspirations and "sources of identity". This enterprise renders immaterial the alterity of cultural encounters by the English even as its drama appropriates elements of these cultures to

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[176] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 9.

[177] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 57

[178] This is an argument that is incisively developed by Dennis Britton in his work *Becoming Christian*.

conceptualize its own national identity.[179] In taking Helgerson's claims into account we note that England's response to the discovery of Renaissance texts is not separate from its treatment of Muslims and Islam in its poetry and drama. (Develop – Why and how this "Turk play" establishes its discourse of Englishness.) It is such contextualization that leads us to see the trope of 'conversion' and the figure of the "Turk" in *A Christian Turned Turk* as not merely symptomatic of the fear of Islam and Ottoman superiority, but also as the drive to establish an English identity that can supersede the cultures of antiquity.

England's responses to the Ottoman empire needs to be interpreted also through these larger European contexts of the impact of the Renaissance on English culture. The representations of Muslim cultures and religious others in "Turk plays" and the ideas presented in these plays about the relations between religion and political structures of state imagine and explore their roles in the formation of religious and political subjectivity. Through being

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[179] In unfolding a critique of sovereign power in relation to the question of the nation one needs to bear in mind that the term "nation" has a very different sense, or conceptualization during the early modern period. City-states and regions such as England, France, Spain, Italy etc. are referred to as "nations", but the nation as it existed then does not pertain to the full-fledged notion of the nation-state as we find emerging in the nineteenth century. In this period geopolitical entities (be they national, or city-state) in western Europe were attempting to articulate something like the sovereign and self-determining state, but this was very far from being a reality. The references to nation given in texts and artefacts from this era relate to city-states, republics, and duchies such as we see in Italy, Germany, etc. and are essentially "regional" demarcations (Robert Henke, Robert and Eric Nicholson. Eds. "Introduction" in *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theatre*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2008). In the case of the Ottoman empire and its regencies the demarcations were "imperial" ones. These geographies undergo constant shifts due to the wars and conquests of the period that kept the axes of political power in a state of flux. In addition, global travel and exchange created historical conditions for operating on a much wider scale than what is posited by the regional boundaries. The period is marked by the momentum to define geopolitical and geo cultural boundaries, but at the same time is subject to the contradictory impetus of global exchange that make boundaries more porous than they had been before.

presented with the choice of becoming a part of Tunis, a Muslim state, and no less than the regency of the Ottoman empire, renegade pirate Ward is set to consider issues that relate to national identity. The play, through the words of the Captain of the janissaries represents the idea of a political system of the state that does not adhere to an ideology of religious and ethnic homogeneity. Religious homogeneity, as I discuss in Chapter Two, is essential for establishing sovereignty.

The delineation of subjectivity invoked in this scene does not rest upon the concept of the sovereign power of the state as conceived by the western state. In fact, it disrupts it by suggesting that the sovereign power of God is not essential to constituting the subjectivity of the citizen. Thus, what the scene shows becomes a disturbing or disorienting interpretation of a state that is not Christian. The play seeks to juxtapose the English subject against the citizenship offered by the Ottoman regency of Tunis in order to show one as beneficial, and the other as a sexual experience. As he shows, the political and religious transformations during this period deeply influence these authors. In this scene, the Tunisian ideas of rule unsettle the grounds on which theocratic and monarchic sovereignty are built. These ideas loom like spectres in the play and threaten the structure of sovereign power and absolutist rule. The pirate Ward comes from a place where Englishness is a necessary aspect of self-identity. By using the figure of the renegade Ward as a touchstone for the representation of the loss of Christian subjectivity the play proposes that a state constituted through different ethnic and religious backgrounds is a drastic one.[180]

[180] Here we see how racial superiority and whiteness become a part of the discourse of western Christianity.

Ward's "turning Turk" comes to figure both the radical implications to the loss of a Christian self or subjectivity, as well as the warning against it. Yet it is Ward as the renegade who "turns Turk" that also opens the door to the representation of various perspectives and arguments about religious and national subjectivity. In its discourses of subjectivity subject formation, in an uncanny reversal, *A Christian Turned Turk* evokes the very controversy that is brought to a crisis in *Los baños*. In *Los baños* we saw that an impasse is revealed when the sovereign power of the state functions to fuse the private and the public within its purvey. In the confrontation between the renegades, Hazén seeks to murder Yzuf and justifies his hatred by arguing that he defends (as a Christian) what is just and right. He sees Yzuf's desire to influence the lives of his nephews (who live in Spain) as a betrayal of his kith and kin. His rationale is based on the view that as a member of an Islamic state Yzuf cannot influence the lives of members of his family who are in Christian lands. Hazén's censure of Yzuf is framed in highly nationalistic terms where the betrayal of kith and kin becomes allied with the land as homeland, even as it evokes the concept of *patria*. But the interpretation of betrayal which grounds how Hazén sees loyalty to the *patria* reaches an impasse when it is applied to the interpretation of the subjectivity of the renegade pirate. The critical issue raised here concerns how we can justifiably define Yzuf's actions as a betrayal, or pinpoint exactly what or who Yzuf is betraying, especially when we consider that the renegade pirate Yzuf is also a Morisco.[181] The Christian subjectivity of the renegade pirate Yzuf appears as a remainder even after he has severed his ties to Catholicism and Spain.

[181] A Morisco is a Moorish Christian Spaniard who has been forcibly expelled from Spain while his property is seized by the monarchy and the church.

The murderous resolution of the scene, if it convinces the audience to view Hazén's actions as a crusading act of Christian faith, results in the play's establishing that a person's nativity, the native land, and ethnicity are all inextricable aspects of religious and political subjectivity as well. At another level, buying into the play's rhetoric of Christian loyalty to Spain—the theme upon which the main plot of the romance between Lope and Zara rests—also ends up promoting the understanding that apostacy and "turning Turk" erases the renegade pirate's bonds to his family. But before succumbing to the play's persuasions, the critical question we need to ask of this scene as well as other scenes of renegade pirates "turning Turk" is this: When the renegade's ties to the state and to religion are severed, he is separated from his *patria*, but does this imply that he is also divested of his ties to his family?

The renegade is defined by a wilful rebellion against the monarch and Christianity, but the renegade Yzuf does not …. In *Los baños'* the definition of Yzuf as a renegade is problematic, however, because Yzuf as a Morisco did not defect from Spain but was unlawfully expelled from it. It is problematic even when applied to Hazén who did not set out to rebel against theocratic and monarchic power but was abducted as a child by pirates and initiated into practical work. Hazén sees his piracy as a means of surviving in the world he now inhabits i.e., Algiers. There is no doubt that the grounds of the concept of "renegade" are itself highly subjective and are evoked mainly from the Christian point of view.[182] While we can accede that the state is a

[182] Notwithstanding the nebulous criminality of piratical operations, the Ottoman Empire's stance towards it was decidedly clear—it was supported by the state. In fact, pirates serving the Ottomans had the lofty description of corsairs. On the other hand, the Christian conception of the renegade highlights the break from state. The term is used for ridicule by people in Islamic lands as we see Voada the sister of Crosman the governor of Tunis doing when she jeers at Ward and calls him a "runnagate".

political institution we cannot, one would presume, apply such conceptualization to the notion of family. But the scene of violence in *Los baños* suggests otherwise—i.e., it shows that we cannot presume that the relationships to one's family is a private matter and is beyond the rule of the state.

It is precisely this question of the limits of the political powers of the state in governing the individual that comes to be addressed in *A Christian Turned Turk* when the play presents the Tunisian officials' discussing with Ward's his native English identity. Their remarks on what constitutes eligibility to be a subject of Tunis becomes a statement about the relationship or ties between nativity, religion, and political subjectivity. The crucial point here is that the way in which the Islamic state constitutes its subjects does not seek to erase the subject's relations to other lands or religions.[183] As I had foregrounded earlier, the play registers the meanings of sovereign rule precisely by showing the lack of it when presenting ideas about rule in Tunis. It does this by giving us an anomalous definition of subjectivity that is conceived within the state of Tunis—a subjectivity, especially, that does not hold a religious dimension. The Ottoman empire had a policy of inclusivity with reference to religion, allowing the practice of various religions within its states. When we look at the Protestant Calvinist contexts through which the idea of sovereign subjectivity is lensed the default position that Tunis is given inadvertently, or maybe unwittingly, is a political system that is contradictory to that of a Christian one.

[183] However, we will need to continue to remind ourselves that the discourse of the state that is developed in this scene is not that of an articulation of the Christian or western state, but rather one that pertains to the Islamic state of Tunis, a regency of the Ottoman Empire.

The representations of this discourse are not disembodied writings of religious persons but are articulated through characters of import that will express the Tunisian perspective government, the captain, the Jewish middleman etc. The figure of the renegade pirate as he abandons the position of subjection to the Christian state and engages with the politics of Tunis is represented as entering a different discourse of power—a discourse which is necessarily conceived as a power that cannot subject the citizen in the way sovereign power does. The function of political power operating in the Islamic state of Tunis, the play argues, cannot penetrate and transform the subjectivity of the citizen as Christianity does.[184] The play represents Islam in an antithetical relation to Christianity, in order to show that it does not have the religious power to penetrate the person's belief and change him/her from within.

In *Los baños*, the pirates' violence enacted at the hands of each other shatters the semblance of a common goal—that both pirates serve the Ottoman empire in order to earn a living and to gain a social position. However, the lines along which national allegiance is drawn, i.e., the ideological positions of the two pirates, is dramatically different. In the figure of Hazén, we see an idealism of the homeland to which he pledges loyalty. He needs to strive very much to be accepted into it because he has to use various kinds of proof to attest to his identity as a Christian. In this setup the Christian state shapes its subjects ideologically. In the case of the renegade pirate becoming a part of Islamic Algiers, the allegiance to the state is drawn along the lines of labor and communal structures. This is an ordering that appears in different ways in each

[184] But contrary to what the term connotes, an objective ideology does not necessarily lead to or produce an objectification of the subject. It follows then, that it is not surprising that sovereign subjection can be seen as a process that will later develop into one which objectifies the subject—a phenomena we associate with a capitalist economy.

of the plays. In Daborne, the notion of belonging is proposed to the pirate Ward in a conversation he has with the governor and head of the janissaries. And again, in the lover's conversation Donusa shows the superiority of the Ottoman governance by arguing for the prosperity that citizens enjoy in its rule.

This difference can be interpreted in terms of seeing the role transcendence in the formation of the Christian subject. The subject is fashioned ideologically because s/he is fashioned through a belief in the metaphysical idea of life. While religious belief is immanence divine rules and laws can also function immanently. In this regard, Ward's failure to apprehend the nature of the law in Tunis as a Christian can be seen as the disjunction in his own subjectivity. It is not a question of hierarchy of whether the material is privileged or the spiritual, but of seeing these as two distinct and perhaps equally important ontological positions. While religious belief is immanence the rules and laws can be seen as immanent. In this regard, Ward's failure to apprehend the nature of the law in Tunis as a Christian can be seen as the disjunction in his own subjectivity. In order for the play to frame his villainy in terms of an English Protestant subjectivity, it needs to contextualize his judgment along Christian beliefs. The ideological conceptualization of the Christian keeps in place the ever-present hold of the judgment of God in the afterlife even as it proposes that criminality will be punished on earth. This kind of eschatology precludes Ward from sensing that the laws in Tunis will have him account for his actions here and now.

The discourse of divine forgiveness does not inform or shape the law set forth in Tunis. When he repents, Ward attempts to locate himself once again within the discourse of Christianity but the arguments he offers for the superiority of Christian faith cannot be represented as they are not tangible truths within the law in Tunis. This leaves no recourse for the expectation and

understanding within its conceptualization. The pasha expects the pirates to work together without hindering each other's piratical work. In the Ottoman empire there is no place for dubious loyalty not because the empire cultivates only pious Muslims, but because the kind of labour the pirate contributes is for the increasing the wealth and holdings of the empire. Again, as we will see, in its characterization of Ward in Tunis, the play struggles to stabilize his identity and clarify where he really belongs. Through his piracy the renegade Ward severs all legitimate ties to his homeland England and to Christianity and frees him from being subjected by either monarchical or theocratical power. Representing Ward's rebellious and violent life of crime, which is linked with his engagement with the Islamic world and conversion to Islam thus also involves the play showing his actions fracture the ideology of English sovereign power. He is necessarily characterized as an English subject who goes against the sovereign power of the state. Thus, what is presented as the sin of the pirate's apostacy and his "turning Turk" also opens out a critique of sovereign power. It is this inseparability between the rebellion against sovereign power and "conversion to Islam" that renders the problem of "turning Turk" as intrinsic to the problem of 'losing national subjects': Englishmen who "turn" Muslim go against God and king, i.e., they oppose the Christian concept of sovereign power.

A central tenet in Christian belief is subjecting oneself to God's will, and divine power is experienced through subjection. The Christian subjects himself/herself to God. In 1534, for example, Erasmus articulates this very notion when he puts the term "subject" into use: We do beleue, that he is God, and that he is almyghty, whiche worketh all these thynges, & that he is

not subiecte vnder the lawes of nature.[185] Protestant view of Christianity registers a significant shift in how faith and belief are interpreted within the play. The characters in Cervantes' play *Los baños de Argel* reflect the Catholicism of its author and contexts, whereas *A Christian Turned Turk*, which is about a pirate who hails from Jacobean England, is shaped by the Calvinist Protestantism perspectives of its author and of Reformed England. With the advent of Calvinism crucial changes occur in the interpretation of Christianity in England, and it is worth bearing these in mind when we look at Daborne's play. The concepts that come to figure prominently in the characterisation and death of the pirate such as repentance, divine judgment, damnation, redemption, etc. are radically revised in Protestant thought. Christian approaches to life and death, which advocate that while the body perishes the soul is judged and is either granted eternal life or is damned, gain a new valence through the sharply drawn boundaries between life and death in the reformed faith.

Protestantism having disposed of or discarded the Catholic belief in Purgatory, presents hell, the eternal torment of damnation in the afterlife, in more urgent and immediate terms. Other dire conditions follow—beginning with the challenging Calvinist belief in reprobation, the theory of the elect, and double predestination.[186] The emphasis on divine sovereignty brings

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[185] Desiderius Erasmus, *A Playne and Godly Exposytion or Declaration of the Commune Crede* (*which in the Latin Tonge Is Called Symbolum Apostolorum)* and of the X. Commaundementes of Goddes Law, Newly Made and Put Forth by the Famouse Clarke, Mayster Erasmus of Roterdame, at the Requeste of the Moste Honorable Lorde, Thomas Erle of Wyltshyre: Father to the Most Gratious and Vertuous Quene Anne Wyf to Our Most Gracyous Soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henry The. Viii. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete: by me Robert Redman, 1530. f. 85.

[186]According to which Ward's "dreadful turning" would seem inevitable. Yet the representation of religion in *A Christian Turned Turk* is not unequivocally that of Reformed religion for we find that the play is also caught up in presenting many events and actions from a Catholic perspective. For example, the pleas to Ward by the captive Alizia, who is a French Catholic, deflect profound

about the notion there can be no human advocacy in the fate of the soul whose judgment is determined absolutely by God. Further, the doctrine of justification by faith extends saving grace only to the *elect* which theory itself is set up on self-defeating terms: there can be no mediation or intercession for souls that are already damned. The play straddles the divide between English and Tunisian subjectivity by using the renegade pirate figure as a bridge that can link the two sides. Although a renegade, Ward sees his identity as that of an Englishman and draws on a Christian worldview through which he interprets rule in Tunis.

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fears about the irrevocability of death and of the afterlife by suggesting a counterview to the reprobation that Ward is deemed an apostate according to the Calvinist perspective.

# Chapter Four

## "Wanton irreligious madness": Christian virtue and the sovereign subject in Philip Massinger's *The Renegado*

### Introduction

In *The Renegado*, the range of subject positions that the play presents through its various Christian characters as well as some Islamic ones is strongly linked with religious identity. It is only the renegade pirate who breaks this pattern by apostatizing and placing himself beyond the reach of religion. *The Renegado* takes up the renegade problem by focusing on what determines the Christian subjectivity of the subject of sovereign power, and how this can be used to transform the dissenting renegade pirate. In *A Christian Turned Turk* we saw that the renegade pirate's religious apostacy and conversion to Islam ("turning Turk") are presented as prominent causes of his opposing sovereign power. The play's focus on persuading its audience of the sin of "turning Turk" entails its showing the ways in which Islam as irreligious and even devilish belief corrupts and perverts the renegade, John Ward. By proposing to present a "Ward Turn'd Turk", both the title of the play and the chorus direct the audience to focus on the ways in which Ward is drawn towards Islam and the events that move him beyond redemption into "turning' into a Muslim. The play emphatically declares that it will represent the problem of the renegade in terms of his adoption of the infidel's religion and becoming a "Turk."[187]

[187] We note though that much before Ward and his piratical crew set out to Tunis, they already were avowedly apostates. In the course of the numerous attacks that they make upon unwary ships *en route* we hear them exchange acerbic remarks and trenchant exchanges about religion with the travellers they capture. The play however frames Ward's apostacy and "turning Turk" as happening simultaneously in Tunis. This can be understood through the various moments in

*The Renegado,* in contrast, sets aside the angles we saw pursued in *A Christian Turned Turk*,[188] and focuses squarely on the renegade pirate's recuperation into Christianity. Its narrative is engaged in defining, affirming, and validating the Christian subject.[189] My critique of the relationship between the renegade pirate and sovereign power in *The Renegado* therefore examines the play's representations of Christian subjectivity with regard to both its loss and its restoration. I focus on how this process gets played out and how the play reinstitutes the pirate as a sovereign subject. While drawing on critical research that identifies the significance of the practice of *imitatio Christi* in defining Christian subjectivity and its transformation in Protestant thought, I argue that the Christian practice of *imitatio Christi* is also strongly shaped by how imitation comes to be re-interpreted in the early modern period. In *The Renegado* the hero of the play, Vitelli, comes to represent the Christian who is shaped by his deep piety and the practice of *imitatio Christi*.[190] Through the play endorsing his Christian virtue as well as leading its Muslim

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the play in which Ward is poised between possessing a Christian identity and losing it if he succumbs to the lure and sexual temptation of Islam. But Ward's Christianity was abandoned much before he set foot in Tunis. As many critics have pointed out the conversion to Islam is eroticized by showing Ward becoming a "Turk" not for economic or social advantages, but for his lust and irresistible attraction to the Tunisian Muslim woman, Voada.

[188] Vitkus in discussing the parallels between *A Christian Turned Turk* and *The Renegado* argues that *The Renegado i*s a deliberate response to Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* rewriting its tragic plot and "revers[ing its] outcome ... by affirming the power of Christianity to "redeem" both Muslims and renegades." His reading sees the fatal liaison between the English pirate Ward and the Moorish temptress Voada reconfigured in the happy outcome of the Vitelli-Donusa relationship. (Vitkus, *Turk Plays,* 41-3).

[189] This approach can give us a clue as to why even contemporary criticism on the representation of the apostate pirate has addressed his apostacy as an issue that is defined by the theological: Christian subjectivity is the crux in the defining of sovereign power and rule.

[190] *The Renegado* shows that both Paulina and Vitelli's virtue face threats in the face of Turkish promiscuity and aggression—Paulina through Asambeg's aggression and lust, and Vitelli

antagonists to praise Vitelli's virtue the play represents a Christian idea of selfhood. The play shows that both Paulina and Vitelli's virtue is threatened in the face of Turkish promiscuity and aggression—Paulina through Asambeg's aggression and lust, and Vitelli through Donusa's promiscuous seduction.[191]

I examine the play's use of the concept of virtue to depict the Christian self to show how this becomes a way through which the play represents Christian subjectivity. In my analysis, the notion of Christian virtue is traced through both its classical antecedent *virtus,* and its scholastic re-visioning of a Boethian conception of Christian *virtue*. In the Roman notion, *virtus* is a complex amalgam of meanings that include notions of nobility in action, ethical response to adversity and opposition, and a strong sense of civic responsibility (this idea is taken from Aristotle's political theory on man's ability for civic participation). In the play's interpretation and representation of Christian virtue we find that Christian virtue in its transformation to a

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through Donusa's promiscuous seduction. The preservation of virtue of these Christians can come about only by rescuing them through using the valorous work of the (former) renegade pirate Grimaldi. The play needs to appropriate his strengths such as aggression, conquest, violence and an overall masculine ethos to use it for a "better" purpose—the purpose of the Christians escaping Tunis with Turkish wealth. At the beginning of the play, we were introduced to the renegade pirate in all his swaggering boastfulness. By the time we are at ACT III he has been cashiered by the Viceroy of Tunis, Asambeg. After falling into a deep and suicidal despair Grimaldi repents and is led to become a Christian again by the Jesuit priest Francisco. The play needs both the renegade pirate's former aggressive abilities to achieve the rescue of the Christians as well his latter repentance so that he wants to help the Christians escape.

[191] The preservation of Paulina's chastity which the play shows as effected by the relic Francisco gives her has been the topic of many critiques on how the play appropriates Catholic practices for its comic resolution. Jane Hwang Degenhardt for example argues that the ability for embodiment in religious practice that is lacking in Protestantism is supplied by Catholicism. The relic in its material form acts as a tangible protection that prevents Asambeg's lustful advances upon Paulina.

Christological as well as scholastic conceptualization of virtue discards what balances the aggression, violence, and desire to possess in the Roman idea of *virtus*. The preservation of Vitelli's Christian virtue comes about through the appropriation of the renegade pirate Grimaldi's abilities of aggression, conquest, violence and an overall masculine ethos to a "better" purpose—the purpose of escaping Tunis with Turkish wealth. Re-instituting the renegade pirate Grimaldi as a sovereign subject comes through diverting his piratical skills in the cause of rescuing the virtuous Christians. I argue that the renegade pirate becomes a figure who represents Christian virtue paradoxically—he becomes the mode by which the play achieves the triumph of the virtuous Christian subject who is shaped by his submission to God's will, moral fortitude, and steadfast faith. But Grimaldi also serves as the mode that preserves Christian virtue through the piratical strengths of physical valour, aggressive conquest, and violence.[192]

Philip Massinger's Jacobean drama about apostacy, *The Renegado, or a Gentleman of Venice* (1623) was first staged in 1624 at the Cockpit theatre.[193] It presents a novel and colourful array of characters such as a Venetian aristocrat, a renegade pirate, a Muslim princess, an English eunuch, a Jesuit Catholic priest along with the influential Ottoman viceroy of Tunis and

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[192] In the play's interpretation and representation of Christian virtue we find that Christian virtue in its transformation to a Christological as well as scholastic conceptualization of virtue discards what balances the aggression, violence, and desire to appropriate in the Roman idea of virtus. In the Roman notion virtus also includes nobility in action, ethical response to adversity and opposition, and a strong sense of civic responsibility. Discuss here *Fortuna-virtus* pairing, the shift from chance to luck, and the Greek idea of *arete.*

[193] Massinger staged this play when he was working for the theatre companies of Lady Elizabeth's Men and Queen Henrietta's Men. *The Renegado* which was first staged in 1624, coincide with the time when King James I was seeking to negotiate a Catholic marriage for his heir Charles, a detail that has been seen as the reason for Massinger contextualizing his play through Catholicism.

his retinue. *The Renegado* is designated a "Turk play" by Vitkus for its thematic treatment of Islam and the Turks.[194] It is the first play to show on the English stage the conversion of the Muslim woman to Christianity. It also begins a trend when it depicts the Sultan's niece Donusa's private chambers—the Turkish seraglio—which is highly guarded and prohibited to men to show the transgressive entry of Vitelli, a European, into it.[195] Unlike Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* it was well-received and remained popular for a long time. Miguel de Cervantes' works on captivity are a major inspiration for Massinger's play taking up the theme of captivity in fashioning this "Turk play". Massinger drew substantially from many of Cervantes's works, chief among them the plays *Los Tratos de Argel* (1582), and *Los baños de Argel* (1615), and the 'Captive's Tale' found in Part I of *Don Quixote* (1604). One can also find in Massinger's Asambeg-Paulina storyline the themes and motifs of Cervantes's *La Gran Sultana* (1615),[196] a captivity play about the liaison between the powerful Sultan and a beautiful captive Christian slave.[197] The Renegado's historical and cultural contexts also draw on numerous works of the period that deal with travels and encounters with the East, specifically works centred on the

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[194] Ibid., page _. See also footnote x in chapter one.

[195] Alain Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East*, trans. Liz Heron (New York: Verso, 1998).

[196] However, in contrast to the remarkable end of a Christian slave becoming the queen to the Sultan in La Gran Sultan, in Massinger's play the Venetian Christian captive Paulina shuns her wooer Asambeg the Viceroy of Tunis. Paulina vehemently declares her disgust to Asambeg and jeers at Islam. Her repudiation of the Viceroy is linked to the play's emphasis on preserving both her virginity and her faith.

[197] In Chapter Two, I discuss Cervantes's work, its inspiration, historical contexts, and critical studies and sources.

Islamic lands ruled by the Ottomans. Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turks* (1603), and _____ are some of the historical works that Massinger used.

Critics have pointed out that Massinger must also have had Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* in mind when writing The *Renegado*, since Massinger's play re-presents the problem of the renegade pirate because it seems to follow a similar plotline by showing a Christian Grimaldi turned Turk and working for the Turks in Tunis as a renegade pirate, and another Christian Vitelli being sexually seduced by a Muslim woman. But then the renegade pirate Grimaldi repents, and he is redeemed and recuperated into Christianity instead of becoming damned for "turning Turk". Vitelli too, is prevented from "turning Turk" through his Jesuit mentor Francisco's intervention. Francisco chastises him for his sexual liaison with Donusa, and Vitelli is then led to repudiate her love and curse her religion, Islam. Daniel Vitkus in his introduction to *Three Turk Plays* writes that *The Renegado* responds to *A Christian Turned Turk* directly by re-writing the judgment that the renegade pirate will receive.[198] He points out that Massinger gives the same name Francisco for his "Christian raisonneur" just as the name that Daborne gave to the Christian who tries to save Ward from deepening his involvement with the Turks.[199] This and the many similarities between the two plays indicate that Massinger may have been consciously responding to the earlier play, to then rewrite it with a happy ending.

As we see in the titlepage of the 1630 Quarto edition *The Renegado* is named a tragicomedy, which signals its positive ending. Massinger transforms the romance genre by

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[198] Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays*, 32.

[199] Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays.*

inter-twining it with the renegade-pirate-captivity plot, but the dark elements of pillage, conquest, and slavery are lensed by the comic thrust of romance as well as repentance of the renegade pirate to produce a happy ending. The fraught anxieties and fears of punishment and forced conversion to Islam by Christian captives is brought to a happy denouement through their escape from Tunis with the Turks' wealth and the Ottoman sultan's niece. The play brings about a successful transformation of the tragic to the comic, apostacy to repentance and Christian recuperation, and religious conflict to mercantilism. The play's yoking of varied themes and elements such as renegade piracy and adventure travel, along with the royal settings of the Ottomans, the sultan's corsairs, and trade and commerce with the East would have proved both fascinating and interesting for its early modern audience. At the same time, the very real presence and fears of Ottoman conquest that loom over Christendom are skilfully thwarted through the imaginative use of dramatic conventions (tragedy, romance) and devices (motifs, tropes, etc.), and the play points the way to a more determined move towards England's ventures into trade with the Ottomans.

*The Renegado*'s extended title '*or The Gentleman of Venice*' gives a dual reference to the play's protagonist—suggesting that this central role is poised between the renegade pirate, Grimaldi, and the gentleman of Venice, Vitelli. It also subtly foregrounds the plays oeuvre of translating the criminal work of piracy into commercial enterprise and trade. The Venetian pirate Grimaldi has 'turned Turk' to join the corsairs of the Barbary Coast Turks and has become a renegade. Before the action of the play begins, Grimaldi, has abducted Paulina a noblewoman from Venice and has sold her to Asambeg, the Turkish Viceroy of Tunis. This event forms the basis of the two Christian-Muslim liaisons in the play: Asambeg falls in love with Paulina and holds her captive in his palace till she yields to his desire; With the aid of a powerful relic given

her by the Jesuit priest Francisco, Paulina is able to resist Asambeg's lustful designs: the play presents the stereotype of exaggerated lust as a Turkish vice that is contrasted with Christian chastity which is "built upon the rock of religion" (4.2.28-9). Vitelli, the brother of Paulina, has travelled to Tunis disguised as a merchant in search of his abducted sister, Paulina. In the opening scenes we see Vitelli with his servant Gazet setting up a stall at the market—Vitelli is on the lookout for information about his sister. All of Tunis is celebrating the arrival of Mustapha, the Basha of Aleppo, who has come to marry the princess Donusa, niece to the Ottoman Sultan. At the marketplace, Vitelli attracts the attention of Princess Donusa, niece of the Turkish Sultan, who lures him to her palace and seduces him. The dangerous bravado with which Vitelli abandons himself to his desire for this alluring unbeliever ("Though the Devil / Stood by and roared, I follow!" (2.4.134-35). The penalty for such a liaison is death. But through the machinations of his mentor, the Jesuit priest Francisco, this drastic fate is averted when he persuades Vitelli to breaks-off his relationship with Donusa. Donusa, however, having fallen in love with Vitelli rejects her suitor Mustapha. The offended Mustapha suspects that she has a lover and forces Donusa's servant Manto to reveal Vitelli and Donusa's relationship. He then reports it to Asambeg who, shocked by Donusa's transgression, has both Vitelli and Donusa imprisoned; Vitelli is subjected to torture while Donusa is kept under guard till they hear back from the Sultan regarding a suitable punishment for his niece's sexual liaison with a Christian man.

The counterplot involves the other protagonist of the play—Grimaldi, the renegade pirate. Notified that Grimaldi has failed to prevent the Christian Knights of Malta from stealing the Turkish ships Asambeg reprimands him harshly. Grimaldi retaliates by rebelling against Asambeg as well as insulting him. The Viceroy grows furious, seizes Grimaldi's property, and

expels him from his service. Grimaldi on being cashiered falls into a deep despair and sees himself as eternally damned for his thefts and murders, his apostasy, and his sacrilege against the holy Eucharistic host—in Venice, Grimaldi has stormed into St. Mark's snatched the host from the bishop and dashed it to the ground. The priest Francisco dresses in a Bishop's cope appears before Grimaldi and counsels him on contrition and redemption. Grimaldi repents and overcomes his despair. The emperor's decision about Donusa arrives in a black box decreeing that she must die. But according to Muslim law she can be freed from her sentence if she persuades her lover to convert to Islam. Donusa seizes upon this recourse of law and tries to persuade Vitelli to convert to Islam. Vitelli however, through the guidance of Francisco resists her plea. Vitelli's steadfastness in the face of his persecutors so impresses Donusa that she abandons Islam and converts to a Christian. According to Islamic law, they are both condemned to die now, but Francisco engineers a plan by which the lovers' horrible end is prevented. He has Paulina delay the execution by promising Asambeg that she will submit to his desires, as well as become a Muslim. Francisco then enlists Grimaldi's naval expertise and all the Christians including Donusa escape from Tunis. The play ends with the Christians sailing away with Donusa's wealth and jewels in Grimaldi's ship,[200] leaving Asambeg to bemoan his failure and humiliation:

ASAMBEG:

… I will hide

This head among the deserts, or some cave

[200] Donusa has converted to Christianity.

Filled with my shame and me, where I alone

May die without a partner in my moan. (5.8.36-39)

We saw that Cervantes' *Los baños* opens with the terrible and violent scene of attack of a Spanish town by renegade pirates, and it shows Algiers through a focus on the oppressive prison camps, the dreary life of captives, and the arduous and punishing conditions of captivity at the hands of the Ottomans. Whereas Massinger's *The Renegado* gives us a strikingly different picture in its narrative of the Christian captives' fates, and in its representation of the city of captivity, Tunis. The play opens with the bazaar where traders from all countries conduct their commerce. Such an opening frames the mercantile backdrop of European trade in Muslim lands, and that sets a decided tone of trade and exchange in *The Renegado* that is re-captured in a variety of ways throughout the play.[201] Michael Neill remarks that Massinger's casting his Christian characters as citizens of Venice, a republic famous for the wealth it garnered from trade with the Orient. shifts the symbolic center of the play from the prison camps to the marketplace. But in *The Renegado* buying and selling are not only about trade. Vitkus argues, and I agree with him, that the play's mercantile setting is sexualized as the play connects the "desire for profit" with sexual desire. The marketplace is shown not as invoking

[201] We are shown that it is not only the geographic expansion that is the dominant nature of Ottoman Empire but also the ways in which it facilitated and promoted global commerce. The European desire for empire positioned against this major power sought to conquer and expand itself through a foray into a wider geography with its focus on both the East and the New World. A long-standing enmity had been registered by the long war between Christendom and Turkish and Islamic forces that stretched back to the Crusades of the medieval past. Thus, even as it indulges in romantic fantasy, *The Renegado* exploits real anxieties occasioned by the political rivalry between Europe and the expanding Ottoman Empire—a contention that involved competition for control of Eastern commerce as well as battles for territorial supremacy.

just “trade”, but “other lusts” as well and the site of trade is transformed into one of temptation and potential contagion’. Trade and lust are closely linked in the play. When, in the third scene of the play, the princess Donusa comes to the marketplace and pays a visit to Vitelli’s shop in the market she sets about luring him. Though she poses as a buyer and Vitelli as we know is also posing as a merchant, it is not at all clear what is being bought or sold. An exchange of words between her and Vitelli transforms into a more serious one when Vitelli is invited by Donusa to visit her in her private chambers in the palace. Later when Vitelli visits Donusa in her palace his sexual temptation for Donusa is fused with the scene of her enormous wealth. One is set to wonder what Donusa wishes to happen when she heaps ‘imperial coin’ and ‘[Indian] gems’ upon her ‘royal merchant’ (2.4.82-94) in this subsequent meeting. The sexual liaison between the two is transformed into a scene of commercial exchange. Grimaldi’s opening remarks at the marketplace also show a similar thought process when his corsairs’ ‘trade’ (2.5.6) in pillaged goods and human commodity facilitates his purchase of another kind at the market-place—sex. Grimaldi calls out to his men: “let us away …”. This infectious linking between trade and sex also becomes a defining factor of Islam when trade is linked with Islam which we see in Gazet declaration that he is pursuing duplicitous trading practices in Tunis he is doing the “meritorious work” of abusing the Turkish infidel (I.I.21-3).

*The Renegado’s* sustained interest in exploring and exploiting the commercial and mercantile possibilities of the Muslim-Christian encounter shows it as taking a sharp turn away from *Los baños’* and *A Christian Turned Turk’s* presentation of this. However, this critical break by the renegade pirate from sovereignty’s hold is itself brought about not by the conditions defining the private citizen, or the monarch. In other words, the conditions that bring about either the renegade pirate’s thriving existence or a sentence of hanging from the king are

not completely tied to subjects and monarchs. Rather, the early modern inception of travel, trade, commerce, and conquest at a level hitherto unrealized, and whose boundaries will necessarily go beyond states and their jurisdictions bring about these conditions. Meant as a remark about religious identity, the piquantly voiced point by Vitelli's servant Gazet captures the essence of this sense of changing, or fluctuating identities in the early modern period:

VITELLI

I wonder, sirrah,

What's your religion?

GAZET

Troth, to answer truly,

…

In my belief: when all your sects and sectaries

Are grown of one opinion, if I like it

I will profess myself; in the meantime,

Live I in England, Spain, France, Rome, Geneva,

I am of that country's faith.

VITELL

And what in Tunis?

Will you turn Turk here? (1.1.23-37)

In Gazet's response we see evoked both trade's as well as global travel's roles in bringing about possibilities of a changing subjectivity that seems never to be fixed: be it "England, Spain, France, Rome, or Geneva" Gazet can be "of that country's faith. Neither Vitelli, nor Gazet are renegade pirates, so in the above exchange it is not a question of the pirate's religious identity.

However, what this exchange captures is the geographies that intervene in identifying subjectivity, which is itself intrinsically tied to religion. The renegade functions in a geography beyond the monarch's reach, and his subjectivity is itself somewhat blurred and thus difficult to link with any specific government. In such a climate, where does the renegade pirate belong and who oversees him, or rather, to whom is he accountable? This is the pivotal issue that intersects with the renegade problem and thwarts most of the early modern power structures and their rulers.[202]

*The Renegado* both baffles and provokes arriving at a definitive conclusion as to whether it narrates a Catholic or Protestant subject. As critics have noted the Christian elements that the play depicts participates in both catholic and protestant discourses.[203] The contexts, characterizations, and theatrical devices,[204] for example, pertain to Christians from Venice, and signify Catholicism. Again, a deeply Catholic approach to the sacraments and miracles are seen in the play's showing the necessity of Baptism FOR Donusa to be initiated into Christianity, and the sacred relic given to Paulina by the priest Francisco that is said to protect her chastity. The

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[202] As for the Ottoman potentates employing corsairs from numerous regions, ethnicities, and backgrounds the control of these transmogrified subjectivities is not as effective or successful as portrayed in early modern drama and literature. In *The Renegado* this issue is gestured at through the heavy hand of the Viceroy on the activity of the renegade pirate Grimaldi. Although he has converted to Islam, his conduct and occupation while in Tunis are taken into account by this state which offers him safe harbour.

[203] While studies on early modern identity have always taken religion into account, it is only recently that criticism has sought to unravel the strands of the different denominations of Christianity to particularize and distinguish Christian subjectivity through its geographical as well political schisms

[204] Although this can be seen as more causal than intentional given the uncertainty and turbulence of the Reformation re-assessing the definition of Christianity.

relic is said to protect Vit sister Paulina from being ravaged by the tyrannical pasha. And when the plot brings about Grimaldi's redemption through Francisco's intervention it resorts to take a Catholic stance towards penitence and forgiveness. The Jesuit priest Francisco is a crucial orchestrator of the rescue and escape of the Christian captives. Considering the catalytic and influential role played by Francisco, critics have sought to situate the positive representation of Catholicism to a Protestant audience that was both suspicious and antagonistic to this religion. Critics argue that the play's conflicted presentation of religious faiths reflects the complicated religious politics of the early 1620s, and the anxieties of the English of being dominated by papal power again due to the prospect of a Catholic marriage for the Prince of Wales. The inclusion of a Jesuit priest as Vitelli's spiritual adviser and in the role of Grimaldi's confessor into "as his second care" can therefore be seen as connected to the political crises associated with James I's reign – who fostered a conciliatory stance towards Catholicism in the hope of a united Christendom to fight against the Ottoman invasions, and his efforts to secure a Catholic marriage for his son and successor, Charles.

Underlying the ways in which the play draws an identity for Christian subjectivity as it proceeds to contrast the treasonous renegade Grimaldi with the devout martyr-ish Vitelli, I argue, are two linked phenomena: the renaissance transformation of the concept of mimesis, due to which acts of interpretation and representation follow a changed approach to imitation, and two, the scholastic reconceptualization of Christian virtue. The conceptualization of Christian subjectivity originates in a long tradition of the Christian religious practice of *imitatio Christi*. With the advent of the new testament the idea of Christian redemption became strongly linked

with the life of Christ and of imitating Christ.[205] Adrian Streete's critical study on subject formation in Calvinist England traces the formation of Christian subjectivity in terms of this influential religious practice of i*mitatio Christi*. In particular, Streete argues for the acknowledgement of a Christological identity in defining early modern English subjectivity.[206] According to him, in recognizing that Christ himself is the figure of mimetic identity we are able to see that Christ is also the figure of mediation when the human identifies with the divine. Streete's critique then moves to the crux of his study, i.e., to show how this mediatory role of Christ becomes transformed by Calvinism.[207] He shows that Calvinism's antithetical approach to the experience of religion alienates the Christian leaving little scope for the experience of Christ's love. "Faustus' pact with the devil because an act of transgression without hope of liberation, is at once rebellious, masochistic, and despairing. The protestant God . . . demanded of each subject that s/he submit personally and without mediation. The modes of power formerly incorporated in mediating institutions and practices now devolve on Him and, to some extent and

[205] *Imitatio Christi* was a model for Christian life and its practice referred to the form of spirituality that is drawn from the loving, obedient, servant-like life of Christ, including his passion. Imitatio Christi thus became a central notion in Christian piety and spirituality from the early second century onward traced for example through Ignatius of Antioch. In western Christianity, this religious idea gained great fervour especially with Saint Thomas of Kempis's work The Imitation of Christ. In this work Thomas à Kempis's developed a mystical theology which describes the spiritual life and the interior discipline necessary to inculcate a Christlike perfection in this life. Protestant devotional practice and literature was very strongly influenced by Kempis's work and his theology of the *imitatio Christi*.

[206] Streete's central argument about English Protestantism Bibliographical info

[207] See my Introduction, pages 12 to 18 for a critical and in-depth discussion of this.

unintentionally, on His subject: abject before God, the subject takes on a new importance in virtue of just this direct relation." (Streete).[208]

If as Streete has persuasively argued, *imitatio Christi* is a key concept in understanding Christian/Calvinist subjectivity then the understanding that underlies *imitatio* merits equal importance. The practice of *imitatio Christi* was largely responsible for shaping Christian subjectivity to reflect a Christ-like subservience and suffering. But the concept of *imitatio Christi* is linked with a long and complex history of mimesis that pre-dates Christianity. At the heart of the concept of *imitatio Christi* there is always the problem of clarifying both the nature of *imitatio*, and the interpretation of *imago*. This critical differentiation in the interpretations of mimesis is inherently one that ties-in with the philology of *imago*, or the image.[209] In the chapter on "Mimesis" in the *Dictionary of Untranslatables*, Jacqueline Lichtenstein and Elisabeth Decultot explain that "the theological problematic of the *imago* faced during the Middle Ages modifies the meaning *of imitatio* by inscribing it in a new network of signification articulated around the idea of likeness, but a likeness or resemblance that was also thought in new terms as both representation and similarity. This is a turning point in the interpretation of *imitatio*—it

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[208] In *The Renegado* we find this problem mirrored in the play presenting Christian subjectivity on Calvinist terms. The play seeks recourse in Catholic practices, but these come across as somewhat farcical. This is seen, for example, in Paulina's response to the ritual of Baptism performed upon Donusa.

[209] The term *imago* lends itself to diverse meanings ranging from effigy and simulacrum to exemplar and model. But its earliest meanings arise within a sacred context: "Signifying the imitation of a portrait, the word *imago* was applied to the image of the deceased. It designated the mask made from the imprint of a face. Initially referring to ancestral cults, it also designated, in classical Latin, the image of the Gods, associated with terms referring to the realm of the sacred."

registers the transition of mimesis to *imitatio* (the Latin language links *imitatio* with *imago*) and renders "*imitatio*" and "*imago*" inseparable. This conjoining is especially significant in approaching any interpretation of mimesis in early modern texts because as Junius explains, "for Renaissance grammarians, image (*imago*) means what proceeds from imitation (*imitatio*)." (Dictionary). The theological and Biblical idea/belief according to which "man is created in the image of God" is no longer limited to interpreting the relation as just resemblance, or as copy, or exemplar (of the *imago*). It creates the meaning of *imago* as "a problematic of resemblance that developed from a re-interpretation of *imago* … gives a radically new meaning to the term". The criteria of good mimesis in the sense of likeness cannot be just those of mimesis in the sense of reproduction. In other words, for the Renaissance the relations between human creation and divine creation are governed by a principle of concordance and similitude wherein both similarity and analogy come to be used in the interpretation of imitation of Christ. Understanding this critique is important to interpretations of subjectivity in Renaissance texts because the conceptualization of Christian subjectivity re-interprets *imitatio Christi* with the new approach to mimesis.

In early modern England, the idea or notion of *imitatio Christi* is drawn from the words describing man found in the Geneva Bible, the dominant Bible of the Reformation. Here it states that "Man was made in the image of God i.e., "God created man in his image." Drama's characterization and representation of Christian subjectivity that arises in relation to the practice of *imitatio Christi* grapples with many difficult challenges that can be seen through these questions: What is the object in *imitatio Christi*: is it the nature of Christ or the idea, is it a visible thing or the invisible processes in the mind? Should it be kept as an inner world (Protestant inwardness) or outer reality (such as rituals in Catholicism, and the passion of

Christ)? And beneath all such fundamental questions there always lies the problem of mimesis itself: What exactly is the resemblance of an image? Unless the process of mimesis is clarified how can we apply the saying that "man is made in image of God" to the practice of *imitatio Christi*?

I take up the question of mimesis through The Renegado's representation of the concept of virtue in its characterization of the two titular protagonists—the renegade Grimaldi, and the gentleman Vitelli. In my interpretation of Calvinist subjectivity, I look at how *imitatio Christi* is shown through the Christian hero's character. *The Renegado* represents the practice of *imitatio Christi* through its characterization of Vitelli's steadfast faith, his resistance to conversion to Islam, and his willingness to suffer torture and the death sentence in order to preserve his faith. At the beginning of the play and just a little before Vitelli meets Donusa, the priest Francisco takes him aside and warns him against sexual temptation from Turkish women:

> FRANCISCO
>
> Take heed …
>
> … you are young
>
> And may be tempted, and these Turkish dames-
>
> Like English mastiffs that increase their fierceness
>
> If lust once fire their blood from a fair object,
>
> Will run a course the fiends themselves would shake at
>
> To enjoy their wanton ends. (1.3.6-14)

Although emphatic in denying that he will become subject to temptation, Vitelli does just the opposite and succumbs to his passion quite fast thereby denying his former conviction that the "difference in faith / Must of necessity strangle such base desires" (1.3.17-18, 20). Vitelli's

denial refers to his current involvement in rescuing his sister from captivity and the vices that can come about through her contact with Muslims. Things such as desire and lust are impossible where he is concerned because he is “too full of woe to entertain” to have even “one thought of pleasure. Steeped in the grief of his sister’s captivity, he believes that “all of Europe’s queens cannot tempt” him “even if they knelt at his “feet” and “courted” him. The Muslim women “whose difference of faith” makes them unsuitable can only evoke base desires which will be “strangled” by him. Yet his claims and promises to Francisco all amount nothing wen Vitelli is presented with Donusa’s beauty and passion. He is aware of his transgression; when he is invited by Donusa to her boudoir, but he consciously prefers pleasure to resistance to temptation, declaring: “I follow! Now I find / That virtue’s but a word, and no sure guard / If set upon by beauty and reward” (2.4.135-7). He is also amazed and stunned by her wealth and chooses to renounce his Christianity in order to be with Donusa.

Setting these actions by Vitelli as trials that the Christian will face in Muslim lands the play moves Vitelli from the position of fallen sinner to one who represents the pinnacle of Christian faith, i.e., the man who is willing to die in the name of his faith as a martyr. The discourse on Vitelli’s steadfast hold on his Christian faith framed through an evaluation by Asambeg becomes a significant counter-narrative to the denigration of “prayer” and “repentance” made by Grimaldi as the play opened. In Act 5, the interlude between Mustapha and Asambeg sets the stage for presenting the praise of Christianity by a Muslim, a Muslim no less than the Viceroy of Tunis himself. In this scene we see Mustapha in conversation with Asambeg, and the topic they discuss, it seems, is about Vitelli and how he will be dealt with. Mustapha is strongly opposed to showing any kind of lenience towards Vitelli. As a Christian who has broken the laws of the land, he feels that Vitelli deserves harsh punishment and should

be shown no mercy. He questions Asambeg's stance which seems positive towards Vitelli and cautions and him against seeing Vitelli in a positive light. Mustapha argues that moreover Vitelli is a man of such low social status and as he puts it Vitelli is but a "delinquent of … mean condition" (5.3.4).

Mustapha now comes across as the antagonistic and cruel Muslim who treats Christians harshly. Already, Vitelli had proved Mustapha's enemy because he had stolen Mustapha's suit, the proposed marriage, to Donusa. Mustapha therefore despises Vitelli and would wish him every punishment in the land. He tries to refute the view that Vitelli is worthy of any praise by introducing to Asambeg the speculation that Vitelli could be a "cunning spy". He suggests that Vitelli be tortured to make him reveal whatever he is hiding, which Mustapha suggests could be spying to explore the city's strength. If Vitelli were a spy, he could be made to admit it through torture. Asambeg however disagrees with Mustapha because, as he states, Vitelli bears himself so "gallant[ly]" (5.3.7) in the face of his sentence that his very bearing makes him "noble" (5.3.8). He calls Mustapha's suggestion of torture a "base" (5.3.13) action against one who is possessed of "virtue" (5.3.13) and courage.

Asambeg's words thus serve to confirm Vitelli's character as virtuous and courageous because. as he puts it. Vitelli is unshaken by the threat of punishment. Vitelli is willing to die in order to retain his Christian faith. Asambeg notes that to harm such a religious person would be an "injury". Extolling Vitelli's character and strengths he comments upon his firmness which would be unshaken by any threat. Torturing and threatening him would be like "shooting against the moon", an impossible task. Vitelli, he points out, has withstood the painful trials of captivity, and in addition has refused the offer of a most beautiful, wealthy, and royal woman (Donusa) which would have given him reprieve from his death sentence—and all this so that he might

retain his Christian faith. When *The Renegado* moves Vitelli from his fallen nature to becoming a fervent and pious Christian it is not physical bravery or valour that is shown as aiding him during his captivity by the Turks.

Despite the fact that he "turns" Donusa into a Christian, Vitelli is admired by Asambeg for his refusal to take the opportunity to escape his death sentence. He tells Mustapha, Vitelli has been so steadfast in his faith that he can even impart his strength to lesser persons such as the feeble Donusa who has given up her religion, Islam, so readily. Vitelli, Asambeg argues is fearless and looks upon the punishment of death that awaits him as if it were "a quiet slumber". Asambeg thus sums up his opinion of Vitelli to say his soul triumphs over physical torture and torments. When *The Renegado* moves Vitelli from his fallen nature to becoming a fervent and pious Christian it is not physical bravery or valour that is shown as aiding him during his captivity by the Turks. In its shaping Vitelli as a Christian hero the play shows him braving his punishment not with defiance or a desire to fight his captors but through a 'moral fortitude' that Asambeg admires and praises (5.3.23).

Through this delineation the play thus builds an opposition in which physical prowess, military bravery, and courage are portrayed as qualities that do not define a virtuous Christian. Further, by the Christian characters denigrating Grimaldi who has a reputation for precisely these warrior-like qualities—physical strengths and skill, bravery, and courage—the play establishes a negative interpretation or reaction towards these traits seen in relation to piratical activity. The very fact that Grimaldi, a renegade pirate, is possessed of them gives them a connotation of unvirtuous acts. Mustapha is unable to sway Asambeg's respect for Vitelli is forced to concede to him. The play now shifts its interest to the other recent punishment that Asambeg has meted—Grimaldi's cashiering. By bringing up Grimaldi's response to his punishment at precisely the

point when they discuss Vitelli's response to his death sentence the play is able to set up a comparison of their characters.

Mustapha's comment about Grimaldi opens up the discussion of his character, and what has become of him since he was cashiered. When Asambeg responds to Mustapha's query he brings together Grimaldi and Vitelli in his speech in order to compare Grimaldi with Vitelli. It becomes evident that he is critical of Grimaldi's reaction to his punishment and sees his despondency after being cashiered in a highly negative light. The "difference" between Grimaldi and Vitelli which begins as Asambeg's evaluation of the "temper of their minds" culminates with a focus on Vitelli's Christian *virtue*:

ASAMBEG:

*There weigh the difference*
In the true temper of their minds. The one-
A pirate sold to mischiefs, rapes, and all
That make a slave relentless and obdurate,
Yet of himself wanting the inward strengths
That should defend him-sinks beneath compassion
Or piry of a man; whereas this merchant -
Acquainted only with a civil life,
Armed in himself, entrenched and fortified
With his own virtue, valuing life and death
At the same price -poorly does not invite
A favour, but commands us do him right,
Which unto him, and her we both once honoured,

As a just debt I gladly pay ‘em. … (5.3.31-43; emphasis added)

Asambeg’s praise of Vitelli links Vitelli’s reactions to mental strength and attributes a positive value to them. It establishes the understanding that such strength is an attribute of moral character and a *virtue*. This evaluation of physical prowess, skill, and military strength compared against religious faith by also paralleling the same as the “rape” “mischief” and slavish “obduracy” of a renegade pirate compared with the “civil life” of the merchant transforms the argument about mental “temper” to one of moral “fortitude” (5.3.23). Because Vitelli’s fortitude is largely a question of faith, which, through Asambeg’s speech, the play articulates through the strongly Protestant terms of “inward strength,” his mental strength becomes transformed to “moral fortitude” as we see in the phrase that describes him as “… entrenched and fortified / With his own *virtue*” (my emphasis). Through Asambeg’s speech the play establishes a contiguity between fortitude, Christian faith, and moral character. It configures a definition for Christian subjectivity in terms of religious faith and inner fortitude and shows that these traits underlie Christian character and identity. Moreover, by placing the two representations at opposing ends of the play—that of Grimaldi in Act One and that of Vitelli in Act Five—the play creates a sense of the culmination of the trial of Christianity where Christianity is shown to emerge triumphant through Vitelli’s unshaken faith. Indeed, Asambeg himself voices the thought that Vitelli is steadfast in his faith because of the powers of such faith over him. In *The Renegado*, while representing Grimaldi in terms of an absence of Christian virtues, the play sets

about developing the Venetian gentleman Vitelli as one who inculcates Christian virtues by his pious religious beliefs and steadfast faith in God.[210]

**The Christian recuperation of the renegade pirate.**

*The Renegado* by drawing the contrast between *valour* and *virtue* in the representations of Grimaldi and Vitelli commemorates the history of a fundamental shift in the understanding of virtue that occurs through the influence of Boethian thought on Christian theology. Grimaldi is characterized along the lines of the loathsome renegade described in works such as *The Policie of the Turkish Empire and The Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, made into Turkie* by Nicholas Nicholay.[211] Burton writes that the drunk and rioting Grimaldi has come ashore only 'to wallow in/All sensual pleasures' (1.3.52–53).[212] His entrance has the Jesuit priest Francisco refer to him as "the shame of Venice, and the scorn/Of all good men, the perjured renegado, Antonio Grimaldi" (1.1.105–7). This perspective is reiterated in various ways through views given by the Christian characters. They call him a "hell-bred villain" (1.1.131) –a phrase that recalls Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, where Tamburlaine is described as a "scourge of God," but instead of

[210] I contrast this initial moment in the play with the staging of Vitelli's Christian fortitude to argue that Christian subjectivity itself becomes an important aspect in the shaping of political in the citizen. This does not preclude Vitelli from succumbing to temptation and displaying weakness (this happens before the play will present him emerging as a triumphant Christian). In this sense, Vitelli's prior misconduct and lasciviousness and greed are portrayed as a trial from which he will emerge triumphant through the advice and admonitions o his friend and counsellor the Jesuit priest Francisco.

[211] Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 147.

[212] Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 147.

the catastrophe or suffering being brought about by God's power, Grimaldi's villainy is associated with the Devil. The play builds the opposite meaning through this association of Grimaldi as with the 'Devil' through the 'God' versus 'Devil' contradiction it positions piracy as a devilish profession. Instances where the play places extra emphasis to present a picture that is quite unlike history are thus worth paying attention, not only because they are unrealistic but because the very effort the play makes to do this points to how the play wishes to present an issue. In this case, for example, it critiques piracy in a very selective way because it needs to first present the renegade pirate as abject and villainous, so that eventually his recuperation into Christianity can be seen as spiritual recovery. In addition, retains the very same qualities of cruelty aggression, and boldness that defined Grimaldi as a renegade pirate to use in the Christians captives' escape. Their spiriting away from Tunis with the niece of the Ottoman emperor and her wealth recalls the piratical raids that Grimaldi used to make upon unwary ships. In the representation of the escape, we see the similitude between piracy and war. It appears that formerly Grimaldi's renegade piracy was reviled only because he has joined the ranks of the enemy, the Turks. While their censure is well-deserved for the pillage and abductions he conducts, when we examine his absolution, we are wont to ask in what sense the use of his piratical skills get abandoned when he is forgiven and re-assimilated into religion and Christian society. In fact, Grimaldi himself questions if "the rapines" (4.1.57) and murders that he has committed, and the sins that he has perpetrated can be fully erased through remorse and repentance, and if he is deserving of the absolution that Francisco offers him. Just as the play skews the grounds on which Grimaldi's redemption is posited, it also creates an artificial harmony in positing Donusa's willingness to convert to Christianity and even obey Vitelli's direction to give up her life and become a martyr.

As Lieke Stelling argues, "when considering other interfaith conversion plays, even the ones that ostensibly celebrate the phenomenon, we recognize a pattern of deep suspicion of the practice." Lieke goes on to note that this suspicion is elucidated in Massinger's *The Renegado* (1624), because the play although subtle in doing so, presents a "scathing approach to interfaith conversion." [213] In the light of Vitelli's disgust for Grimaldi and his vile acts as well as the belief about his own state of mind at the plight of his sister—he is "too full of woe, to entertain" even "one thought of pleasure" (1.3.16–17)—Vitelli seems to be in no danger of a similar fall into "turning Turk.". Vitelli's naivete about sexual desire appears hilarious and casts him as an innocent hero, but when Vitelli throws caution to the winds and follows Donusa into her bedchamber crying "virtue's but a word" (2.4.136), the audience's expectations of his infallibility grind to a halt.[214] Commenting upon this scene, Burton argues that,

> Vitelli's abandonment of virtue is disturbing for altogether different reasons, not the least of which is that it gestures toward a greater defection. First, it marks a man's submission to female persuasion, a re-enactment of original sin. Second, it distracts Vitelli from his mission of rescuing his sister from the clutches of a Muslim man. Third, and most important, it marks a first step toward the apostasy represented by Grimaldi.[215]

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[213] Lieke Stelling, *Religious Conversion in Early Modern English Drama*, (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 129.

[214] Burton notes that "it might be argued that the threat to Vitelli also gives the play its title", i.e., the threat of Vitelli too becoming a renegade when initially he "turns Turk" and plans to stay on in Tunis as Donusa's husband.

[215] Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 148.

We find that the fictional representation of renegade pirates such as Grimaldi is addressed plainly through the abandonment of Christianity and "turning Turk" and linked to a greed for material advantages and sexual license. However, as I have already illustrated in my Introductory chapter early modern piracy is defined by a complex discourse of war, trade, social and cultural frustration, religious change, and mercenary gains.[216] Jonathan Burton points out that for many of the men "who chose to embrace the Islamic world, material rewards outweighed intangible dangers". Citing the case of Peter Easton, a Somerset farm labourer, Burton explains that Easton elected to leave poverty in England in 1611 and rose swiftly to the command of a fleet of forty corsair vessels. A year later, he exhibited no qualms in attacking the English fishing fleet off of Newfoundland. When later he tired "of the renegade life, he entered the service of the Duke of Savoy, purchased a Savoyard marquisate, and married a lady of noble birth" with whom he lived in the palace he had built. A conservative estimation of Easton's fortune showed it to have reached 100,000 crowns, plus a pension of £4,000 a year. The measure of Easton's fortune is apparent when we consider that William Shakespeare bought the allegedly grand New Place in

[216] Quite a few critics have acknowledged that pirates and piracy despite being a social menace and a national danger was also lauded and celebrated as is witnessed in ballads, and literary and prose writings. In these narratives, the heroism of the pirate is taken up. Claire Jowitt points out that in *The Renegado* Grimaldi is pictured in a lyrical and adventurous way that brings about facets of his character that the overt themes of the play seem to set aside. What emerges in these antithetical representations is the divided sense with which valor was considered. It was also lensing with Christian piety. The Christians see Grimaldi as a detested figure: Vitelli calls him a 'hell-bred villain' (1.1.131), and the priest Francisco describes him as "the scorn / of all good men, the perjured renegade, / Antonio Grimaldi" (1.1.105–7). As we find, in both *The Christian Turn'd Turk* and *The Renegado* the figure of the renegade pirate is characterized by anti-piracy stereotypes of debauchery, violence, and irreligiousness. Grimaldi's characterization too before he falls into despair conforms to this stereotype—he appears swaggering and drunk at the marketplace and disrupts the traders' work.

Stratford for £60."[217] Daniel Vitkus gives the example of a "noteworthy English renegade, Sampson Denball", who took the name Ali Reis and became admiral of Tunisia's galleon fleet in 1610. Denball's and Easton's experiences, like John Ward's, validate Vitelli's impulse to dismiss Christian virtue. For these men, apostasy resulted in prosperity and love with neither apparent divine repercussions, nor moral or spiritual anxiety."[218]

If we have hitherto imagined that the problem of political theology figured through the renegade pirate's opposition to sovereign power can be easily equated with a clear severance from state and church, then *The Renegado* disabuses us of this view. One would presume that *The Renegado* by creating a different ending, which allows for Grimaldi's return to Christianity, rids the play of the fear and horror that is evoked by the gruesome deaths and the irredeemable damnation of the renegade pirates Yzuf, Hazén and Ward presented in *Los baños de Argel* and *The Christian Turned Turk*. But surprisingly enough the despair that is experienced by the renegade pirate, Grimaldi, despite eventually being healed by his redemption, is represented through a sustained, prolonged, and torturous self-examination that we do not find in *Los baños de Argel* and *The Christian Turned Turk*. When we compare how each play deals with the issue of imagining the mental agony of the apostate who "turns Turk" Grimaldi's responses appear the most tragic of the three. *The Renegado* deals with the problem of the rebellion of the Christian subject against sovereign power in a subtle, but much more powerful manner than most plays that dramatize the injunctions and taboos against "turning Turk".

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[217] Vitkus, *Traffic and Turning*, 149.

[218] Vitkus, *Traffic and Turning*, 149.

Such sustained attention to the mindset of the Protestant subject, can be paralleled only with Marlowe's moving representation of the anguish of the fallen Faustus. Indeed, it has been shown that Massinger drew powerful inspiration from Marlowe in his depiction of Grimaldi.[219] *The Renegado* interrogates the sins of the renegade pirate while also bringing about a resolution for the Christian captives. The play develops the means by which the renegade pirate once again becomes the subject of sovereign power. It recreates the histories figured in *Los baños de Argel* and *The Christian Turned Turk* to bring together both the overt and covert – the literal and the unsaid – ramifications of "turning Turk" through its conceptualization of the repenting renegade. Despair as conceived within Protestant theology brings about Grimaldi's self-recrimination and a submission to sovereign power.

The representations of Grimaldi's cries of despair that show his remorse at "turning Turk" become a way through which the play presents Grimaldi's meditations on the loss of his Christian self. In this scene, Grimaldi recounts his life of piracy, pillaging and violence. We hear him reckon the sum of all his wrong doings as if he were in a court of trial. Grimaldi weighs the balance of his "guilt" against the "misery" it has brought to his victims. By saying he does not know which would tip the scale, Grimaldi indicates that he does not know which is worse, and that both these issues weigh heavily in him:

GRIMALDI:

… I must downward, downward! Though repentance

Could borrow all the glorious wings of grace,

[219] Neill, for example, writes that "Grimaldi's despair, which suggests the utter impotence of repentance, seems tinged by the Calvinist predestinarianism" (159).

My mountainous weight of sins would crack

their pawns. And sink them to hell with me. (3.2.69-72)

Echoing a Faustus-like fear that there is no space on earth where he can hide from the face of God, *The Renegado* shows Grimaldi's sorrow and misery as a result of his sins against men and his blasphemy against Christ. His fall from religion is equated with a realization that he cannot fit in in any place on earth because of the magnitude of his criminality. Referring to the earth's four elements Grimaldi despairs at his unfitness to be a part of even the elements by stating that, "The fire? I shall feel that hereafter. The earth / will not receive me …" (3.2.84-85). In *Doctor Faustus*, spiritual despair was portrayed through Faustus not being able to face God or face himself either. There is nowhere where Faustus can hide from himself. *The Renegado* takes Protestant self-examination of sins a step further and imagines despair as an infection that wracks the body and soul to bring about the notion of a contamination of the self. Grimaldi's fear of unfitness is shown in relation to his feeling that he has become a disease:

GRIMALDI:

Should some whirlwind

Snatch me into the air and I hang there,

Perpetual plagues would dwell upon the earth,

And those superior bodies that pour down

Their cheerful influence deny to pass it

Through those vast regions I have infected. (3.2.85-90) [220]

[220] Grimaldi's angst and despair here echoes Faustus's final soliloquy which Marlowe represents as a Calvinist despair in *Doctor Faustus* (5.2.57-115). This representation suggests that Massinger's play is defined and contextualized by a strong Protestant discourse, even if the

In Grimaldi's self-consciousness the images of pollution and contamination are evoked as a subjective influence that cannot be exorcized. The evil he represents can be contained by death, but it can be stopped from spreading only by separating him from all humanity. Grimaldi expresses this belief when he wishes that he is weighted down like stone and sinks to the very bottoms of the ocean:

GRIMALDI:

… May it turn rocks
Where plummet's weight could never reach the sands,
And grind the ribs of all such barks as press
The ocean's breast in my unlawful course.
I haste then to thee: let thy ravenous womb,
Whom all things else deny, be now my tomb! (3.2.98)

The unruly life as a pirate at sea is figured by his reference to the "unlawful course "of his life and the monstrous appetite with which he pillaged ships is evoked in his reference to the sea as a "ravenous womb" (3.2.97).

The argument about Christian subjectivity and subjection to sovereign power therefore appears more powerfully in how the play employs Protestant self-consciousness and shows it carving an indelible punishment on the self. Because it is constituted inwardly and within the mind and is construed as an endless pain as opposed to the temporal if not speedy deaths, we saw in *Los baños* and *A Christian Turned Turk, The Renegado* is more effective in its representation

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character Grimaldi himself is a Venetian with a Catholic background, and ultimately seeks to confess his sins and perform penance along Catholic tenets.

of the punishment of the renegade pirate. When Francisco, referring to Grimaldi in a state of despair, states that "I'll … apply such cures / To his wounded conscience as heaven hath lent me" he identifies where exactly the malady lies, and how it affects the self. Streete's analysis of Protestant subjectivity can very well be inferred in Grimaldi's despair as well, and despite the many Catholic elements, allusions, and artefacts in the play, the representation of his despair moves the interpretation of Christian subjectivity inexorably towards a Protestant view of morality. "I am a devil already" Grimaldi cries "Leave me!" "Stand further off, you are blasted else!" presents the idea that even as the transgressor is divided within himself, he also imagines his outward separation from all of humanity. If the audience have misunderstood the aim of this representation, then the Jesuit priest Francisco provides it for them: "Let this stand / For an example to you" he states. Here mimesis works as both representation and exemplum, and the exemplarity of the text operates to shape the mind of the viewer.

When we consider the play's treatment of Christian subjectivity in this manner it allows us to see that the play's representations of the sacraments are not just markers for the identity of the religion but also a representation of tropes of thought and ideology that constitute the Christian subject. It reconstitutes the self of the renegade pirate as a redeemed Christian subject through the sacrament of confession. While baptism, confession, and conversion must be apprehended as literal truths within the narrative of the play they also are re-presentation of typologies of Christian faith wherein their meanings and efficacies have to be negotiated from a subjective point of view by referring them back to an individual experience.

*The Renegado* selectively adopts elements of the discarded Roman aspect of *virtus* such as the physical aggression, combativeness, etc. while also representing the idealized scholastic idea of virtue which teaches a passive reaction to adverse events. However, in its delineation of

Christian subjectivity it overtly associates only passive suffering with morality and shows it as bringing about the true virtue of a Christian self. In its commercial and political confrontations with Islam and Islamic rulers the renegade pirate's active and courageous abilities which can truly contend with political challenges are harnessed in the service of the non-violent and self-suffering gentleman, Vitelli. Vitelli's contrition and renewed fervour towards faith are presented as an exemplar of Christian conduct. When he mends his errant ways and is remorseful of his lapse from Christianity, he becomes an idealized figure and practitioner of the idea of *imitatio Christi*.

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