

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,  
IRVINE

The Hospitable Globe: Persia and the Early Modern English Stage

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in English

by

Sheiba Kian Kaufman

Dissertation Committee:  
Julia Reinhard Lupton, Chair  
Professor Jayne Elizabeth Lewis  
Professor Jane O. Newman

2016



## DEDICATION

For  
Bret and Tommy  
My fellow wayfarers

*“They must cleanse their hearts from even the slightest trace of hatred and spite, and they must set about being truthful and honest, conciliatory and loving to all humankind—so that East and West will, even as two lovers, hold each other close; that hatred and hostility will perish from the earth, and universal peace be firmly rooted in their place.”*

- ‘Abdu’l-Bahá

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
CURRICULUM VITAE	vii
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION	ix
INTRODUCTION: On (not) Turning Turk: Persia's Place in Early Modern English Drama	1
CHAPTER 1: "The Persians example is to be followed": Staging <i>Politique</i> Persians	34
CHAPTER 2: Hidden Hospitality: Visiting Shakespeare's Strangers	73
CHAPTER 3: From Magi to Mirza: Persian Transformations in Caroline Drama	113
CHAPTER 4: Spiritual Cosmopolitanism: Cyrus the Great Restored	163
CODA: Seeing Hospitality	211
BIBLIOGRAPHY	214

## LIST OF FIGURES

		Page
Figure 1	“Cyrus Receives Message from Harpagos” c. 1590. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.	59
Figure 2	“Queen Tomyris has Cyrus’ head plunged into urn of blood” c. 1590. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.	60
Figure 3	“After conquering Babylon, Cyrus grants Israelites their liberty” c.1575-1600. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.	61
Figure 4	<i>Sir Robert Shirley</i> , Anthony Van Dyck, 1622. University of California, San Diego. ARTstor Collections.	110
Figure 5	Tomb of “Coya Shasware,”1633. Early English Books Online.	114
Figure 6	Frontispiece of the <i>Cyrupaedia</i> , 1632. Early English Books Online.	122
Figure 7	Frontispiece of <i>Cyrus Le Grand</i> , 1654. Early English Books Online.	204

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I arrived at UCI, I met a soul who embodies the foundational belief of my life: “Let deeds, not words, be your adorning” (Bahá’u’lláh). In Julia Reinhard Lupton, I have seen the beauty of the hospitable spirit in action, guiding me, nurturing me, and creating capabilities in me I never knew existed. In her being, eloquent words combine with supernatural deeds, leaving all who are fortunate to know her and work alongside her, in complete awe. The generous and exemplary guidance and support of Jane O. Newman, a paragon of scholarly humility, deepened my love for and knowledge of European history as we shared in our mutual enthusiasm for the twists and turns of this turning point in Western civilization we call the early modern period. Jayne Elizabeth Lewis is a champion builder of the intellectual mind, a master architect who sees the end in the beginning. Her radiant and joyful spirit brought my intellectual vision to its fruition with the utmost care, skill, and erudition. At moments of doubt, she sustained me, uplifting me to a state of certitude. These three angels of the humanities have increased my capacity tenfold, bringing my hopes and thoughts into being and exemplifying the maxim that “man is even as steel, the essence of which is hidden: through admonition and explanation, good counsel and education, that essence will be brought to light” (Bahá’u’lláh).

My academic village has been home to dedicated and awe-inspiring faculty members. I am especially grateful to Touraj Daryaee for teaching me about the amazing world of ancient Persia and his kind, generous support of my work on and off campus. My love of the medieval period was nourished by Rebecca Davis. Elizabeth Allen revealed to me the beauty of the Romance genre and encouraged me to be the educator I knew I could be. Rebeca Helfer reminded me to look for the “big picture” in academia and in life. A special thanks is due to those exceptional faculty members at UCI and beyond that guided me to a greater understanding of literature, history, and scholarship, trusting in my abilities and fostering my talents: Nasrin Rahimieh, Daniel Gross, Tesha Sengupta-Irving, Catherine Fisk, Mona Lynch, Glen Mimura, Rajagopalan Radhakrishnan, Bradin Cormack, Rosalind Ballaster, Michael J. B. Allen, Karen E. Rowe, David Goldstein, Jodi Johnson, Brett Gamboa, Brook Haley, Ayesha Ramachandran, Kevin Curran, and James Kearney. My love of literature was first planted in me by Mary Petersen, and I will always cherish her beautiful spirit. I am indebted to Gina Anzivino for her comraderie and tactical support.

My work has been enriched by conversations and insights gleaned from my amazing peers at UCI and throughout the country: Maria Bose, Robin Stewart, Lance Langdon, Cara Watkins, Jeff Wilson, Ricardo Matthews, and Nedda Mehdizadeh. I’m thankful for the mentorship of Katherine Ryan, the kindness of Jie Zhuang, and the mutual joy I continue to share with Shirley Tung, a fellow academic mother dedicated to her little one above all else. I found a kindred spirit in the incomparable Shaina Trapedo, and I know our friendship will last a lifetime.

I am especially thankful for the generosity of the American Association of University Women for funding the completion of this project, as well as the School of Humanities at UCI, the Center for Law, Society, and Culture at UCI, and the Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies at UCI for support along the way. Portions of the Introduction and Chapter Two are reprinted with permission from *Shakespeare and Hospitality: Ethics, Politics, and Exchange*, eds. David B. Goldstein and Julia Reinhard Lupton (New York: Routledge, 2016).

My dear family and friends have been patient and encouraging travelers with me on this journey. Great thanks is due to my sincere, generous, and steadfast friend Cecilia Chan and her radiant family, Evie Landa Biegun, Sina Taheri, Aden Michael, Chitra Golestani Maghzi, Jeffrey Albert, and Mona Kashani Heern. I am thankful for the continual support of my loving aunts, uncles, and cousins, in the US and in England. I am grateful to the Bahá'í communities of Irvine, Agoura Hills, and Los Angeles who have offered me opportunities to serve humanity in tangible ways throughout these years.

The thanks that is due to my selfless, brilliant mother, Shahnaz Avvali-Seisan, runs very deep. It was her daily example and sacrifice that led me to achieve my dreams. My father, Hoss Kian, always encouraged me to pursue my education. My mother-in-law, Alva Lois Kaufman, has been the sweetest, gentlest “mama” one could ever find. My dearest brother, Seraj Ardakani, has loved me like no one else and my kind sister-in-law, Kavita Adrakani, has complemented and magnified my brother’s limitless generosity. Finally, this dissertation is for my best friend, my intellectual and spiritual partner, my fortress for well-being, my eternal consort, my husband, Bret Kaufman, and the love of our lives, Thomas Burhan Kaufman, a tender sapling who will grow into a glorious tree of love, hope, and inspiration for our family. May we three together “enjoy everlasting unity” (‘Abdu’l-Bahá).

## CURRICULUM VITAE

**Sheiba Kian Kaufman**

### Education

- 2016 Ph.D. in English, University of California, Irvine
- 2012 M.A. in English, University of California, Irvine
- 2005 M.ST. in English Literature, 1550-1780, Oxford University, England
- 2004 B.A. in English with minor in Applied Linguistics, *summa cum laude*, University of California, Los Angeles

### Fields of Specialization

Renaissance drama and poetry, cultural studies and theory, ancient Persia, comparative religious studies, cosmopolitanism, hospitality

### Publications

“Her father loved me, oft invited me”: Staging Shakespeare’s Hidden Hospitality in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* in *Shakespeare and Hospitality: Ethics, Politics, and Exchange*, Routledge Studies in Shakespeare Series, editors Julia Reinhard Lupton and David Goldstein, 2016.

### Conference Presentations (selected)

“‘To bestow a Cyrus upon the world to make many Cyruses’: Discovering Europe’s Ideal Ruler in Persia’s Legendary King,” UCI Irvine, Cyrus the Great: From Ancient Persia to the European Literary Imagination. Conference in conjunction with Cyrus Cylinder Tour and Exhibit at the Getty Villa, October 2013 (invited).

“Eastern Embraces: Staging Early Modern Diplomacy and Interreligious Hospitality” Renaissance Society of America, San Diego, April 2013.

“‘Learning ‘foreign matters’ in Early Modern London: A Looking Glass for Biblical History,” Oxford University English Faculty Conference, The Public and Private, 1550-1780, February 2005.

### Awards

Oxford University, Alice Horsman Scholarship, Somerville Alumni Award, 2016  
American Association of University Women Dissertation Fellowship, 2015-16

Nora Folkenflik Endowed Graduate TA Award, 2014  
UC Irvine Humanities Dean's Gateway Award in Persian Studies, 2014  
UC Irvine Summer Dissertation Fellowship, 2014  
Farhang Foundation, Cyrus Cylinder Tour, Honorarium, October 2013  
UC Irvine Center in Law, Society and Culture Travel Grant, Summer 2013  
UC Irvine Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture, Zarrinkelk Fellowship, Winter 2012  
UC Irvine Center in Law, Society and Culture Peterson Fellowship, 2012-2013  
UC Irvine Regents' Fellowship, 2010-2011  
UCLA Alumni Scholars Association (ASC), 2002-2004  
UCLA Distinguished Bruin Award (campus-wide competition), 2003

### **Teaching Experience (UCI)**

*University of California, Irvine: Teaching Assistant, Sole Responsibility (Sept. 2011-June 2014)*

English 28C: Romance and Realism, "Border Crossing"

English 28B: Comic and Tragic Vision, "Seeing is Believing"

English 28A: Poetic Imagination, "Forming Worlds"

Writing 39B: Critical Reading and Rhetoric, "Youth and Culture"

Writing 39C: Argument and Research, "Education and the American Dream"

*University of California, Irvine: Teaching Assistant, Joint Responsibility (Fall 2012)*

European Studies 10: Global Europe, "Empires and their Returns, 1492-1970"

### **Academic Service**

English Faculty Representative: UCI Humanities Student Council (2013-2014)

Organizer: "Insert Here: The Case of Shylock." Colloquium with Bradin Cormack (UCI, May 2013)

Participant: Peterson Fellow Interdisciplinary Cohort, UCI Center for Law, Society, and Culture (2012-2013)

Organizer: UC Irvine Early Cultures Graduate Conference (April 2012)

### **Languages**

Persian, Azerbaijani, Spanish

### **Professional Affiliations**

Renaissance Society of America

Shakespeare Association of America

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Hospitable Globe: Persia and the Early Modern English Stage  
by

Sheiba Kian Kaufman

Doctor of Philosophy in English

University of California, Irvine, 2016

Professor Julia Reinhard Lupton, Chair

*The Hospitable Globe* examines how English representations of Persia present paradigms of interreligious and intercultural hospitality for early modern and Shakespearean drama. Rather than staging an antagonistic, non-Christian foe, English playwrights depict Persia and its legendary monarchs, such as Cyrus the Great, as alternative spaces and figures of cosmopolitanism in the period. By focusing on a group of Persian-themed plays staged between 1561-1696 in conversation with Shakespeare's works, European peace proposals, and theories and practices of hospitality, this project reconstructs a more hospitable form of global relationships in the early modern period by contending that cross-cultural exchange, then and now, is not limited to models of conflict, contest, and domination.

Following an introductory chapter that provides historical context on early modern Anglo-Persian exchanges and explains the key concepts and theoretical framework of this dissertation, in Chapter One I draw upon classic humanist works that reference Persian monarchs, including the 1561 English translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier*, to establish the linkage of hospitality with Persian monarchs in *The Enterlude of Godly Queen Hester* (1561), *Kyng Daryus* (1565), and *The Wars of Cyrus* (1594) in the turbulent years following the Elizabethan Religious Settlement of 1559 when ecumenical hospitality could be

seen as a political imperative. In Chapter Two, I examine how hospitality animates a Jacobean rendition of the Christian friendly Safavid monarch Shah Abbas I in my intertextual reading of William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1598) and *Othello* (1603) with John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins' *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607). This chapter develops the concept of hidden hospitality to account for the lack of staging of hospitable interactions in Shakespeare's Venetian dramas which are subsequently staged in a Persian setting as an adventure romance in the work of his contemporaries.

Chapter Three dwells on the multiple figurative uses of Persia in the Caroline period—as symbols and idealistic, spiritual, and political examples—to mark a turning point in the evolution of Persian-themed drama, one that hearkens to earlier dramatizations and anticipates later instantiations. Although distinct in their use of various temporalities, I argue that William Davenant and Inigo Jones' masque *The Temple of Love* (1634), William Cartwright's *The Royall Slave* (1636), and John Denham's *The Sophy* (1641) are representative works of Persian-themed drama participating in the moralizing discourse of the period. My final chapter returns to Cyrus the Great as a figure embodying spiritual cosmopolitanism—a form of cosmopolitanism that foregrounds the religious nature of universal solidarity conditioned on spiritual virtues—and inaugurating a hospitable temporality that finds its historical and legal parallels in both James II's Act of Indulgence and the passing of the limited 1689 Toleration Act. I argue that the depiction of the rise of Cyrus the Great in John Banks's drama, *Cyrus the Great, or the Tragedy of Love* (1696), is not simply a matter of partisan politics but rather an instance of self-conscious modernization.

## INTRODUCTION

### On (not) Turning Turk: Persia's Place in Early Modern English Drama

We are undoubtedly familiar with Manichean paradigms of global history that emphasize oppositional identities, prejudice, enmity, and strife between religions, nations, and cultures.<sup>1</sup> However, simultaneous with this tumultuous and often pessimistic story of our common past are lesser known narratives, both historical and fictional, which are imagined as collaborative and cooperative in varying degrees.<sup>2</sup> *The Hospitable Globe* presents such illuminating fictions by examining how Persia serves as a paradigm of interreligious and intercultural hospitality for early modern and Shakespearean drama. This study considers how instances of hospitable gestures (and the conspicuous lack thereof) in drama go beyond the minimalism inherent in political acts of toleration or signal toward a need to do so in a growing early modern world. While toleration is a stoic state of being, a forbearing stance toward others, hospitality is a dynamic and thereby potentially rewarding *and* perilous act of welcoming a guest, both known and unknown, into the host's home.<sup>3</sup> Discovering literary strides toward cooperation in thought

---

<sup>1</sup> See Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> For a compelling historical revision of the "clash of civilizations" thesis see David Cannadine, *The Undivided Past: Humanity Beyond Our Differences* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013). To date, some historians, theorists, and philosophers have written on collaborative paradigms yet few sustained literary studies exist. See, for example, Martha C. Nussbaum and Joshua Cohen, *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996); Michael R Karlberg, *Beyond the Culture of Contest: From Adversarialism to Mutualism in an Age of Interdependence* (Oxford: George Ronald, 2004); Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2006); and B. J. Sokol, *Shakespeare and Tolerance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Alexandra Walsham eloquently summarizes the concept of early modern toleration in *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (New York: Palgrave, 2006): "'Toleration,' then, emphatically did not mean religious freedom. Nor did it proceed from indifference or neutrality. To tolerate was...to permit or license something of which one

and action is a daunting task in an “age of persecution” known for witch hunts, inter-confessional massacres on the streets of Paris, and burning dissenters at the stake. Yet, it is such ostensible hostility that prompts early modern writers to develop conceptions of toleration and conceive of acts of hospitality toward others as a step beyond mere forbearance. With no public arena to freely discuss religious and cultural concerns, the stage can be seen as a metaphorical interfaith dialogue panel, experimenting with the limits and potential of pluralism and diversity in a burgeoning global society. This dissertation frames a canon of dramatic texts that challenge the long-held misconception that Christian Europe and Middle Eastern Islamic countries have been perennial foes, with the former dominating the latter, the thesis famously articulated in Samuel P. Huntington’s *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996) and Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1979).<sup>4</sup> While there is no perfect paradigm of utopian coexistence, in the literature I examine, Persians and Europeans often find common ground, and in so doing, limn forms of hospitable relationships that enlarge our understanding of the global early modern moment, providing thereby a spectrum of holistic experiences that include the hospitable alongside the hostile, and the spiritual alongside the secular, the political and the domestic.

---

emphatically disapproved, to make a magnanimous concession to the adherents of an inherently false religion. Contingent and provisional, it was to confer a special privilege that could be withdrawn without warning. It was an act of forbearance, long-suffering and also indulgence, a conscious decision to refrain from persecuting something one knew to be wicked and wrong. Deriving from the Latin verb, *tolerare*, to bear or endure, the essence of ‘toleration’ was stoicism and self-restraint” (4).

<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that while Said introduces the concept of Orientalism and analyzes its characteristics, he, at times, questions its Manichean divisions: “Can one divide human reality, as indeed human reality seems to be genuinely divided, into clearly different cultures, histories, traditions, societies, even races, and survive the consequences humanly? By surviving the consequences humanly, I mean to ask whether there is any way of avoid the hostility expressed by the division, say of men into ‘us’ (Westerners) and ‘they’ (Orientals).” Edward W. Said *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 45.

By focusing on literature representing an Islamic country with a well-known pre-Islamic heritage, *The Hospitable Globe* considers cultural and religious exchange beyond ecumenical collaboration between Christian groups to highlight efforts and discourse that include non-Christian groups, particularly Zoroastrians, Muslims, and Jews.<sup>5</sup> I draw upon the framework of hospitality to initiate this conversation because of its inherently “dramatic character,”<sup>6</sup> its philosophical and spiritual dimensions, its conceptualization and staging as an act that goes beyond tolerance, and its consistent affiliation with early modern understandings of Persia and its biblical and classical heritage found in the books of Daniel, Ezra, and Esther as well as Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* and Plutarch’s *Lives*, among many other texts. When, for instance, humanist Sir Thomas Elyot writes his dedication to Henry VIII in his educational treatise *The Book of the Governor* (1537), he supplicates the British king to follow the hospitable example of an ancient Persian monarch in accepting his linguistic offering: “by the example of Artaxerxes,

---

<sup>5</sup> In 1935, Persia became Iran because of a “misdirected form of nationalism” headed by ambassadors in Germany who argued that by using the original Persian word “Iran,” a cognate of “Aryan,” the country would be starting anew under Reza Shah. The newly minted Iran invoked a rootless sensibility rather than a land of biblical kings, poets, and gardens. In 1941, then Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Foroughi claimed that ‘With a twist of the pen we turned a known into an unknown.’” Ehsan Yarshater, “Communication,” *Iranian Studies*, no.1, 1989. 62. It is still appropriate, however, to identify Iranians as Persians and the language is officially Persian not “Farsi.” The name Iran did not exist in the early modern period, thus, this project uses Persia in place of Iran.

<sup>6</sup> Julia Reinhard Lupton, “Hospitality,” in *Early Modern Theatricality*, ed. Henry S. Turner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 424. For a recent volume attending to diverse and expansive conceptions and forms of hospitality in Shakespeare, see David B. Goldstein and Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Shakespeare and Hospitality: Ethics, Politics, and Exchange* (New York: Routledge, 2016): “As culturally expressive forms of life, hospitality rituals disclose a historically contingent, time-bound and place-rich world of ritual and routine. Insofar as acts of hospitality require self-disclosure before an assembly of others, their staging solicits a theatrical space in which symbolic welcome and political and commercial transaction coincide and collide. And finally, insofar as greeting guests engages foundational questions concerning the claims of the stranger, hospitality belongs to the philosophical inquiries into the ethics of obligation and reciprocity” (2-3).

the noble kyng of Persia: who reiected nat the pore husband man, which offred to hym his homely handes full of cleane water, but mooste graciously receiued it with thankes, estemyng the presente nat after the value, but rather to the wyll of the gyuer.”<sup>7</sup> This type of appeal to liberality channeled through Persia reoccurs in early modern writing, providing a specific set of associations for the nation that differentiate Anglo-Persian exchanges from other international relationships by presenting a hospitable discourse between disparate groups.

### **Interreligious Hospitality**

From its ancient theological foundations to its modern political configurations, hospitality lies at the heart of human negotiations over rights and citizenship and thereby offers a dynamic and understudied dimension to “globally oriented scholarship” of the early modern period.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, considering the dramatic function of hospitality in light of early modern England’s inchoate cosmopolitanism reveals the utility of drama as a framework for burgeoning intercultural and, in particular, interreligious relationships. Theories and practices of intercultural and interreligious hospitality are particularly useful in articulating early modern religious

---

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Elyot, *The booke named the Governour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight* (London, 1537), 3. Elyot refers to an anecdote in Plutarch’s “Life of Artaxerxes.”

<sup>8</sup> Jyotsna G Singh, *A Companion to the Global Renaissance* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 5: Singh writes that “in reconsidering the ‘Renaissance’ ... it is important to recognize that its range was temporal— going back to antiquity—as well as spatial and geographical, stretching across the globe” (8). This worthwhile companion includes notable contributions from Daniel Vitkus, Patricia Parker, and Jean Howard among others; yet, while considering “exotica” “corporations” “infidels” “commerce” and “labor” little beyond economics and colonialism enters the discourse in this study of the “era of expansion.” See Singh for a biography of recent work engaging with global notions of the Renaissance, including Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo*; Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*; Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*; and Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare’s England*, among many notable others (25).

exchanges that call upon, further, challenge, and re-envision Pauline universalism and its claim that “There is neither Iewe, nor Greeke, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Iesus” (Galatians 3:28)<sup>9</sup> in a post-Christian, Islamic temporality—that is, a temporality following the advent and influence of Islam on European society and consciousness. The demanding post-Reformation presence and proliferation of not only Christian sects but also non-Christian traditions, particularly Islam via the Ottomans, tests Paul’s injunctions and its “struggling universalism” and presents the historic drama of how to act harmoniously in the midst of such diversity, if such a relationship is even possible.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Biblical quotations are taken from the *King James Bible* (London, 1611) unless noted otherwise.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Jane H. Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 37. Degenhardt draws upon Gregory Kneidel’s discussion of the challenges of Christian universalism in Renaissance England, explaining “how the early modern imagination Christian universalism was not all inclusive, how its very promise of universal faith depended on certain degrees of exclusion, and how Shakespeare reveals its limits in particularly canny ways” (40). On the significance of Paul in the early modern period and beyond, see also John S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970); Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Alain Badiou, *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Giorgio Agamben, *The Time That Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Gregory Kneidel, *Rethinking the Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Literature: The Poetics of All Believers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Julia R. Lupton, “The Pauline Renaissance: a Shakespearean Reassessment,” *European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms*. 15.2 (2010): 215-220. On the religious turn see, Arthur F. Marotti and Ken Jackson, “The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies,” *Criticism* 46.1 (Winter 2004): 167–90; Bruce Holsinger, ed., *Literary History and the Religious Turn*, special issue of *English Language Notes*, 44.1 (Summer 2006); Ewan Fernie, ed., *Spiritual Shakespeares* (London: Routledge, 2005); and Graham Hammill and Julia Reinhard Lupton, eds., “Sovereigns, Citizens, and Saints,” special issue of *Religion and Literature* 38.3 (Autumn 2006).

Richard Kearney's timely discussion of the imperative for interreligious hospitality in *Anatheism: Returning to God After God* (2011) draws on Émile Benveniste's seminal study of the conflated Indo-European etymology of the word hospitality (*hostis* and *hospes*), and provides early modern scholars writing after the religious turn with a discourse to identify early modern religious exchanges that stage the perennial choice facing the host: to respond with hospitality or hostility to the uninvited guest, and to understand the conditions and consequences of that response, historically and ethically.<sup>11</sup> These foundational moments of *anagnorisis*, of recognizing and accepting the unknown guest, are "primal dramas of response that serve as portals to faith"; the core scene is found in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in the narratives of Abraham and the desert visit of the three strangers, Mary and the Annunciation, and Muhammad and the visit of the angel Gabriel.<sup>12</sup> As Kearney explains, the primary contribution anatheism makes in the wake of the religious turn in theory is essentially hermeneutic and potentially cooperative in its aims and ambitions beyond scholarly discourse. Kearney responds to a range of philosophers and theorists, including Jacques Derrida and his theory of hospitality with its demands of an "unconditional welcome," one that is only perfect and true if it is "absolute" and above the juridical.<sup>13</sup> Kearney contends that "unconditional hospitality is divine, not human" and therefore a "surplus" rather than an unattainable and thereby disempowering goal.<sup>14</sup>

Hospitality as *principle* and *choice* in fiction and in life is therefore, a state of generosity, curiosity, and humility and an act that enables the possibility for potential cooperation among

---

<sup>11</sup> Émile Benveniste, *Indo-European Language and Society* (London: Faber, 1973), 71.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Kearney, *Anatheism: Returning to God after God* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 48.

<sup>13</sup> Jacques Derrida and Anne Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality: Cultural Memory in the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 77, 25.

<sup>14</sup> Kearney, *Anatheism*, 48.

diverse cultures. Its dynamism is better captured in *hospitality* because it is the *hospitable* environment and its accompanying gestures that comfort, nurture, and transform a stranger into a friend. The most successful attempts at hospitality, both secularly and religiously motivated, aim to make the guest feel as if the alien material surroundings he or she temporarily resides in are in fact akin to one's own home—"the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt" (Leviticus 19:34).

Early modern and contemporary theorists of cosmopolitanism often account for the necessity of hospitality in the endeavor to make humans feel as if they are denizens of an ever-expanding homeland—*cosmopolites*. Even prior to Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace* (1795) and its articulation of hospitality as "the *right* of the stranger not to be treated in a hostile manner," European peace proposals such as Émeric Crucé's *The New Cyneas* (1623), written during the heyday of religious conflict in seventeenth-century Europe, account for a common hospitable core: "we seek a peace, which is not patched up, not for three days, but which is voluntary, equitable, and permanent: a peace which gives to each one what belongs to him, privilege to the citizen, hospitality to the foreigner, and to all indifferently the liberty of travel and trading."<sup>15</sup> Yet, Crucé, a little-known French monk, repeatedly adds another dimension to this just form of hospitality, namely an ethical vision of a united humanity:

for how is it possible...to bring in accord peoples who are so different in wishes and affections, as the Turk and the Persian, the Frenchman and the Spaniard, the Chinese and the Tatar, the Christian and the Jew or the Mohammedan? I say that such hostilities are

---

<sup>15</sup> Immanuel Kant, Jeremy Waldron, Michael W. Doyle, and Allen W. Wood, *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*. Rethinking the Western Tradition, ed. Pauline Kleingeld, trans. David L. Colclasure (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 82; emphasis added; Emeric Crucé, *The New Cyneas of Émeric Crucé*, ed. Thomas W. Balch (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane, and Scott, 1909), 302.

only political, and cannot take away the connection that is a,nd must be between men. The distance of places, the separation of domiciles does not lessen the relationship of blood. It cannot either take away the similarity of natures, true base of amity and human society.<sup>16</sup>

Crucé's proposal to seventeenth-century potentates is an example of a vision of universal fraternity that combines both the juridical-political views of Kantian hospitality and those ethical concerns Derrida, Kearney, and others later explore. Radically, in outlining his international plan for arbitration, Crucé includes all nations in a general assembly to be housed in Venice, and places the Ottoman Emperor second to the Pope in rank. To borrow Seyla Benhabib's terms, in Crucé we see a "mediation between the ethical and the moral, the moral and the political."<sup>17</sup> Thus, historicizing early modern conceptions of cosmopolitanism and its hospitable foundation opens a window to understanding the various forms of hospitality depicted in the drama of the time. Neither completely about the law nor solely faith based, this multifaceted iteration of hospitality bridges boundaries and creates novel arrangements between seemingly incompatible groups, in Europe and beyond. Like the modern day use of mediation as a tool of negotiation and reconciliation, understanding early modern hospitality as *mediated* accounts for its complex representation as both principle and right.

Such mediated forms of hospitality are visible in the cultural reservoir playwrights invoke when they depict Persia as both antiquated and contemporary. Through this self-consciously hybrid portrayal that often merges pre-Islamic and Islamic images and references, we witness a

---

<sup>16</sup> Crucé, *The New Cyneas*, 84.

<sup>17</sup> In responding to commentators, Seyla Benhabib claims that "the orders of the unconditional and the conditioned are heterogeneous, but the ethical can and ought to inform the *juridico-political*. I seek neither *totalization* nor *transcendence*, to use Emmanuel Levinas's language, but *mediation*" in *Another Cosmopolitanism: Hospitality, Sovereignty, and Democratic Iterations* with essays by Jeremy Waldron, Bonnie Honig, and Will Kymlicka, ed. Robert Post (Oxford University Press 2006), 158.

rhetorical return to seminal moments of interreligious hospitality toward the stranger found predominantly in the biblical books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. In these narratives, hospitality accommodates religious and political alliances between the Persian Empire and the Jews in exile. Consider the story of Esther. The Persian King Ahasuerus (Xerxes) embraces his new wife with great joy and regal “grace and favour” (2:17) without questioning her parentage. However, despite Xerxes’ open arms and penchant for his favorite Esther, unbeknownst to him, the Jewish queen faces a formidable enemy to herself and her kindred. Like a Jewish Scheherazade, using her rhetorical gifts to delay her pending execution at the hands of a cruel and jaded ruler in *The Arabian Nights*, Esther speaks on behalf of the Jewish people and protects them from impending destruction. She asks for a “petition” (5:7) to covertly set up Haman, the counselor promulgating the Jewish genocide, and reveal his perfidy at a banquet. Thus, “Esther’s banquet” becomes the very moment when the forces of hostility and corruption in the state are uprooted. More importantly, her political actions are enabled by the Persian king, thus revealing her sense of ownership and empowerment in this interreligious match.

In this vein, staging Persia initiates a wager for the audience—a wager to remember and accept interreligious interactions that make up a shared biblical consciousness. If “hospitality is a virtue of *place*” as Brian Treanour asserts,<sup>18</sup> then Persia reigns as a place where hospitable acts

---

<sup>18</sup> Brian Treanour, “Putting Hospitality in its Place” in *Phenomenologies of the Stranger: Between Hostility and Hospitality*, eds. Richard Kearney and Kascha Semonovitch (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 50; see also Lupton, “Making Room, Affording Hospitality: Environments of Entertainment in *Romeo and Juliet*,” *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 43.1 (2013): “Hospitality bears on questions of space and its theatricalization insofar as entertaining involves *making room for guests*, both physically (where will they sit, slouch, sleep, eat, dance, or check their e-mail?) and existentially (the guest might be a ghost, or a kidnapper, or allergic to peanuts)” (146).

occur on stage; it is both particular and universal, defined nominally by an ancient locale and past temporality yet relatively unhindered by cultural markers that render its portrayal “exotic” or “orientalist.”

### **The Persian Paradigm**

Through the specificity of the Persian paradigm and the historical arc of a century of English theatre, *The Hospitable Globe* follows the dramaturgical trajectory of Persian characters from a range of genres in both elite and popular settings. The story begins with static, one-dimensional Elizabethan characters representing hospitable virtues based on classical and biblical history and ends with an embodied, dynamic character in Cyrus the Great within a typological framework of modernization and progress at the conclusion of the seventeenth century. This overarching development in characterological depth—with plays on Cyrus the Great as the figural bookends that elucidate this evolution in dramaturgy and religious-political engagement—suggests that the way English dramatists elicit historical material to create characters, via the specific case of Persia, becomes less historical and more relevant, sympathetic, and identifiable. The figurative breadth of Persian characters extends, therefore, from the emblematic in Elizabethan representations, to the symbolic and exemplary during the Jacobean and Caroline periods, and finally to the typological following the Restoration. While the relationship of page and stage is mutually reinforcing, with the latter providing the matter for staging while developing in response to changing conceptions of religious tolerance in the period, it is the stage that enables a fictional temporality of hospitality between religions and cultures that both actors and audience temporarily inhabit. That Persia—both fictive and literal—is a place that can host such transformations of historical materials into fiction speaks to its

inherent vivacity and hospitability, virtues wed to its long-standing conception in the English imaginary. In this instance, we see a distinction from Edward Said's claim that "the Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined...a closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe."<sup>19</sup> Rather than a debilitated, stagnant space, with stereotypes representing a conglomerated whole, the East through Persia is a fertile field, a specific, geographic local with expansive figurative potential.

After years of academic neglect following Samuel C. Chew's *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (1937), Linda McJannet's survey of major and minor Persian elements in English drama (1527-1660), appropriately titled "Bringing in a Persian" (1999), pioneered the new wave of Persia-oriented scholarship emphasizing Persia's distinction among Islamic nations, particularly in relation to far more negative representations of the Ottoman Empire, and its refusal to fall into a stable category of representation.<sup>20</sup> Ladan Niayesh provocatively claims that "to the Elizabethans (and perhaps to us as well), Persians were Muslims of an unusual kind. Inheritors of the pagan empire of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes, the non-Mediterranean, non-Turkish, non-Sunni Persians were a religious exception among the 'Saracens' and a political foil to the Ottomans."<sup>21</sup> Niayesh asserts that "the matter of Persia"

---

<sup>19</sup>Said, *Orientalism*, 63; Said explains that "modern Orientalism" began in the late eighteenth century and thus the representation of Eastern cultures in earlier periods does not adhere to later notions of orientalist portrayals (42). At the same, Said attributes the origins of Orientalism to Aeschylus' *The Persians* and Euripides' *The Bacchae*. In identifying the core threads of European representations of the East, Said concludes that "A line is drawn between two continents. Europe is powerful and articulate; Asia is defeated and distant. Aeschylus represents Asia, makes her speak in the person of the aged Persian queen, Xerxes' mother. It is Europe that articulates the Orient; this articulation is the prerogative, not of a puppet master, but of a genuine creator, whose life-giving power represents, animates, constitutes the otherwise silent and dangerous space beyond familiar boundaries" (57).

<sup>20</sup>"Bringing in a Persian," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 12 (1999): 236-267.

<sup>21</sup>"Shakespeare's Persians," *Shakespeare* 4, no. 2 (2008): 127.

defies “Manichean distribution of power relations between the ‘West’ and the ‘Rest.’”<sup>22</sup> Jane Grogan’s recent monograph, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549-1622*, convincingly argues for making room for the Persian Empire alongside Greco-Roman models of empire in the period: “English Renaissance writers have a deep and abiding interest in the ancient Persian monarchical empire, and...they use the model of Persia to explore imaginatively the moral and political nature of empire—but not always finding the answers that they want.”<sup>23</sup> Grogan explains that studying the concept of Persia in English Renaissance writing is not merely an account of representations but an understudied body of “political and philosophical thinking being mobilized through the writing of Persia”; Persia “served as an idea as well as a place in the English literary and political imaginary,” manifesting thereby a “familiar and encouraging model.”<sup>24</sup> Most importantly, emerging scholarship on Persia owes much of its enthusiasm and impetus to Persia’s inherent potential to provide more than just a response to Orientalist discourse and long-standing cultural binaries; for early modern England, Persia is a “familiar” site that enables the articulation of hospitable language, of a discourse of commensurability rather than difference when depicting the meeting of diverse groups.<sup>25</sup> Grogan addresses this potential in her assessment of the problem of articulating discourses of “familiarity” rather than “otherness” that is the prevailing language scholars call upon to articulate cross-cultural encounters: “we sometimes lack the critical will to recognize structures of familiarity and sympathy in multiplicity rather than taxonomies of difference or individualist imperatives.”<sup>26</sup> I

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>23</sup> Jane Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549-1622* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 5.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 3, 29.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 7.

build on this work by developing hospitality as an inter-cultural paradigm that has special relevance to the medium of theater.

Pioneering scholars of Persia in early modern England have been particularly erudite, apt and well-intentioned in their conclusions of the complex representation of Persia in English literature, but the multi-layered Persian concept is yet to be fully unraveled. While Grogan's study illuminates the importance of Persia as an imperial model for early modern England, my scholarship seeks a complementary place for Persia as a real and imagined realm of exemplary hospitality, and as a paradigm for conceptualizing early modern global relationships that are more collaborative, amicable, and empowering.

Literary representations of Persia cater to a discourse of inviting the conceptual foreigner to assist in the creation and use of "alternative, less 'othering' discourses" of literary and sociological engagements with non-European nations.<sup>27</sup> Recent interdisciplinary work by Kaya Şahin and Julia Schleck has called upon the language of commensurability to "attend to the considerable similarities across Eurasian cultures and the many recognitions of resemblance or relationship that occur in European texts treating Islamic polities."<sup>28</sup> Deriving from the early modern traveler's experiences abroad and "exposure... to political and cultural values and structures that are identified as familiar and subsequently presented as such within a text," commensurability is further defined as the "wish for and ability to communicate across cultural

---

<sup>27</sup> Jane O. Newman's work on the "rhetoric of sameness" and "similitude" in the writings of Hugo Grotius offers "alternative, less 'othering' discourses about Africa at the time," and pioneers the terms by which a less adversarial vocabulary and framework can be called upon in critical discussions of race. "'Race,' Religion, and the Law: Rhetorics of Sameness and Difference in the Work of Hugo Grotius," in *Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Victoria Kahn and Lorna Hutson (New Haven: Yale UP, 2001), 285-317.

<sup>28</sup> Kaya Şahin and Julia Schleck, "Courtly Connections: Anthony Sherley's *Relation of His Trauels* (1613) in a Global Context," *Renaissance Quarterly* 69.1 (2016): 81.

boundaries, under the impact of several motivations that range from political idealism to sheer individual pragmatism.”<sup>29</sup> Commensurability has an important but limited place throughout this study; because this dissertation examines the crossroads between hospitality and theatre, between idealized forms of international relationships and the limited work of ecumenical tolerance on the ground, it calls upon more multifaceted language, a rich discourse that accounts for the goal as well as the process of the work being done on stage—a vocabulary of *doing* rather than *being*, in other words.

To begin, I use the term *paradigm* to account for both Persia’s *specific* exemplary place in early modern drama—as a model of hospitable virtues understood analogically—and the way it reveals a *general* paradigm for thinking about global relationships. In “What is a Paradigm?,” Giorgio Agamben clarifies his paradigmatic analysis of such historical phenomena as “*Homo sacer*, the *Muselmann*, the state of exception, and the concentration camp,” emphasizing the “role” of the paradigm, and how it can “constitute and make intelligible a broader historical-problematic context.”<sup>30</sup> In tracing the evolution of the term from its more definitive uses in Aristotle and Thomas Kuhn, among others, and in its implicit forms in Michel Foucault’s work, Agamben presents a philosophical definition of paradigm that is helpful for appreciating the conceptual reach of the Persian paradigm:

1. A paradigm is a form of knowledge that is neither inductive nor deductive but analogical. It moves from singularity to singularity.
2. By neutralizing the dichotomy between the general and the particular, it replaces a dichotomous logic with a bipolar analogical model.
3. The paradigmatic case becomes such by suspending and, at the same time, exposing its belonging to the group, so that it is never possible to separate its exemplarity from its singularity.

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>30</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *The Signature of All Things: On Method*, trans. Luca D’Isanto with Kevin Attell (New York: Zone Books, 2009), 9.

4. The paradigmatic group is never presupposed by the paradigms; rather, it is immanent in them.
5. In the paradigm, there is no origin or archē; every phenomenon is the origin, every image archaic.
6. The historicity of the paradigm lies neither in diachrony nor in synchrony but in a crossing of the two.<sup>31</sup>

My primary interest in Agamben's conclusions on paradigm relate to its analogical function as derived from the Greek "to exhibit beside, show side by side,"<sup>32</sup> and its dynamism as a mode of analysis. The concept of a paradigm, in philosophy, linguistics, and science, is more vigorous and compelling than the stationary and limited term "model" as it accounts for the subsidiary use of patterns of examples within its overarching theorization:<sup>33</sup> a "paradigm entails a *movement* that goes from singularity to singularity and, without ever leaving singularity, transforms every singular case into an exemplar of a general rule that can never be stated a priori."<sup>34</sup> In moving from "singularity to singularity" rather than metonymically, the analogical paradigm, anchored in its historicity, transfers meaning across and within time as it originates meaning with its inception; a paradigm mobilizes thought into action at a certain time while its "repeatability" inspires a certain way of doing, even as that imitation is never the exact replica of the paradigm

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>32</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "paradigm, n," accessed May 17, 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/137329/>.

<sup>33</sup> Agamben elucidates the specific limitations of terms related to example: "Sextus Pompeius Festus informs us that the Romans distinguished *exemplar* from *exemplum*. The exemplar can be observed by the senses (*oeculis eonspieitur*) and refers to that which one must imitate (*exemplar est quod simile faeiamus*). The *exemplum*, on the other hand, demands a more complex evaluation (which is not merely sensible: *animo aestimatur*); its meaning is above all moral and intellectual. The Foucauldian paradigm is both of these things: not only an exemplar and model, which imposes the constitution of a normal science, but also and above all an *exemplum*, which allows statements and discursive practices to be gathered into a new intelligible ensemble and in a new problematic context" (*Signature*, 18).

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 22; emphasis added.

itself. An English monarch, for instance, can act or aspire to be *like* a hospitable Persian monarch, but there will always be a necessary analogical gulf. Yet, the analytic capacity of the paradigm, as Jacob Meskin and Harvey Shapiro reflect, lies in engaging the “powers of analogy...to discern previously unseen affinities”: “the paradigm exposes dynamic analogies among singularities in the newfound set it constitutes, and between itself as example and that very set. This analogical relation is never reified, but remains open to a multiplicity of engagements with singular objects, phenomena, practices and ideas.”<sup>35</sup> A paradigm inspires a certain pattern of thought and behavior that a model can only represent; in sum, a paradigm, in my use of the term, enables analogical thinking that brings particulars into a multifaceted relationship that invites re-enactment. That Agamben uses the term “role” in his own assessment of paradigmatic figures speaks to the dynamism I am emphasizing in my analysis of the forms of hospitable gestures and paradigms of hospitality found in Persian-themed drama. “To give an example is a complex *act*,” Agamben reminds us.<sup>36</sup>

The inspirational capacity of the Persian paradigm requires the use of a wider linguistic registry and thus this dissertation draws upon the emerging hospitable language of “people-centered” development studies found in the work of scientist Farzam Arbab and philosopher Martha Nussbaum. In Arbab’s contribution to the collection, *The Lab, The Temple, and the Market, Reflections at the Intersection of Science, Religion, and Development* (2000)—itself a pioneering, interfaith text with contributions from scientists and adherents of Hinduism, Christianity, Islam and the Bahá’í Faith—the globe-trotting scientist details his journey in the

---

<sup>35</sup> Jacob Meskin and Harvey Shapiro, “‘To Give an Example Is a Complex Act’: Agamben’s Pedagogy of the Paradigm,” *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 46.4 (2014): 422.

<sup>36</sup> Agamben, *Signature*, 18; emphasis added.

field of development, itself an offshoot of a type of bifurcated postcolonial mentality that separates even as it aims to recuperate the oppressed:

The word *development* — which spans an enormous range of meaning in the English language — is used in this paper chiefly to denote a particular historical process. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, following the breakup of the colonial empires, a world poised for unprecedented social and economic transformation witnessed the emergence of a set of activities the purpose of which, apart from the reconstruction of Europe, was the ‘development’ of the nations then considered backward.

From the beginning, my colleagues and I at FUNDAEC identified ourselves with approaches that later came to be known as people-centred development. But we felt uncomfortable with the images that were being evoked by the phrase "the poorest of the poor," used so extensively in development literature in those days...

When, after World War II, development economists began to promote growth policies among the nations of the world, the technical talk about industrialization, capital accumulation, planning, foreign aid, and transfer of know-how carried connotations that were not of material poverty alone but of peoples' backwardness. This was especially true when referring to the inhabitants of rural areas, who were described, no matter how politely, as ignorant, unmotivated, lazy, and superstitious. It was even assumed that up to 50% of them lived virtually unproductive lives and could readily be moved to the cities to provide cheap labour to accelerate industrialization. Perhaps to mitigate the moral implications of such an assumption, the highest compliment was then bestowed on these masses: they were called the hidden capital of the developing nations.<sup>37</sup>

Arbab identifies the underlying paternalism in what may have been seen as an altruistic action in its initial mid-twentieth century efforts. This demeaning view of the “poor” was buttressed by a lack of fellow feeling and sense of universal solidarity that is best summed up in the principle of the oneness of humanity and the corresponding dignity that every individual deserves. Part of the appreciation for human dignity and diversity is willfully acknowledging the sacred role of religion for most of humanity; the secular approach to development studies

---

<sup>37</sup> Farzam Arbab, “Promoting a Discourse on Science, Religion, and Development” in *The Lab, the Temple, and the Market: Reflections at the Intersection of Science, Religion, and Development*, ed., Sharon Harper (Ottawa: IDRC, 2000), 142-143.

fostered materialistic notions of human nature, ones oftentimes built on competition, conflict, and oppressive paradigms:

Diversity and oneness are complementary and inseparable. Diversity does not invariably give rise to enmity and opposition. The differences of ethnicity, nationality, and race that exist today can be appreciated in the context of a historical process that has entailed progressive stages of unity. Differences that are perceived as causes of division and conflict should in fact be treated as sources of stability. Diversity brings enormous strength to the composition of the whole as unification occurs.<sup>38</sup>

This non-paternalistic conception of human nature called upon in Arbab's field engenders the use of terms such as *transformation*, *capacity-building*, and *empowerment*, which I call upon in my literary explications. Similarly, in *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach* (2010), Nussbaum, in dialogue with Amartya Sen, details a "theory of justice and entitlement for both nonhuman animals and humans" through a comparative approach that focuses on the capacity of the individuals, asking the important question: "What is each person able to do and to be?"<sup>39</sup> Like Arbab, Nussbaum emphasizes the role of human dignity in empowering individuals, and how such dignity is contingent on exercising freedoms. Capabilities, therefore, are not simply existing "abilities residing inside a person but also the freedoms and opportunities created by a combination of personal abilities and the political, social, and economic environment."<sup>40</sup> Since much scholarly attention has been paid to identifying forms of oppression, alterity, and marginality in global exchanges of the early modern period, this study calls instead upon the enabling, interdisciplinary language of people-centered development studies to accommodate a form of literary analysis built on constructive

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>39</sup> Martha C. Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 18-20.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 20.

and edifying examples that together trace the contours of a hospitable globe, an “undivided past” in David Cannadine terms, through Persia.<sup>41</sup>

Arbab’s holistic view of the individual in his field complements and broadens the efforts by literary scholars to question the hegemony of the secularization thesis and Persia provides further matter in this re-envisioning. In her response to the marriage of modernity and the rise of secularization, for example, Ayesha Ramchandaran challenges “one of the shibboleths of modernity: the entwined rise of secularism and scientific empiricism” to “argue that the invention of the modern world owed much to theology and the spiritual practices of imaginative identification.”<sup>42</sup> Persia is a particularly interesting case in the scholarly mission to disentangle modernization and secularization; as we shall see, Persian-themed drama becomes increasingly spiritual by the end of the seventeenth century as it engages with Mithraism during the Caroline period and depicts and extols the providentially ordained acts of Cyrus at the end of the century. Unlike previous studies on conceptions and fictionalizations of Persia in English literature which end before the closing of the theatres in 1642, this dissertation considers Persian-themed drama

---

<sup>41</sup> Cannadine reminds us that “the history of humankind is at least as much about cooperation as it is about conflict, and about kindness to strangers as about the obsession with otherness and alterity” (*Undivided Past*, 264).

<sup>42</sup> Ayesha Ramchandaran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 14. Responses to the secularization thesis include Cecelia Lynch “A Neo-Weberian Approach to Religion in International Politics,” *International Theory* 1.3 (2009); Judith Butler, Eduardo Mendieta, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); Calhoun, Craig, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen; *Rethinking Secularism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); and John Smith, *Dialogues between Faith and Reason The Death and Return of God in Modern German Thought* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), among others. See also *One Common Faith* for a cogent summation of the oppressive (and ironic) hegemony of the secularization thesis: “throughout that part of the world where the vast majority of the earth’s population live, facile announcements that ‘God is Dead’ had passed largely unnoticed,” Baha’i World Centre (Haifa, Israel: Baha’i World Centre, 2005), 5.

from 1561 to 1696, demonstrating how Persia and its ancient Zoroastrian faith become more prominent throughout the seventeenth century while identifying *topoi* unique to the Persian-themed dramatic canon.

### Acting in a Hospitable Temporality

Othello's foreboding and suggestive declaration, hinting at his own unease with his protean identity—"Are we turned Turks? And to ourselves do that/Which heaven hath forbid the Ottomites?"—has been invoked in a range of compelling studies on the phenomenon of "turning Turk" or conversion to Islam in the period.<sup>43</sup> As Daniel Vitkus explains, the "idea of conversion that terrified and titillated Shakespeare's audience was a fear of the loss of both essence and identity in a world of ontological, ecclesiastical and political instability."<sup>44</sup> In Jonathan Burton's words, the moment of conversion was seen as one of Christian "betrayal," "subversion," and ultimately "renunciation both of God and of country."<sup>45</sup> In Vitkus's

---

<sup>43</sup> William Shakespeare, *Othello, the Moor of Venice*, ed. Michael Neill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 2.3.161-162. All subsequent references will to this edition and are cited in text. See, for instance, Daniel J. Vitkus, "Turning Turk in Othello: The Conversion and Damnation of the Moor," *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 48.2 (1997): 145-76; the phrase and concept of "turning Turk" is established in Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose* (1937); Nabil I. Matar, "'Turning Turk': Conversion to Islam in English Renaissance Thought," *The Durham University Journal*. 86.1 (1994): 33-42; Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See also Julia R. Lupton, "Othello Circumcised: Shakespeare and the Pauline Discourse of Nations," *Representations*. 57.1 (1997): 73-89; Patricia Parker, "Preposterous Conversions: Turning Turk, and Its 'pauline' Rerighting," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. 2.1 (2002): 1-34; and Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion*.

<sup>44</sup> Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 78.

<sup>45</sup> Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English drama, 1579-1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 16-17.

estimation, such turning referred to the “fear of a black planet that gripped Europeans in the early modern era as they faced the expansion of Ottoman power.”<sup>46</sup> Engaging and enlightening studies on turning Turk in early modern drama have brought attention to the way conversion is performed and understood, leading to a deeper understanding of how a less developed English nation negotiated fear and envy of the powerful Ottoman Empire and its expansive reach, and to the creation of critical editions of neglected plays such as Robert Greene’s *Selimus, Emperor of the Turks* (1594), Robert Daborne’s *A Christian Turned Turk* (1612), and Philip Massinger’s *The Renegado* (1623).<sup>47</sup>

While Othello berates his soldiers for the “barbarous brawl” (2.3.163), aligning them with the defeated Turkish antagonist storming into Europe, another Shakespearean tragedy develops diametrically opposed associations. In *King Lear*, when Edgar, disguised as Tom O’Bedlam, assists Lear on the heath by turning away three imagined barking dogs and thereby accommodating his distressed state, Lear acknowledges his service in this instance of confraternity between two abject souls, proclaiming: “You, sir, I entertain for one of my hundred, only I do not like the fashion of your garments. You will say they are Persian; but let them be changed.”<sup>48</sup> Considering Edgar’s rags are far from any sartorial symbols of Eastern elegance, riches, and pomp, the image Lear claims to see is ironic and puzzling. Shakespeare’s sole Persian allusion in *King Lear* has been glossed by editors as synonymous with “luxurious,”

---

<sup>46</sup> Vitkus, “Turning Turk in Othello,” 146.

<sup>47</sup> Daniel J. Vitkus, Robert Daborne, and Philip Massinger, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England: Selimus, a Christian Turned Turk, and the Renegado* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

<sup>48</sup> William Shakespeare, *King Lear in The Complete Works*, ed. Stephen Orgel, and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin, 2002), 3.6.38-40. Additional references will be to this edition and cited in text.

offering little in terms of the early modern contexts of English engagements with Persia. Yet, Lear's lament on Edgar's clothing informs us of the presence of another persona for Edgar, an invisible Persian soldier or Englishman dressed as a Persian soldier, graciously aiding Lear in his confrontation with the rancorous dogs populating his suffering mind. Thus, Lear does not accept Edgar or Poor Tom into his retinue in his attempt to salvage his own sense of dignity and control over his lost fortunes and previous state of being, but an unknown figure with Persian adornments who succors him in his time of need. Lear's condition that Edgar must undress himself is not a sign of disdain for Persian culture but rather part of the cosmopolitan philosophy of the scene, a desire to divest oneself of all local identification and reunite through the transcendent virtues of service and kindness as "unaccommodated man" (3.4.98) freed from the material fetters of man-made clothing that creates divisions of religion, status, gender, and class.<sup>49</sup>

Edgar's metaphorical Persian transformation in *King Lear* carries a set of radically distinct associations from "turning Turk" in *Othello*. On the distinction between the "Turk" play and plays featuring Persia, Grogan explains: "entertaining and interrogating the idea of empire in a fairly speculative and theoretical register, rather than responding reactively to the new foreign peoples and ideas encountered in late sixteenth-century London, the cultural work performed by Persia on stage is of a different order to that performed by the 'Turk.'"<sup>50</sup> In their distance from historical circumstance and in the conscious foregrounding of certain attributes associated with Persia in classical and biblical source material, Persian figures in drama can be seen as

---

<sup>49</sup> James Kearney, "Cosmopolitan Dogs: Foucault's Indifference and Shakespeare's Cynical Divestments" (paper presented at the Renaissance Society of America, Boston, Massachusetts, March 31-April 2, 2016).

<sup>50</sup> Grogan, *Persian Empire*, 115.

*conceptual* foreigners rather than representations of historical figures and as such provide a paradigm for interreligious exchange not found within the Turk narrative—that of a non-conversion formula promulgated in interfaith dialogues, and presented in novel form in the early modern period in Jean Bodin’s underground text *Colloquium of the Seven About Secrets of the Sublime* (1588) which I discuss in more detail in Chapter Two.

Unlike the ignoble vices and sense of spiritual regression that accompanies Othello’s turning into the very figure he condemns, the symbolic Turkish enemy hovering over the play, adopting a Persian persona via clothing and customs is often a largely beneficial transformation enabling a change in status and an appreciation of hospitality between cultures on the part of the transformed. While turning Turk is depicted as an act of apostasy, rebellion, and untrustworthiness in the drama of the period, transforming into a Persian is a process of capacity-building that uplifts the non-Persian in physical, social, and spiritual degrees. From the Latin *transformāre*—to change form—the dynamic shift from one state of being that is a *Persian transformation* entails a depth of movement across and beyond one state of being to another that Kenneth Burke captures in his definition of the “process of transformation” in *A Rhetoric of Motives*:

One may prefer imagery of the Upward Way and Downward Way, or of the Crossing and Return, or of Exile and Homecoming, or of a Winding-up and an Unwinding, or of Egressus and Regressus, or of a Movement Inward and a Movement Outward, or of seasonal developments, or of various antitheses, like Day and Night, Warmth and Frigidity, Yes and No, Losing and Finding, Loosing and Binding, etc., where the pairs are not merely to be placed statically against each other, but in given poetic contexts usually represent a development *from* one order of motives *to* another.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 11.

Unlike turning Turk, Persian transformations, linked most vividly with romance elements in the plays I am examining, are fluid, process-oriented phenomena harboring the potential to turn *back* or *to* another state; in its never ending formulations, “turning Persian” remains in the gerund, a noun with the dynamic *-ing* inflecting its multifaceted, ever-evolving state, “Winding-Up” and “Unwinding” in its complexity. Persian inhabitations are temporary but not evanescent as the empowering transformation achieves its goal in metamorphosing both Persian and non-Persian alike.

During the assumption of a Persian persona, the non-Persian character is empowered to aid the Persian realm, as in the case of Cratander, the Ephesian captive in the Caroline Drama, *The Royall Slave* (1636), whose presence rescinds the Persian practice of executing a prisoner of war as part of the degrading custom of “mock-kingship,” or Robert Sherley who exposes the perfidy of the Persian king’s court attendants in the adventure romance, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607). The enhancement of the Persian realm, and by extension nearby states, and even the “antient world” in John Banks’s *Cyrus the Great, Or, The Tragedy of Love* (1696), by real or assumed Persian, often occurs during an interlude of *hospitable temporality*—a pause in time wherein oppressive penal codes and traditions are temporarily rescinded or expunged creating thereby the conditions for transformation and capacity-building that prompt a cosmopolitan consciousness in the play. These interludes are the fictionalized components of what Arbab identifies as “progressive stages of unity” that make up the historical processes spurring on political measures of tolerance; these “stages,” the metaphorical and literal breaking down of walls, are not epoch-making actions that usher in an idealistic peace but are nonetheless strides toward a greater goal that accumulate over time. I address historical progress toward ecumenical tolerance throughout this dissertation in the legal contexts of the Elizabethan

Settlement of 1559 and the so-called 1689 Act of Toleration, as well as in the discourse of toleration writings. Although such contexts inform the drama, the stage amplifies these efforts; in the staging of a hospitable temporality, theatre is inspirational and progressive, a speculative form of reality, moving beyond the confines of the page, and the codification of legal tolerance throughout the century, to transport its actors and audience into a fictive world, an alternative time and space to imagine and experience, on some level, what such harmony could be like, even if it is limited to the duration of the play and interrupted by the inevitable forces of strife and enmity.

Shakespeare's invocation of values associated with the Persian paradigm reflects the early modern understanding and privileging of certain antiquated hospitable characteristics with the ancient empire despite a growing body of knowledge of the Safavid Dynasty of early modern Persia that sometimes presents the contemporary Persians in less favorable lights, as in the well-circulated report of the blinding of Prince Mirza, Shah Abbas's son. In addition to the historical contexts of the developing toleration discourse, this study is informed by patterns and trends of evolving Anglo-Persian relationships, ever mindful of the scholarly imperative to go beyond "one-way" cultural analyses that are ignorant of the actual figures of representation.<sup>52</sup> Although I focus primarily on fictionalized Persians because this is a study of how English theatre presents fictions of toleration through hospitable acts, it is interesting to note how a conspicuous lack of

---

<sup>52</sup> Gerald M. MacLean, "When West Looks East: Some Recent Studies in Early Modern Muslim Cultures," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* Vol. 7 no. 1 (2007): 97. MacLean address an outdated form of scholarship that perpetuates stereotypes in the writing of representations as well as the aftermath of *Orientalism* that purposefully focused on representation rather than reality. While MacLean proposes a worthwhile endeavor that some scholars have successfully pursued, his injunction cannot easily apply to archival studies in Persian (which is incorrectly labeled Farsi) because of long-standing religious and political restrictions in Iran which hinder access to university resources based on creedal identification.

systematic engagement with the Safavid Empire, in contrast to the more steady growth of the East India Company, may have led to the fortunate obduracy of anachronistic values remaining wed to the concept of Persia.

In 1561, a somewhat naïve and obsequious Elizabeth I attempted to forge diplomatic relations with Persia, leading to the failure of Anthony Jenkinson's initial envoy at the Safavid court of a flippant Shah Tahmasp I. During the mission, Jenkinson is humiliated at the Persian court for being an "infidel" in the eyes of the shah, who had recently accepted the Treaty of Amasya (1555) with the Ottomans and was therefore less interested in pursuing an Anglo-Persian relationship. As Bernadette Andrea explains, this first embarrassing encounter with a Muslim potentate schools Elizabeth in the art of international relations which leads to her later success in corresponding with Ottoman rulers.<sup>53</sup> The next prominent phase of attempts to forge a stronger, and in this instance, grandiose alliance is part of the largely unsuccessful attempts of the Sherley brothers, beginning in 1598, which lead to the acceptance of Anthony Sherley and later his younger brother Robert as ambassadors of Shah Abbas to European nations and the rehearsal of their adventures in Anthony Nixon's pamphlet *The Three English Brothers* (1607), a play *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607), and Anthony's own account, *Relation of His Travels into Persia* (1613) among other Sherlian texts; these unorthodox attempts, detailed in Chapter Two, were not particularly welcomed by Elizabeth who had not sanctioned the Sherleys' initial voyage into Persia and had turned to trade with the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, their efforts did ultimately lead to some developments in trade under the shadow of the East India Company and then to the temporary alliance of the English and the Persians in 1622 to regain the

---

<sup>53</sup> Bernadette Andrea, "Elizabeth I and Foreign Exchanges," in *The Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I*, ed. Charles Beem (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 177.

island of Hormuz from the Portuguese with the hopes of improving the silk trade, which was never fully actualized.<sup>54</sup> In 1626, following an infamous physical confrontation between Robert Sherley and the Persian ambassador Naqd 'Alī Beg, the recently crowned Charles I sought to clarify and improve the diplomatic situation and sent Sir Dodmore Cotton, the first official English ambassador to Persia. As we shall see in Chapter Three, the most influential fruit of this ill-fated voyage, which resulted in the death of Cotton, Beg, and Robert Sherley, was Thomas Herbert's travel account of the embassy, expanded and republished for years to come, *Relation of Some Years Travel* (1634, 1638, 1664, 1665, 1677).<sup>55</sup>

By the time of the Civil Wars, English interest in Persia waned even further as internal vicissitudes and the wars with the Dutch took political precedence, leading instead to the proliferation of accounts of travel to Persia by the French, German, and Dutch, which were translated and frequently referred to in the period.<sup>56</sup> Simultaneous with this detachment from pursuing more elaborate Anglo-Persian exchanges were internal struggles within the Safavid Dynasty as the rulers following the esteemed Shah Abbas are far less effective and far more notorious and provincial potentates.<sup>57</sup> Ultimately, the latter part of the seventeenth century

---

<sup>54</sup> Grogan, *Persian Empire*, 180.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 181-182. See also R.W. Ferrier, "The European Diplomacy of Shāh 'Abbās I and the First Persian Embassy to England," *British Institute of Persian Studies, Iran* 11 (1973): 90; and Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, *The Cambridge History of Iran: Vol. 6. The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 396.

<sup>56</sup> Steven Lynn Smith, "Friend or Foe: Popular Perceptions of Persia in England, 1598-1688," (Ph.D, Diss. University of California, Santa Barbara, 2010), 296; For instance, Jean Chardin, a Huguenot, found refuge in England from persecution back home. His travel account, *The Travels of Sir Jean Chardin into Persia and the East Indies*, was translated and well-received in 1686.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 300-301. For an overview of the Safavid Dynasty, see Roger Savoy, *Iran Under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Andrew Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004); and Rudolph P. Mathee, *Persia in Crisis: Safavid Decline and the Fall of Isfahan* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

witnessed a tenuous Anglo-Persian trade alliance as both the French and the Dutch entered the market as competitors.<sup>58</sup>

The fitful nature of Anglo-Persian exchanges of the period is partly responsible for the continuing accompaniment of stable classical and biblical conceptions of Persia and Persians in literature that informs the drama over the course of two centuries. Although less hospitable visions of Persia are found, for instance, in the tyrannical figure of Cambyses in Thomas Preston's *Cambyses, King of Persia* (1569) and the arrogant eponymous character of Colley Cibber's unsuccessful play, *Xerxes, A Tragedy* (1699), these characters are exceptions rather than the rule in terms of Persian-themed drama of the period. Indeed, throughout the period, the preferential treatment of Achaemenid Persia evinces a desire to draw upon this ancient paradigm in understanding the needs, challenges, and promises of the present, and it is noteworthy that hospitality is at the forefront of such worthwhile attributes called upon to contemplate the issues of the day.

In her study of seventeenth and eighteenth-century European travelers and their encounters with Zoroastrians, Persia's original inhabitants and adherents of the national religion during the Achaemenid Empire represented in the Bible, Nora Kathleen Firby summarizes the European understanding of the ancient kingdom that characterizes the Persian paradigm throughout the period:

The memory of ancient Persia had never faded completely from the European mind, but after the rise of Islam, Persia was so isolated from the West that little factual knowledge was available in the Middle Ages. Cyrus was known to have freed the Jews from captivity. The tradition that wisdom was derived from the East was reflected in the New Testament story of the three wise men who traveled to the Nativity. The name of

---

<sup>58</sup> Bridget Orr, *Empire on the English Stage, 1660-1714* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 116.

Zoroaster persisted as a source of Chaldean astrology and magic, or, more acceptably, as the instructor of Pythagoras and associated with Platonism.<sup>59</sup>

The perpetual image of Persia's esteemed past is rooted in its rich classical and biblical heritage, a cultural repository well-known through not only the biblical books of Daniel, Ezra, and Esther but also Herodotus' *Histories*, Plutarch's *Lives*, and Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, among other scholastic texts. Following Herbert's popular intervention into the matter of Persia, which discusses both ancient and early modern Persia, its adherents, beliefs, and values, later seventeenth-century armchair travelers highlight the hospitable nature of early modern Persia as a remnant of its past glory. For example, in his series of world atlases, including *Asia* (1673), John Ogilby, the "majesties cosmographer" and translator of Aesop's fables, participates in the familiar early modern rhetoric of separating Persia from Islam and Persians from Turks:

The *Persian* Phylosophers in Matters of Phylosophy and other Sciences, highly esteem the Christian Books, especially such as treat of Morality, natural Phylosophy, and Religion: They also hold Disputations with great Confidence concerning the Mystery of their Religion, with People that are of another Opinion, quite contrary to the *Turks*, who out of stubbornness will not admit any to speak thereof.<sup>60</sup>

According to Ogilby, a distinguishing feature of a refined culture such as the Persian is its ability to converse along religious lines, to "esteem" Christianity. Persians not only accommodate

---

59 Nora Kathleen Firby. *European Travellers and their Perceptions of Zoroastrians in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Berlin: Reimer, 1988), 17. Firby's account of the more favorable presentations of ancient Eastern cultures coincides with Said's identification of the more benign beginnings of Orientalism as a form of biblical scholarship focused on the near-East that later takes on different connotations in response to the growth of Islam: "Consider how the Orient, and in particular the Near Orient, became known in the West as its great complementary opposite since antiquity...If the mind must suddenly deal with what it takes to be a radically new form of life—as Islam appeared to Europe in the early Middle Ages—the response on the whole is conservative and defensive...For Europe, Islam was a lasting trauma" (58-59).

<sup>60</sup> John Ogilby, *Asia. The First Part Being an Accurate Description of Persia* (London, 1673), 60.

religious debates but also exercise religious toleration: “All Strangers of what Religion soever, have according to antient Custom in *Persia*, Liberty of Conscience, being permitted to live after their own Manner, and after the Laws of their several Princes.”<sup>61</sup> Here, Ogilby acknowledges the presence of the principle of toleration in the early modern Islamic state, but associates its creation with pre-Islamic ideology and practices. According to Ogilby, a state that values hospitality toward others enables liberty of conscience:

The *Persians* are naturally endu'd with Prudence and Understanding, quick Witted, and Learned, wherefore there are many excellent Poets amongst them; they highly esteem Moral Philosophy, are not inclin'd to any disdainful Behavior, but are affable and courteous, not onely to one another, but especially to Strangers, to whom (as we said before) they are also very hospitable; and in their Discourses use many complemental Expressions. When they invite any one to their House, they commonly say, *Honor my House with your Presence; I offer my self to you; I prostrate my self at your Feet*, and the like; for they are very full of such obliging Expressions.<sup>62</sup>

Ogilby’s translation of the Persian practice of “tarooft”—the contemporary term for a decorous game of courtesy—translates into an extreme form of obsequiousness characterizing the “naturally” hospitable Persian culture, and its enduring magnanimous paradigm for early modern England.

Following this introductory chapter, in Chapter One I draw upon classic humanist works that reference Persian monarchs, including the 1561 English translation of Baldesar Castiglione’s *The Courtier*, to establish the linkage of hospitality with Persian monarchs in *The Enterlude of Godly Queen Hester* (1561), *Kyng Daryus* (1565), and *The Wars of Cyrus* (1594) in the turbulent years following the Elizabethan Religious Settlement of 1559 when ecumenical hospitality could

---

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

be seen as a political imperative. Despite the potential risks to the Persian hosts in all three dramas, the Eastern rulers embrace diversity and through such an open stance reinforce their *politique* positions as inheritors of neo-Stoic cosmopolitanism. This theatrical debut is a dramaturgically limited but conceptually influential dramatization of biblical and classical narratives in the *speculum principis* mode and, as such, the Persian kings are more emblematic of certain politically relevant virtues than representative of historical and allegorical figures. Notably, in *Hester*, we witness the first instantiation of a hospitable temporality with the Jewish queen reigning as co-regent of the Persian realm and aiding in its re-founding and rehabilitation according to the biblical narrative. In Chapter Two, I examine how hospitality animates a Jacobean rendition of the Christian friendly Safavid monarch Shah Abbas I in my intertextual reading of William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1598) and *Othello* (1603) with John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins' *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607). While in Shakespeare's plays intercultural marriages are either plagued with challenges or based on the condition of religious conversion, in the *Travels*, Robert Sherley and his "pagan" Persian bride successfully marry without conversion although Robert's Persian transformation is explicitly embraced by the English traveler. This chapter develops the concept of hidden hospitality to account for the lack of staging of hospitable interactions in Shakespeare's Venetian dramas which are subsequently staged in a Persian setting as an adventure romance in the work of his contemporaries.

Chapter Three dwells on the multiple figurative uses of Persia in the Caroline period—as symbols and idealistic, spiritual, and political examples—to mark a turning point in the evolution of Persian-themed drama, one that hearkens to earlier dramatizations and anticipates later instantiations. Although distinct in their use of various temporalities, I argue that William

Davenant and Inigo Jones' masque *The Temple of Love* (1634), William Cartwright's *The Royall Slave* (1636), and Sir John Denham's *The Sophy* (1641) are representative works of Persian-themed drama participating in the moralizing discourse of the period. In *The Temple of Love* hospitable origins between the East and West are wed to Persia through the motif of the journey of the Magi to the infant Christ. In *The Royall Slave* a Persian transformation is a catalyst for the movement toward a hospitable temporality that ushers forth commendable political and religious transformations of the state (with Mithraism analogizing Caroline religious reforms) and the personhood of the Persian king. Ironically, despite its spiritual and political optimism and openness to ancient Persian religious conceptions (filtered through early modern lenses), *The Temple of Love* and *The Royall Slave* participate in the elite and insular court culture that is partly to blame for the growing rift between the king and parliament in the years heading toward the Civil War. In contrast, *The Sophy*, written during the Civil War with a greater audience in mind, facilitates constructive discourse on statecraft and monarchy through its enacting, rescinding, and reinstating of hospitality in the realm as a reflection on the causes of the Civil War. Taken as a whole, I contend that romance, in its eliding of tragedy and forced conversion, facilitates manifest hospitality while tragedy depends on the obscuring of hospitable interactions to achieve its aesthetic outcomes.

My final chapter returns to Cyrus the Great as a figure embodying spiritual cosmopolitanism—a form of cosmopolitanism that foregrounds the religious nature of universal solidarity conditioned on spiritual virtues— and inaugurating a hospitable temporality that finds its historical and legal parallels in both James II's Act of Indulgence and the passing of the limited 1689 Toleration Act. At the end of the seventeenth century, a very different and far more dynamic Cyrus from that of the stoic Elizabethan hero of *The Wars of Cyrus* is revived on stage

in the years following the Glorious Revolution and the political animosities between Protestant King William of Orange and the deposed Catholic king, James II. I argue that the depiction of the rise of Cyrus the Great in John Banks's drama, *Cyrus the Great, or the Tragedy of Love* (1696), is not simply a matter of partisan politics but rather an instance of self-conscious modernization. The play uses the temporal distance between the characters and the times to go beyond the rhetoric of legal toleration through a typological framework promulgating a rehabilitative future based on man's commitment to progress found in John Dryden's invocation of the Cyric paradigm in *Annus Mirabilis* (1666). This chapter reads the prelapsarian language of Banks's drama as part of the late seventeenth-century fantasy of regeneration through an understanding of paradise derived from Zoroastrian ideology and the garden motif of Thomas Browne's *The Garden of Cyrus* (1658). Banks's post 1688 ominous "anti-war" play and its troubled yet virtuous Cyrus contrasts with Dryden's heroic Cyrus of the early years of the Restoration, suggesting that the realism of Banks's work threatens the optimism of the creation myth it promulgates with Cyrus as a type of Adamic figure. Mid-century romance conceptions of Cyrus inform Banks's tragedy, rendering it a syncretic and idiosyncratic version of Cyrus's rise to power with a radical revision of his Herodotean death by the Scythian Queen Tomyris; as such, Banks presents a Persian figure that embodies both male and female leadership qualities, as a culmination of his own work in the genre of the she-tragedy, and as a reflection of and on the recently ended co-regency of William and Mary.

## CHAPTER ONE

### “The Persians Example is to be Followed”: Staging *Politique* Persians

In Plutarch’s “Life of Themistocles,” the exiled Athenian general tests the limits of hospitality when he arrives in Persia with a desperate behest for Artaxerxes I, the son of his long-time opponent, Xerxes:

I who thus come to thee, O King, am Themistocles the Athenian, an exile, pursued by the Hellenes; and to me the Persians are indebted for many ills, but for more blessings, since I hindered the pursuit of the Hellenes, at a time when Hellas was brought into safety, and the salvation of my own home gave me an opportunity for showing some favour also to you. Now, therefore, I may look for any sequel to my present calamities, and I come prepared to receive the favour of one who benevolently offers reconciliation, or to deprecate the anger of one who cherishes the remembrance of injuries. But do thou take my foes to witness for the good I wrought the Persians, and now use my misfortunes for the display of thy virtue rather than for the satisfaction of thine anger. For it is a suppliant of thine whom thou wilt save, but an enemy of the Hellenes whom thou wilt destroy.<sup>63</sup>

Themistocles approaches the Persian monarch fully aware of the alternative outcomes of “reconciliation” or “anger”; he is, after all, a master architect of the Greco-Persian wars (499BC-449BC), renowned for orchestrating the successful and decisive naval battle against the Persians at Salamis and championing the growth of the Athenian navy which ultimately led to Xerxes’ defeat at Plataea. Despite his integral role in preventing the invasion of Greece by the Persian Empire and his subterfuge in achieving his ends, he nevertheless appeals to the king’s “virtue” and presents Artaxerxes with a choice that calls upon the inherent drama of the hospitable wager: embrace the foreigner, risk sheltering a stranger that puts himself and his realm in danger, or turn him away. Ultimately, the astonished yet elated Persian monarch accepts the uninvited guest and

---

<sup>63</sup> Plutarch, *Plutarch’s Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classic Library Edition. Vol. 2 (London: W. Heinemann, 1914), 28.1-2, pg.77.

potential political asset into his realm, and further grants Themistocles' request to learn Persian to converse with the king in his native tongue.

This scene of individual empowerment in a foreign court, intercultural hospitality, and the elevation of the virtue of the vernacular appealed to both Baldassare Castiglione and the English translator of *The Courtier*, diplomat Sir Thomas Hoby. While Castiglione recounts Themistocles' warm welcome after the notorious mistreatment of the Greek citizens who turned against him, how he was "imbraced of the king of Persia" in the fourth book of *Il Cortegiano*, Hoby elaborates on this embrace in his opening epistle by comparing his English translation with the Persian tapestry metaphor Themistocles invokes in his defense to learn the Persian language:

THEMISTOCLES THE NOBLE ATHENIEN IN HIS BANISHMENT ENTertayned moste honourable with the king of Persia, willed vpon a time to tell his cause by a spokesman, compared it to a piece of tapistrie, that beyng spred abrode, discloseth the beautie of the woorkemanship, but foulded together, hideth it, and therfore demaunded respite to learne the Persian tunge to tell his owne cause: Right so [honorable Lorde] this Courtier hath long straid about this realme, & the fruite of him either little, or vnperfectly receiued to the commune benefite: for either men skilful in his tunge haue delited in him for their owne priuate commoditie, or elles he hath eftsones spoken in peecemeale by an interpreter to suche as desired to knowe his mynde, and to practise his principles: the which how vnperfect a thing it is, Themystocles and experience teache. But nowe, though late in deede, yet for al that at length, beside his three principal languages, in the which he hath a long time haunted all the Courtes of Christendome, hee is become an Englishman...and welwilling to dwell in the Court of Englande, and in plight to tel his own cause.<sup>64</sup>

In unfolding his art, his vernacular translation, for public viewing, Hoby, like Themistocles, finds refuge within the Persian analogy; the English tongue follows the "Persian tunge" in its "beautie" and "woorkemanship," in its ability to "tel [its] own cause" and house the prodigal courtier

---

<sup>64</sup> Baldassare Castiglione, *The courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio diuided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place*, trans. Thomas Hoby (London, 1561), 3.

within English lands. Like the metaphoric vehicle carrying over Themistocles' request before Artaxerxes, the English translator transports himself to a Persian presence that has established its concomittant dedication to receive the unknown hospitably, hoping therefore to inspire the same reception in his contemporary benefactor.

The opening dedication of Hoby's 1561 translation follows a pattern familiar to English humanists—that of invoking Persian hospitality in their linguistic endeavors to contribute to the public good, a tradition that can be traced to Thomas Elyot's prohome to “the most noble & victorious prynce kyng Henry the eight” in his 1537 educational treatise *The Governor*: “by the example of Artaxerxes, the noble kyng of Persia: who reiected nat the pore husband man, which offred to hym his homely handes full of cleane water, but mooste graciously receiued it with thanks, estemyng the presente nat after the value, but rather to the wyll of the gyuer.”<sup>65</sup> Yet, more than a metaphor of courtesy, Hoby's decision to place Themistocles at the forefront of his work in the dedication to Henry Hastings reflects his own quest for courtly hospitality in a religiously volatile English nation. While Hoby's translation is published during Elizabeth's reign, it was in fact written earlier with a Marian readership in mind.<sup>66</sup> As Mary Partridge explains, Hastings was Cardinal Pole's nephew, the primary hope under Mary's reign for a proponent to lead the nation back to the Catholic Church. While Hastings and Hoby are reputed

---

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Governour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight* (London, 1537), 3. Elyot refers to an anecdote in Plutarch's “Life of Artaxerxes.” Shaina Trapedo elucidates a biblical paradigm calling upon the parallel between Henry and King Ahasuerus, the Hebraized name for Xerxes, in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII* (“From Scripture to Script: David, Daniel, Esther and the Performance of Early Modern Identity,” (Ph.D. Diss, University of California, Irvine, 2013), 178-226.

<sup>66</sup> Mary Partridge, “Thomas Hoby's English Translation of Castiglione's ‘Book of the Courtier,’” *The Historical Journal* 50.4 (Dec. 2007):769-786.

for their Protestant dedication, under Mary, both promising men put aside religious differences in pursuit of political favor, patronage, and reconciliation under the Marian regime; in this light, Partridge concludes that Hoby's translation has great implications for a new appreciation of a less fractious view of this tumultuous period in English religious history: "literary projects could be used to establish and consolidate working relationships across the confessional spectrum. This suggests that in the mid-Tudor period, devotional politics were far more fluid and uncertain than has often been acknowledged."<sup>67</sup> Integral to this theological dynamic is Hoby's dedication and in particular his invocation of Themistocles, for Hoby himself was an "Athenian"—a member of the "Cambridge Connection" (a circle studying in Cambridge in the 1530s and 1540s) sometimes referred to as Athenian for promulgating a historically informed system of Greek pronunciation, as well as for promoting the vernacular and extolling Cicero for his ideals of public service.<sup>68</sup>

More than simply a literary ally for his linguistic affinities, Hoby's alignment with Themistocles speaks to his own ambitious movement across confessional lines in the political sphere; written under the Marian regime, the supplicating Hoby-Themistocles seeks hospitality and *rapprochement* under a Catholic monarch as foreign to him as Artaxerxes is to the Greeks. He wishes to regain his status through his talents and capacities, to use his potential for the new government and to atone for his Protestant-Greek past. Yet, as a publication under Elizabeth, the analogy takes on an inverse set of connotations that compares England with Persia and presents Hoby-Themistocles as attempting to expunge the Catholic association through the metaphor of the vernacular translation.

---

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 786.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 771

While the convention of Anglo-Persian political analogies in English texts pre-dates Elizabeth's realm, it is in the first full decade of Elizabeth's rule that ancient Persian monarchs and their largess are rhetorical anchors around which discussions of the function and purpose of English hospitality—in the various spheres of politics, education, and religion—rests. In this chapter I contend that Persia's theatrical debut is grounded in a biblical and classical tradition conspicuously aligned with the beneficial role of hospitality in the realm, which is particularly important in the turbulent years following the Elizabethan Religious Settlement when such amicable exchanges were not only visions of peace and harmony in a growing pluralistic state, but also political reminders that ecumenical tolerance—enacted and envisioned as hospitable acts in a distant temporality—benefits the commonwealth. The risks, challenges, and benefits of extending hospitality toward strangers and of accepting a foreigner to live and work peaceably side-by-side occupies the central concerns of the anonymous interludes *Godly Queen Hester* (1529; pub. 1561) and *Kyng Daryus* (1565), and Richard Farrant's *The Wars of Cyrus* (1576; pub. 1594). Despite the potential risks to the Persian hosts in all three dramas, the Eastern rulers embrace diversity in its ancient forms—multinational countries, a Jewish queen, and a Susan king, respectively. Through such an open stance, the plays reinforce their *politique* positions as inheritors of neo-Stoic cosmopolitanism upholding a fragile peace that is often threatened by concomitant hostile impulses in the period. This theatrical debut is a dramaturgically limited but conceptually influential dramatization of biblical and classical narratives in the *speculum principis* mode and, as such, the Persian kings are more emblematic of certain politically relevant virtues than representative of historical and allegorical figures. Notably, the plays, written between the crossroads of morality plays and emerging Elizabeth drama, adumbrate the earliest instantiation of *topoi* associated with Persian-themed dramas: namely, the features of a

hospitable temporality from its most basic formulation in *Kyng Daryus* to its more complex versions in *Godly Queen Hester* and *The Wars of Cyrus*. Like Themistocles' adoption of the Persian language, Hester's role as co-regent of the Persian throne is a precursor to more explicit and dynamic manifestations of Persian transformations on the English stage.

### **“Remember now thy promyse”: *Kyng Daryus* and Rebuilding the temple**

In staging the biblical and classical stories of Darius, Esther, and Cyrus, Elizabethan playwrights stage primal dramas and encounters with strangers that end hospitably, consciously choosing scenes and narratives of cooperation over conflict present in the Bible. In the felicitous congruence between hospitality and religion, these dramas further emphasize the role religion plays in facilitating hospitable exchanges. Moreover, if, as Kearney explains, the Bible “is a story of struggles between different ways of responding to the alien,” then in the case of Jews and Persians, hospitality reigns as the dominating cooperative paradigm.<sup>69</sup> These early dramatic engagements with Persian-themed elements reveal how dramatic space is pregnant with *anatheist* potential, in Kearney's terms: in tragedy *catharsis* caters to moments of distance and detachment, where “we find ourselves free to interpret the ambivalent secular-sacred space, prized open by poetics.”<sup>70</sup> The *anatheist* wager, which focuses on “the scene of the Stranger,”<sup>71</sup> characterizes the relationships between the source material and the representation of the Persian monarchs in Elizabethan theatre; it is a reenactment of the *anatheist* wager and a movement beyond the minimalistic parameters of tolerance elucidated in the documents of the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement.

---

<sup>69</sup> Kearney, *Anatheism*, 20.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

In the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, hospitality between nations and creeds provides not only a link, but also a means of empowerment that sustains the Jewish community against other less hospitable strangers. In this light, it seems no coincidence that biblical compilers put Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther in that order. From Cyrus' unconditional hospitality and beyond, new linkages are formed that even result in a royal Jewish-Persian union. In Ezra, divine inspiration is the source of Cyrus' actions: "Now in the first yeere of Cyrus King of Persia, (that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Ieremiah, might be fulfilled) ye Lord stirred vp the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia (1:1) to begin rebuilding the Temple. While Cyrus is called upon to enact a holy command, his acceptance of the wager makes clear his desire to "see the Other...*as a stranger to be welcomed or rejected,*" <sup>72</sup> highlighting the dynamism and temporary status of a stranger that can be befriended versus the static identity of the "Other" that remains as such. Cyrus speaks and assures the Jews of his divine call, his acceptance of the anatheist wager, the commandment, and covenant he upholds:

Thus sayth Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heauen hath giuen mee all the kingdomes of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at Ierusalem, which is in Iudah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him goe vp to Ierusalem, which is in Iudah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (He is the God) which is in Ierusalem. (1:2-4)

Thus, not only does Cyrus accept the call to hospitality as a divine injunction, but he also acknowledges the distinction yet validity of the Jewish God, using both the definitive article—"the God"—and the possessive—"his God"—to mark a difference but uphold his common reverence toward the deity of the Jewish people. Cyrus both respects the divine call, leading to great rejoicing for the Jews in exile, and personally engages in the work of restoring the vessels:

---

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 40.

“Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord” (Ezra 1:7). More than just a parting gift, his material aid is instrumental in re-establishing a dislocated spiritual community.

In Esther, the intimate relationship between Jews and the Persian court has even greater ramifications as King Xerxes embraces his new wife with great joy and regal “grace and favour” (2:17). In upholding Derrida’s conditions of absolute hospitality that forgoes an intrusive initial interrogation of the new arrival,<sup>73</sup> Xerxes does not interrogate Esther nor does she offer unneeded information: “Esther had not yet shewed her kindred, nor her people, as Mordecai had charged her” (Esther 2:20). However, despite Xerxes’ open arms and penchant for his favorite Esther, the entire book is predicated on hospitality gone wrong, on a banquet that reveals the vulnerabilities of the king through his recalcitrant wife Vashti, which in turn is re-claimed through “Esther’s Banquet.” Like a Jewish Scheherazade, using her gift for story-telling to delay her impending execution at the hands of a cruel and jaded ruler in *The Arabian Nights*, Esther speaks on behalf of her kind and protects them from impending destruction. She asks for a “petition and request” to covertly set up Haman, the counselor promulgating the Jewish genocide, and reveal his perfidy. Thus, Esther’s “banquet” becomes the very moment when the manifestation of hostility is uprooted.

However, Ezra’s chronicle of the period testifies to another characteristic inherent in acts of hospitality: its orientation as a process rather than a goal. While hospitality is oftentimes seen as a single act, a moment of gift-giving or an evening of celebration, it is in fact a dynamic process, and it is such dynamism that Ezra presents and the early modern period inherits in its notion of the ongoing efforts of hospitality, domestically and abroad, in the home and in politics.

---

<sup>73</sup> Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, 27.

Because hospitality is a process, its dynamism is better captured in the term *hospitability*. With its enabling suffix, *hospitability* harbors moments of crisis and victory, of going forward in building relationships and in regressing in unsealing bonds of amity. In Ezra, the initial rejoicing of the Jews awakens nearby residents who attempt to assist in rebuilding the temple as well (Ezra 4:1-3) but are told that such neighbors are not in fact welcome in the constructive process, revealing thereby the first instance of the tension between goodwill and animosity in the narrative. In this rejection of the stranger, theologically acceptable partly because of religious commands to remain communally pure, divinely sanctioned hostility is also present with hospitality; in these biblical narratives, we see how with each act of rebuilding, an act of destruction is also conceived in the dialectic of the forces of integration and disintegration or the interplay between the impulses of hostility and hospitality.

Walsham's compelling study of the religious climate of early modern England accounts for the dialectical relationships of the two social forces of tolerance and intolerance, warning against teleologies that "trace a linear path 'from persecution to toleration'" in the period; rather, in her conceptualization of the cyclical ebb and flow of the oppositional attitudes of religious forbearance and prejudice, she charts a more nuanced view of religious change during the Tudor-Stuart years.<sup>74</sup> Although concurring with recent historians that tolerance was present in the

---

<sup>74</sup> Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 287. On the literature tracing the evolution of tolerance in Europe, see Henry Kamen *The Rise of Toleration* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967); Ole P. Grell, Jonathan I. Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke, *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); John C Laursen and Cary J. Nederman. *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration Before the Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); John C Laursen, *Religious Toleration: "the Variety of Rites" from Cyrus to Defoe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000); and Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003).

turbulent post-Reformation years, Walsham calls upon a “complex continuum” in her diagnosis of the “twin premises that enmity and amity, prejudice and benevolence, are impulses that persistently coexisted in the minds of individuals and in English society at large.”<sup>75</sup> The perplexing dualism paradoxically and unfortunately renders tolerance the less visible of the two. The “elusive phenomenon” in the archives is the story of tolerance because of its invisibility, its intangible nature, and its definition by lack or negation: “To detect charity, harmony and peaceful coexistence, historians have to attune their ears to the telling silences in their sources and pay as much attention to what people omitted to do as what they actually did—to the gaps between theory and practice, between learned, articulate discourse and ordinary, everyday conduct.”<sup>76</sup>

This dialectical relationship of such diametrically opposed social impulses is dramatized in the short interlude, *Kyng Daryus* (henceforth *Daryus*). Despite its brevity and lack of dynamic characters, *Daryus* adumbrates the features of hospitable temporality reigning in Persia’s past in sharp juxtaposition to a hostile contemporary moment; in this way, the interlude magnifies the coexisting, contradictory forces of “enmity and amity, prejudice and benevolence,” characterizing the religious atmosphere.<sup>77</sup> Based on 1 Esdras 3 and 4, the play is what David Bevington calls a hybrid morality that stages two scenes concerning Daryus amongst a dominating anti-papal Protestant polemical subplot featuring the vices of Iniquity (the Pope’s son), Importunity, and Partiality. The allegorical figures of the virtues of Charity, Equity and

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 231

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 231

Constancy defeat the vices and as such present a “victory for the Reformation.”<sup>78</sup> Bevington poses the question of why the playwright chose the Darius narrative in that it does not conform to a story such as that of Mary Magdalene’s in its weaving together of struggle and victory.<sup>79</sup> While Bevington emphasizes the utility of the interlude for Elizabeth, wherein Daryus’ “conduct becomes a mirror of Christian princes,” another potential answer for calling upon this particular hospitable narrative resides in the role of Darius in biblical history. Darius is the Persian king who completes the building of the Temple in Jerusalem (1 Ezra), an act analogous to continuing the work of the Reformation in England and fortifying the Anglican Church.<sup>80</sup> The play structures a series of events that lead to the reminder of the promise Darius makes to Zorobabel (1 Esdras): a scene of multinational hospitality with Daryus as host to the personified figures of Ethiopia, Media, Persia, and Judah followed by a scene of clearing Inequity and the vices off stage before the final trial scene among three courtiers that accommodates Zorrobabell’s request to continue the construction of the Temple. Thus, the “banquet and trial” at Daryus’ court leads to a reminder to uphold a promise of assistance to the Jews, creating thereby an analogous situation for Elizabeth to compare to the state and future progress of the Anglican Church.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> David M. Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 76.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 76

<sup>80</sup> For a significant example of what constitutes an inhospitable Persian monarch, see Thomas Preston’s 1569 *Cambises*, in *Tudor Plays*, ed. Edmund Creeth (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1966). The prologue acknowledges that Cambises is a part of Cyrus’s great legacy but that he “being king, did clean forget his perfect race.” See Eugene D. Hill’s compelling reading “The First Elizabethan Tragedy: A Contextual Reading of ‘Cambises,’” *Studies in Philology* 89.4 (1992), 404-433. Hill situates Preston among the evangelical Protestants writing by oblique analogy of Cambises, the king known for preventing the building of the Temple commissioned by Cyrus, warning thereby Elizabeth not to follow “Henry’s duplicity and cruelty” (427). The incessant violence in the play “must have reminded the courtly audience—and any English audience of the early 1560s—of the recently ended terror of their own land” (413).

<sup>81</sup> Bevington, *Mankind to Marlowe*, 78.

Elizabeth, who famously declared a dislike to “make windows into men’s souls,” espoused a policy of *politique* toleration (as it has been theorized from the sixteenth-century Catholic party in France) that was more concerned with “external uniformity of practice” rather than an interior, private theological loyalty.<sup>82</sup> The 1559 Act of Uniformity, as its title suggests, famously placed such an emphasis on the outward unity and behavior of citizens. Walsham notes that even before the settlement in July of 1559, Elizabeth charged the officers of her state to withhold “slanderous words and railings” of “papists, or papistical heretic, schismatic, or sacramentary” as part of the various strategies to maintain order in a shifting religious setting following Mary’s reign.<sup>83</sup> As Walsham and John Neville Figgis conclude, toleration, and its characteristic burden of religious diversity is a “cost” that is worth upholding when the risks of complete uniformity are too high for the state.<sup>84</sup> Figgis explains the “practice” of Elizabethan toleration:

Recusancy is allowed, but it must be paid for. The State makes a profit on its liberality and gives up the attempt to secure the political advantages of religious uniformity, while reducing toleration to a *minimum*, and in a characteristically English fashion refusing to see what cannot be prevented. Dissent is put in the category of unrecognized but permitted vice.<sup>85</sup>

Bereft of the “blessing” of religious uniformity,<sup>86</sup> Elizabethan England, as witness to the French Wars of Religion and the St. Bartholomew Day massacre, nominally promoted tolerance for the

---

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 59

<sup>83</sup> Quoted in Walsham, 251.

<sup>84</sup> John N. Figgis, *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius 1414-1625* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1907), 8.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 116.

sake of civil order through the 1559 settlement and the emerging discourse of ecumenical toleration.

Among the few English toleration tracts of the period (if they could be called as such), Edwin Sandys' *Europae Speculum*, written in the 1590s in Paris and later published in England as *A Relation on the State of Religion* (1605), frames the ideals of a tolerant Christian faith, housed within the Anglican Church because of its commitment to the *via media* in religious matters, as one which is characterized by the same hospitable core found in Daryus' court:

yet hard (I suppose) now it would bee to bee showne, how they can stand with the principles and rules of that Religion, *whose rote is Truth, whose braunches are Charitie, whose fruites are good deedes*, extending and ever offering themselves with cheerefulnesse vnto all men, to the encouraging of friendes, and reclaiming of enemies, to the amending of the worse, and the accomplishing of the better and noble mindes, in the high vertuousnesse thereof, doth carrie it selfe in all actions, with such moderation, and measure.<sup>87</sup>

Daryus' generous acts in the interlude dramatize the "Charitie" Sandys identifies as the key to a more peaceful religious society, a golden rule forming the natural law that defines man's fundamental social relationships.<sup>88</sup> This theological virtue of *caritas* represents a dynamic, divine connection that unites man, God, and his fellow humans in love<sup>89</sup>; charity, in Paul's estimation,

---

<sup>87</sup> Edwin Sandys, *A relation of the state of religion and with what hopes and pollicies it hathbeene framed, and is maintained in the severall states of these westerne partsof the world* (London, 1605), 41. Emphasis added.

<sup>88</sup> Identifying writings on religious unity as "toleration" treatises is to use a modern day term connoting a sense of limited forbearance rather than an ideal vision of harmony. For instance, Sandys' pro-Anglican Church text, although largely anti-papist, attempts to find some common ground with Catholic practices (and even with Greek Orthodox and Jews) but ultimately continues to oscillate between the two impulses of "sympathy and antipathy", the duality we have seen characterizing the pro-toleration discourse of the period, see Sokol, *Shakespeare*, 96.

<sup>89</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "charity, n" accessed June 10, 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/3073>: "Christian love: a word representing *caritas* of the Vulgate, as a frequent rendering of *ἀγάπη* in N.T. Greek. With various applications: as a. God's

is the foremost Christian principle for its applicability in the immanent realm: “And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity (1 Corinthians 13:13). In this period of inchoate forms of toleration, “brotherly charitie” is the spiritual foundation for ecumenical harmony—“ Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them” (Mathew 7:12).<sup>90</sup> The medieval connotations of the concept linger in Elizabethan toleration writings and even in the 1559 Royal Injunctions preceding the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity comprising the Elizabethan Settlement, which extols charity as the “knot of all Christian society” and includes the following plea: “Also ye shall pray for the whole Commons of this realm, that they may live in true faith and fear of God, in humble obedience and brotherly charity one to another.”<sup>91</sup>

As a theological principle with practical applications, charity is the virtue that impels the enactment of the Golden Rule as promulgated in Mathew 7:12. As Rebecca Davis explains, the conditional state of the spiritual duty implies an inherent level of risk: “in practice the rule demands more than a balanced account. In order to act with charity, one must take the ethical action *on spec*, that is, treating others as you yourself *would want* to be treated (the subjunctive is crucial), not merely in recompense for such treatment. In this sense, while taking the form of

---

love to man. (By early writers often identified with the Holy Spirit.) *Obs. b.* Man's love of God and his neighbour, commanded as the fulfilling of the Law, Matt. xxii. 37, 39. *Obs. c. esp.* The Christian love of one's fellow human beings; Christian benignity of disposition expressing itself in Christ-like conduct: one of the ‘three Christian graces’, fully described by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiii.”

<sup>90</sup> The Injunctions of 1559, in *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* eds., Henry Gee and W.H. Hardy (New York, 1896), 436, 441.

<sup>91</sup> Together the Acts and the Injunctions “declared the Queen Supreme Governor, replaced the Latin Mass with a vernacular service at which attendance was made compulsory, and ordered the swift removal of the physical paraphernalia of Catholic worship,” Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 14.

symmetrical relations, the golden rule in fact depends on a vital imbalance-in practice: it is founded on personal risk, a loan that might not be repaid, a gesture that might not be acknowledged.”<sup>92</sup> In the context of Persian-themed dramas, the risk involved in the charitable act aligns with the unforeseen repercussions from the hospitable wager the host accepts when inviting both the known friend and the unknown stranger into his abode.

In *Daryus*, the allegorical figures of Charity and Constancy join with Equity in their battle against Iniquity, Partiality, and Importunity in the anti-papal subplot while Daryus’ actions depict the complementary courtly reflection of how to uphold these essential virtues despite the onslaught of pernicious forces. When Zorobabell wins the debate at court among the courtiers by proclaiming that women and the king are the most powerful forces in the universe and praising God, he proves his steadfastness in remembering the spiritual gift of the Temple and thereby calls upon Daryus’ constancy and charity in returning to the covenant he made:

Remember now thy *promyse*  
Made to mee of late, ...  
Whych thou *promysed* vnto mee  
When thou camest into thy kingdome ...  
Ierusalem thou dydst *promyse*  
To buylde vp euery whyt,  
And all that therein were amysse  
Restore agayne to it.  
Send agayne the Uessels all  
The Iuels that were taken,  
As well the greate as eke the small  
Which were cruelly shaken.  
Of Cyrus also seperated  
When in Babylon he offered  
Thy mind was to build the Temple a gaine  
which the Edomits brent w<sup>t</sup> out faine

---

<sup>92</sup> Rebecca Davis, "Childish Things: Charity and the Liberal Arts," *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*. 6.4 (2015):462.

When Ierusalem was peruerted  
And greuouly tormented  
And of the Caudies deieted.<sup>93</sup>

Zorobabell's repetition of "promyse" emphasizes the value of consistency in spiritual edification, that now is the time to remember the work that is yet to be done that was started with Cyrus' divinely inspired initiative. In Elizabethan terms, the work is to "remember" "to build the Temple a gaine" and fully "Restore" England to the Protestant faith, an act rhetorically framed as a promise, or a type of covenant, between ruler and her people rather than a legalistic compromise.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, the trope of rebuilding the temple is often read in terms of its typological application of Jewish history and the Protestant cause, with implications for ecumenical unity. As Eugene D. Hill elucidates in his reading of Thomas Preston's *Cambyses* (1569), a type of foil to Darius and Cyrus, the historical Cambyses was known for halting the building of the Temple in Jerusalem, an analogous act of faltering in Protestant reforms.<sup>95</sup> This typological reading informs a later call for "liberty of conscience" found in Leonard Busher's *Religions peace or A reconciliation, between princes & peoples, & nations* (1614):

---

<sup>93</sup> *A Pretie new Interlude both pithie & pleasaunt of the Story of Kyng Daryus, Beinge taken out of the third and fourth Chapter of the thyrd booke of Esdras* (London, 1565). All subsequent references will be from this edition and will be cited in text by line numbers.

<sup>94</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, "promise, n," accessed March 15, 2014: "3a. *Theol.* Any one of the divine assurances of future good or blessing recorded in the Bible as having been given to particular persons on various occasions; spec. that made to Abraham (Genesis 12:2: 'And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great'), or that conceived as given to mankind through Christ."

<sup>95</sup> Hill, "The First Elizabethan Tragedy." Hill cites various sources accounting for Cambyses' tyrannical role in Judeo-Christian history, including Luther's comment in his *Lectures on Zechariah* "Cambyses, the king of the Persians, and his wicked lieutenants kept them from being able to finish the building they had begun under Cyrus"—and a marginal note in the 1560 Geneva Bible to Daniel 10:13 that reads "hinder [ed] the building of the Temple" in reference to Cambyses (419-421).

And as it hath pleased God, to give his Majesty peace round about, as he did vnto King *Cyrus*, in whose dayes the *material Temple began to be repared* (which was a figuer of the spiritual temple) So I pray it may please him also (in the peaceable dayes of king James) *to begin to repayre the spiritual Temple*) the Apostoliq church scattered and dryven abroad into the wildernes of this world, whose caling and gathering together, must be by the preaching of the word of God, both to jewes and gentils, and not by the sword *of the kings of the earth, as Antychrist and his Ministers* have now along tyme perswaded and prevailed, wherby not onely the jewes and infidels, but also papists and other false Christians, are hindred and deprived from the knowledg of the Apostoliq faith. And it is be noted that *David* might not build Gods temple, because he had spilt much blood, which sheweth, *no blood ought to be spilt, for the building of the spiritual temple. 1. Cro. 28. 3.* ergo peace in religion is a good meanes to make a vnity of religion among so many Christian sects.<sup>96</sup>

Writing from Amsterdam to King James, the exiled Baptist appeals to James's conscience to "repayre the spiritual Temple" in an analogous way as Cyrus built the "material Temple"—peacefully and harmoniously.

While Daryus' banquet is to "haue here of straungers a company" (1.282) and display his charity and hospitality to an international group of guests, the play's Protestant subplot remains explicitly hostile to England's Catholic contingent. The allegorical morality figures insult and harm each other along inter-confessional lines on stage, albeit in comedic and farcical demonstrations. Thus, as a representation of the practice on the ground, the Anglicized allegorical morality figures overwhelm the potential cooperative strides extracted from the biblical story set in ancient Persia, and thereby presents a contradictory temporality for early modern coexistence: hospitality reigns in the past while hostility entertains in the present.

### **Feeling at Home: Creating Capabilities in Xerxes' Persia**

---

<sup>96</sup> Leonard Busher, *Religions peace or A reconciliation, between princes & peoples, & nations* (Amsterdam, 1614), 23.

In *Godly Queen Hester* (henceforth *Hester*), King Assuerus asks his future queen, “Tell us your lineage,” to which she replies enigmatically, “Moste noble Prince, as for my lineage,/Nor yet my country, sertis I can not saye.”<sup>97</sup> Following the biblical narrative, Hester conceals her Jewish identity, only making known her adoption by Mardocheus in the play.<sup>98</sup> While the narrative forces her to reveal that which was meant to be hidden, it is through her revelation that she not only magnifies the interreligious nature of her union, but also dismantles and deposes the source of animosity toward such diverse couplings, the king’s counselor, Aman. With no conversions in sight, *Hester* portrays an interreligious union that embraces a foreigner, maintaining thereby her dignity and creating capabilities in her freedom to remain Jewish and act as co-regent. Not only is Hester’s capacity increased but the collective capacity of the Persian realm develops as the state is purified from the crafty counselor representing intolerance. As a contemporary of *Daryus*, *Hester* develops the hospitable paradigm found within Persia and its biblical tradition to create a dramatic space that promotes toleration and empowers a figure representing a religious minority.

Hospitality is at the heart of the conflict in *Hester*. Ironically, despite his hostile actions toward the Jewish queen and her people, it is Aman who accuses the Jews of neglecting their duties to serve the poor as Assuerus claims: “He signified unto me that the Jews did/Not feede the poore by hospitalitie” (ll.936-7). Earlier, however, Aman initially testifies to the king that the Jews are a secretive and potentially rebellious nation, segregated from the greater society:

A greate number of Jewes with in this realm do dwell;

---

<sup>97</sup> *The Enterlude of Godly Queen Hester*, in *Medieval Drama: An Anthology*, ed. Greg Walker (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 1.233; 237-38. All subsequent references will be from this edition and cited in text by line number.

<sup>98</sup> Trapedo notes that Hester’s name comes from the Hebrew root signifying “hidden,” in “From Scripture to Script,” 18.

A people no good, nor for youre common weale.  
They be dispersed over all your province,  
With in them selfe dwelling, deserved from our nation. (ll.726-29)

When read within the context of the closing of the religious houses in the 1530s, Greg Walker rightfully highlights the analogous lifestyle of the Jews described in the play with the monasteries under threat.<sup>99</sup> Scholars, including Bevington, have read *Hester* in terms of its historical allegorical parallels and its part in the evolution of genre with Aman representing Cardinal Wolsey, Assuerus as Henry, and Hester as Queen Katherine.<sup>100</sup> Lawrence Clopper follows Walker in dating *Hester* to the fall of Wolsey in 1529 and highlights the “brazen attempt” of the publishers to reprint a play “in Elizabeth’s reign that had been written in resistance to what became part of the Reformation agenda.”<sup>101</sup> Considering its publication in 1561, however, *Hester* is also a pre-cursor to various forthcoming dramatic representations of Jews and Jewish community life, and therefore resonates with different interreligious concerns besides King Henry’s vacillating faith and his ambitious advisor.<sup>102</sup> My reading of *Hester* emphasizes the publication date over the date of composition, and argues that in the religious context of the 1560s, Aman represents the voice of intolerance, the radical extremist position

---

<sup>99</sup> Greg Walker, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), 102-132.

<sup>100</sup> Bevington, *From Mankind to Marlowe*, 87. Bevington identifies the play as “political drama” while Clopper uses the term “political morality” and “political allegory” in Lawrence M. Clopper, *Drama, Play, and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period* (Chicago and London: Chicago UP, 2001), 199-200.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 199-200.

<sup>102</sup> Michelle Ephraim emphasizes the significance of the 1561 publication date in relation to Elizabeth’s reign in *Reading the Jewish Woman on the Elizabethan Stage* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008). Her chapter on *Hester* is concerned with scriptural exegesis, how the “interlude’s characterization of Hester as a veracious political advisor and fledgling monarch who garners respect through her ‘playne’ speech,” and how her body serves as conduit for to decipher a “hidden Christian truth” although the play “delivers a Judaic and nationalistic meaning that excludes her Christian audience” (30).

leading to persecution rather than hospitable coexistence in a fragile re-claimed Protestant nation. Associated with the staging of the three vices of Pride, Adulation, and Ambition in the play, counsel from Aman is the reverse attitude needed in the volatile period; he even warns the king about the risks of creedal diversity, that “Theyre mallyce” will “increase thus by sufferance” (ll.743).

While Aman strives to create animosity and push the king toward intolerance, Hester reinstates Persian hospitality and further extends the play’s dramatization of the principle of toleration. While the drama eschews the initial biblical banquet wherein the Persian Queen Vashti’s disobedience is exposed to the king’s dismay, the only banquet staged in the play is the second banquet Hester requests to expose Aman. The banquet, like the play itself, functions as a cipher in identifying tolerance and intolerance, hospitality and hostility, justice and mercy. Hester does not call upon Assuerus’ justice, although it is identified as the primary virtue of governance in the opening scene—“justis mainteneth ye common weale” (1.89)—but rather his “charitie” (1.904) in rescinding his order to execute the Jews in his realm. While Assuerus accepts the initial hospitality wager to accept Hester unconditionally although her heritage is hidden—“Loe, here our wand, approach nere to this place/That we may kisse you, and in our armes *embrace*” (ll.867-68; emphasis added)—Hester’s bold actions are anatheist in their return to the scene of an encounter with the stranger found within the play, that is between herself and Assuerus as charitable, Persian king *with* the newly revealed knowledge of her heritage:

And wythe charitie (of all vertues best),  
That throw all your ream, both east and west,  
As many as bee of the Jewish nation  
Your Grace wil them pardon at my supplication.  
Assurynge you I am of that nacion,  
Borne and eke brede in Jerusalem. (ll.904-09)

Hester's actions, moreover, align her with figures throughout biblical history that rejuvenate a corrupted or faltering realm. Bonnie Honig's study of foreign-founder scripts is helpful here in identifying the function and portrayal of refounders like Hester in early modern drama: "In the classic texts of Western political culture (both high and low), the curious figure of the foreign-founder recurs with some frequency: established regimes, peoples, or towns that fall prey to corruption are restored or refounded (not corrupted or transcended) by the agency of a foreigner or a stranger."<sup>103</sup> Although focused on conceptions of democracy, both Honig and Benhabib consider how the foreigner can alter the landscape of a nation and challenge prevailing traditions and possible prejudices. In the case of *Hester*, Aman embodies the bigotry that compromises the Persian kingdom. While Aman's fall may be due to pride and greed, the mechanism to achieve his ends rests on well-known early modern English bigotry toward Jews. He uses such long-standing views of Jewish isolation and segregation to prompt fear of religious and cultural diversity in the king. Thus, as a type of morality, the play draws upon familiar vices of pride; as a Tudor play it warns of the "flattering tongue" (1.965) of counselors; and finally as a piece of pro-toleration drama, the warning is just as much about untrustworthy counselors as it is about intolerance.

When Hester enacts the anatheist moment, she defends the inner character and value of the Jews by calling upon the founding scene of embracing the unknown in the Abrahamic tradition:

Is not of Abraham the hospitablyte  
In Scripture noted, and of noble fame,  
But one honoring when he received three,  
(The Trenite figured in the same). (II.950-54)

---

<sup>103</sup> Bonnie Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 3.

By invoking this seminary hospitable wager, the *Hester* playwright aligns Hester's story and the play with such instances of hospitable embraces, reminding the audience that hospitality is a practice that must be tested to prove itself and to extend the capacities of those involved; it is a wager that happens again and again, a pattern that can be repeated if one chooses. In this sense, it is also a tool for *politique* rulers, and Assuerus proves his "pollityke demeanoure" through his hospitable exercise of mercy and justice in the play. Although by 1543 English definitions of "politic" include those negative characteristics associated later with the French *politique* party, namely being shrewd, crafty and cunning in the pursuit of toleration in the interest of the state, here the description is clearly one of praise drawing upon the older adjective of politic as prudent, shrewd, and sagacious.<sup>104</sup> As in *Daryus*, in *Hester*, justice is enabled by hospitable actions; although charity and hospitality seem to be virtues associated with mercy and therefore the opposite of justice, in both plays, the virtues are complementary rather than contradictory.

In the seal Assuerus signs to undo his previous hostile act toward the Jews, it is made clear that Aman is also a foreigner in the realm:

The sonne of Amadathy, called Aman,  
 A Macedone borne, and lyke to theyr owne kynde,  
 Not of our nacion, as all men tell can,  
 Whiche, by his suttelyte, both now and than,  
 Our gentelness so infecteth for certayne. (ll.1118-1122)

---

<sup>104</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, "politic, adj. and n," accessed March 15, 2014: "2b. Of a person: prudent, shrewd, sagacious. From the Latin *politicus* concerned with civil government and post-classical Latin *judicious, prudent*." See also the Middle English Dictionary entry for *polit* *Īk*(e) (adj.)

The revelation highlights that while Assuerus is host to a diverse nation, he sometimes lacks discernment in the hospitable wager, one of the key facets of wisely choosing when to open the door and when to keep it closed. In such moments, “the drama of discernment” calls upon the host’s intuitive knowledge, his or her ability to choose wisely and well: “an anatheist perspective suggests that even if the stranger shows up in the dark we receive him or her with eyes wide open,” knowing full well that “not every stranger is divine.”<sup>105</sup> While his choice of Hester is commendable, his acceptance of Aman into his court lacks discernment, revealing not only the playwright’s adherence to the biblical narrative, that Hester must be admitted into Xerxes’ court, but also the complexity of the drama of hospitality housed within the Bible. Some hosts are divinely inspired to welcome their guests while others fail in their judgments. Xerxes’ inability to detect the “infection” that Aman embodies—hostility, pride, and prejudice—exposes him and the “multitude” to danger in both the physical form of genocide and in the ethical form of intolerance.

Several times in the play Jews are identified through their ethnicity, as the “hole sorte” (1.859), “hole secte” (1.1091) with “Jewes consanguinite” (1.822). With such an emphasis on the ethnic distinction of the Jews from the Persian majority in the play, the play goes beyond historical allegories and platitudes to imagining coexistence and staging an interfaith and intercultural union between Jew and Persian that leads to both a marital union and a new form of collaborative hosting for a pluralistic realm. While upholding their own cultural and religious identifications, both Hester and Assuerus command the Persian throne with a sense of ownership that comes from the empowerment of equality one feels in his own nation, city, and home. In this

---

<sup>105</sup> Kearney, *Anatheism*, 45-46.

sense, hospitality gone right caters to one form of harmonious coexistence despite distinct ethnic, cultural, and religious distinctions. Lastly, in omitting the biblical conclusion condoning the execution of those opposed to the Jews, the *Hester* playwright further magnifies an idealistic, interreligious, hospitable, and cosmopolitan realm in ancient Persia, reminding the audience of its expansive Eastern setting—“from India to Ethiopia” (1.1104)—in the final date signed on the royal decree “Dated at Susis,” the ancient winter residence of the Persian court, in the “iii yeare” of the king’s reign, a detail mentioned in the beginning of the canonical book of Ester but emphasized in the play’s concluding document drawing upon the Greek apocryphal text. The inclusion of the year is a reminder that it was also Elizabeth’s third year on the throne and that toleration in state decrees rests upon a foundation of hospitality; the seal officiates hospitality but it is also a correction to hostility suggesting that while the act of hospitality can be codified, its legalization is a corrective while its true expression is found between individuals daring to brave new unions.

### **Staging “Yong Cyrus” and Neo-Stoic Cosmopolitanism**

When Zorobabell recalls Cyrus in the story of the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem in *Daryus*, his invocation resonates with the early modern fascination with Cyrus the Great, the revered liberator, conqueror, and builder of the Persian Empire. While the hospitable characterization of Darius and Xerxes derive from specific biblical narratives and depend on the plot of such stories to exemplify their virtues in drama, Cyrus, the progenitor of the latter kings, is associated with a greater literary, biblical, and iconographic registry. From the mid-sixteenth century on, English humanists, poets and playwrights summoned Cyrus in their didactic and literary works; following their continental counterparts, and often in collaboration with them,

English writers in the early modern period idealized the ancient Persian monarch despite conflicting information about his character found primarily in Book 1 of Herodotus' *Histories* which depicts Cyrus the Great in less favorable terms than that of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, the ancient *bildungsroman* which extols the Persian leader for his great military and personal virtues. As a model for princes across religious lines, Cyrus' story is visually captured in medieval and early modern Europe in woodcuts, bibles and tapestries, including several series of Flemish tapestries, beginning with a five piece set (1535-1550) that includes the felicitous rise of his empire through a letter informing him of the opportunity to unearth his grandfather's throne. The set draws upon Herodotus and the rise and fall of Cyrus, depicts Cyrus in sixteenth-century Habsburg attire with a pastoral backdrop, and thus serves primarily in the *De Casibus* tradition as

a warning to young princes' ambitions:



Figure 1. "Cyrus Receives Message from Harpagos" c. 1590. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Later a grand ten-piece set, possibly commissioned by Philip II during his stay in the Netherlands from 1555-1559, depicts additional scenes and the infamous Herodotean death of Cyrus at the hands of Queen Tomyris:<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 131.

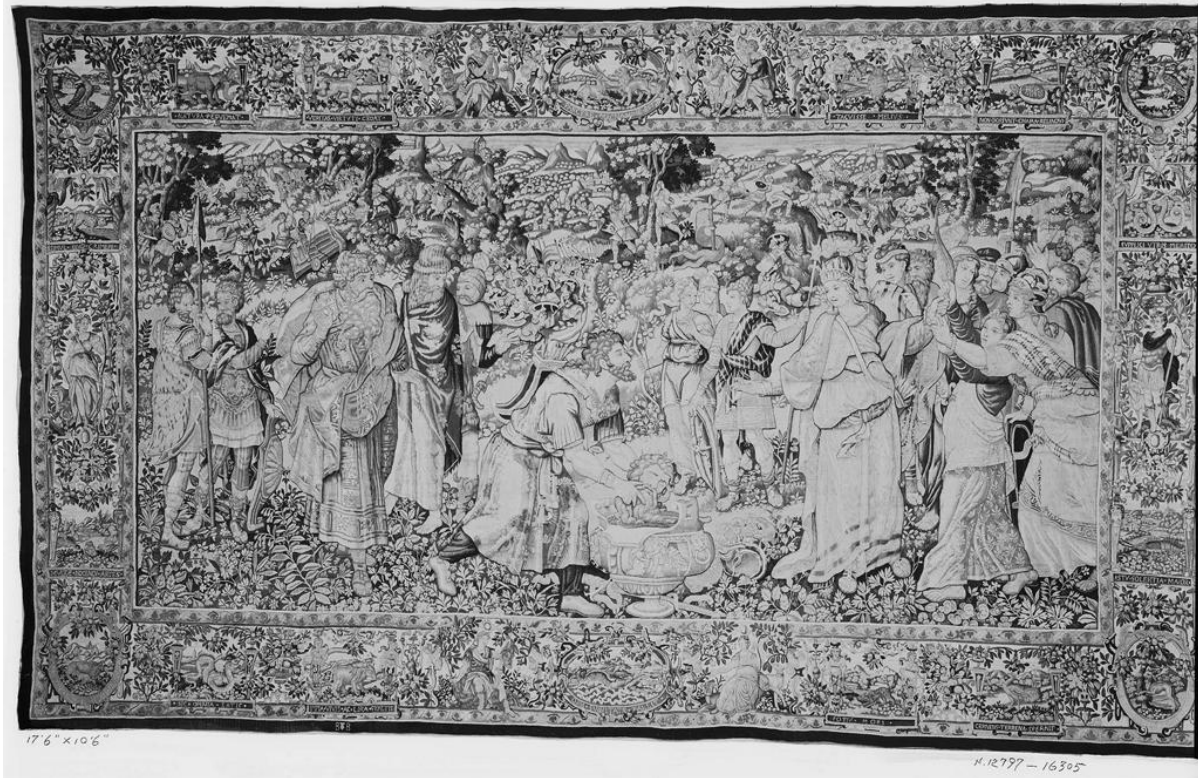


Figure 2. “Queen Tomyris has Cyrus’ head plunged into urn of blood” c. 1590. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Following the syncretism of medieval renditions that include the notorious scene of Cyrus’ beheading by Tomyris alongside images of his biblical heroism, the set includes tapestries depicting scenes from his biblical heroism that are later incorporated in seventeenth and eighteenth-century sets:

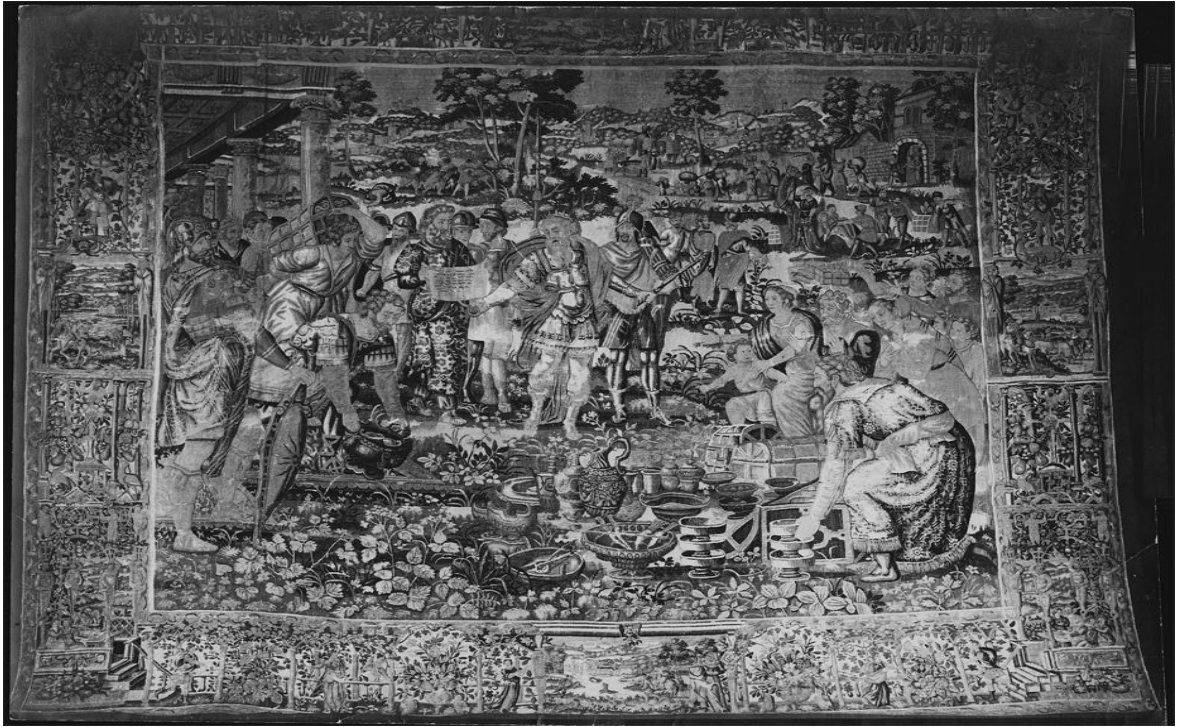


Figure 3. “After conquering Babylon, Cyrus grants Israelites their liberty” c. 1575-1600.  
The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

For early modern England, this syncretic and expansive vision of Cyrus as exemplary ruler informs English humanists and playwrights, particularly from 1561-1594, who call upon the king when envisioning any range of idealizations, from the political, to the religious, to the domestic, on the page and the stage. As Grogan explains, the Renaissance is particularly good to Cyrus because of the humanist turn to the *Cyropaedia*.<sup>107</sup> Xenophon offers a rather different ending than that of Herodotus’ version of Cyrus’ life, death and post-mortem humiliation at the hands of Tomyris. Instead of the image of the queen disgracefully shoving Cyrus’ head into a blood-filled wineskin in vengeance, at the end of the *Cyropaedia*, the Persian monarch bequeaths his wisdom to his heirs and passes away because it is his natural and ordained time. Thus, in preferring Xenophon’s Cyrus, European writers, from Machiavelli to Sydney, make a conscious

---

<sup>107</sup> See Grogan’s chapter on “Classical Persia” in *The Persian Empire*, 32-69.

choice of which Cyrus to adore, setting aside a story of defeat and hubris for one of victory, humility, and hope.

In Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince*, the Italian political theorist calls upon an unlikely Persian hero for Italy's future:

I have concluded that so many things favor a new prince that I can think of no more fitting time for this purpose. And, as I said before, if the Israelites had to be in Egyptian bondage before Moses could demonstrate his resourcefulness, if the Persians had to be oppressed by the Medes before Cyrus could make manifest his greatness of spirit...then, before the resourcefulness of the Italian spirit could be made known in the present, Italy had to be reduced to her present state.<sup>108</sup>

Ironically, when writing to Lorenzo de' Medici, Machiavelli's final "exhortation to Free Italy from the Hands of the Barbarians" includes an actual Barbarian (in the orientalist sense) among the virtuous historical, religious, and mythological leaders for the prince to consider as exemplary models. Machiavelli urges the Medici prince to consider "Moses, Cyrus, Romulus, Theseus, and the like" in his political ascendancy and career.<sup>109</sup> Likewise, English humanists offer Cyrus as a model of leadership but further unravel the reservoir of exemplarity found within his idealized biography in the *Cyropedia* to use the Cyrus example beyond the political domain. Roger Ascham, tutor of Elizabeth I, venerates the methods of childrearing "which the noble Persians, as wise Xenophon doth testifie, were so careful, to breed up their youth in" and claims that "the Persians example is to be followed" in his educational manual, *The Schoolmaster* (1570).<sup>110</sup> In the prefatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh affixed to Edmund Spenser's Elizabethan epic *The Faerie Queene*, the aims of the allegorical poem are likened to those of the *Cyropaedia*: "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle

---

<sup>108</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Daniel Donno (New York: Bantam Books, 2003), 94.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>110</sup> Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: John Day, 1570).

discipline” and in this praiseworthy process Spenser claims “for this cause is Xenophon preferred before Plato, for that the one, in the exquisite depth of his judgement, formed a commune welth such as it should be, but the other in the person of Cyrus and the Persians fashioned a governement, such as might best be: so much more profitable and gracious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule.”<sup>111</sup>

In aligning with Spenser’s pedagogy and aesthetics of “doctrine by ensample” over prescriptive Platonic counsels, Sir Philip Sidney in his sixteenth-century defense of poetry famously writes of the transformative potential of poetry with Cyrus in the rhetorical forefront of his argument. Sidney writes of the poetic capacity to make the world “golden” and conceive of latent potentialities in the human imagination using Xenophon’s Cyrus as his example of creative virtue for the reading public. Sidney explains that “so far substantially it worketh, not only to make a Cyrus, which had been but a particular excellency as nature might have done, but to bestow a Cyrus upon the world to make many Cyruses, if [readers] will learn why and how that maker made him.”<sup>112</sup> Thus, Sydney’s estimation of Cyrus underscores the progentive and regenerative powers of the poet, whose impact exceeds nature and historical chronicle.<sup>113</sup>

As we see in these examples, through an imagined Cyrus in European literature, western authors call upon an eastern king, distinct in his pre-Christian religion but magnanimous and worthy of emulation in his laudatory biblical and imperial actions, to promote analogical

---

<sup>111</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A.C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, and Toshiyuki Suzuki. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (New York: Longman, 2001), 737, 716.

<sup>112</sup> Philip Sidney, *A Defence of Poetry*, ed. Jan Van Dorsten (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 24.

<sup>113</sup> Grogan provides a comprehensive overview of Persia in the humanist tradition, with particular emphasis on the reception history of Xenophon in her chapter “Classical Persia: Making Kings and Empires,” in *The Persian Empire*, 32-69.

thinking in their readers. John Blakeley identifies the centrality and significance of Cyrus in early modern literature through his term “Cyrus exemplar,” defined as “a legendary (especially in its original sense, to be read) figure taken from history and embellished into a virtuous exemplar encompassing imperial mission, inspirational leadership, and personal temperance.”<sup>114</sup> More than just an instance of Renaissance *imitatio*, the Cyrus paradigm resonates with harmonic interreligious overtones, and thus thinking through Cyrus suggests idealism in both the political, literary and domestic realms, in the rise of a ruler, in the local virtues of the citizens of a nation, and in the artistic aims of writers. Such sixteenth-century visions of Cyrus coalesce in the Elizabethan drama, *The Wars of Cyrus*, published in 1594 (henceforth *Wars*). The play, which directly recognizes Xenophon as its source, presents Cyrus as an ideal ruler and foil to far less admirable contemporary conquerors on stage, particularly Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine*. While the publication date suggests that the drama is an imitation of Marlowe, with notable echoes directly in the text, James P. Brawner, editor of the critical edition, convincingly dates the play between 1576-1580, argues for Richard Farrant’s authorship, and claims that the play is significant as an example of classical narrative of the middle years of Elizabeth’s reign and as the first performance by the Children of the Chapel Royal at the first Blackfriars Theatre.<sup>115</sup> Irving Ribner considers the significance of its publication in 1594 following the success of *Tamburlaine* and the development of the history play as an “orthodox answer to Marlowe’s heresies.”<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> John Blakeley, “Marlowe’s Counterfeit Cyrus,” *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013), 36.

<sup>115</sup> James P. Brawner introduction to *The Wars of Cyrus: An Early Classical Narrative Drama of the Child Actors* (Urbana: The University of Illinois press, 1942).

<sup>116</sup> R. Irving Ribner, “Tamburlaine and the Wars of Cyrus,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*. 53 (1954): 569-573.

Part of what makes *Cyrus* a powerful response to *Tamburlaine* is, as Ribner aptly highlights, spiritual sobriety and sanctity. Like *Daryus* and *Hester*, the *Wars* operates in the affirmative, in the idealized range of princely representation of hospitable practices. Rather than a warning for early modern England through an exotic locale featuring an Eastern despot found not only in *Tamburlaine* but also in such contemporary plays as Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene's *A Looking Glass For London* (1594), the *Wars* is a dramatized *speculum principis*, and the most multifaceted Elizabethan presentation of ancient Persia and the potential for coexistence that it harbors— a peace founded upon a just, generous ruler such as Cyrus, who embodies the ideals of neo-Stoic cosmopolitanism.

Drawn from narratives within Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, the *Wars* stages the romance between the captive Queen Panthea and her husband, Abradates the King of Susa, and narrates Cyrus' conquest of Babylon, which marks the beginning of his empire and the last two books of Xenophon's text. The play begins with a dividing of spoils following a successful campaign in which the king of Assyria, Antiochus' father, is killed. The opening scene highlights Cyrus' largess as he addresses the aggregate of "Persians, Medians, and Hircanians" as the "banded power of Asia" against their conquests.<sup>117</sup> Cyrus then generously lavishes his soldiers with opulent gifts after dismantling the cavalry:

Take you the choise, and furniture withal:  
The bridles bit of massive siluer wrouth,  
The bosses golde, the reynes of Persian silke,  
The saddles all embroidered purple work. (I.i.31-34).

---

<sup>117</sup> Richard Farrant, *The Wars of Cyrus: An Early Classical Narrative Drama of the Child Actors*, ed. James P. Brawner (Urbana: The University of Illinois press, 1942), I.i.1. All subsequent references will be from this edition and cited in text.

When asked what bounties he would like to keep, he responds with his characteristic magnanimity: “none for me; diuide it all./It pleaseth me to see my soliders rich” (I.i.47-48).

While his grateful soldiers search for an item of worth to present to Cyrus despite his eloquent refusal, they stumble upon Panthea in a tent. The captive queen epitomizes grace and steadfastness to her honor and her husband and voices a Stoic philosophy of acquiescence in the face of the vicissitudes of ever-changing Fortune:

Philosophy hath taught me to embrace  
A meane and moderation in mishaps.  
Long since I learnd to master all affect  
And perturbations that assaile the mind. (I.i.141-144)

Panthea’s philosophy of exercising the “meane and moderation” in all things characterizes Cyrus’ actions in the play; his ability to maintain a middle way in his proceedings in the court is part of his exemplary leadership. Indeed, it is his lack of attachment to any person or concept that frees him to rule effectively. When his soldier Araspes asks to present Panthea to him, Cyrus acknowledges the temptation he may have if he sees her beauty and maintains his distance as a Stoic soldier-king. For Cyrus, “loue is violent” (I.iii.316) and makes “men idle, negligent” (I.iii.316). Unlike Tamburlaine who dotes on his love Zenocrate, Cyrus does not seek to romantically conquer any particular individual but rather upholds an equanimity that fosters benevolence towards the whole. He manifests many of the desires of the Elizabethan aspiration of moderation in religion and politics, the *via media*, yet demonstrates that such a doctrine of detachment is far from cold or apathetic and instead mutually beneficial for himself, his immediate court, and a growing nation on the verge of imperial expansion.

Like his Persian predecessors on stage, Cyrus enlarges and enhances his empire through the aid of foreigners, emphasizing that in terms of hospitality, Persian monarchs repeatedly

embrace non-Persians and in so doing enrich their realm through such diversity. The open door policy found originally in biblical and classical sources is thereby amplified in dramatic representations. Early in the play, Gobrias, an Assyrian Lord, deserts his camp and beseeches Cyrus to accept him in his court. Initially, it seems as if Cyrus' acceptance of the foreigner is based on superficial conclusions; he claims "this stout Assyrian hath a liberall look/And of my soul is farre from trecherie" (I.ii.200-201), reminding us of Xerxes' hasty acceptance of Aman. As Gobrias re-tells the harrowing tale of the loss of his son to the previous Assyrian king, Cyrus commiserates with him:

Noble Assyrian, either leaue to weepe  
Or speak no more. Cyrus is full of ruth,  
And when a man of they estate laments,  
He cannot chuse but weepe for companie. (I.ii.220-223)

After hearing of the king's heartless murder and disgrace of Gobrias' son while hunting, Cyrus declares that Gobrias has "iust cause to reuolt," welcomes him, and makes him a lieutenant in his army (I.ii.251-256).

While this narrative is in Xenophon's text, the *Wars* includes a second instance of testing Cyrus' virtue with the base and deceitful Assyrian Ctesiphon who presents a parallel story of familial murder in order to gain access to Cyrus and murder him on behalf of Antiochus. After hearing his fabricated tale, Cyrus turns to Gobrias to decide on the virtue of this unconvincing appeal, emphasizing that "*Cyrus* is not rashly credulous,/Nor binds his faith on euerie strangers vowes" (II.iii.578-579). A shrewd ruler, Cyrus questions the truthfulness of Ctesiphon's but ultimately accepts him based not on his own declaration of acceptance but on Gobrias' assurance. Thus, here and again in the final death of Panthea's husband, the playwright partially exculpates Cyrus from any irredeemable decisions by establishing the reciprocity of his

consultation. More importantly, unlike *Tamburlaine*, wrong decisions are always righted in the *Wars* because of Cyrus' virtues, and his divinely ordained position is well-known in biblical literature as God's "anointed" (Isaiah 45:1).

When Cyrus' soldiers Histaspis and Chrisantas reflect on the dynamic leadership of their prince, they comment on his divinely sanctioned imperial role and emphasize his youth:

When I looke into the life,  
The maners, deeds, and qualities of mind,  
The graueness, power, and imperial parts  
Wherewith yong *Cyrus* is so full adorne,  
My thoughts foresee that he is ordained of God  
To enlarge the limits of the Persian raigne. (III.iii.482-487)

The emphasis on "yong *Cyrus*"—a particularly appropriate description for a company of child actors— suggests that the play was performed earlier in Elizabeth's reign, highlighting a positive chronological parallel between the female monarch and her Persian counterpart while the publication in 1594 also suggests a reference to James whose son Henry was born in 1594.<sup>118</sup> Whether a model for Elizabeth or a projected aspiration for James, Cyrus is both youthful and blessed by Providence in uniting nations to enlarge the limits of his empire. Chrisantas further elaborates on the physical stamina of the king, how he is "vsed to labour, hunger, thirst and colde" (II.iii.492), in part a relation of the training of Persian men in the *Cyropaedia*. However, his highest virtue resides in his reverence toward religion: "And of the sundry vertues that abounds,/Dayly increasing in [his] princely breast,/Religion to the gods exceeds them all" (II.iii.495-497). When Ctesiphon arrives he further praises Cyrus as "so sweete a prince/That measures all the actions of his life/By mercie, iustice, and respect of right" (II.iii.512-14).

---

<sup>118</sup> Grogan explains that James wrote his own *Cyropaedia* in *Basilikon Doron* for his son Henry. See *The Persian Empire*, 68.

Indeed, Cyrus is so great that he inspires the potential assassin from the Assyrian camp to renounce his perfidious mission as Ctesiphon declares,

I murther Cyrus, farre be such a thought...  
How wise and gracious is this Persian king,  
Who by his wisdom winnes his followers hearts...  
O Cyrus *politique* and liberall,  
How honourable and magnanimous!  
Rewarding virtue, and reuenging wrongs!  
How full of temperance and fortitude (670-682; emphasis added).

Like Xerxes, Cyrus is “politique,” exercising a pragmatic practice of virtue and hospitality. His exemplary character both propels the harmonious function of his subjects and serves as an instrument to subdue his enemies. Ctesiphon’s description of Cyrus as brimming with “mercie, iustice, and respect of right” echoes a *politique* tract published in 1586 by the son of Sir Thomas Hoby. Following his father in his diplomatic and linguistic efforts to benefit the commonwealth, Sir Edward Hoby translates *Politique discourses upon trueth and lying* wherein Xenophon’s Cyrus is explicitly associated with the *politique* position:

*Xenophon* in his seuenth booke of *young Cirus*, sheweth that the *bare worde of such a man preuaileth more, then other mens constraint, threates or punishment:* and gaineth more by his bare promise then other doe by their rewardes. He sayth moreouer that there is no greater, nor more excellent riches especially to a Prince, then vertue, iustice, and greatnesse of courage, because such can nether want friendes, nor ought else.<sup>119</sup>

As a paradigm of leadership based on the idealized philosopher-king, one who uses diplomatic words over violence,<sup>120</sup> the implications of the Cyric exemplar suggests that

---

<sup>119</sup> sieur de La Thuillerie Matthieu Coignet, *Politique discourses upon trueth and lying An instruction to princes to keepetheir faith and promise: containing the summe of Christian and morallphilosophie, and the duetie of a good man in sundrie politique discourses vponthe trueth and lying*, trans. Edward Hoby (London,1586), 24.

<sup>120</sup> Robert E. Stillman, *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism*. (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008). Sidney’s praise of the poet who can “bestow a Cyrus upon

toleration alone is not enough, that it is a minimum to be achieved and then moved beyond. While his detachment may be in line with the *politiques*, when coupled with his largess, it signals toward the influence of Continental conceptions of neo-Stoic cosmopolitanism in England. Denis Cosgrove's intervention in colonial and imperial readings of early modern geography, and particularly Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), offers an alternative understanding of the metaphor of the world stage and the globe, arguing that for Ortelius and fellow neo-Stoics influenced by the revival of Stoicism via Cicero and Seneca, the globe is a "moral space, offering the soul the opportunity of transcendence against the grandeur of cosmic creation."<sup>121</sup> As Cosgrove explains, for Ortelius and his group of inheritors of Ciceronian Stoicism, the impetus to foster harmony in diversity falls upon the philosopher poet, who "through rational discourse and the persuasive power of words—'sweet reason,' rather than "force and aggression" is able "to bring all into the cosmopolis, the unitary family of civilized people,"<sup>122</sup> calling to mind the *politique* treatise extolling Cyrus who "sheweth that the bare worde of such a man preuaileth more, then other mens constraint, threates or punishment." These Ciceronian-inspired conceptions form the alternative European philosophical strand appreciating diversity in the period; one primary example of such progressive thought is Nicholas of Cusa's

---

the world to make many Cyruses" is inflected with his own irenic investment and the particular brand of cosmopolitanism circulating among the followers of Philip Melancton he associated and studied with during his time on the continent from 1572-1575. Robert Stillman's study of the influence of Sidney's years on the continent—particularly poignant because of its concurrence with the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre—presents invaluable evidence for new readings of not only Sidney's *Defense* but also of the hugely popularized adulation of Cyrus the Great in Europe, stemming in large part from irenicists in Vienna. In his funeral oration, Maximilian II of Venice was compared to Cyrus and his city was praised as cosmopolitan, Stillman, *Sidney*, 234-235.

<sup>121</sup> Denis Cosgrove, "Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 93.4 (2003), 862.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 862.

1453 treatise, *De pace fidei*, in which he identifies the foundational definition of world embracing citizenship: “Each of us dwells in two communities—the local community of our birth, and the community of human argument and aspiration, that is, in Seneca’s words, ‘truly great and truly common, in which we look neither to this corner nor that, but measure the boundary of our nation by the sun.’”<sup>123</sup>

In the *Wars*, neo-Stoic cosmopolitanism, with an immanent and manifest foundation of hospitality toward others, characterizes Cyrus’ actions and his growing empire. While the battle rages on in the background, the play highlights the “sweet reason” Cyrus uses to amass citizens under Persian rule. When Cyrus sees Ctesiphon following his declaration and identification of Cyrus as *politique*, the Persian ruler chides the soldier for his genuflection, humbly asserting his “excellent riches” of virtue and justice: “Rise up Assyrian, *Cyrus* is no God,” reminding him that the “The liues of kings are garded by the gods” (III.i. 688,702). Ctesiphon, “conquered” by Cyrus’ virtues, offers his aid in a plot to kill the king of Assyria; again, it is noteworthy that it is Ctesiphon who plans the clandestine plot and not Cyrus. Yet, Cyrus does not allow treachery to go unpunished. When Ctesiphon arrives at the Assyrian camp claiming to purpose a peace treaty, the letters Cyrus provides him, unbeknownst to him, reveal that his true purpose is to kill Antiochus. Near the end of the play, Cyrus’ men vie with each other to be in the vanguard of the final battle, arguing that the king of Susa, Abradates, is a “stranger” and thus ineligible of such a Persian military honor. However, as a “politique” ruler, Cyrus commands that lots be drawn for

---

<sup>123</sup> Quoted in Nussbaum, “For Love of Country,” 6. Another poignant example of searching for commonalities and harmony despite doctrinal distinctions, the quest for *concordia discors* is Jean Bodin’s *Colloquium of the Seven About Secrets of the Sublime* (1588) which is discussed in the following chapter.

the opportunity and it does indeed go to the non-Persian—a theatrical invention which reinforces Cyrus’ divinely inspired justice.

When Cyrus, a magnanimous, hospitable and discerning ruler, is described as “politique,” the paradigm his figure embodies challenges the narrow strictures of love of the state before care for one another, their mutual exclusivity and fragmentation; in place of *either or* the play presents a coherent vision of wise, informed, and hospitable leadership that provides greater nuance to our understanding of the *politique* position and its relationship to neo-Stoic inflections that surpasses the minimalistic forms of toleration codified in the Settlement documents. When English writers dramatize a hospitable Persia in these early entertainments, they create capabilities for their own audience in choosing to retell and reanimate familiar and emblematic scenes of hospitality and reconciliation; like Themistocles’ tapestry, Persia is a place of unfolding potentialities, a place that can be seen, a place that can inspire thought and action through its distant temporality and commensurable characters.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Hidden Hospitality: Visiting Shakespeare's Strangers

When Othello defends his amicable relationship with Desdemona and Brabantio before the Duke in Shakespeare's *Othello*, he describes a Brabantio we never encounter—the welcoming, hospitable European who opened his door to a stranger, and not the startled, hostile father waking to the infectious alarms of Iago's dehumanizing rhetoric. Following the Duke's invitation to speak in the opening scene before the senate—"Say it, Othello" (1.3.127)—Othello begins with a reference to this earlier invitation: "Her father loved me, oft invited me,/Still questioned me the story of my life/From year to year" (1.3.128-130). Ironically, like the irreverent image of the "beast with two backs" (1.1.116), such a vision of edifying intercultural hospitality is too unseemly to stage or of little dramaturgical interest; nevertheless, the narration of a hospitable golden age not only competes with Iago's dramatized hostility but also signals toward a cultural and literary reserve of cosmopolitan co-existence and interfaith *rapprochement* that is pivotal for the new worlds Shakespeare engenders in his Mediterranean tragedy.

Moments of hidden hospitality in Shakespeare's Venetian plays, *Othello* (1603) and *The Merchant of Venice* (1598) are primers in deciphering the extent of Shakespeare's global visions and the interdependence of such vistas within his society, offering through such narrations a means to measure the range of cosmopolitan impulses in the period as a counterpoint to varying forms of provincialism. In early modern studies, scholars have addressed these diverse modes of social interactions by examining depictions of both xenophobia and cosmopolitanism in the

period.<sup>124</sup> Leah S. Marcus, for example, raises the question of early modern attitudes toward religious pluralism and the impossibility of Protestant cosmopolitan coexistence by identifying a Shakespearean thrust toward “insularity”: “English provincialism was itself a construction, in no small part a reaction to the shock of separation from Rome and to the establishment of independent networks of connection with other peoples, especially in the New World, the Near East, and Asia.”<sup>125</sup> For Marcus, Shakespeare’s plays “acknowledge cosmopolitanism and religious diversity but reject them in favor of an achieved communal harmony.”<sup>126</sup> In her response to Marcus, Julia Reinhard Lupton contends that Shakespeare uses Venice in both *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello* as an “experimental setting, a place to test the possibilities of pluralism *avant la lettre*.”<sup>127</sup>

Identifying Shakespeare’s provincialism *or* his cosmopolitanism remains elusive because an integral component of peaceful and just coexistence relies upon exercising hospitality toward the stranger: to be a *cosmopolite*, a world citizen, one must feel at home in unfamiliar domiciles. This universal feeling of solidarity is conditioned through successful acts of embracing a guest, politically and domestically. Yet, such hospitality is often thwarted or hidden in Shakespeare’s Venetian plays. In both *Merchant* and *Othello*, potential hospitable encounters take place off-

---

<sup>124</sup> This scholarly discussion on the interplay between cosmopolitanism and xenophobia in the period is long-standing and multifaceted, with recent contributions including Richard Wilson, “Making Men of Monsters: Shakespeare in the Company of Strangers,” *Shakespeare* 1.1 (2005): 8-28; Jean Howard, “Introduction: English Cosmopolitanism and the Early Modern Moment,” *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007): 19-23; Barbara Sebek, “Morose’s Turban,” *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007): 32-35; Jonathan G Harris, “The Time of Shakespeare’s Jewry,” *Shakespeare Studies* 35 (2007): 39-46; and Carole Levin and John Watkins, *Shakespeare’s Foreign Worlds: National and Transnational Identities in the Elizabethan Age* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009) among others.

<sup>125</sup> Leah S. Marcus, “Provincializing the Reformation,” *PMLA* 126.2 (2011): 434.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 435

<sup>127</sup> Julia Reinhard Lupton, “Re-vamp: A Response,” *PMLA* 126.2 (2011): 470.

stage or beyond the bounds of the play, leaving only the consequences of the exchange as markers for evaluating the success or failure of hospitality in the play. As in Othello's declaration of a prior, hidden hospitable relationship between Brabantio and his potential son-in-law, the off-stage banquet in *Merchant* is known only through its effects: Shylock begrudgingly attends dinner with his Christian neighbors with little description of the event, yet the dinner is catalyst for Jessica's eventual conversion as it gives her the opportunity to flee her home.

A key text that engages with these provocative hidden moments, and reveals thereby Shakespearean potentialities of interreligious and intercultural exchange is the 1607 topical travel play *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* by John Day, George Wilkins, and William Rowley (henceforth *Travels*). In staging a fictional rendition of the international adventures of the historic Sherley brothers and their attempts to forge an Anglo-Persian alliance with Shah Abbas I of Persia, *Travels* shares Shakespeare's concern with the limited nature of English hospitality in a time of burgeoning global consciousness. Scholars have written on *Travels*' "allusive mode" as it calls upon various dramas of the period, including Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta*.<sup>128</sup> I would add, however, that a coherent thread underlying

---

<sup>128</sup> Laurence Publicover in, "Strangers at Home: the Sherley Brothers and Dramatic Romance," *Renaissance Studies* 24.1 (2010), reads the play in terms of its allusions to 'nationalistic' romances of the period: "this is not simply a question of digesting the strange, but of digesting the strange *through theatre*; material is so manipulated that it fits the palatable and familiar structures of dramatic discourse" (702-703). See also H. Neville Davies, "*Pericles* and the Sherley Brothers," in *Shakespeare and His Contemporaries: Essays in Comparison*, ed. E. A. J. Honigmann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 94-113; Anthony Parr notes borrowings from *The Merchant of Venice*, in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* by John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 78; Bernadette Andrea identifies comparisons with *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *Othello* in "Lady Sherley: The First Persian in England?" *Muslim World* 95.2 (2005): 284; Ladan Niayesh

the play's intertextuality is the possibility of offering or rescinding hospitality toward strangers found particularly in Shakespeare's two Venetian plays. In this chapter, I examine the dramatic portrayal of an improbably hospitable Persia in *Travels* in dialogue with seemingly hostile Venetian terrain found in *Merchant* and *Othello*. From this perspective, Persia, an Islamic country with a pre-Islamic, biblical and classical heritage, unexpectedly parallels Venice, a contemporary city known in the period for its religious and cultural diversity. By reading Shakespeare's narrations of *hidden* hospitality through corresponding scenes of *manifest* hospitality between English Christians and Persian Muslims in *Travels*, a more nuanced vision of early modern religious pluralism emerges. The question animating my comparison of Shakespeare's Venetian plays and *Travels* is what distinguishes hospitality in the latter? What hospitable acts toward strangers are openly explored in this textual reception, sprouting from an earlier Shakespearean germination of the problems of plurality?

### **“We give thee liberty of conscience”: Facilitating Interreligious Dialogue**

*Travels* romanticizes the historic Sherley brothers' travels abroad and idealizes their relationship with the Safavid monarch, Shah Abbas I, referred to as the Sophy in the play.<sup>129</sup> The

---

comments on similarities with *The Merchant of Venice*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Othello* in “Shakespeare's Persians,” *Shakespeare* 4.2 (2008), 133.

<sup>129</sup> Publicover in, “Strangers at Home,” details the political ramifications of the brothers “troubling individualism,” and writes that Anthony's tour around Europe as the Shah's ambassador was taken on without Elizabeth's permission; the Sherleys' Persian travels began in 1598 at the bidding of the Earl of Essex when Anthony Sherley left England to initiate “the long-cherished design of a league between Persia and Christian Europe,” against the Ottoman Empire after consulting with Venetian merchants, 695-697. For biographical sketches of the Sherleys and their diplomatic actions see David W Davies, *Elizabethans Errant: the strange fortunes of Sir Thomas Sherley and his three sons* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1967); Manoutchehr Eskandari-Qajar, “Persian Ambassadors, their Circassians, and the Politics of

episodic plot dramatizes the contemporary sojourns of Robert, Anthony, and Thomas Sherley in Persia, Venice, and Constantinople, respectively. When Anthony and Robert arrive in Persia, they are warmly greeted by the Sophy, entertained with mock battles that spur religious debate between the Persians and the English, and accepted as ambassador and general by the Sophy in a campaign against the Ottoman Empire. While Anthony the ambassador travels with a dissembling and prejudiced Persian court attendant who has him arrested in a clandestine plot drawing heavily upon *Merchant*, Robert remains in Persia where his loyalty to the Sophy is tested as he challenges Persian martial traditions to free Thomas from the Great Turk who tortures him on stage. Ultimately, Thomas is freed, Anthony is vindicated, Robert marries the Sophy's Niece, a "pagan," and the play concludes with a hyperbolic exchange of conviviality in a utopian Persian court cast as an ideal realm for experimenting with religious pluralism.

My attempt to define the features of Persian hospitality in *Travels* rest on identifying complementary attributes characterizing the relationship between Persian hosts and English guests: *liberty of conscience* and successful *political, familial, and religious embraces* in the commonwealth. Through this categorization, it becomes clear that *Travels* represents Persian hospitality as neither unconditional nor conditional but rather as a relationship that mediates juridical and ethical demands between both the host and the guest. In terms of hospitality and hostility, we witness three models: the classic host-guest relationship with its challenges and triumphs through Robert, a mockery of hospitality through Anthony's manipulation by the Persian Cushan Halibeck and Zariph the Jew, and the perils of captivity through Thomas at the

---

Elizabethan and Regency England" *Iranian Studies* 44. 2 (2011): 251-271; Parr, "Foreign Relations in Jacobean England: The Sherley Brothers and the 'Voyage of Persia,'" in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, eds. Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michele Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996):14-31.

court of the Great Turk. The only case of successful interreligious hospitality that takes place in the play is in Persia. Here we see Shakespeare's Sophy, mentioned twice in passing in *Twelfth Night*, take center stage in *Travels* in an alliance with representatives of Christendom against the Great Turk, who appears as a stereotyped, hostile enemy to both Persians and Christians in the play.<sup>130</sup>

Undeniably and unfortunately, the play's negative portrayal of the Ottomans differentiates the Persian Empire from the Ottoman Empire—while hospitality may reign as the dominant paradigm on theatrical Persian soil, the play is not exceptional in extending its association of interreligious and intercultural hospitality beyond set parameters.<sup>131</sup> The same can be said of the negative portrayal of Zariph the Jew who betrays Anthony and serves as a metatheatrical avatar of Shakespeare's Shylock. The play manipulates the real adventures of the brothers to recreate what Lawrence Publicover identifies as a “playhouse-friendly anti-Turkish narrative” as well as the stage Jew.<sup>132</sup> There several reasons why Persia, at this point in English dramatic history, escapes such early modern prejudices, one being that the temporal distance afforded by a combination of biblical and classical narratives sustain its reputation as ancient and distinct from other Muslim nations. In other words, while it is easy and familiar to stage the Turk

---

<sup>130</sup> William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* in *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare* ed. Jonathan Crewe, general editors Stephen Orgel and A.R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin, 2002), 2.5.172 and 3.4.267. For a historical overview of the reference to the Sophy in *Merchant* and Anthony Jenkinson's exchange at the court of Tahmasp I of the Safavid dynasty see Bernadette Andrea, “Elizabeth I and Persian Exchanges” *The Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I*, ed. Charles Beem (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 172.

<sup>131</sup> David B. Goldstein eloquently questions unattainable ideals in *Eating and Ethics in Shakespeare's England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013): “Where in Renaissance religious thought do we find an unadulterated sense of common humanity that transcends religious boundaries—or for that matter, national, cultural, racial, or sexual ones?” (77).

<sup>132</sup> Publicover, “Strangers at Home,” 701-03.

and the Jew, since there is no parallel “Persia play” akin to the “Turk play,” as Jane Grogan notes, the Persian is not an easily depicted type in either medieval or early modern traditions.<sup>133</sup>

*Travels* uses Anthony to magnify the social challenges of hosting Shylock in *Merchant*. As a reincarnation of the interreligious tensions within Shakespeare’s play, Anthony engages in interreligious dialogue at the court. This step towards interreligious exchange is presented in philosophical digressions on similarities between the Persians and the English following the opening courtly entertainment of mock battles. The congenial tone of the exchange between Anthony and the Sophy contrasts with the bitter banter of Shylock and Antonio’s initial dialogue in the opening scenes of *Merchant*. Antonio’s discussion with Shylock over the terms of the bond is riddled with anger, envy, and intolerance on both sides, prompting Antonio to deride Shylock’s biblical hermeneutics—“The devil can cite scripture for his purpose”—and Shylock to confront Antonio’s bigotry—“You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog, /And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine.”<sup>134</sup> Shylock ultimately extends his accusations beyond Antonio to Christians as a single, stereotypical group: “O father Abram, what these Christians are,/Whose own hard dealings teaches them suspect/The thoughts of others!” (1.3.159-61).

Unlike the ongoing struggle to converse across religious lines in *Merchant*, civil interreligious dialogue is promoted in *Travels*. The type of congenial interreligious dialogue *Travels* promotes is akin to the fictional model of such exchanges found in Jean Bodin’s underground text *Colloquium of the Seven About Secrets of the Sublime* (1588) with its diverse interlocutors of a Jew, a Muslim, a natural philosopher, a skeptic, a Lutheran, a Catholic and a

---

<sup>133</sup> Grogan, *Persian Empire*, 28.

<sup>134</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. Leah S. Marcus (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 1.3.96, 109-110. All subsequent references will be from this edition and cited in text.

Calvinist.<sup>135</sup> The domicile of the group is the home of the irenic Catholic host, Paulus Coronaeus in the cosmopolitan city of Venice “because the Venetians delight in receiving strangers hospitably.”<sup>136</sup> The text begins with a description of a harrowing sea voyage that Octavius, the Muslim representative, experiences. In his narrative, Octavius includes an interreligious prayer session he hears among the desperate sailors on board battling incessant storms:

The Greek merchants in the common speech began to repeat *soson hemas, kyrie, eleeson, hemas, eisakouson despota*, ‘Save us, O Lord, have mercy on us, O Master. The Jews were chanting again and again *shema*’ ‘*adonai*’ ‘Hear, O Lord.’ The Ismaelites of Alexandria were saying: *Ejuche nahbudu, Alla, Alla, Alla, malah, resulala* (It is you we worship, Allah, Allah, Allah, Lord of the Prophet Allah). 12

His multilingual tale prompts Coronaeus to inquire “with such a variety of religions represented, whose prayers did God heed in bringing the ship safely into port?” (14). But, his question is left unanswered as “all were silent” (14). This silence, however, becomes the catalyst for a cordial interfaith discussion to ensue. In this later work espousing a radical form of toleration for its time and evolving even further from his *politique* writings, Bodin imagines harmony, fraternity and solidarity between individuals that even today face challenges consulting and cooperating. The fictional prototype of the modern day interfaith dialogue, with its representatives from various faith traditions, thus emerges at the intersection of hospitality and its gestures toward religious diversity long in advance of the 1893 Parliament of World Religions in Chicago.

---

<sup>135</sup> The *Colloquium* circulated in Latin and French manuscripts until its publication in 1857 (Remer 308); Cruce’s *Cyneas* was also re-discovered in the mid-nineteenth century and re-published in 1909, Balch, introduction, xxiv. For a history of the circulation of the manuscript and disputed authorship, see Noel Malcom, “Jean Bodin and the Authorship of the ‘Colloquium Heptaplomeres,’” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 69 (2006): 95-150.

<sup>136</sup> Jean Bodin, *Colloquium of the Seven About Secrets of the Sublime (Colloquium Heptaplomeres De Rerum Sublimium Arcanis Abditis)*, ed. Marion L. Kuntz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 3. All subsequent references will be from this edition and cited in text.

Bodin's foray into a comprehensive representation of religious toleration and pluralism includes non-Christian voices. As such, it is a pioneering work in global interreligious dialogue that is little appreciated today for the vision it adumbrated in the sixteenth century. Quentin Skinner posits that Bodin's last work is "perhaps the most emancipated discussion of religious liberty produced in France during the course of the religious wars" and further contends that the text goes beyond irenicism to promote a "radical argument in favour of religious liberty."<sup>137</sup> My primary interest in reading Bodin's text alongside *Travels* rests on a fundamental characteristic underlying the dialogue and the drama: both are examples of fictional early modern religious exchanges that do not end in conversion, despite the potentially controversial inclusion of Muslim characters. How does Bodin achieve such a progressive and integrated vision in his text? What conditions foster such a state of harmonious coexistence? In both prose and drama, hospitality is the pivot around which novel cooperative paradigms coalesce. As we will see, while hospitality is curbed by various contingencies on stage, such limitations are absent in Bodin's dialogue.

In the *Colloquium*, Bodin uses the rhetorical strategies of *decorum* and the setting of Venice to prompt a new or alternative sort of Renaissance dialogue which departs from the consensus building dialogues of Desiderius Erasmus and other humanists. As Gary Remer explains in his comparison of distinct forms of toleration found in Erasmus' 1524 *De libero arbitrio, diatribe sive collatio* (*On Free Will: A Disputation or Comparison*), and Bodin's *Colloquium*, it is in the latter that we see a pluralistic understanding of truth that caters to a form

---

<sup>137</sup> Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 246-247.

of toleration that is more akin to contemporary perspectives.<sup>138</sup> I would add that Bodin's dialogue is nearly compatible with modern day interfaith initiatives, with the exception of the exclusion of the non-religious representative. Contemporary interreligious dialogue, which now includes humanists and secular interlocutors, is based on a common understanding that religious representatives are engaging in a mutually beneficial discussion of deepening the interlocutor's own understanding without the purpose of arriving at a single truth and without the necessity or desire to prompt conversion. In her contemporary assessment of "Conditions for Inter-religious Dialogue," Catherine Cornille describes the need for "epistemological humility" "interconnection" and "generosity or hospitality toward the truth of the other" when engaging in interfaith discussions.<sup>139</sup> Change is involved, but it not through proselytization but rather through "mutual learning" that edifies all participants equally.<sup>140</sup> The interfaith movement did not begin in the nineteenth-century or even with Bodin's text.<sup>141</sup>

As a group of elite philosophers and representatives of multiple faiths, the panel of interlocutors in the *Colloquium* observe Ciceronian *decorum* which departs from the rhetoric of orators in that it eschews emotionalism in its appeals, relying primarily on the speaker's *logos*.<sup>142</sup>

---

138 Gary Remer, "Dialogues of Toleration: Erasmus and Bodin," *The Review of Politics* 56. 2 (Spring, 1994): 305-336. See also Remer, *Humanism and the Rhetoric of Toleration* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1996).

139 Catherine Cornille, "Conditions for Inter-religious Dialogue" in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Inter-Religious Dialogue*, ed. Catherine Cornille (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, Chichester, UK: 2013), 21.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>141</sup> The impulse to amicably coexist across faiths is long-standing with prominent historical examples of forward thinking attempts led by the Buddhist Emperor Ashoka the Great (304-232 BCE) and St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226 CE), among others. See, Leonard Swidler, "The History of Inter-Religious Dialogue" in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Inter-Religious Dialogue*, ed. Catherine Cornille (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, Chichester, UK.: 2013), 4.

<sup>142</sup> Remer, "Dialogues," 319.

In keeping with the rules of *decorum*, the home of Coronaeus is host to “the most scholarly men in an intimate society” who with “innocence and integrity” are free from “wrangling or jealousy” (3-4). The magnanimous, cosmopolitan host is motivated by a “desire to understand the language, inclination, activities, customs, and virtues of different peoples” (3) and hence forms such a diverse gathering in his home. Octavius’ opening anecdote about his sea voyage and his recounting of the interfaith prayer session sets the tone for the six books of the ensuing dialogue. The dialogue is a journey of exploration into multiple faiths, perhaps perilous at times, but guided by an ethos of respect and mutuality that considers all the prayers, thoughts, and wishes of all mariner-participants.

Book IV, which features a meta-narrative on “conversation about religion” (Salomon, 164) delves into the essential question Coronaeus asks about the singularity of the one true religion after Octavius’ tale. Considering this lofty and potentially polemical theme, one that eschews a more superficial discussion of *adiaphora* or the non-essentials of religion which Erasmus pursues in his dialogues,<sup>143</sup> the book begins with a truncated version of Octavius’ interfaith prayer session: “When they had given thanks to God according to their custom, they sang hymns of praise to their soul’s delight” (144). Thus, Coronaeus’ home is not only a place for a mingling of minds on philosophical subjects, but also an interfaith center of worship, a space hospitable to freedom of conscience and expression—a place, like the Sherleys Persian, that creates capabilities and increases capacity through its liberality.

While explicitly commenting on the hymn but implicitly referring to the multiple prayers just recited, Coronaeus begins that day’s discourse with a musical inquiry: “why is it that

---

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 311.

harmonies in unison, in which no tone is opposite, are not pleasing to the trained ear?" (144). His interlocutors respond with a number of ways of explaining how harmony "depends on the blended union of opposites" (Toralba, 145). Toralba, the natural philosopher, advocates the coexistence of "sane with the mad, brave with the cowardly, rich with the poor, low with the noble" so that "justice, integrity, or virtue" could be better distinguished in the state (145). Curtius, a Calvinist, in agreement with Toralba, responds to Fridericus, a Lutheran, who points out that it is a challenge "to cherish friendship and preserve harmony when there is such a variety of differing opinions about human and divine matters" by explaining that "it is one thing to cherish friendship, another to preserve harmony. For as the variant natures of individual things combine for the harmony of one universe, so also do the hostilities of individual citizens foster the harmony of all peoples" (148-149). It is, thus, through the metaphor of music, invoked in the early modern sense of the heavenly music of the spheres and expanded to encompass the comingling of distinct voices, that the *Colloquium* proposes the merits of toleration and coexistence.

The *Colloquium* concludes with the discussion of the rule of Jovianus, the Roman emperor (363-364) who decreed religious freedom "to gather together the Pagans, Christians, Arians, Manicheans, Jews, and almost two hundred sects in harmony" prompting them "to piety, uprightness, and mutual love" (471). In response to these last thoughts from Curtius, the narrator writes that "everyone approved of these things," (471)—that is liberty of conscience. Coronaeus concludes with a call to song and a final invocation of the harmonic metaphor, which infuses the entirety of the dialogue with peaceful overtones: "Lo, how good and pleasing it is for brothers to live in unity, arranged not in common diatonics or chromatics, but in enharmonics with a certain, more divine modulation" (471). Enharmonics represents the highest level of diversity found in

music; rather than less developed, singular and therefore bland and unharmonious types of composition, it is the distinction of each chord that comes together in unison to create beautiful music.<sup>144</sup> Marion Kuntz describes this unity in diversity as “harmony based on multiplicity (*Concordia discors*)” which goes beyond tolerances in its wide embrace.<sup>145</sup> Thus, with respect to differences, there is no reason for the dialogue to end in consensus or a monistic view on religion and truth. Bodin emphasizes this commitment to pluralism by concluding that “they held no other conversation about religions, although each one defended his own religion with the supreme sanctity of his life” (471). While this conclusion has been read by some scholars as an indicator of the futility and vanity of discussing religion in such a dialogic way, I would contend that it is Bodin’s final and conclusive victory in the early modern debate on how to foster and maintain religious toleration. As Kuntz summarizes, “the dialogue ends without rejection or acceptance of any one religion but rather with recognition of the divine descent of all religious beliefs.”<sup>146</sup> Like the safe passage of the sailors in Octavius’ story, no harm—in the form of doubt and conversion—comes from this sojourn into the depths of spiritual questions. Thus, instead of such unnerving changes, the men continue their friendship: “they nourished their piety in remarkable harmony and their integrity of life in common pursuits and intimacy” (471).

Bodin’s text limns the essential hospitable requirements for facilitating interreligious dialogue and successful intercultural exchange that reappears in its own dramatic rendition in *Travels*, suggesting thereby that the concept of such forms of amicable dialogues was present

---

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 327.

<sup>145</sup> Marion Leathers Kuntz, introduction to Jean Bodin, *Colloquium of the Seven About Secrets of the Sublime (Colloquium Heptaplomeres De Rerum Sublimium Arcanis Abditis)*, ed. Marion L. Kuntz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), lxx-lxiv.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., lxiv.

(although fictionalized and idealized) in the period. In *Travels*, Persia rather than Venice is the host country, and instead of a Catholic irenic moderator, a Muslim potentate prompts interfaith discussions in a cordial manner. After the entertainment of “Persian wars” and “wars as Christians use,” mock battles staging beheading in the Persian practice but not in the Christian version, the Sophy, in exaggerated awe of the Christian custom and the introduction of cannons into the Persian army (a historically inaccurate inclusion to bolster the Sherleys’ status as military innovators), takes on the wager to accept the brothers in his court as military commanders in his wars against the Ottomans.<sup>147</sup>

Christian or howsoever, courteous thou seemest;  
We bid thee welcome in unused phrase.  
No gentle stranger greets our continent  
But our arms fold him in a soft embrace. (i.36-7)

As part of this respectful rhetoric, the play’s opening scenes are saturated with repetitions of “welcome” and “stranger” overflowing from the Sophy toward Robert and Anthony which he further extends to all theatrically transported Christians in the audience: “For thy sake do I love all Christians;/We give thee liberty of conscience” (i.190-91). The Sophy’s hospitality stems from his ability to invite the stranger, the uninvited Sherleys, into his court without reservation and with respect to their faith. The play’s emphasis on embrace (repeated at the end of the play) presents Persianized hospitality toward English Christians as dynamic—as an active hospitability rather than a static and detached form of toleration. Toleration is not the guiding ethos in the Sophy’s court; instead, he enables an *embrace*, which in early modern usage is defined not only literally as the physical act of friendship but also figuratively through a host of accepting actions:

---

<sup>147</sup> John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins, *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, ed. Anthony Parr, i.53,62. All subsequent references will be from this edition and cited in text by scene and line numbers.

worship of a deity, welcoming of friends and services, or joyfully adopting a course of action, doctrine, individual and more.<sup>148</sup> The Sophy's offer of "liberty of conscience" presents Persian hospitality and its pact between host and guest as a reverential act that considers the interiority of the guest equally with his physical comfort and needs, thereby joining the materiality of the embrace with the immateriality of the conscience.

The Sophy's liberality is a primary hospitable condition that enables ongoing religious dialogue rather than disagreement and antipathy in the play. When the Sophy asks the central question, "And what's the difference 'twixt us and you?" (i.162), Anthony replies,

None but the greatest, mighty Persian.  
All that makes up this earthly edifice  
By which we are called men is all alike.  
Each may be the other's anatomy;  
Our nerves, our arteries, our pipes of life,  
The motives of our senses all do move  
As of one axletree, our shapes alike...  
We live and die, suffer calamities,  
Are underlings to sickness, fire, famine, sword.  
We are all punished by the same hand, and rod,  
Our sins are all alike; why not our God? (i.163-80)

Anthony's description resonates with the universalistic aspects of Shylock's well-known speech in act three scene one of *Merchant*: "Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions—fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?" (3.1.49-53). Both monologues contrast interior and exterior states of faith with physical analogies, yet in contrast to Shylock's pained confrontation with the

---

<sup>148</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "tolerate, v.," accessed July 20, 2014, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/202987>; *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "embrace, n.," accessed July 20, 2014, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/60977>; *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, "embrace, v.2," accessed July 20, 2014, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/60979>.

Christian community in the play, Anthony's speech begins with an emphasis on the "greatest" distinction but then undermines that apparent discrepancy by appealing to the similarity of "each...other's anatomy;" he laments the primary inner value that prompts a distinction in outward practice—"But that's not all: our inward offices/Are most at jar—would they were not, great prince!" (i.174-75)—and concludes with a provocative inquiry to prompt the Sophy's conversion—"why not our God"—that is interrupted when a messenger arrives. Anthony's unanswered question hovers over the play as a possibility in Persia, a potential for Christian conversion that never comes to complete fruition. In *Travels*, the playwrights extrapolate Shakespeare's similarity motif to promote a genuine sense of familiarity that renders English and Persians more unified than distinct. Not only is Persia the setting for interreligious discourse and debate, but the entire play is invested in what Grogan identifies as the "vocabulary of likeness" that "produces intriguing moments that break down both boundaries of class and race, if discommodiously."<sup>149</sup> This sameness or similitude extends to the matter of religion and it is through successful Anglo-Persian hospitality that fictionalized interreligious dialogue can find a non-threatening arena.

### **"a league 'twixt us and Christendom": Political Embraces**

The idea of religious commensurability between Persians and English Christians, with an emphasis across interconfessional lines to accommodate the historical Sherleys' Catholicism, occupies much of the opening scenes and remains a prominent theme throughout the play. Although the historical Sherleys' numerous international exploits are part of their individual ambitions and schemes for fame and recognition, as biographers of the Sherleys explain, the idea

---

<sup>149</sup> Grogan, *Persian Empire*, 169.

of a Persian-Christian alliance is rooted in a centuries-long relationship between Persia and Europe dating back to humanists' historiography and mercantile accounts.<sup>150</sup> In the brief opening dedication to their play, Day, Rowley, and Wilkins emphasize the friendship they share with the Sherley family in depicting their story as a "true portrait" of the adventures by repeating the word "friend" or "friendly" in nearly every other line. Beyond establishing customary praise of their patrons and benefactors, the dedication reiterates the significance of non-political ties and reciprocity through friendship; the friendship *topos* is integral to gaining support for the Sherleys' extra-legal diplomatic activities.<sup>151</sup> As Timothy Hampton observes, the "gesture of reminding," or recalling an "ancient friendship between two peoples" is commonplace in

---

<sup>150</sup> Margaret Meserve's analysis of humanists' writings on Islamic empires and the search for the origin of the powerful Ottoman Turks emphasizes Persia's distinct place in European historiography and marks a telling enthusiasm for Persian kings resurfacing with the first Safavid king, Shah Ismail I, who is compared to Xerxes, Darius, and Alexander the Great and figured as the "long-lost heir of Cyrus, the Magi, and Prestor John." *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 233-237.

<sup>151</sup> The Sherleys Persian travels began in 1598 at the bidding of the Earl of Essex when Anthony Sherley left England to initiate "the long-cherished design of a league between Persia and Christian Europe," against the Ottoman Empire," Publicover, "Strangers at Home," 695. Publicover explains the political ramifications of the brothers "troubling individualism," and writes that Anthony's tour around Europe "as the Shah's ambassador" was performed without "Elizabeth's permission, and when he asked to be allowed to return she refused" (697). The brother's found more favor with James who was famously anti-Turk although their non-state sponsored attempts to form alliances with Catholic rulers and Muslim potentates was unfavorable in general. For biographical sketches of the Sherleys and their diplomatic actions see Davies, *Elizabethans Errant: the strange fortunes of Sir Thomas Sherley and his three sons* (1967); Manoutchehr Eskandari-Qajar, "Persian Ambassadors, their Circassians, and the Politics of Elizabethan and Regency England" *Iranian Studies*, 44: 2, 251-271 (2011); and Anthony Parr, "Foreign Relations in Jacobean England: The Sherley Brothers and the 'Voyage of Persia,'" in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, eds. Jean-Piere Maquerlot and Michele Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

diplomatic relationships and politicizes memory: “when the diplomats remind *princes* about an earlier concord they also remind the *reader* of the harmonious past against which present disorder is to be measured.”<sup>152</sup> Moreover, in the case of Persia as opposed to more immediate alliances among European nations, the alliance is far removed from the early modern contemporary situation.<sup>153</sup> The task of the play then is to summon and parallel an originary moment of East-West diplomacy, hospitality, and gift-giving famously retold in Marco Polo’s travels to Persia, namely the visit of the Magi to the infant Christ, as narrated in the Gospel of Matthew.

Stephen Orgel and Richard Wilson have identified the re-occurring dramatic theme of the “renewal from the East” in William Davenant’s Caroline masque *The Temple of Love* and in Shakespeare’s plays.<sup>154</sup> While in Orgel and Wilson’s analyses, Eastern characters return to the West in dramatic portrayals, in *Travels*, the West arrives unexpectedly in the East—two English brothers in Persia and one eventually in Constantinople—inverting thereby the Westward journey of the Magi as well as European notions of *translatio imperii*. In a pamphlet published two years after the play, Thomas Middleton endorses the brother’s diplomatic activity; as part of its propaganda, England apostrophizes Persia, “thou glorious kingdome, thou chiefe of Empires” and identifies it as the “Land that was governed by none but by wisemen,”<sup>155</sup> simultaneously invoking the Magi and placing the Sherleys as new administrators in the same tradition. The

---

<sup>152</sup> Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 27-28.

<sup>153</sup> For an excellent study of humanist historiography of Persia and its search for Eastern champions of Christianity in ancient Persian royalty, see Meserve’s *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*.

<sup>154</sup> Wilson, “Making Men of Monsters,” 222; Orgel “Plato, the Magi, and Caroline Politics.”

<sup>155</sup> Thomas Middleton, *Sir Robert Sherley, sent ambassador in the name of the king of Persia* (London, 1609), 9.

Sherlian trinity is also summoned near the end of the play when Robert defends his attempt to free his brother from the Great Turk by declaring “We in all are three/Sons of one father, branches of one tree” (xi.163-164).

Through references to Persia’s ancient heritage and its “renowned Persian” ruler,<sup>156</sup> *Travels* portrays Robert and Anthony as adventurers in an esteemed land and not as English explorers founding an undiscovered country in a New World setting. As in *Hester*, the realm harbors corruption in the court and thus the brothers serve as foreign-refounders, in Honig’s sense, who prompt change in Persia by identifying the debased constituents. In this conception of the foreigner’s ability to instigate change, *Othello* and *Travels* find common ground: both Othello and Robert, with Anthony’s aid, attempt to refound their respective settings, domains that are in need of such regeneration because of the social prejudices infiltrating Persia and Venice in their own right.

Distinguished because of its imperial legacy in the case of the former and differentiated for its potential mercantile and cultural experiments in the latter, for both Persia and Venice there is no dramatic discovery of a new world but rather a re-discovery of a state and its pernicious prejudices, embodied in Shakespeare’s Iago and his nocturnal calumny against Othello which creates and unleashes the infectious image of the “old black ram” (*Othello*, 1.1.87) that corrupts the susceptible white ewes of Europe. In *Travels*, it is Halibeck and Calimath, a duo of courtiers

---

<sup>156</sup> From the printing of Richard Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* (1589) to Thomas Herbert’s *Some Yeares Travels* (1634), travelers often comment on both contemporary and ancient Persia, particularly in descriptions of Persepolis: “this Citie continued mightiest in Asia from *Cambyses*, to *Darius* ... This Citie, saith *Diodorus Siculus*, was the richest and most louely City vnder the Sunne” (London, 1634), 57.

paralleling Iago and Roderigo in their insidious machinations throughout the play, who personify the reluctance to embrace foreign hands in the wars against the Great Turk.

As the Persian brothers witness the increasing fraternity between the Sophy and the Sherleys, exclamations of their hatred reverberate with Iago and Shylock's rapacious language. Halibeck declares, "Heart, how these honours makes me hate these Christians," and Calimath answers, "Poison finds time to burst, and so shall ours" (ii.281-82). Halibeck and Calimath's statements echo Iago's initial protestations against Cassio's promotion (*Othello*, 1.1.7-32).<sup>157</sup> While the Sophy quickly assents to Anthony's offer of an Anglo-Persian alliance against the Turks, "a league 'twixt us and Christendom" (iii.160), Halibeck and Calimath are truculent toward such a profane union, and Halibeck openly reminds the Sophy of his regal legacy and pre-Islamic heritage:

Shall you, whose empire for these thousand years  
Have given their adoration to the sun,  
The silver moon and those her countless eyes  
That like so many servants wait on her,  
Forsake those lights? (ii.190-94)

Coupled with the Sophy's repeated invocation, "Next Mortus Ali, *and* those deities/To Whom we Persians pay devotion" (i.87-8; emphasis added), the references to the "sun" "moon" and "lights" refer to pre-Islamic Persian traditions of Mithraism. These European conceptions of ancient Persian religion de-Islamicize the nation through its associated paganism, its "natural" religion, and its yoking together of past and present temporalities that register with the early

---

<sup>157</sup> Michael Neil, introduction to *Othello, the Moor of Venice* by William Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): "The key word in this outburst—the one on which Iago's sense of violated proportion fixes, and which provides an indispensable clue to the social tensions that animate the play, is 'place'" (148).

modern understanding of classical and biblical Persia.<sup>158</sup> The playwrights thus rhetorically shape the Sophy's court through references to ancient Persian solar worship, the long-standing cultural misconception of the Zoroastrian faith of the Achaemenid Empire. This type of hybrid religious identification provides a dynamic space within the playwrights' pseudo-ancient Persia wherein strangers can become friends and the possibility of an East-West embrace materializes. This interstitial religious space allows for a theatricality of exchange, a fluidity of identities and hospitable relationships between the Sherley brothers and the inhabitants of their imagined Persian court.<sup>159</sup>

The first two scenes of the play, therefore, cater to a philosophical and spiritual discourse on the nature of an Anglo-Persian alliance and the potential advantages and disadvantages for the Persian court in accepting these foreign agents on behalf of the state. The playwrights further call upon the rhetoric of a Christian crusade, and thereby cast the alliance as one of the Sophy's near conversion. Before the Sophy accepts the proposal he asks, "What profit may this war accrue to us?" and Anthony responds, "Honour to your name, bliss to your soul" (ii.187-88). While Halibeck and Anthony debate the superiority of the Persian God and the Christian God, both

---

<sup>158</sup> Niayesh in, "Shakespeare's Persians," explains that while it was known in Europe that by "Mortus Ali" the Sophy meant the son-in-law of Muhammad, the rightful successor according to the Persian Shi'as but rejected by the Turkish Sunnis, it is possible that "'Mortus,' for much of the audience, would have simply meant death (142). On the play's representation of the Mazdaist symbols of the sun and the moon derived from Zoroastrian theology, see Javad Ghatta, "'By Mortus Ali and our Persian gods': Multiple Persian Identities in *Tamburlaine* and *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*," *Early Theatre* 12.2 (2009): 242. For an initial reading of Zoroastrianism, see Jenny Rose, *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010).

<sup>159</sup> Nedda Mehdizadeh notes a "triangulation between England, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire" in the hybrid faith of the Persia court; the two characters that invoke sun worship, the brothers Halibeck and Calimath, "inhabit a middle space that is not quite Persian and not quite Turkic." "Translating Persia: Safavid Iran and Early Modern English Writing" (Ph.D. diss., The George Washington University, 2013), 111.

mirroring each other's dialogue in the repetition of "our God," the Sophy remains an observer who ultimately accepts the wager to unite with "Christendom," granting Robert the "place of general" (ii.279) and Anthony the position of "Lord Ambassador" (i.267) who will be sent to Venice to obtain a jewel for the king with Halibeck at his side.

### **"You forced my thought to love him": Familial Embraces**

Like Iago and Roderigo who use their provincialized rhetoric to appeal to prevailing societal prejudices to color Brabantio's view of Othello as a dark beast, Halibeck, in an aside, declares his hostility in deference to his culture and ancestry—"Ye Persian gods, look on:/The Sophy will profane your deities/ and make an idol of a fugitive" (i.156-58)—revealing at once an esteem toward Persia's imperial and pre-Islamic past and his encumbering attachments to his exclusive Persian community. Despite Halibeck and Calimath's protestations, the alliance between the Sherleys and the Sophy ensues, and the play subsequently turns to the romance between the Sophy's Niece and Robert, beginning with a scene between the Niece and her maid Dalibra which is noted for its debts to both the initial dialogue between Portia and Nerissa in *Merchant* and the discussion between Desdemona and Emilia regarding Othello's jealousy.<sup>160</sup> Resembling in context but not in tone Emilia's sardonic comment—"they are all but stomachs, and we all but food" (*Othello*, 3.4.99)—Dalibra playfully inverts the bitterness of Emilia's cannibalistic comparison when the Niece asks her what she thinks about the Sherleys: "if they be as pleasant in taste as they are fair to the eye, they are a dish worth eating" (iii.6). When the Sophy's niece expresses "suspicion" (iii.130) toward the Englishmen, her maid chides her, saying, "Strangers? I see no strangeness in them. They speak as well or, rather, better than our

---

<sup>160</sup> Parr, *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, 78.

own countrymen” (iii.22-3). Once the Niece meets Robert, she is caught between her desire for and doubts about a romance with him. Prompting aspirations of ancient Persian solar sublimity for Robert, in lines that recall Desdemona’s comments about Othello—“I think the sun where he was born/Drew all such humors from him” (*Othello*, 3.4.30)—the Sophy’s Niece encourages Robert’s saturation in the Persian environment as part of his impending Persian transformation: “The glorious sun of Persia shall infuse/His strength of heat into thy generous veins/And make thee like himself” (iii.80-2). As Robert leaves, the Niece, in an aside, bemoans the religious difference between them: “fare the well, good Sherley./Were thy religion”(iii.107-108).

In “dreaming” (iii.118) of the possibility of marriage with Robert, the Sophy’s Niece aligns herself with the story of Aeneas and Dido, an intercultural union that was tragically doomed despite Dido’s welcome of the Trojan stranger. In conjuring this ill-fated couple, she reflects the anxieties found in these love stories, worrying that Robert, like the “true Trojan” (iii.121) will play with her heart; the foreboding allusion also recalls the mythological references to “Cressid,” “Thisbe,” and “Dido,” in the moonlight dialogue between Lorenzo and Jessica in the final act of *Merchant*, suggesting that there too lurks the possibility of a tumultuous future for the newlyweds. Moreover, when the Sophy’s Niece compares Robert to the “wandering knight, Aeneas” (iii.120), her nomadic description of the legendary founder echoes Roderigo’s pejorative identification of Othello as a “wheeling stranger/of here and everywhere” (*Othello*, 1.1.135). Despite the shade of suspicion, the Niece’s admonition of Persian cultural and religious imbibing works as Robert begins to assume a foreign persona. However, like Othello, Robert’s embrace of an alien culture proves perilous to the host-guest relationship because his assimilation assails the *ipseity* of the host. Although the Sophy emphasizes the priority of Persian laws over the right to hospitality when he establishes the conditions of his hospitality toward

Robert from the first mention of genuflection to his demand to maintain Persian martial traditions, as the play continues, his hospitality toward the Sherleys, and Robert in particular, brings to light the potential risks of the hospitable act. Hence, hospitality toward the favorable stranger, Robert, ushers forth various usurpations of the Sophy's personhood and demands the Sophy's response to such an imposition.

At the heart of the Persian martial "custom[s]" (xi.25) in the play is the practice of killing prisoners of war, and it is the very malleability of this law that binds the Sherleys, the Sophy, and Persia in an alternative form of mediated hospitality. Despite an early model of mercy in the mock battle opening the play, Robert initially relinquishes the Christian practice in loyalty to the Sophy, thereby proving his status as the law-abiding guest even to the extent of acting as general for the Sophy. When he enters—"Enter Robert and other Persians" (vii)—he takes on the Persian ethos in his response toward the prisoners and abides by the laws limiting his rule: "We are now here the Persian substitute/And cannot use our Christian clemency" (vii.14-5). Furthermore, in a moment of conflated religious identity, Robert turns to the Turkish prisoners and demands, "Speak, do ye renounce your prophet Mahomet?/Bow to the deity that *we* adore/Or die in the refusal" (vii.16-8; emphasis added). Here, the use of the plural first-person pronoun emphasizes Robert's lack of differentiation from the Persian majority and recalls Othello's identification with his Venetian citizenship when he rebukes his drunken soldiers: "Are *we* turned Turks" (*Othello*, 2.3.161; emphasis added). While Robert's proclamation leaves open the possibility that the Turk may need to answer in the Christian affirmative, a Persian soldier follows Robert in urging the prisoner to "Join Mortus Ali then with Mahomet" (vii. 20-23), clarifying the expected answer. Finally, when a *Christian in Turk's habit* enters as a messenger from his imprisoned brother Thomas in Constantinople, Robert quickly declares the disguised

Christian's death—"We'll have no ransom but conversion" (vii.26)—suggesting, through syntactical confusion conflated with the Persian soldier's response, that conversion to Christianity *or* the Persian religion is acceptable.

When Robert challenges the Sophy's identity and customs as he tries to free Thomas from the Great Turk, he reveals how "the guest's hostility is an imminent possibility within the *hostis* relation, a menacing consequence of his potential interchangeability with the host" which renders the Sophy's realm *unheimlich*.<sup>161</sup> The Sophy angrily conveys Robert's heroic transformation in alchemical terms that draw upon the Niece's solar references: "Dares that proud Sherley, whom our powerful heat/Drew from the earth, refined and made up great;/Dares he presume to contradict our will" (xi.2-4). In addition to Robert's military transgression, his relationship with the Sophy's Niece is a cause of further antagonism for the Sophy who begins to see Robert as a potential threat to the throne. Like Brabantio in the opening of *Othello*, the Sophy learns about the possibility of a romance between his Niece and Robert not from either of the lovers, but from the injurious third party voice, Calimath, which further fuels his growing rancor toward Robert. The outraged Sophy exclaims,

*Alter our customs, steal our subjects' bosoms,  
And like a cunning adder twine himself  
About our niece's heart! She once his own,  
He's lord of us and of the Persian crown.* (xi.25-8; emphasis added)

When the Niece is summoned and interrogated, like Desdemona, she boldly asserts her love of Robert—"That I love him: true" (xi.43)—and turns upon the court as a solicitor on behalf of Robert: "If he had his due/You should all love him; he has spent a sea/ of English blood to

---

<sup>161</sup> McNulty, introduction, xii,viii.

honour Persia” (xi.43-5). Initially, however, the Sophy sees this union as one “against all rules of nature” (*Othello*, 1.3.102) and castigates his niece:

Forgetful of thy fortunes and high birth,  
More bestial in thine appetite than beasts.  
The princely lioness disdains to mate  
But with a lion; time and experience shows  
That eagles scorn to build or bill with crows. (xi.51-5)

The Sophy’s outrage at such a disparate marriage mirrors Brabantio’s speech before the Duke—“in spite of nature,/of years, of country, credit, everything”—(*Othello*, 1.3.97-8) and Iago’s later affirmation of it: “Not to affect many proposed matches/Of her own clime, complexion, and degree” (*Othello*, 3.3.233-34). Like Othello’s nostalgic report of Brabantio’s prior hospitality—“her father loved me, oft invited me” (1.2.128)—the Niece reminds the Sophy of his earlier *visible* embrace of the Sherley brothers: “You forced my thought to love him, and like a tutor/First taught my tongue to call him honourable” (xi.59-60). Thus, while this latter theatrical embrace is staged and then reiterated in *Travels*, in *Othello* the hospitable welcome resides beyond the parameters of the play, and thereby marks the beginning of the play as already far removed from harmonious relationships and the potential for unity found therein.

Later in the scene when the Sophy’s anger at his unruly guest quickly dissipates once Robert explains his motivations for keeping the prisoners and his lack of ambition for the crown and his Niece, the Sophy tests her devotion to Robert by presenting a “*counterfeit head like Sherly’s*.” In response to the prop, the Niece alludes to Antigone’s legendary actions: “Let his dissevered head and body meet./Return them me, let me the credit have/And lay his mangled body in a grave” (xi.232-34). After the Sophy reveals his fabrication and eschews his temporary senex stance, he reverses her declaration with a statement that invokes Desdemona’s foreboding

desire to be shrouded in her unsullied wedding sheets and transforms the tragic sartorial symbol into one of celebration: “And having joined his body to the head/His winding sheet be thy chaste marriage bed” (xi.237).<sup>162</sup> The Sophy’s understanding and accommodation of Robert’s transgression against Persian military and marriage customs exemplifies the mediated form of hospitality I have been tracing in the play: the Sophy maintains his dignity and right to rule and judge throughout the play, but allows for certain compromises with his guest, depending on his background and worth to the realm. In this sense, laws and customs of the realm are presented as flexible and conciliatory to the guest rather than binding or arbitrary.

### **“I am, like thee, a stranger in the city”: Religion at the Dinner Table**

As the Shah’s ambassador, Anthony travels with Halibeck to meet the Emperor of Russia and the Pope. Anthony’s stop in Venice consumes three consecutive scenes at the center of the play and draws heavily upon *Merchant*.<sup>163</sup> Anthony, like Antonio, is caught in a monetary exchange with Zarith the Jew who desires to “taste a banquet all of Christians’ flesh” (ix.23). However, while the scene borrows from *Merchant*, it departs in significant ways, including in its metadramatic portrayal of the stage Jew, Zarith. Anthony, who owes him “gold” for a “jewel” he bought for the Sophy, asks Zarith for “forbearance” and reminds him that he too is a visitor to Venice: “I am, like thee, a stranger in the city./Strangers to strangers should be pitiful” (ix.35-6). Furthermore, while Shylock’s accusations toward the Venetian Christians—“villainy you teach

---

<sup>162</sup> This scene also includes a mirroring of interreligious terms as Robert swears by the Persian sun, “Yon fire/That lightens all the world knows my desire/Durst never look so high” and the Sopy charges Robert to swear his loyalty by Christ: “By that first mover who thou call’st thy god, /The blest Messiah, and the sacrament/Which Christians hold so ceremonious (xi. 137-138, 178-180).

<sup>163</sup> Parr, *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, 101.

me I will execute” (*Merchant*, 3.1.59-60)—is never acknowledged by the Christians in *Merchant*, Anthony takes ownership of such hypocrisy. When Zariph contends, “If we be learnt of Christians/Who, like to swine, crush one another’s bones” (ix.37-8), Anthony answers, “Is it sin in them? ‘Tis sin in you” (ix.39). Lastly, when Anthony invites Zariph to a banquet, he refuses and meta-dramatically answers: “No banquets; yet I thank you with my heart—[*aside*] And vow to play the Jew; why, ‘tis my part” (ix.50-1).<sup>164</sup>

In *Merchant*, Shylock’s attendance at the dinner provides an opportunity for his daughter Jessica to escape his household, pilfer his money and possessions, and ultimately elope with Lorenzo and convert to Christianity. Thus, the off-stage banquet, with the potential of Pauline unity and inclusion, not only eschews any harmonic ends, but also further intensifies Shylock’s anger toward the Christians in the play. In approaching the play from the point of view of “culinary exchange” rather than financial negotiations, David Goldstein points out that despite the play’s obsession with the language of food, staged eating is absent in *Merchant*. Goldstein identifies the potential for community building through the “commensal event” of a shared meal and concludes that in *Merchant* “every opportunity for eating together offers, and then withdraws, the possibility of hospitality.”<sup>165</sup> This commensal void seems to have captured the interest of the *Travels*’ playwrights, presumably for rhetorical rather than ethical ends, and thus Shakespeare’s elusive banquet is staged with great immediate costs to Anthony because of

---

<sup>164</sup> The play’s consciousness of the “stage Jew” speaks to David Nirenberg’s thesis on the proliferation of “so many imagined Jews on the new stages of London” that are independent of the insignificant “real” Jewish population in London in “Shakespeare’s Jewish Questions,” *Renaissance Drama* 38 (2010): 79.

<sup>165</sup> Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*, 89.

Halibeck's machinations. Through this staging, the playwrights probe the conditional state of what *could* happen when such fraught hospitality between Christians and Jews is staged.

In *Travels*, Anthony is host to the banquet, a dramatic moment that often magnifies the "vulnerability" of the host, leaving him in a "dramatic snare" that leads to his demise as Daryl W. Palmer explains.<sup>166</sup> Here, Zariph and Halibeck, Jew and Muslim united in hostility, conspire against Anthony, an "uncircumcised slave" (x.10) and have him arrested during the course of the banquet in Venice with its overt biblical allusions to the Last Supper. When Anthony is arrested, his earlier appeals to fraternity and solidarity evaporate, as he calls Zariph an "Inhuman dog....true seed/of that kiss-killing Judas" (xi.91-3) who betrays him "in midst of courtesy" (xi.91). Rather than the Sophy's embrace, Anthony is caught "in a serpent's arm" (xi.112). While Zariph enjoys the theatrical indulgence of his pernicious action, declaring he will relive this scene again—"I shall dream of this happiness tonight" (xi.109)—Halibeck acts with greater malignant efficiency. Earlier in the scene, he cuts Zariph's indulgences short to describe his Iago-like motivations, stemming from an unadulterated hatred of the foreigner and his exterior status rather than his interior value: "Ere any stranger shall with me walk even,/ I'll hate him, were his virtues writ in heaven" (x.56-61).

While Anthony suffers at the hands of this malicious partnership, his brother Thomas is abandoned by his crew and subsequently captured and tortured by the Great Turk until letters from "England's royal king" (xii.130) secure his release. His captivity scene is cast as the inverse of the Sophy's hospitable embrace as the Jailor describes the physical terms of his Turkish imprisonment as analogous to the hostile gestures rival Christian groups extend one another in

---

<sup>166</sup> Daryl W. Palmer, *Hospitable Performances: Dramatic Genre and Cultural Practices in Early Modern England* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1992), 175.

the struggles of the Reformation: “for I am sure...these five or six month at least he has had nothing but the hard boards for his bed, dry bread for his food and miserable water for his drink. And we Turks think that it is too good for these Christians too; for why should we do any better to them, since they do little better one to another?” (xii.10-15). As with the favorable depiction of the Pope, and later a hermit counseling Robert on his spiritual duty to maintain his Christian faith in Persia, the play’s investment in a united Christendom accommodates multiple purposes beyond commentary on interconfessional challenges of the time. Wilson elucidates the Catholic interests of the play, which were intertwined with attempts by Catholic gentry, including the Sherleys, to gain toleration under James who had made such ecumenical promises before taking the throne.<sup>167</sup> In using Persia as “a screen for Catholicism” so that Persia and England can unite in a “new Crusade,” the play’s adventurers, like its Persian setting, register multiple temporalities.<sup>168</sup> In alluding to medieval romance, the brothers are akin to Christian knights; yet, as contemporary representations of early modern travelers and self-fashioned ambassadors, they are also at the cusp of the burgeoning discourse of trade and cross-cultural exchange.

### **Forms of Coexistence**

The global aspirations of *Travels* are not easily reconciled with either its archaic representation of medieval knights-errant or its portrayal of an exclusive form of Anglo-Persian coexistence. As Anthony Parr summarizes, “this ecumenical vision has its human limits in the

---

<sup>167</sup> Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 275-76. See also Wilson’s “When Golden Time Convents”: Shakespeare’s Eastern Promise” *Shakespeare* 6.2 (June 2010): 209-226.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 276.

play—no room in it for Turk or Jew.”<sup>169</sup> This limited form of Christian tolerance appears in another European peace proposal contemporary with Crucé’s utopian vision of international peace and prosperity: *The Grand Design* of Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of Sully. Unlike Crucé’s *Cyneas* which reads like a discursive prototype of the League of Nations, Sully’s plan for a “very Christian Republic in a state of enduring internal peace” aims to unite Christian rulers, allow tolerance for Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, and establish an army “for maintaining continual war against the infidels,” the Ottoman Turks.<sup>170</sup> In comparing the rhetoric of both proposals, a continuum of tolerance and intolerance emerges with Crucé’s wide embrace on one side and Sully’s limited embrace closer to the other end. In the plays I have been discussing, we see the enactment of these varying punctuations on the continuum through distinct forms of receiving the stranger in the commonwealth. Thus, in *Travels* when Jew and Turk are expelled from scenes of hyperbolic solidarity between Persians and Englishmen in the play, their separation is both a product of their stage histories as well-known types in the drama of the period and a depiction of limited toleration in the play. Although Robert’s Persian welcome and final absorption into the realm is radical and utopian in its own right, the play in its entirety gravitates away from the Crucé end of the spectrum, revealing thereby the tension between utopian politics and *Realpolitik*.

Although lacking in the overt, exaggerated, and mediated hospitality characterizing Persia and its exclusive form of coexistence between Persians and Christians, the Venice of *Merchant* and *Othello* refuses to throw out its guests. Shakespeare does not exile the ethos of the

---

<sup>169</sup> Parr, introduction to *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, by John Day, William Rowley, and George Wilkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 17.

<sup>170</sup> Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of Sully, *The Grand Design in Europe: Giving Shape to an Idea*, ed. Jorge T. Silva (London: Anthem Press, 2009), 58.

Jew or the Moor in his plays but rather dramatizes the early modern problematic of religious coexistence in the forced conversion of the one and the “*death into citizenship*” of the other.<sup>171</sup>

In *Merchant*, Shylock’s formal rather than spiritual conversion, although damaging to his person in ways *Travels* avoids by skirting a conversion of the Sophy’s court, assures his physical presence in Venetian society while his will ensures material security for Lorenzo and Jessica, an interreligious marriage based on conversion unlike that of Robert and the Sophy’s Niece. Robert as Englishman in Persia may participate in altering or eliding certain laws and customs, but Shylock, a Jew in Venice, is subject to the law and must fulfill his pact as resident “alien” as Portia reminds him in the trial scene: “The law hath yet another hold on you” (4.1.358). The play ends with a textually burdened, detached, juridical solution rather than with an equitable compromise between Antonio and Shylock,<sup>172</sup> yet it also signals toward a future Christian state that desires to uphold a Jewish presence with all its potential commercial ramifications in a state of conditional hospitality. As Aryeh Botwinick posits, in *Merchant* “a Judaically softened and modulated Christianity, as the state religion that even a Jew can live with, can serve as the basis for a new vision of civilizational amity and progress.”<sup>173</sup> In this imperfect arena of early modern cultural and religious exchange, this same inherent desire for change is found and amplified in

---

<sup>171</sup> Kearney, *Anatheism*, 47; Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Citizen-saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 105.

<sup>172</sup> Geraldo U. Sousa, *Shakespeare's Cross-Cultural Encounters* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999). I concur with Sousa’s reading that in *Merchant* “the cross-cultural encounter becomes a textual experience” (71); however, while Sousa sees texts such as the bond and Portia’s xenophobic Venetian decree against aliens as part of a “protective barrier” against foreigners, I believe that these documents serve as legal aids to maintain an alien presence in Venice, limiting in the immediate instance but ultimately dynamic because of the probability of unknown futures.

<sup>173</sup> Aryeh Botwinick, “Shakespeare in Advance of Hobbes: Pathways to Modernization in the European Psyche as Charted in *The Merchant of Venice*,” *TELOS* 153 (Winter 2010), 158.

*Travels* and *Othello*: the Christian Venetian state absorbs Judaism and the Moor *as* re-converted Muslim just as Persia absorbs and accommodates Christianity through the Sherleys.

While it may seem that through Othello's suicide the Moor and all instances of the stranger, whether pagan or Muslim, are expunged from the play, it is in his final speech that Othello reasserts his Venetian citizenship—"I have done the state some service, and they know't (*Othello*, 5.2.338)— and reminds the Venetians of their obligation toward him as a naturalized citizen by laws established in Cardinal Contarini's *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (1599) which articulates that "foreign men and strangers" could be naturalized "either in regard of their great nobility, or that they had been *dutiful towards the state*, or else had done unto them *some notable service*."<sup>174</sup> Moreover, this is Othello's second declaration of his citizenship; he invokes his contributions to the state at crucial moments of potential estrangement from his naturalized home. His first reference to his citizenship is recalled when he finds he must prove himself worthy, perhaps to himself as well as to the *magnifico*, when his marriage is questioned: "My services which I have done the Signory/Shall out-tongue his complaints" (*Othello*, 1.2.18-9). Othello is confident that his inner attributes, his "demerits" and "parts" alongside his "title" and "perfect soul" will be enough to fairly "manifest" him as a consort for Desdemona (*Othello*, 1.2.22,31,32). Indeed, as the Duke presents Othello with the impending crisis in Cyprus, ordering him to engage in battle "Against the general enemy Ottoman" (*Othello*, 1.3.49-50), the state of emergency trumps Brabantio's resistance to Othello's integration through marriage and the state officiates the union. Because of the state's dependence on him, because "the fortitude of the place is best known" to him, and "opinion, a more sovereign mistress of

---

<sup>174</sup> Quoted in Neill, ed., *Othello*, 395.

effects, throws a more safer voice on” him (*Othello*, 1.3.221-224), his citizenship and marriage are not lost.

Othello commits suicide by tragically completing one last service to the state against the “general enemy,” and by invoking his right as a Venetian when his citizenship is most dubious, he ensures that his presence as part of the state and its legacy is not erased. On the potential ramifications of Othello’s suicide, Lupton argues that on the one hand, “Following the directive of Paul in Romans 2, Othello has indeed circumcised himself in the heart, reentering the Christian covenant through his expiatory death. Moreover, this sacrificial cut also signs and seals Othello’s death into citizenship, his entry into the archives of state memory as a citizen-soldier.”<sup>175</sup> However, as Lupton further suggests, the “reinscriptive cut,” taken from Judaism, is a “legally ratifying and self-identifying mark that dislodges Othello from the Christian historical order by locating him in a different covenant.”<sup>176</sup> His death as “circumcised” Moor reasserts Othello as Honig’s “much-needed” foreign element in the “vulnerable moment” concluding the play.<sup>177</sup> Othello’s reinscription through his reference to the Contarini document and through his suicide transforms him into a sacrificial non-Christian refounder whose alliance with the Venetians purges the state of its most corrupting element, Iago, much like the Sherleys’ arrival and service in Persia rids the Persian court of the representative forces of disunity and hostility, Halibeck and Calimath.

When the Great Turk tortures Thomas on the rack on stage in an attempt to make him reveal his identity and then to recant his faith and join the Turks, the steadfast Sherley brother

---

<sup>175</sup> Lupton, *Citizen-Saints*, 121.

<sup>176</sup> Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner*, 21.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

refuses to “turn *apostata*” (xii.114). Thomas’s reference to “*apostata*” follows another critical invocation of the term; during her interrogation, the Niece reproaches the Sophy for his mercurial attitude when he recants his welcome of Robert, claiming, “And is affection turned *apostata*” (xi.63). As in *Othello*, “turning” in *Travels* is a problematic term, a phrase reverberating with the early modern fear of “turning Turk”— a moment of Christian “betrayal,” “subversion,” and ultimately “renunciation both of God and of country.”<sup>178</sup> Considering the cultural aspersion toward such an act, it is notable that *Travels* only flirts with the idea of cultural and religious conversion through Robert’s Persian transformation as “the Persian substitute” and the Sophy’s exaggerated embrace of the Christian brothers. In this drama of similitude and exchange, Grogan concludes that “if the play began with an over-emphatic insistence that it is the Persian who will be made to be like Englishmen through the ministrations of the Sherleys, what the play actually depicts is Englishmen acting like Persians: *inglese persiani*.”<sup>179</sup> Ultimately, as in the case of religious dialogue versus conversion, where the aim is to find common ground but not necessarily convert one another, the representative of each faith maintains his or her position, a solution that Shakespeare does not posit in *Merchant* and *Othello*. Instead, for Shakespeare, religious hospitality remains conditional, contingent, and elusive, an improbable and imagined social ideal known primarily through its absence and negation.

Like *Merchant*, *Travels* concludes with all potential catastrophes diverted; Anthony is cleared of his charges and both Halibeck and Calimath are punished, the former to death and the latter to oversee his brother’s execution. The Sophy promises to grant Robert his free reign in

---

<sup>178</sup> Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English drama, 1579-1624* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 16-17.

<sup>179</sup> Grogan, *Persian Empire*, 167.

Christianity, an idealized ending that *embraces* Robert as the *law-decreeing* host founding his own hospitable domain within Persia for Christians immigrants, and thereby increasing his capcit and the collective capabilities of the newly diversified Persian realm. Robert will baptize his child with the Sophy himself as godfather, “erect a church/Wherein all Christians that do come/May peaceably hear their own religion,” and “raise a house...where Christian children” will only know “what by Christians is delivered them” (xiii. 177-79,187-91). Although detailing aspects of a sequestered domicile with little interreligious interaction, Robert’s description of a wider society wherein Christians and Persian Muslims live and maintain their individual identities both re-visits and revises the conclusion of *Merchant* wherein only a Shylock bereft of his religious identity is tolerable in Venetian society, and emphasizes his camaraderie with the Sophy, of feeling at home in Persia.

While neither the Sophy nor his Niece become Christians in the play, the entertainment of concluding with *A show of the Christening* (xiii), with its overt symbolism of the rebirth of Christianity in the East, suggests that the initial interreligious dialogue between Anthony and the Sophy coupled with Robert’s Persian transformation, influences the Persian court. Persia is not a Christian country, but it is hospitable to Christians through the combined royal forces of the Sophy and his Niece. While Robert claims that through his baptized child “Sherley in Persia did the first Christian make” (xiii.55), it is the Sophy who orchestrates the christening, claims that his “royal hand/ Shall make thy child first Christian in our land” (xiii.200-1), and appropriates his proper position as sovereign host, subordinating Robert by the end of the play. Yet, the inclusion of a Christian religious rite also recalls the Sophy’s opening proclamation of “liberty of conscience” in Persia; the Sophy and his purified court retain their Persian identity and faith, but in a novel arrangement, allowing for coexistence with Christians. His court is not converted or

attempting to convert of others, unless they are Turkish prisoners, but rather an unusual haven for Christians to live alongside non-Turkish, Persian Muslims. The question Anthony asks the Sophy, “and why not our God” is not overtly answered through scenes of conversions, but rather through acts of hospitality toward Christianity in not only politically promoting Robert and Anthony but also in going beyond tolerance and participating in a Christian ceremony in Robert’s newfound home.

### “The whole earth is his Country”

Middleton’s 1609 pamphlet praising the adventures of the Sherleys is notable for not only its Sherlian propaganda but also for its advocacy of world citizenship that participates in a distinct form of early modern cosmopolitanism that comes into being as part of a dialectic with a nationalistic impulse:<sup>180</sup>

Albeit that man can receiue his Birth but from one place, yet is hee Borne a Fréeman of all the Cities of the world The whole earth is his Country, and he that dwelleth fardest off. is by the lawes of nature, as neer to him in loue as his kindred & acquaintance. This General Charter being giuen by the King of this Uniuersall Crowne, to all Nations, hath caused men from time to time, (by the vertue of that Priuiledge) to forsake the places of their first being, and to trauell into other Countries. The benefits that kingdomes haue gotten by this meanes, cannot in so small a volume, (as this in hand) bée comprehended. Trauell is the golden Mine that inricheth the poorest Country, and filleth the barrenest with abundant plenty. It is the chaine that at first tyed Kingdomes together, and the Musicall string that still maintaines them in Concord, in Leagues and in Unity...Let thine owne Country enuy the kingdome of *Persia* for enjoying this honor... let her clayme be made in such maner, that *England* and *Persia*, may not grow into quarrell about thée, But rather thus let them both share thée. Let rich *Persia* enioy thy presence, and reckon thée in the number of her Citizens...(O thou, the Dignitie and Luster of two renowned Kingdomes).<sup>181</sup>

---

<sup>180</sup> See Brian C. Lockety’s fascinating analysis of Elizabethan cosmopolitanism in relation to portrayals of Captain Thomas Stukeley in “Elizabethan Cosmopolitan: Captain Thomas Stukeley in the Court of Dom Sebastian,” *English Literary Renaissance* (2010): “In such works cosmopolitanism emerges dialectically with national identity: Stukeley’s Englishness is the window onto a broader transnational identity that ultimately works to dislodge and destabilize national identity itself” (7).

<sup>181</sup>Middleton, *Sir Robert Sherley, Sent Ambassadour in the Name of the King of Persia*, 12.

Middleton's pamphlet follows the play's dramatic portrayal of the "renowned" Persian kingdom and self-consciously assumes Persian garb in calling itself a "Persian Robe, so richly wouen with the prayes onely of Sir ROBERT SHERLEY,"<sup>182</sup> commenting on Robert who famously dressed in Persian clothing on his later diplomatic travels around Europe.



Figure 4. *Sir Robert Shirley*. Anthony Van Dyck. 1622. University of California, San Diego. ARTstor Collections. 1622

Middleton's encomium contributes to a growing discourse of early modern cosmopolitanism emerging in the late Elizabethan period particularly around the mercantile world. As Alison

---

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.,3.

Games asserts, “merchants were ambassadors, not simply traders.”<sup>183</sup> From John Dee’s Stoic claim that through studying global civilization one becomes “a Citizen and Member, of the whole and only one Mystically City Vniversal” and Richard Hakluyt’s reprinting of this ideal in his 1599 *Principles Navigations*, the classical desire to be a citizen of the world, a member of an expanded *polis* with wider circles of loyalty, takes on novel nuances in the growing early modern world.<sup>184</sup> Jean Howard poses the question that if early modern cosmopolitanism did exist, “what forms did it take?”<sup>185</sup> In response, we see how *Travels* outlines one such model in its insistence on upholding hospitality and religious diversity as it disdains conversion.<sup>186</sup>

In remembering its Shakespearean forbearers’ challenges with welcoming and integrating the foreigner, whether through political alliances, marriage or conversion in irrevocably changed forms, *Travels* pushes encounters into embraces in its pursuit of Anglo-Persian hospitality. While in both *Merchant* and *Othello* hospitality between cultures and religions is thwarted despite the cosmopolitan reputation of Venice, in *Travels*, Persia provides a religious loophole, a means by which the playwrights can avoid the long-standing and multifaceted relationship among the People of the Book—Jews, Muslims, and Christians—to create unity in a pseudo-ancient Persia. With its pagan past in some instances more alive than its Islamic present, a tangible Persia exists, puzzling while providing early modern audiences with a distinct utopian setting to stage improbable receptions. Through its anachronisms and mediated forms of hospitality, the play

---

<sup>183</sup> Games, “England’s Global Transition and the Cosmopolitans who Made it Possible,” 25.

<sup>184</sup> Lockey, “Elizabethan Cosmpolitanism,” 8.

<sup>185</sup> Howard, introduction to “English Cosmopolitanism,” 20.

<sup>186</sup> When Robert captures Turks he demands they convert to Christianity and when they refuse a Persian soldier asks them to recant their Sunni beliefs, to join “Mortus Ali” to “Mohamet”; however, no one converts and the majority of the soldiers are held as ransom and not killed. The fact that they are given various options is itself noteworthy (Vii).

parallels Persia and Venice in their diversity and potential for coexistence, claiming that the former can be even more hospitable to such opportunities than the latter, given the right circumstances. At the same time, because Shakespeare's Venice contingently and conditionally hosts Shylock and Othello, representative minorities of two cultural and religious traditions, its attempts at pluralism are potentially more radical (and devastating) than even the strides Persia makes in *Travels*. In reading these scenes of hospitality and hostility, it becomes clear that Shakespeare begins to adumbrate the conditions necessary for cosmopolitanism, and the *Travels* playwrights provide an arena and situation to activate those potentialities. As Shakespeare's Venetian plays negotiate unlikely unions that lead to changed worlds, *Travels* plays with the idealism of hospitality in far off lands, calling upon the audience to engender novel social realities by staging that which is hidden and potentially hopeful in Shakespeare.

## CHAPTER THREE

### From Magi to Mirza: Persian Transformations in Caroline Drama

In the 1633 expanded posthumous edition of John Stow's *Survey of London*, Anthony Munday enlarges the text with details of an unprecedented incident in Anglo-Persian diplomatic history:

In Petty France out of Christian buriall, was buried Hodges Shaughsware a Persian Merchant, who with his sonne came over with the Persian Ambassadour, and was buried by his owne Son, who read certaine prayers, and used other Ceremonies, according to the custome of their owne Country, Morning and Evening, for a whole moneth after the buriall: for whom is set up at the charge of his Sonne, a Tombe of stone with certain Persian Characters thereon; the exposition thus, This Grave is made for Hodges Shaughsware, the chiefest servant to the King of Persia, for the space of 20. yeeres, who came from the King of Persia and dyed in his service. If any Persian commeth out of that Country, let him read this and a prayer fer him, the Lord receive his soule, for here lyeth Maghmore Shangsware, who was borne in the Towne of Novoy in Persia.<sup>187</sup>

When Hodges Shaughsware, the Anglicized name of Khwāja Shāhsuwār, was buried in St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate on August 10<sup>th</sup> 1626, his son's unflinching and earnest recitation of Islamic prayers drew in unruly English onlookers eager to observe this foreign yet familiar act of commemorating the passing of a loved one.<sup>188</sup> Munday not only includes descriptions of the event, but also provides a translation of the engraving in a hospitable act of linguistic accommodation that memorializes the event from both his English perspective and the voice of the Persian through his epitaph.

---

<sup>187</sup> John Stow, *The survey of London containing the original, increase, modern estate and government of that city, methodically set down*, ed., Anthony Munday (London, 1633), 173.

<sup>188</sup> R.W. Ferrier, "The European Diplomacy of Shāh 'Abbās I and the First Persian Embassy to England," *British Institute of Persian Studies, Iran* 11 (1973): 90.

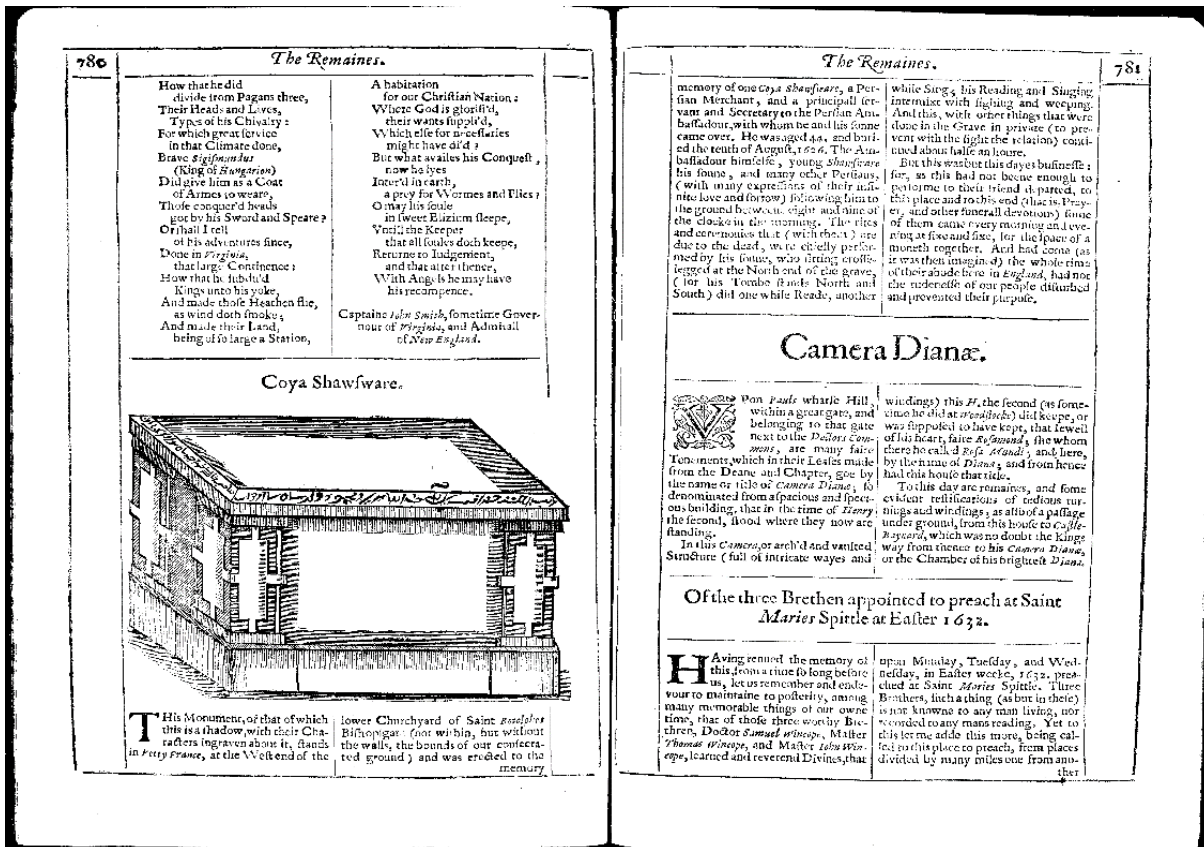


Figure 5. Tomb of "Coya Shawsware"<sup>189</sup>

Later in the *Survey*, Munday includes an engraving of the monument (above) and further expounds on the Islamic rituals attending Shāhsuwār's funeral while lamenting on how the "rudeness of [the English] people" interrupted the rites performed by "other Persians"<sup>190</sup>:

The rites and ceremonies that (with them) are due to the dead, were chiefly performed by his sonne, who sitting crosselegged at the North end of the grave, (for his Tombe stands North and South) did one while Reade, another while Sing; his Reading and Singing intermixt with sighing and weeping. And this, with other things that were done in the Grave in private (to prevent with the sight the relation) continued about halfe an houre. But this was but this dayes busnesse: for, as this had not bene enough to performe to their friend departed, to this place and to this end (that is, Prayer, and other funerall devotions) some of them came every morning and evening at sixe and sixe, for the space of a moneth together. And had come (as it was then imagined) the whole time of their

<sup>189</sup> Stow, *Survey*, 781.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

abode here in *England*, had not the rudeness of our people disturbed and prevented their purpose.<sup>191</sup>

Munday's initial entry on the anomalous event is included in later historiographies, particularly nineteenth-century surveys of London. In his 1843 edition of *London*, Charles Knight moralizes on the intrinsic cosmopolitanism of Shāhsuwār's burial: "there is something affecting in the allusion to a chance visitor from the far-distant country;—one of those touches of nature that make the wide world kin,—a desire on the part of the bereaved son to find some chance—even the remotest—that his father's ashes should be hallowed by human sympathy."<sup>192</sup> For Knight, the entry is an axiomatic tale; the truth uncovered in Shāhsuwār's story with its interrupted rituals, its brief but affective plot, illustrates various morals to its unsuspecting readers. The pithy "Persian fable" unearthed among details of London's urban landscape encapsulates a story of familial loss, of a grieving son mitigating his pain, of the failings of some to empathize with others unlike their own, of rendering one's loss another's spectacle, even while it is a story of one nation's hospitality toward a foreigner, of giving a permanent, physical abode to a guest who will never return home. Knight's commentary distances the Shāhsuwārs from Persia and Islam, generalizing on the "chance visitor" and a "far-distant country," and blurs the lines between literal and figurative Persians, while extrapolating from the tale a summation that renders the family actors in a drama exploring the parameters of hospitality in early modern London.

At the same time, Knight's summation evinces to the significance of the Persian tale for thinking about and engaging with the past in his nineteenth-century moment. Knight reads the past for its implications for his times and its aspirations for cosmopolitan hospitality;

---

<sup>191</sup> Stow, *Survey*, 781.

<sup>192</sup> Charles Knight, ed., *London*, vol. 5 (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1843), 201.

cosmopolitan hospitality relies on sympathetic human acts that push the boundaries of local identification to create world-wide kin. His emphasis on the “remotest” “chance” emphasizes how this event tests how cosmopolitan hospitality works. Even his metaphorical reference to ashes, man’s final earthly reunion in the Judeo-Christian tradition, epitomizes the world-embracing moral he gleans from this narration of human sympathy sanctifying hospitable bonds.

Knight’s brief yet magnanimous gloss on Shāhsuwār’s burial isolates the incident and thereby transforms it into a universal story for perpetuity, a fantastic material occurrence inflected with hospitable aspirations, assumptions, and desires that transcend its generic boundaries as a seemingly mundane inscription belonging to a survey of London cemeteries. Yet, historically, the events surrounding Shāhsuwār’s death were far from romantic and idealized; the merchant died during the height of confusion in Anglo-Persian diplomatic affairs following the unorthodox attempts of the infamous Sherley brothers to create an alliance between Persia and England.<sup>193</sup> Of primary concern upon Robert Sherley’s arrival in England was the question of his dubious status as Shah Abbas’ ambassador due to the fact that he was accompanied by a second ambassador, Naqd ‘Alī Beg.<sup>194</sup> The confusing situation peaked with the growing antipathy between the two ambassadors, leaving Charles I with the task of unraveling the competing claims to ambassadorial authority; thus, in an attempt to rectify Anglo-Persian diplomatic affairs and further pursue the silk trade, Charles sent the entire party back to

---

<sup>193</sup> Ferrier, “European Diplomacy,” 89.

<sup>194</sup> For an initial discussion of the official title of Anthony Shirley as lower than ambassador see Jonathan Burton, “The Shah's two ambassadors: The travels of the three English brothers and the global early modern” in Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani, *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550-1700* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009). Mehdizadeh has clarified that the correct term for Sherley’s position was “Ilchi,” which referred to an expendable messenger. See “Translating Persia,” 89-91.

Persia with Sir Dodmore Cotton as official English ambassador. Departing in March of 1627, the first official embassy since that of Anthony Jenkinson under Elizabeth included the Sherleys, Naqd ‘Alī Beg, Shāhsuwār’s son, and Thomas Herbert who documented the ill-fated embassy in his travel narrative, *A Relation of Some Yeares Travail* (1634).<sup>195</sup>

While the group was initially well-received by the Shah, the negative influence of the Shah’s minister, Muhammad ‘Alī Beg, undermined the uneasy relationship between the Shah and the Englishmen. Following the death of Shāhsuwār’s son and the suicide of Naqd ‘Alī Beg on route, both Robert Sherley and Cotton died during the hapless sojourn.<sup>196</sup> Perhaps because prospects in the region remained unclear, with the tragedies of the Dodmore embassy coexisting with the success of the Anglo-Persian forces in aiding Shah Abbas to capture the island of Hormuz from the Portuguese in 1622, Charles remained invested in Persia, evincing his personal desire to grow his “oriental” collection by requesting the East India Company to procure Arabic and Persian manuscripts.<sup>197</sup> Charles was not alone in his penchant for all things Persian; in the 1630s, the Bodleian Library began to collect such manuscripts owing to the great interest of Archbishop Laud and his protégé, Edmund Pococke, the first professor of Arabic at Oxford.<sup>198</sup>

In part due to the news of the official embassy and the renewing of trade and diplomatic exchange with Persia, the 1630s witnessed a rise in dramatic interest in Persian-themed plays following a lull in significant theatrical representations of Persia following the *Travels of the*

---

<sup>195</sup> Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, *The Cambridge History of Iran: Vol. 6. The Timurid and Safavid Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 396.

<sup>196</sup> Ferrier, “European Diplomacy,” 92.

<sup>197</sup> Matthew Birchwood, *Staging Islam in England: Drama and Culture, 1640-1685* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007), 53.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

*Three English Brothers* (1607).<sup>199</sup> In this study, we have seen how Persia's dramatic debut on the English stage in the Elizabethan period via biblical and classical narratives emphasizes the hospitality of Persia's ancient past and how, for rhetorical purposes, the dramatists of the *Travels* call upon a similar hospitable characterization to promote grandiose perceptions of an Anglo-Persian alliance against the Ottomans. Despite the specific conditions of the Persian embassy, in the first decades of the Caroline period, the renewed interest in Persian-themed dramatic entertainments manifests first in works displaying a self-conscious detachment from contemporary Persia and an ahistorical idealization of its mythic and mystic past evident in William Davenant and Inigo Jones' masque, *The Temple of Love* (1634), and in William Cartwright's tragi-comedy, *The Royall Slave* (1636). However, after the publication and circulation of Herbert's account of the failed Dodmore embassy, *Some Years Travel* (1634, 1638, 1664, 1665, 1677), Persian-themed drama, particularly John Denham's *The Sophy* (1642), engages with Shah Abbas' court directly, calling upon Herbert's travel narrative as its primary source. The evolving use of settings and characters drawing upon the Persian panoply of historical figures of exemplary hospitality coincides with the internal political and religious turmoil of the period, culminating in the English Civil War and the Interregnum. During the first decades of Charles' rule, when a desire to promulgate an aura of a new ordered, pristine, regime is paramount, the Persian paradigm is part of elite, idealized, and romanticized courtly entertainments with a limited audience; later, as the insular court culture no longer prevails, and drama itself is under attack, interest in staging Persia on the public stage is linked to contemporary travel accounts that provide the matter for moralizing about the fall of a monarch

---

<sup>199</sup> For a listing of all plays with references to Persia, both minor and major, see Linda McJannet, "Bringing in a Persian," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 12 (1999): 236-267.

on the eve of the English Civil War. In its multiple dynamic uses, we see how the Persian paradigm mobilizes thought into action for both courtly and popular audiences during the Caroline period.

John M. Wallace's formative essay on the way examples are used in seventeenth-century poetry begins with his own example of this rhetorical strategy drawn coincidentally from *The Sophy*, which generalizes about the causes of the Civil War from a specific incident recounted in Herbert's travel narrative.<sup>200</sup> Denham's choice of a Persian-themed play speaks to the evolving use of the Persian setting over the seventeenth century: unlike plays featuring Turkish characters or other non-European settings, Persia, with its ancient and early modern temporalities is the choice historical example Denham calls upon to generalize how states are destroyed by "fears and jealousies" in his royalist drama.<sup>201</sup> As Wallace explains, Denham's retroactive methodology, of choosing the "moral" first and then the story to exemplify it, was typical practice of the period, as William Congreve later wrote of his work in *The Double Dealer*: "I designed the Moral first, and to that Moral I invented the fable."<sup>202</sup> In this vein, this chapter dwells on dynamic capacity of the multiple figurative uses of the Persian paradigm—as symbols and idealistic, spiritual, and political examples—to mark a turning point in the evolution of Persian-themed drama, one that hearkens to earlier dramatizations and anticipates later instantiations. This chapter examines the way English authors draw upon Persia axiomatically in dialogue with a past and present mythology derived from travel narratives, historiographies, and

---

<sup>200</sup> John M Wallace, "'examples Are Best Precepts': Readers and Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Poetry," *Critical Inquiry: a Voice for Reasoned Inquiry into Significant Creations of the Human Spirit* 1 (1974): 281.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

sermons; in so doing, we observe how the Caroline period of Persian-themed drama moves beyond both the *mirror for princes* mode characterizing the use of hospitable ancient Persian monarchs in the Elizabethan period, and the popularization of contemporary Persia as a pro-Christian, hospitable state in the Jacobean period, to stage dynamic characters and settings evoking Persia's dual temporalities to engage with evolving political and religious conceptions of Caroline England and direct a vision of the future as the plays meditate on the historical dimensions of change.

Although distinct in their use of various temporalities, I argue that *The Temple of Love*, *The Royall Slave*, and *The Sophy* are representative works of Persian-themed drama participating in the moralizing discourse of the period; *The Temple of Love* magnifies the trope that hospitable origins between the East and West are wed to Persia through the motif of the journey of the Magi to the infant Christ; *The Royall Slave* depicts how a Persian transformation is a catalyst for commendable political and religious transformations of the state and the personhood of the Persian king; and *The Sophy* presents Persia as a setting that can facilitate constructive discourse on statecraft and monarchy through its enacting, rescinding, and reinstating of hospitality in the realm. In so doing, this chapter considers how figurative Persians, images of past biblical and classical narratives, materialize in Caroline drama as both symbols and didactic examples, and how literal Persians from contemporary travel accounts transcend their historical boundaries and become figures for English moralizing. Taken as a whole, I contend that genre dictates the visibility of hospitality; romance, in its eliding of tragedy and forced conversion, facilitates manifest hospitality, while tragedy depends on the obscuring of hospitable interactions to achieve its aesthetic outcomes.

**“A company of noble Persian youths”**

When Charles I ascended the throne in 1625, he was already surrounded by the Persian presence of an ideal king, beginning with his own father's appreciation of Xenophon's manual of ideal kingship, the *Cyropaedia*, which inspired Philemon Holland to originally complete a new translation for Prince Henry, Charles' older brother who died before succeeding to the throne.<sup>203</sup> In 1632, Holland published his re-dedicated translation of the *Cyropaedia* together with a symbolic frontispiece of Charles and Cyrus, "Carolus" and "Cyrus," posing on common ground:

---

<sup>203</sup> Grogan, *Persian Empire*, 44.



Figure 6. Frontispiece of the *Cyrupaedia*.1632<sup>204</sup>

As Grogan explains, Cyrus gazing dotingly on Charles seems to elevate Charles from any assumption of equality the image purports.<sup>205</sup> However, John Knowles contends that the possible

---

<sup>204</sup> Xenophon, *Cyrupaedia The institution and life of Cyrus, the first of that name, King of Persians...* trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1632).

<sup>205</sup> Grogan, *Persian Empire*, 44.

sartorial weakness actually signifies militaristic might in appealing to Charles to detach from his pacifist agenda and grow his standing army; taken as such, it is not an image of a less worldly king but rather of a stronger, more martial leader.<sup>206</sup> In reference to Holland's translation, Knowles emphasizes that his "translation presented Persia as the ideal image of absolute imperial sovereignty and refined political and religious culture, providing a persuasive mode for Charles's reformed, imperial Britain."<sup>207</sup> As a title page for a text with a great deal of focus on military stratagems, it is clear that Persia and Cyrus are models for Caroline royal strategy and policies and are thus an attempt to find "commonality," if not inspiration, as Knowles aptly summarizes: "some Caroline oriental connections were rooted in the hard material words of trade and technological exchange; oriental fantasy existed alongside more scholarly and informed attempts to understand the east, or find points of commonality."<sup>208</sup> As we have seen, this sense of commonality or commensurability characterizes English depictions and engagement with Persia throughout the period.

In understanding how a paradigm such as Cyrus functions for early modern audiences, it is helpful to consider the distinctions and overlapping conceptions of exemplarity in the period in conjunction with Kenneth Burke's conceptualization of images and ideas. While the material definition of a model as a small figure of a larger structure was certainly developed by the sixteenth-century, its secondary denotation as an "object of imitation" converges with the older fifteenth-century term "example" and its emphasis on an exemplary individual and his or her

---

<sup>206</sup> James Knowles, "'The faction of the flesh': Orientalism and the Caroline Masque," in *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary Essays on Culture and Politics in the Caroline Era*, ed. Ian Atherton and Julie Sanders (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 121.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

“pattern” of admired behavior.<sup>209</sup> Unlike symbols, and the material manifestations of such via emblems, the pragmatism of models and examples literalizes the abstract for the audience, particularly in the case of examples which illustrate general principles derived from particular episodes. Cyrus as a model exemplifies attributes of an ideal king; the visual representation on Holland’s frontispiece, however, goes beyond the literariness of a textual exemplar and presents him as an image with an even greater range of associations. In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke explains that “images are so related to ideas that an idea can be treated as the *principle* behind the systematic development of an image.”<sup>210</sup> Persia, and particularly Cyrus, are both instances of the systematization of an idea perpetuated in literature by shared narratives, and the exemplary “bundle of principles” attached to their conceptualizations are diverse but most often correspond to enacting hospitality.<sup>211</sup> In this sense, the image corresponds to an idea inspired by the paradigm Cyrus embodies.

In the case of the image of Cyrus on Holland’s title page, we see the Persian ruler on equal footing, if not clothing, with Charles; he is distanced from him in time, place, and mode of being, but nevertheless represents a figure of awe and inspiration, beckoning Charles to learn from the world created under his name. The juxtaposing temporalities, the image created “by differentiation,”<sup>212</sup> the invocation of an ancient leader alongside a contemporary monarch,

---

<sup>209</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “model, n. and adj.,” accessed September 15, 2015. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/120577>: “II. 9.a. A person, or a work, that is proposed or adopted for imitation; an exemplar”; *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “example, n.,” accessed September 15, 2015, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6559>: “6. a. A person’s action or conduct regarded as an object of imitation; often qualified by adjs. *good, bad, evil*, etc. Phrases, *to give example, to leave example, set an example*. Also, a person whose conduct ought to be imitated; a ‘pattern’ of excellence.”

<sup>210</sup> Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 88.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

stresses the importance of the Cyric Exemplar.<sup>213</sup> Rudi Matthee further expounds upon Persia's image in the period, explaining how it had developed a reputation as "a land of refined, alert, and curious people ruled by a philosopher-king, a font of knowledge and spiritual wisdom."<sup>214</sup> Thus, the frontispiece is Holland's invitation to Charles to become the next Cyrus or a leader with Cyric qualities, and is part of the exemplary rhetoric inaugurating Charles' acquisition of the throne even as it flatters the new king for his material sophistication and modernity. However, with Cyrus on the globe paralleling the image of Fortuna balancing on a sphere under her capricious control, Holland's frontispiece also mythologizes Cyrus, rendering the literal into the figurative, and distancing him from early modern Persia by placing him in an iconic paradigm invoking change, opportunity, and fortune through visual associations.

This overt and systematic mythologizing of Persia's legendary icons appears in a mystic Persian presence in a court masque by William Davenant, *The Temple of Love*. Performed on February 10, 1635 at Whitehall, *The Temple of Love* stages the re-founding of the "Temple of Chast Love" under the purview of Queen Indamora, the Queen of India. The elaborate and celebrated masque features nine "noble Persian youths" in search of the famed temple, encountering "false magicians" who practice "false worship" and attempt to seduce them from their quest during the antimasque.<sup>215</sup> Near the conclusion of the masque, Divine Poesie intervenes and reveals glimpses of the previously hidden temple to the youth to help maintain their steadfastness, leading them ultimately to safe passage to the temple presided over by Chast

---

<sup>213</sup> Blakeley, "Marlowe's Counterfeit Cyrus," 35-36.

<sup>214</sup> Rudi Matthee, "The Safavids Under Western Eyes: Seventeenth-Century European Travelers to Iran," *Journal of Early Modern History* 13.2/3 (2009): 164. In terms of Persia's fabular qualities, it is interesting to note that Matthee refers to Persia as "fabled realm" (139) with a "fabled ruler" (138).

<sup>215</sup> William Davenant, *The Temple of Love. A Masque* (London, 1634), A2r, A2v, A3r. All subsequent references will be from this edition and cited in text.

Love, Indamora, and her king. The lavish spectacle on stage seems to point to an overt form of proto-orientalism as the stage directions read:

*on the one side upon a basement sate a naked Indian on a whitish Elephant, his legges shortning towards the necke of the beast, his tire and bases of severall coloured feathers, representing the Indian Monarchy: On the other side an Asiatique in the habit of an Indian borderer, riding on a Camell; his Turbant and Coat differing from that of the Turkes, figured for the Asian Monarchy: over these hung sheild like Compartiments.*(A3r)

Yet, despite the lavish Eastern setting and intricate, costly costumes, as Stephen Orgel and Knowles explain, the masque is less concerned with an exploration of other cultures and more interested in promoting topical fashions in Caroline court culture. Orgel contends that the masque's promulgation of Platonic love and theme of purification is part of the reputation the court sought: "central to the reformation was the chaste union of Charles and Henrietta Maria: the royal marriage was a constantly reiterated emblem of the new order."<sup>216</sup> According to Orgel, Davenant's masque, with its noble Persian youth recalling the Wise Men from the East, stages "an expression of the power of the monarchy to restore the harmony of the nation by means of virtue, faith, and, ultimately magic."<sup>217</sup> Knowles further posits that the Persian element, and in particular its "specificity," does more than conjure a sense of renewal and epiphanies from the East but rather offers a "reformed orientalism with particular resonances for the Caroline court" in keeping with the multi-faceted presentation of Persia we have already seen in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama.<sup>218</sup> Knowles contends that the journey of the Magi in this masque is not limited to the concept of "western superiority" but that the "echoes of the nativity...gestures toward ecumenism

---

<sup>216</sup> Stephen Orgel, "Plato, the Magi, and Caroline Politics: A Reading of *The Temple of Love*," *Word and Image* 4.3-4 (1988): 664.

<sup>217</sup> Orgel, "Plato," 665.

<sup>218</sup> Knowles, "faction," 112-113.

or the unification of east and west.”<sup>219</sup> I would add that the masque’s depiction of the Persian youth as English knights on an allegorical search leading to their welcome by the Caroline court in the fashion of medieval European knights in search of sanctuary highlights this ecumenical vision of harmony between the east and west; moreover, as an image alluding to the Magi, figures representing certain hospitable principles across time and cultures, the Persian youth are emblems of ideals, separated from the pragmatic concerns and conflicts of inter-cultural and inter-religious exchange, and thus capable of infusing and diffusing concepts of transformation germane for a newer court continuing to fashion itself in juxtaposition to the Jacobean monarchy.

The emphasis on the corporate body of the youth—the “company” (A2r) of nine—coupled with Magian mythology simultaneously invokes the discourse of early modern diplomacy *and* hospitality as “company” denotes bodies of soldiers, tradesmen, and actors as well as a host of angels.<sup>220</sup> The westward journey of the Magi, as told in the Gospel of Matthew, illustrates one of the seminal moments of hospitality and gift-giving in Western culture, and a primary example of successful diplomacy. The very origins of diplomatic immunity stem from Roman *hospitum* following a “tradition of hospitality to all strangers which had been a major prop of the safety of messengers in the Near East as far back as the second millennium BC”; the tradition is linked with the practice of assigning ecclesiastical ambassadors as harbingers of peace as in the case of the

---

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 119

<sup>220</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “company, n.,” accessed October 2, 2015.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/37420>: “(a) A body of soldiers, a group of warriors; (formerly) †a host of angels, a troop of cavalry (obs.) lc. A group of actors, singers, or dancers who perform together. Formerly also: †a band of musicians (obs.); b. An association or corporate body formed to engage in trade or industry, typically having a legal identity distinct from that of its members; a commercial business, a firm.; d. With the. Chiefly with capital initial. The East India Company.”

Zoroastrian priests attending on Christ.<sup>221</sup> As Kearney explains, “the fact that the birth of the Nazarene child is marked by the advent of Three Foreigners from the East—The Magi—confirms the sentiment that epiphanies of divine eros and natality involve an incursion of the foreign into the frame of the familiar.”<sup>222</sup> In Davenant’s masque, the foreign in the form of the Persian youth, is both distinguished by its inherent nobility and familiarized through the rhetoric of European knighthood and diplomacy.

By combining an ancient and contemporary persona for the Persian youth, being at once angelic visitors hearkening to a shared spiritual narrative and adventurous versions of early modern knights-diplomats, the masque invests the journey of the Magi, and by extension diplomatic activity in the East, with spiritual and hospitable associations. The Persian youth embark on a “noble adventure,” (A2v) a “quest” to see the Temple of Chaste Love, because “*The fame of this Temple of Loue ...quickly spread over all the Easterne world*” (A2r). The goal of this embassy of purification is to “re-establish” the true temple, reiterating that it has always been there but was hidden from sight by Divine Poesie because of the machinations of the spurious magicians. The summary of the masque reads: “*the Magicians being frustrate of their hopes, sought by enchantments to hinder all others from finding it; and by this imposture many Noble Knights and Ladies had been tempted and mis-led*” (A2r). The obscuring of the truth by the false magicians recalls Edmund Spenser’s Archimago, the sorcerer that attempts to lure the Red-Crosse Knight from Una in *The Faerie Queene*. Echoing Spenser’s promulgation of a nationalistic agenda in his Elizabethan epic, the birth of the “new sect” is described as a “miracle” that “takes birth and

---

<sup>221</sup> Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, *The History of Diplomatic Immunity* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 13.

<sup>222</sup> Kearney, *Anatheism*, 25.

nourishment in Court,” and is set in what one magician calls “a dull Northerne Ile, they call Britaine,” (B2v) the historical parallel of Spenser’s Faery Land.

Coinciding with antiquated, chivalric rhetoric are references to contemporary diplomatic affairs in Davenant’s masque. The arrival of the Persian youth is presented as topical “news” as one magician announces to his colleagues,

Newes! newes! my sad companions of the shade!  
There's lately landed on our fatall shore  
Nine Persian youths, their habit and their lookes  
So smooth, that from the pleasures i'th Elisian fields  
Each female ghost will come, and enter in  
Their flesh againe, to make embraces warme. (B2v)

The announcement in the form of “news” suggests “that the masque echoes Caroline concerns with the novel (‘modern’) phenomenon of news culture,”<sup>223</sup> and reveals an awareness of contemporary concerns outside of the magical world invoked by the enchantments of the masque. Soon after the magician’s announcement, a second announcement heralds the greatly anticipated Persian youth:

*A Persian Page comes leaping in.*

Hey ! hey! how light I am? all soule within?  
As my dull flesh, were melted through my skinne?  
And though a Page, when landed on this shore,  
I now am growne a briske Ambassadour!  
From Persian Princes too, and each as fierce  
A Lover, as did ever sigh in verse!  
Give audience then, you Ladies of this Ile!...  
For I must tell you, that about them all  
There's not one graine, but what's Platonicall! ...  
My Master is the chiefe that doth protect,  
Or (as some say) misse-lead this precise sect:  
One heretofore that wisely could confute  
A Lady at her window with his Lute.  
There devoutly in a cold morning stand  
Two howres, praying the snow of her white hand;

---

<sup>223</sup> Knowles, “faction,” 126.

So long, 'till's words were frozen 'tweene his lips,  
 And's Lute-strings learnt their quav'ring from his hips.  
 And when he could not rule her to's intent,  
 Like *Tarquin* he would proffer ravishment.  
 But now, no feare of Rapes, untill he find  
 A maydenhead belonging to the mind.  
 The rest are all so modest too, and pure,  
 So virginly, so coy, and so demure,  
 That they retreat at kissing, and but name  
*Hymen* , or Love, they blush for very shame! (C2r-v).

The sprightly page's reference to becoming a "briske ambassador" calls to mind the controversy of ambassadorial authority between the ambitious Robert Sherley and Naqd 'Alī Beg that instigated the Dodmore embassy. The flippant page lightens the gravity of Charles' failed diplomatic efforts, re-casting modern diplomacy as fantastic and romantic in an effort to please the court. More importantly, the page's self-conscious, instantaneous rhetorical metamorphosis from a lower station to a higher one, from page to ambassador, comically mirrors the movement eschewing the false temple of bodily love to chaste love in the masque. The speech's direction to the "Ladies of this ille" praises the "platonically" Persians belonging to this "precise sect"; the allusion to the rape of Lucretia and its chaste reversal into a Platonic "ravishment" of "A maydenhead belonging to the mind" bombastically reverses the announcement of the magician who earlier claims that their "habit and their looks/So smooth, that from the pleasures i'th Elisian fields/Each female ghost will come, and enter in/Their flesh again, to make embraces warme." Although the magician reveres the physical body, his adoration of the Persian youths' external beauty emphasizes their supernatural and Christ-like abilities to quicken the dead. While the magician may accurately describe their capacities, the mis-appropriation of the purpose of such a

reanimation is resolved through the page's emphasis on the Persian youth's nobility, the "spirits of the highest ranke" (A2v).

Like Spenserian knights, the Persian "stranger Knights" give up worldly desires for the "truth" and purity of the true temple. As Knowles states in his intertextual analysis of the masque, "the Persians...read through the *Cyropaedia* and through Herbert's Brahmins, embody refinement, contemplation and, above all, moderation and continence, and the quest for perfect beauty."<sup>224</sup> Combining both Latin and Indian mythology, in an archetypal understanding of the function of such figures across cultures, Orpheus and Eastern spiritual figures representing Indian Brahmin priests, found in Thomas Herbert's travel narrative, usher in the Persian youth in their final reverential voyage across the sea and into the Temple of Chast Love.<sup>225</sup>

*Then Divine Poesie sends Orpheus her chiefe Priest in a Barque (assisted by the Brachmani and Priests of the Temple, who meet him on the shores) to calme the Seas with his Harpe, that a maritime Chariot prepared by the Indian Sea-gods, might safer, and more swiftly convey them to atchieve this Noble Adventure (A2v).*

Through supernatural assistance, the Persian youth successfully enter the temple, completing the spiritual journey as harbingers of a new age with the re-establishment of the true temple. In this sense, the masque stages a re-creation myth, with the Persian mystic characters as re-invigorators of the Temple, and by extension true faith, virtues, and Platonic aspirations in the Caroline court. Although "*Seduc'd at first by false desire,*" (C5r) the steadfast company of youth remain emblems of a Platonic ideal, figures from a mystic and mythic past summoned because of their intrinsic worth to inspire a contemporary regime and magnify thereby the hospitality between two cultures in pursuit of a common lofty spiritual goal. Their innate ability to transcend worldly

---

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>225</sup> Knowles, "faction," 120.

passions and temptations is mirrored in the protagonist of William Cartwright's play, *The Royall Slave*, performed two years after *The Temple of Love* with great royal acclaim. However, as we shall see more explicitly in Cartwright's play, the significance of the trope of the restoration of the Temple is not simply a meditation on Platonic ideals in the symbolic, inspirational mode, but also a reference to religious reforms spearheaded by Archbishop Laud played out through Persian Temples of the Sun.

### **The Persian Mock-King**

*The Royall Slave* draws authority from an obscure and extravagant tradition attributed to the Persian court: according to a Persian tradition, a prisoner of war may reign as Persian king for three days before he is executed. The play features a devoted Persian king, Arsamnes, a Persian queen dedicated to her Platonic philosophy of love, drunken and vice-ridden Ephesian captives, and three Magi or "Persian priests." Cratander, the only noble Ephesian captive, represents the ideal philosopher-king, ruling justly and withstanding tests to his virtue in the form of worldly pleasures and temptations to betray Persia to liberate Greece. By virtue of his exemplary nature and heroic actions, he wins the adoration of the queen, her ladies, and ultimately, the king of Persia who attempts to spare Cratander's life despite the Persian custom. When the king is forced to perform the sacrifice to appease the Persian Gods, Providence via a natural sign intervenes and saves Cratander's life.

Commissioned by Archbishop Laud, Cartwright's Oxford University play was first performed on August 30<sup>th</sup> 1636 by Christ Church students for Charles and a delighted Henrietta Maria who requested additional performances by the King's Men at Hampton Court.<sup>226</sup>

---

<sup>226</sup> Melissa D. Aaron, *Global Economics: A History of the Theater Business, the Chamberlain's/king's Men, and Their Plays, 1599-1642* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 190.

Scholarship on the play has primarily focused on its portrayal of Platonic love, its contribution to cavalier drama, and its exploration of the ideals of monarchy.<sup>227</sup> Addressing the scholarly dismissal of the political implications of Cartwright's work, more recent readers have reevaluated the play for its political significance. In *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I*, Kevin Sharpe contends that it is not only a "serious work" but also a "didactic political statement,"<sup>228</sup> participating in the creation of a mutually beneficial affiliation between king and university.<sup>229</sup> More broadly, the play establishes a type of relationship that defines ideal kingship as one that profits from examples. Through its implicit didacticism, *The Royall Slave* demonstrates the qualities needed in both an individual king and a system of governance. In so doing, it offers thought-provoking examples for its audience in the manner typical of the period's academic drama,

Despite its emphasis on a distinctly Persian atmosphere with celebrated Persian costumes, attention to the Persian setting is largely ignored in scholarship. In her contribution to the ongoing "reorientation of early modern studies,"<sup>230</sup> Chloë Houston has recently argued that "representations of pre-Islamic Persia convey ideas about ideal kingship and the Queen of England" in *The Royall Slave*, and that Persia is an "open space in which different values can be debated and promoted".<sup>231</sup>

---

<sup>227</sup> The play's editor G. Blakemore Evans reads the play for its contribution to cavalier drama, and particularly the cult of Platonic love Queen. See introduction to *The Royal Slave* in *The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright*, ed. G.B. Evans (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951), 165-191.

<sup>228</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 48.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>230</sup> Chloë Houston, "Persia and Kingship in William Cartwright's *The Royall Slave* (1636)," *Studies in English Literature 1500 - 1900 Rice University* 54.2 (2014): 469

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 460.

The Persian Court emerges as a space in which ideas of kingship can be evaluated and positive values asserted; Arsamnes is a king—and Persia a place—capable of learning through example. It is this flexibility, or capacity to learn, that strengthens Persia in the play, which ends with an alliance between the Persian conquerors and their new dominion.<sup>232</sup>

In furthering Houston's timely intervention, I aim to explain how capacity-building functions within the play, answering thereby the questions of what is absorbed in the Persian state, how this exchange of knowledge and virtues occurs, and what capabilities it creates for Persians and non-Persians alike.

Persian royal culture is distinguished for its hospitality in *The Royall Slave* even while the unusual and problematic custom of mock-kingship complicates the host-guest relationship and reveals a distorted desire of the Persian realm to accept strangers, and, in this instance, to mock and execute its pseudo-guests. However, law and traditions prove malleable in Cartwright's Persia, even if for a temporary period. This momentary legal pause, this elision in enacting local traditions for the greater good, the life of a non-Persian, creates a cosmopolitan temporality—much like Knight's reading of Shāhsuwār's burial—that enables the realm to change because of an alien presence. Significantly, this embrace of the foreigner in *The Royall Slave* is not officially sanctioned by the king but rather it is Providence in the form of Persian Mithraism.

The opportunist playwrights of the *Travels* were very different authors than Cartwright, the young Oxonian scholar and aspiring cleric. Rather than a superficial and generalized understanding of Persia the *Travels* playwrights exploit to de-Islamicize the Shah's court, Cartwright brings esoteric knowledge of Persia into his play, the primary example being the source of the mock-king tradition. Houston explains that the tradition, derived from the "Fourth

---

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 463.

Discourse on Kingship,” in which Diogenes is discoursing with Alexander, “clearly places it within the tradition of advice to princes, as the practice is intended to serve as warning and counsel to those who would rule... The message, therefore, is not to ‘attempt to be king before you have attained to wisdom.’”<sup>233</sup> Furthermore, Cartwright’s choice of character names borrows from Achaemenid history as circulated in the early modern period. Arsamnes was known to be of the Achaemenids as recounted, for instance, in Walter Raleigh’s *The History of the World*, which draws upon Herodotus for its lineage:

Cyrus the first, who had  
Teispius, who begat  
Ariaramnes, who was father of  
Arsamnes, the father of  
Hystaspes, the father of  
Darius, surnamed Celes, the father of Xerxes.<sup>234</sup>

While Atossa is the daughter of Cyrus the Great, and the mother of Xerxes featured in Aeschylus’ fifth century play, *The Persians*, interestingly and incorrectly, in the early modern period, Atossa was suspected to be Esther:

*Atossa*, was first the wife of king Cambyses, afterward married to king Darius Histaspis, and married the mother of Xerxis: in the yeere of the worlde 3620. reade more in Ester. For as some thinke, this Atossa was Ester, who first was the wife of Ahuerus, and after his death, became wife to Darius Histaspis, vnto whom shee bare Xerxes, the father of Artaxerxes, in the yeere of the worlde.<sup>235</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup> Houston writes of a possible contemporary source for the tradition: “astrologers had predicted a royal personage’s death, probably in Persia, and advised the Shah to put another in his place for the dangerous period. Abbas placed on the throne a member of a minor sect whom he personally adorned and crowned and who ruled for three days before being publicly put to death” (“Persia and Kingship,” 467).

<sup>234</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (London: 1614), 47.

<sup>235</sup> Thomas Bentley, *The sixt lampe of virginities containing a mirrour for maidens and matrons...* (London, 1582), 130.

This possible allusion to Esther via Arsamnes' queen is significant in terms of the political outcome of inter-religious marriage in *Godly Queene Hester* discussed in Chapter One in so far as Esther, like Cratander, is a welcomed stranger who assists the realm in *The Royall Slave*.

Cartwright's scholarship in the play not only evokes specific Achaemenid figures but also incorporates seventeenth-century understandings of Zoroastrianism mediated through its associated Mithraic antecedents. *The Royall Slave* begins within a Mithraic context—in a *Temple of the Sun with a Persian Magi worshipping the Sunne (prologue s.d)* calling upon an embrace of the Persian court:

From my Devotions yonder am I come,  
Drawne by a neerer and more glorious Sun.  
Hayle ô ye sacred Lights; who doe inspire  
More than yond holy and eternall Fire.  
A forreine Court lands here upon your Shore,  
By shewing its owne worth to shew yours more:  
Set here as Saphires are by your Queen's veines,  
Not to boast Colour, but confesse their staynes.  
No matter now for Art, you make all fit;  
Your Presence being still beyond all wit.<sup>236</sup>

The magi's opening speech begins a scheme of commensurability that may be defined as a paralleling of political, religious, and cultural structures that characterizes the constructive and transformative relationships in the play. Here, amplifying Persia's "worth" doubly aggrandizes that of England's. In this sense, the characters in the play are not simply allegorical parallels of the king and so on; rather, they are concrete historical personages in their own right, figures of commensurability that function as paradigmatic examples above and alongside the English court. England (with its primary audience being the court, the church, and the university) does not see

---

<sup>236</sup> William Cartwright, *The royall slaue A tragi-comedy* (Oxford, 1639), prologue lines 1-10. All subsequent references will be from this edition and are cited in text.

itself in Cartwright's Persia but can identify inspirational paradigms of being and doing within that space to think on its own terms. In the prologue to the repeat performance at Hampton Court, the Anglo-Persian monarchical equivalence is further drawn out:

The rites and Worship are both old, but you  
Have pleas'd to make both Priest and People new.  
The same Sun in yon Temple doth appeare;  
But they'are your Rayes, which give him lustre here.  
That Fire hath watch'd e're since; but it hath been  
Onely Your gentler breath that kept it in. (ll.1-6)

Showing gratitude for this second command performance, Cartwright explicitly correlates the drama with England and the Church—"both Priest and People" are renewed under Charles. The dramatic analogy aligns the second performance with a renewing of religion and society in England through the Caroline court. By emphasizing "old" "rites and Worship," Cartwright promotes commensurable notions of ancient Persian religion with the Church of England and in particular Laudianism and the controversial changes Archbishop Laud and Charles commissioned even while the ancient and semi-mythical temporalities and settings complicate allegorical identifications of Persia as England in a one-to-one parallel. In this vein, even Greece and the Ephesians exist as an ambiguous category of non-Persians, not easily reconciled with representing a singular European entity.

Contending with and in many ways spurring on the proliferation of Puritan preaching, the Church of England and the Caroline state combined in its preference to promote "reverent, communal and sacramental worship," leading thereby to alterations in over sixty percent of churches and chapels in the 1630s.<sup>237</sup> As historians Sharpe and Julian Davies explain, the

---

<sup>237</sup> Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1642* (London: Arnold, 2003), 219-221.

“renewed emphasis on ceremony and externals of worship” included the use of priestly vestments and the centralizing of altars, innovations that were spearheaded by Charles who promulgated unity in the Church through external order and decorum with less theological interests.<sup>238</sup> Archbishop Laud advocated the use of the term “altar” in place of the Protestant term of the “Lord’s Table” and the placement of the table at the east end of the Church, running north to south, and railed in to emphasize the sacred, closed off space, accessible only to clergy. While these changes seemed papist in design, for Laud and Charles, these alterations “signified a return to a greater reverence for the liturgical mystery and power of the Christian faith, to the awesome spectacles of both the cathedral and the ceremonies that occurred within it.”<sup>239</sup> The Caroline desire for the “visible manifestation” of faith, of creating “a sense of the numinous,”<sup>240</sup> is analogously represented in *The Royall Slave* through its staging of Mithraic settings, beginning with the prologue featuring the Persian Magi at the Altar and ending with the spectacle in the Temple of the Sun.

These favorable representations of high clergy and sacramentalism, the “visible church” in Peter McCullough’s terms,<sup>241</sup> via Mithraism and its generic association with sun worship doubling for Charles, a “more glorious sun,” provide the religious context for the play’s depiction of the interplay of free will and the role of Providence in man’s earthly endeavors: Cratander chooses to practice virtues over vice and King Arsamnes ultimately decides to free

---

<sup>238</sup> Todd Wayne Butler, *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-century England* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), 114.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 113

<sup>240</sup> Julian Davies, *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism, 1625-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 22, 209.

<sup>241</sup> Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 163.

Cratander, yet it is only through the intervention of Providence that Cratander is saved from death. In its intersecting portrayals surveying the nature of man's free will and the accompanying possibility of unrestricted grace, the exaltation of royalty, and the visibility of religious worship reminiscent of the changes commandeered by Laud, *The Royall Slave* broadly participates in the discourse of Arminianism.<sup>242</sup> In terms of the play's depiction of volition and its political and religious undertones, Scott Paul Gordon argues that the play "articulates precisely Charles's commitment to an elitism—both Christian and Platonic—that emphasizes the capacity of extraordinary individuals to transcend all private interests and to desire actively the public good."<sup>243</sup> Gordon suggests that Cratander's virtue is not innate but learned, that he has developed his philosophy and character through his reading of Plato's *Phaedo*.<sup>244</sup> I would add that the play also emphasizes his innate qualities through his physical beauty and as such invests him with a further level of hidden nobility and ultimately royal pedigree that aids in his access to divine bounties.

Cratander's virtuous exceptionalism distinguishes him from the other Greek characters in the play who are depicted as either low-life comedic characters or dissembling citizens testing Cratander's loyalty. In contrast, the Persian court is presented as esteemed, ordered, and respectable with the notable exception of the mock-king custom that is under scrutiny throughout

---

<sup>242</sup> John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Intolerance and Arguments for Religious Toleration in Early Modern and "early Enlightenment" Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 285.

<sup>243</sup> Scott Paul Gordon, "The Cultural Politics of William Cartwright's *Royal Slave*," in *In the Company of Shakespeare: Essays on English Renaissance Literature in Honor of G. Blakemore Evans*, ed. Thomas Moisan, Douglas Bruster, and G. B. Evans (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), 252.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

the play. When Molops the jailer informs the Ephesian captives of the distorted amusement of assuming royalty under the threat of death, he downplays its purpose:

Be not mistaken: 'tis not any way to honour you, but to make himselfe sport. For you must know, that tis the custome of the Persian Kings after a Conquest, to take one of the Captives, and adorne him with all the Robes of Majesty, giving him all Priviledges for three full dayes, that hee may doe what hee will, and then be certainly led to death.  
(1.1.69-75)

Philotas, a captive, responds by foreshadowing Cratander's subsequent actions: "Will he allow so long? I'd give my life at any time for one dayes Royalty; 'tis space enough to new mould a Kingdome" (1.1.76-77). Indeed, Cratander's intervention during the transformative cosmopolitan pause that characterizes his three day reign creates a "new mould" of the Persian kingdom by altering the very parameters of the mock-king tradition itself.

While Molops' attributes a primary purpose of entertainment for the mock-king "sport," King Arsamnes undermines his assertion by seriously evaluating the captives' characters. The king initially asks Molops for the "fairest, and the handsomest" captive but quickly couples interior worth with exterior comeliness in his review. Molops identifies Cratander's attributes but sees them as a detriment to the "sport": "There is one more which I set apart; a good personable fellow, but he's wondrous heavy and bookish, and therefore I thought him unfit for any honour" (1.2.101-102). It becomes clear that the king's "sport" requires rules and decorum and not simply recklessness. Arsamnes considers Cratander "heavy and bookish" and replies, "Goe call him forth; there's none of all these has/ A Forehead for a Crowne; their blood runnes thicke,/As if 'twould blot a sword," (1.2.102-104) immediately recognizing Cratander's lofty character as worthy of the Persian throne:

See, there comes one  
Arm'd with a serious and Majestique looke,

As if hee'd read Philosophy to a King:  
We've conquer'd something now. (1.2.105-108)

Like other Persian kings in early modern English drama, Arsamnes' virtues derives from his capacity for discerning the potentialities in others and deepening his own character by participating in elevated discourse that furthers his knowledge of religion, politics, and philosophy. While Arsamnes sees himself as victor in a literal and military sense, Cratander elucidates the true nature of victory: "Victory being/Not fortunes gift, but the deservings Purchase" (1.2.122-123) of a man who fights for ideas, "him, who fights/ Not out of thirst, or the unbridled lust/ Of a flesh'd sword, but out of Conscience /To kill the Enemy, not the man" (1.2.125-128). Such a deepened, conscious, and philosophical man, Cratander contends, acknowledges and worships the higher power that secures him that victory:

Who when  
The Lawrell's planted on his brow, ev'n then  
Under that safe-protecting Wreath, will not  
Contemne the Thunderer, but will  
Acknowledge all his strength deriv'd, and in  
A pious way of gratitude returne  
Some of the spoyle to Heav'n in Sacrifice. (1.2.128-134)

Arsamnes identifies the irony that Cratander "hast reasoned all this while/Against [him] self" as the Persian "Religion doth/require the Immolation of one Captive" (1.2.148-150). Yet, Cratander upholds his call to piety and accepts his faith out of mutual respect for the Persian religion: "your Sun that doth require me, I expect/With the same minde, as I would doe my Nuptialls" (1.2.159-161). Thus, *The Royall Slave*, via Cratander's reverence, maintains the integrity of the mocking tradition; it is neither dismissed nor demonized despite the foreignness, brutality, and opacity of the ritual. The problematic tradition ridicules the concept of unconditional hospitality through its untenable promotion of the limitless occupation of a guest. The king forces the

occupation of the throne as Cratander occupies the role of both guest and captive simultaneously. The strange “sport” is akin to a stress interview, a screening of a potential candidate for royal succession even while it is a perversion of the hospitable attribute that often characterizes the Persian court. As in the case of other aberrations in the Persian court manifest in the bigotry of Aman in *Godly Queen Hester* and Halibeck and Calimath in the *Travels of the Three English Brothers* examined in earlier chapters, this distortion of the hospitable impulse is purified and eradicated in *The Royall Slave* because of Cratander’s presence in Persia as an instantiation of the foreign re-founder figure in early modern drama.

Like Robert Sherley, the foreign re-founder in Shah Abbas’ fictionalized realm in the *Travels of the Three English Brothers*, Cratander undergoes a Persian transformation on stage. As we have seen in Persian-themed dramas, in contrast to turning Turk, when foreign re-founders turn Persian, their transformation is one which exalts the non-Persian, strengthens Anglo-Persian hospitable relationships and diplomatic alliances, and betters the Persian state. In her assessment of such turning, Grogan identifies these figures as “aspirationally Persian or Persian by association or even simply by dress,”<sup>245</sup> highlighting the temporary and non-evasive nature of assuming a Persian persona. In Cratander’s case, the play stages a swearing in ceremony, with Cratander kissing the king’s scepter while the Priest invests him with Persian robes (1.2.167-168), a visible act of reverence calling to mind the Laudian vestment controversy with its emphasis on clerical ornamentation. Once invested, Cratander maintains his loyalty to Persia despite tests to his virtue and the bequests of his fellow Greeks to undermine his adopted throne. When two disguised Ephesian citizens, Phocion and Hippias, ask him to “betray the

---

<sup>245</sup> Grogan, *Persian Empire*, 27.

Persians” so the Greeks are no longer under the “Persian Yoake” (2.6.637), Cratander defends his fealty to Persia:

no sooner did I come  
Within the Persian Wall, but I was theirs.  
And since, good *Hippias*, this pow'r hath only  
Added one linke more to the Chayne. I am  
Become *Arsamnes* Instrument: I've sworne  
Faith to his Scepter and himselfe, and must  
Aske his leave, e're I doe betray his Country. (2.6.609-615)

In his temporary Persian habit, Cratander whole-heartedly and humbly assumes his Persian persona as both an object of Persian servitude and an adherent of the Persian religion: “for if Persians may Swear by their Sun, I well may sweare by that” (3.4.881-882). Similar to the state re-assembling assistance offered by a foreign re-founder, Cratander sees himself as defender of the Persian throne:

yet I have  
A strong Ambition in me to maintaine  
An equall faith 'twixt Greece and Persia:  
That like a river running 'twixt two fields,  
I may give growth and verdure unto both.  
*Praxaspes*, and *Masistes*, potent Lords,  
Are both 'gainst my designes; so that I shall not  
Obtaine an Army, for they thinke I have  
That vile minde in me to betray this kingdome.  
To which I've sworne fidelity; when by  
Your selfe, by all thats good, my 'intent is only  
To perfect great *Arsamnes* Conquest, and  
In that be beneficiall to my Country. (3.4.968-982)

Through Cratander’s synecdotal relationship to the Persian throne, he fashions himself as an extension of Arsamnes’ being, solidifying and exalting the work he has begun as king of an expanding realm, and empowering himself through the place he temporarily inhabits. In this sense, during his captivity, he does not replace his host but rather serves him as his bionic arm, edifying the moral foundation of the kingdom and, by proxy, benefiting Greece. By offering

“growth and verdure” to both realms, Cratander emphasizes the possibility of mutual gain through Greco-Persian cooperation; as a romance, the tragic, in terms of the imperial conquest, is subsumed as Cratander’s description draws upon organic rhetoric, painting a vision of potential collaboration between the perennial enemies as a natural outgrowth of his harmonizing reign. His insistence on finding unity between Greece and Persia, his “equal faith,” is a self-proclaimed form of dual citizenship, and his assertion that by aiding Persia Greece too will prosper asserts the positive outcomes of cooperation between diverse, and in this instance, warring nations. While to his fellow Ephesians Persia is an oppressive tyrant, Cratander, a romance hero, sees Persian rule as the “Persian shelter” (4.2.1108) that the conquered Ephesians can accept not as slaves but as a “weakned friend” (4.2.1107), coexisting in a peaceful albeit paternalistic state.

The question remains as to why Persia is in need or benefits from a foreign re-founder, even one that is caught in the awkward state between unconditional freedom and ultimate hostage. Arsamnes, like his dramatic Persian royal predecessors, practices hospitality through his openness on various levels; he is a dynamic ruler insofar as he is “capable of learning from example”<sup>246</sup> and identifying beneficial virtues in strangers. This outward-looking orientation and willingness to go beyond Persia and converse and commingle with others, promotes the well-being and progress of the realm. While Cartwright depicts Persia as a sophisticated realm, it is far from perfect. Persian luxuries pepper the play, yet their disabling potentialities are of little consequence as Cratander rejects “any delight that Persia yeelds” (2.3.403), marking the inclusion of such stereotypical associations of Persian wealth as indicators of a materially advanced kingdom rather than orientalist tropes. Rather than a presentation on the problems of

---

<sup>246</sup> Houston, “Persia and Kingship,” 463.

Eastern luxuries, the corrosive forces within the realm stem from prejudice manifesting in manipulative acts, rituals, and customs that are destructive and divisive. Cratander becomes the force that alters the three-day Persian custom of mock-kingship, and although it is not clear whether or not the custom will remain in Persia after Cratander's departure, within the bounds of the play, the practice is rescinded, Persian culture is depicted as flexible, and Persia accepts and benefits from the virtuous stranger in this temporary instance of a hospitable temporality.

### **“The fire is fully kindled”**

In her conceptualization of the role of the foreign re-founder in texts of Western culture, Honig draws upon foundational biblical narratives as formative stories depicting this process: “Moses appears as an Egyptian prince to lead the Israelites out of Egypt and bring to them the law from the mountain. The biblical Ruth's migration from Moab to Bethlehem reanimates the alienated Israelites' affective identification with their god while also beginning the line that will lead to King David.”<sup>247</sup> An early modern articulation of this rehabilitating, stranger driven process is found in a sermon on the Book of Esther published in a 1629 collection of sermons by proto-Arminian theologian Lancelot Andrew (edited by William Laud).<sup>248</sup> In his explication of the Esther story, Andrew emphasizes the illustrious reputation of the Persian Empire when King Xerxes decides to take a new wife, later revealed to be non-Persian:

What, the *Great King of Persia* finde no *match* in all his owne brave Nation? Never a *Persian Lady* serve him, but he must to this vile base people (the *Iewes*) his *captives*, his *slaves*, to picke him a *match* thence? What a disparagement is this, to all the *Persian blood*! It would make eny true *Persian* heart, rise against it.<sup>249</sup>

---

<sup>247</sup> Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner*, 3.

<sup>248</sup> Suellen M. Towers, *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 122.

<sup>249</sup> Lancelot Andrews, *XCVI. Sermons by the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrevves* (London, 1629), 850.

Speaking from an assumed and biased Persian perspective, Andrews questions why a glorious Persian king would pursue such an interreligious union, one that seems, as one out of Xerxes' "own clime, complexion, and degree."<sup>250</sup> Andrews not only stresses Esther's nationality as distinct from Persian culture, but also focuses on her Jewish religion as a source of potential contention in the union and upheaval in the state: "Nay then, now we shall have a *Queene* of a *contrarie Religion*, we shall now be all *Iewes*. One that cares, neither for *Mithra* nor *Oromasdes*; One by all likely-hood brought in, to be the utter ruine of the *Ancient Religion established in Persia*, yer she came there."<sup>251</sup> Rather than posing a threat to Zoroastrianism and the religious order of the state, Andrews shows how Esther becomes a catalyst to rid Xerxes' state of the decrepit advisors, leading ultimately to a restored and revitalized realm:

That this health should come to the *King of Persia*, neither by *Mede*, nor *Persian*; not by any of his own people, but by a *stranger*, who was none of his *lieges*, borne out of his allegiance, a *Iew*, a meer *alien*; that this should come forth by him, and by no other meanes. But so is GOD, *wonderfull in His waies*: and will, by an honest stranger sometimes, save that, a badd subject would destroy. That in default of his owne, GOD would have him saved by a *stranger*, rather then not at all.<sup>252</sup>

Cartwright's inclusion of the name Attossa, speculated to be Esther in the early modern period as noted earlier, reveals his interest in this particular reading of Esther from the prolific Jacobean preacher's sermon collection. Like Esther, Cratander is a providential instrument instigating positive change in the realm. As in the Persian-themed plays discussed in this study, religion plays a dominating role in the outcome of the newly diversified Persian realm; however, *The Royall Slave* is the first Persian-themed play to systematically and strategically integrate

---

<sup>250</sup> Shakespeare, *Othello*, 3.3.234.

<sup>251</sup> Andrews, *Sermons*, 850.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, 851.

seventeenth-century English knowledge of Persia's ancient faith, Zoroastrianism, and its Mithraic associations into its setting and plot.

*The Royall Slave* engages with Persian Mithraism more thoroughly than any other early modern English play preceding it.<sup>253</sup> The identification of sun-worship as a primarily Persian tradition was well established in the early modern period, with early references found in Sir Thomas Elyot's entry for "mithra" in his 1538 dictionary: "the Persians do call the sonne, and also the chiefe priest of the sonne."<sup>254</sup> One of the most extensive expositions on ancient Persian religion is found in Samuel Purchas' *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613). In Chapter 5, "Of the Persian Magi, and of their ancient Religion, Rites, and Customes," Purchas writes:

THE name of *Magi* is sometimes applied (say some) to all the Persians, or else to the particular Nation amongst them: sometime signifyeth the most excellent in Philosophie, and knowledge of Nature, or in sanctity and holines of life. ... Sometimes it signified such as we now call *Magicians*, practisers of wicked Artes. Among the Persians this name was auncient and honourable, ...applied onely to the priests, which liued in high reputation for dignitie and authority, being also Philosophers, as the Chaldreans were.<sup>255</sup>

Purchas' description speaks to the diverse portrayal of magi in the period; magi could be Spenser's Archimagos, crafty deceivers using their arts for nefarious ends, sages recognizing

---

<sup>253</sup> For an initial reading on Zoroastrianism as it is understood today, see Jenny Rose, *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010). For an interesting medieval vision of Zoroastrianism and its fire-worship as conceptualized via Christian Europe, see Marco Polo, *The most noble and famous trauels of Marcus Paulus* (London, 1579). Polo asserts that the fire Zoroastrians worship was a gift given to them by the infant Christ: "the said child did giue them a little Boxe, closed, or shut fast, commanding them they should not open it. But they, after they had trauelled a long iourney, it came in their mindes to sée what they carried in the said Boxe, and opened it, and found nothing in it but only a stone: and they taking it in ill parte, that they sawe nothing else, did cast it into a well, and by and by descended fire from Heauen, and burnt all the Well wyth the stone. And the Kings séeing this, each of them toke of the same fire, and carried it into their Countreys: and for thys cause they do worship the fire as God" (14-15).

<sup>254</sup> Thomas Elyot, *The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght* (London, 1538), 84.

<sup>255</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1613), 310-11.

divinity, or dutiful priests attending to the Persian state as in Cartwright's play. In keeping with the growing interest in Persia in the early decades of Charles' reign, Purchas elucidates his earlier definition in his 1626 edition, explaining that "*Mithra* signifies a Lord (The reason is, because they held, as in the beginning of this worke we noted out of *Zoroaster*, that the Sun and all the Stars are celestiall fires.)."<sup>256</sup> As Purchas' amendments reveal, while earlier seventeenth-century definitions of Mithraism focus on magi and sun-worship, later explanations include more theological commentary, including on the person of Zoroaster, the founder of Zoroastrianism, the state religion of the Achaemenids.

In his second edition of his travel account from the Dodmore embassy, Herbert writes that "*Zertoost* their Lawgiver (in imitation of *Moses*) charged them to keepe a perpetuall fire, not to bee fed with common cumbustibles, nor to be kindled or inflamed with prophane Ayre, but such as came from the beames of that glorious eye of heaven the Sunne, lightning, flints, or the like."<sup>257</sup> Like Purchas, Herbert complicates reductionist understandings of Mithraism to account for divinely sanctioned fire-worship, accounts for a possible symbolic and mystical significance of the fire from his limited early modern perspective, and analogizes the principle with the Judeo-Christian tradition while displaying his expertise in and familiarity with the Persian language by using the transliteration of "*Zertoost*" for Zoroaster. Drawing often from Herbert's writing and others in the period, Robert Baron's scholarly annotations to his closet drama *Mirza*

---

<sup>256</sup> ---, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1626), 375.

<sup>257</sup> Thomas Herbert, *Some yeares travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique Describing especially the two famous empires, the Persian, and the great Mogull* (London, 1638), 231. Here and throughout Herbert attempts to use the Persian transliteration of Zoroaster, "*Zertoost*," based on his study of Persian.

(1647) conflate Zoroastrianism and Islam as was often the case in attempts to decipher the nature of the evolution of religious systems:

*MITHRA* the same with the Suns, or rather the Idol of the Sun, anciently adored by the *Persians*, nor have *Mahometisme* yet justled out that old superstition, but only mixed with it, so that Mr. *Herbert* affirms... at the appearing of every new Moon, they go out to worship it, and each day at Sun set in every ward of the City, they beat their Kettle Drums, till he arises ...at that time, and at his first looking into our Horizon, a well voyced Boy from the Tarrass, or top of their Temples, sing Eulogies to *Mahomet* and *Ally*, and then each layick Pagan falls to his devotion, whatsoever hee is about. Their prayers are in the *Arabique*, their Negotiations in other Languages. Of old, in a Cave were the Rites of *Mithra* solemnized; from whence they drew an Ox by the hornes; which, after the singing of certaine Paeans, was sacrificed to the Sun. *Zorastes* placeth him between *Oremazes* and *Arimanius*, the good and bad *Daemon*, for which he took that denomination. His image had the countenance of a Lion, with a Tiara on his head, depressing an Ox by the hornes. I find him mentioned by *Grotius*, in his Tragedy of *Christ's* passion, but more to our purpose by *Statius*.<sup>258</sup>

Baron's annotation, much like earlier seventeenth-century Persian-themed drama, correlates both Islam and Zoroastrianism with convoluted, puzzling, and often inaccurate observances gathered from travel reports. Here the description of the Muslim Call to Prayer and the progression of time according to the Islamic lunar calendar is part of a palimpsest of elaborate rituals including sun-worship and lunar synchronization. Baron comments on Zoroastrian theology, identifying the dual deities of Ahura Mazda or Ormuzd, the Wise Lord and representative of Good, and Ahriman, the Evil Spirit, and references a contemporary image of Zoroaster noted in Hugo Grotius' drama.<sup>259</sup> Baron's scholarly notation demonstrates how a desire for a more comprehensive and developed albeit flawed understanding of Zoroastrianism evolves over the century and finds its way to both the stage and page.

---

<sup>258</sup> Robert Baron, *Mirza. A Tragedie, Really acted in Persia, in the last Age* (London, 1647), 108.

<sup>259</sup> Zoroastrianism or Mazdaism, although emphasizing the good and evil spirits, is considered monotheistic in its appreciation of the Wise Lord, Ahura Mazda. The good spirit Spenta Mainyu emanates from Ahura Mazda, much like the Holy Spirit of Christianity. See Rose, *Zoroastrianism*, 20.

*The Royall Slave* begins and ends in a Temple of the Sun. This providential framing emphasizes the importance of religion while the play's highly spectacular spiritual conclusion recalls the unusual baptism finale of *Travels*. Cratander is the hero of the anti-masque plot that occurs during the final acts of the play; the Ephesian captives attempt to rape the court ladies but Cratander intervenes, saves their virtue, and gains King Arsamnes' respect and adoration. An impressed Arsamnes declares, "*Cratander*, live; we doe command thee, Live" (5.3.1400), failing to comprehend the depth of the sacrificial hero's virtue as Cratander offers himself as a martyr if the king's pardon will result in the oppression of his people. At this thought, Queen Atossa intervenes and urges the king to practice religious tolerance in his rule over Greece:

Here I must dwell, *Arsamnes*, ty'd by great  
And solemne Vowes, (our Gods do now require it)  
Till you shall grant that the Ephesians may  
Still freely use their antient Customes, changing  
Neither their Rites nor Lawes, yet still reserving  
This honest Pow'r unto your Royall selfe,  
To command only what the free are wont  
To undergoe with gladnesse. (5.3.1422-1429)

Arsamnes accepts Atossa's appeal to hospitable leadership and declares that "It is a time of Mercy" and that "Victory" can only be claimed over a free people not "upon/The sluggish, and the abject" (5.3.1432-1436). Arsamnes' act of indulgence displays his liberality and the way romance contends with attempts at conversion by thwarting tragic potentialities through enabling acts of accommodation. Soon after, the joyful conviviality that ensues from this proclamation of tolerance is arrested by the priest's reminder of the impending spiritual obligation to sacrifice the custodian of the mock-throne. The Priest interrupts the feasting court to declare that the altar is prepared for the sacrifice and that the king's pardon is not sufficient in providential terms. Arsamnes begrudgingly accepts this divine injunction as he is caught in a bind between his dedication to his faith and his love for Cratander: "The Gods recall my courtesy; I stand/Doubly

ingag'd, to Heav'n, and to thee" (5.6.1517-1519). When Cratander chooses to obey this divine call, Arsamnes memorializes Cratander, sanctifying his image in the visible form of piety characterizing religiousness in the play: "I'll people all my Kingdome with thy Images,/To which they shall pay vowes, as to those Gods/Who now require thy company" (5.6.1525-1527).

The concluding spectacle corrals all the characters into the Temple and begins with the Priest's song of solar adoration:

*Thou ô bright Sun who seest all,  
Looke downe upon our Captives fall.  
Never was purer Sacrifice:  
'Tis not a Man, but Vertue dyes. (5.7.1562-1565)*

As a reluctant Arsamnes prepares to strike the blow and Cratander kneels down at the altar, the chorus appeals to the Gods for mercy: *Good deedes may passe for Sacrifice, ô than /Accept the Vertues, and give backe the Man (5.7.1572-1573)* and suddenly the stage directions indicate, *"the Sun eclipsed, and a showre of raine dashing out the fire"* (5.7.1574).<sup>260</sup> The Priest then accepts the sun's disappearance as a conclusive indicator to renounce the sacrifice:

*Hold, hold Arsamnes;  
Heav'n is not pleased with your Sacrifice.  
The glorious Sun hath veyl'd his face in clouds  
Not willing to behold it, and the skyes  
Have shed such numerous teares, as have put out  
The fire though fully kindled. (5.7.1574-1579)*

The interrupted sacrifice scene summons aspects of Abraham's well-known intended sacrifice of his son Isaac; the Persian priest's repetitive exclamation, "Hold, Hold" echoes the cry of the

---

<sup>260</sup> Gordon has argued that Charles draws upon the "rhetoric of the Platonic dramas he enjoyed over a decade earlier" in *Eikon Basilike*; in this vein, I would add that the play's spectacular eclipse may have inspired Charles' comment on his final meditation on death: "Death being an eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy daies," *Eikon Basilike, Or, The King's Book*, ed. Edward Almack (London: A. Morinng, 1904).

messenger from God, the Angel of the Lord, when he calls out, “Abraham, Abraham” (Genesis 22:11) as the patriarch lifts his arm in unwavering obedience of God’s command. Abraham’s intended sacrifice takes place on the third day, much like Cratander’s day of execution in the play. For his steadfastness to God’s will, Abraham and his progeny are blessed:

By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son: That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice. (Genesis 22:16-18)

God’s promise that Abraham’s descendants will multiply and inherit the “the nations of the earth” parallels the political inheritance that Arsamnes grants Cratander once he acknowledges the significance of the divine intervention that saves his life. Arsamnes summarizes the spiritual significance of the eclipse:

this comes not  
From any humane pow'r; 'tis not my hand  
That spares thee, blest *Cratander*, 'tis some God,  
Some God reserves thee unto greater workes  
For us, and for thy Country. (5.7.1584-1587)

Like Isaac, Cratander’s destiny is confirmed as part of a divine plan for Persia and Greece as the biblical story redirects the tragic into the triumphant. In the parallelism that yokes Greece and Persia together, “for us, and for thy Country,” Arsamnes reiterates Cratander’s strides toward national cooperation, provides the moral that justifies the interrupted sacrifice, and interprets the meaning of the portentous eclipse. When Cratander responds to Arsamnes’ magnanimity with a desire to serve both nations, Arsamnes invests him with the royalty he has displayed throughout the play:

Thy faith hath beene  
 So firme and try'd, thy moderation  
 So stayd, that in a just reward I must  
 My selfe conduct thee into Greece, and there  
 Continue thee a King; that what was meant  
 For sport and mirth, may prove a serious honour;  
 And thy Three Dayes passe o're into a long  
 And happy government; to be rul'd by thee  
 Will be as freedome to them; 'twill not be  
 Accounted slavery to admit a Prince  
 Chosen from out themselves: thy Vertues there  
 May shine, as in their proper Spheare. (5.7.1595-1606)

Arsamnes' claim on Greece is great. He endows himself with the ability to appoint a king under his discretion, declaring that his action aptly rewards Cratander and assures a "happy government" for a liberated Greece ruled by one of its own, suggesting that Greece's freedom and monarchy are enabled by the authority of Persia's king. The Persian throne directs a promise of future sovereignty and peace as Arsamnes frees Cratander from his status as slave in Ephesus, uplifting him to his "proper Spheare" of royal commander. Arsamnes' actions are noble but shrewd. While he displays humility in admiring Cratander's virtues, he maintains his power as ultimate authoritative figure in Persia, a chess master placing the pieces of the game into play. Now, in his own realm, Cratander can be an ally for Persia, as Arsamnes concludes: "Let others /When they make warre, have this ignoble end / To gaine 'em Slaves, *Arsamnes* gaines a Friend" (5.7.1606-1608). While Arsamnes may be open to diverse influences in his realm, like other Persian kings gracing the English stage, he is the diplomatic decision maker, wise yet politic in his judgments and discretion. As in the alliances between Jews and Persians in *Godly Queene Hester*, and Christians and Persians in the *Travels*, Ephesians and Persians unite as friends by the conclusion of *The Royall Slave*. Lastly, Arsamnes' moralizing speaks to the space for transformation Persia provides in the play. Although Cratandar, Robert Sherley and even Esther

before him, partake in forms of Persian transformations, their Persian inhabitations are temporary but not evanescent as the empowering transformation achieves its goal in metamorphosing both Persian and non-Persian alike.

Like *The Temple of Love*, Cartwright's drama invests in a mythology founded on a shared vision of Persia, drawing upon an ancient past but not contextualized within that temporality. Like Prospero's island, Persia in both drama and masque is a detached, semi-permanent space, a fictionalized Platonic ideal, isolated, distant, and romantic, hosting transformations from lower to higher states of being, from the worship of a bodily temple to a transcendent one, from a slave to a king, calling to mind Anthony's Sherley's description of Persia as a place that "may iustly serue as great an Idea for a Principality, as Platoes Commonwealth did for a Governement."<sup>261</sup>

#### **"Bringing in a Persian"<sup>262</sup>**

As an opposite to the obfuscated, ahistorical Persian setting in Davenant and Cartwright's works, Denham's *The Sophy* (1642) focuses on a topical incident recounted in Herbert's travel narrative. The play uses Persia as an example to comment on contemporary reasons for the Civil War as well as present the general truth that "fears and jealousies" destroy the state.<sup>263</sup> Unlike the inspirational symbolism associated with Persia in *The Temple of Love* and the idealistic example of leadership in *The Royall Slave*, both stemming from the romance genre, the tragic story of prince Mirza uses his example pragmatically, drawing on the dynamic power of the Persian paradigm to promote analogical thinking in the political sphere. In Wallace's description of the

---

<sup>261</sup> Anthony Sherley, *Sir Antony Sherley his relation of his trauels into Persia* (London, 1613), 29.

<sup>262</sup> I borrow the terms of my heading from Baron's footnotes which inspired McJannet's pivotal work on representations of Persia in drama. McJannet's article is the origin of the renewed interest in Persia in the Renaissance.

<sup>263</sup> Wallace, "precepts," 273.

interplay between presenting topical particulars and universal truths in seventeenth-century literature, he concludes that if an author “wished to moralize about contemporary affairs and yet to write a piece of literature that would be as permanent and universal as a good fable should be, he would first be obliged to generalize topical history; that is to see in the local incidents the general rules that they typified.”<sup>264</sup> Denham achieved such an artistic aim in creating a “timeless work of art” that although “superficially disguised” contains the “ingredients of all civil wars.”<sup>265</sup>

The fabular quality of Denham’s play participates in the mythologizing impulse of later seventeenth-century depictions of Persia on stage; much like the mythos surrounding the Magi and Cyrus, the Persian King Shah Abbas becomes a reference point for contemporary stories of early modern Persia.<sup>266</sup> In this instance, his cruel actions toward his son, Prince Mirza, transform an unknown historical figure into an emblem of sacrifice and suffering, wrongfully blinded and murdered because of the machinations of a deceptive counselor to the king. As Mathew Birchwood demonstrates, the contemporary references and figures, including Denham’s creation of the Caliph character representing Archbishop Laud, are part of its contemporary critique: “the irrefutable topicality of Denham’s representation of the Persian polity underlines the powerful

---

<sup>264</sup> Ibid., 286. Wallace reminds us of the history of the use of examples in the period, including Aristotle’s injunction that examples are either historical (as in the case of *The Sophy*) or invented, like Aesop’s Fables (280). As we have seen in previous chapters, the Persian example is part of well-accepted Renaissance reading practices of preferring the example over the precept for its “liveliness, immediacy, and clarity” (281) which is why poetry excels philosophy and history; this preference is famously endorsed by Sidney who was a fan of Cyrus because of Xenophon’s work in making him a primary example of a philosopher-king.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 287.

<sup>266</sup> Violence is often an integral component of fables as Jayne E. Lewis explains, “a fable is the only literary form in which the principal characters regularly devour one another” (8). Through its display of “brutal power relations” and its ability to “weld together the material, the political, and the symbolic” *Mirza* shares common ground with fables (8). See Lewis, *The English Fable: Aesop and Literary Culture, 1651-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

valency of the Islamic model on the eve of the Civil War.”<sup>267</sup> The play itself is conscious of its allegorical parallels as Morat, a faithful servant to the Persian prince Mirza, summarizes the symbolic connection between England and Persia, and by extension the possibility of presenting universal morals that transcend space and time:

'Tis in worldly accidents  
As in the world it self, where things most distant  
Meet one another: Thus the East and West,  
Upon the Globe, a Mathematick point  
Only divides: Thus happiness and misery,  
And all extreams are still contiguous. (p.44)

As one of the last plays performed at Blackfriars before the closing of the theatres, *The Sophy* is significant in its contribution to understanding how literal Persian figures are staged and transformed into examples in a politically volatile moment. My interests in Denham’s Persian “fable” focus on the crisis of familial hospitality characterizing the Sophy’s rule that Mirza attempts to recuperate through his magnanimity toward the Turkish characters in the play, and the dramatization of Persian characters with a depth akin to Othello and Shylock’s debut on stage, from stereotype to multi-faceted character, from an embodied attribute to a personage and his story. Together, this focus on Mirza’s actions reveals how the play participates in myth-making through Mirza’s example by fictionalizing the tale of the lesser known and contemporary historical prince.

*The Sophy* begins much like *Othello* with the impending threat of war with the Ottoman Turks, which is speedily dispensed with when news of the conquest of “brave Mirzah” reaches

---

<sup>267</sup> Birchwood, *Staging Islam*, 73,72.

the court.<sup>268</sup> Abdall and Morat, two loyal servants of Prince Mirza, foreshadow the tragedy of interpretation at the heart of the play's conflict in the opening scenes:

'Tis the fate of Princes, that no knowledge  
Comes pure to them, but passing through the eyes  
And eares of other men, it takes a tincture  
From every channell; And still beares a rellish  
Of Flatterie, or private ends. (p.2)

Abdall's generalizations are part of the moralizing tone that characterizes much of the drama with its explicit narrative consciousness and its references to tales, fables, and allegories. With the militaristic threat dispersed, the drama turns to the domestic and familial tragedy with Haly, the treacherous courtier, manipulating the king in Mirza's absence in a temptation scene that attempts to emulate Iago's influential rhetoric in act three scene three of Shakespeare's tragedy.

Mirvan, companion to the treacherous courtier Haly, prompts his companion to play with the "suspectious" king, to "Worke on his feares, till feare hath made him cruell; /And cruelty shall make him feare againe" (p.8). "Honest Haly," like honest Iago, manipulates the king through self-aggrandizement, abstraction, and metaphor:

*Ha.* Sir, I almost beleeve you speake your thoughts,  
But that I want the guilt to make me feare it.

*King.* What meane these guilty blushes then?

*Ha.* Sir, if I blush, it is because you doe not,  
To upbraid so try'd a servant, that so often  
Have wak'd, that you might sleepe; and beene expos'd  
To dangers for your safety.

*King.* And therefore think'st  
Thou art so wrapt, so woven into all  
My trusts and counsell, that I now must suffer  
All thy Ambition aymes at.

---

<sup>268</sup> Sir John Denham, *The Sophy* (London, 1642). All references will be from this edition and cited in text. As act and scene designations are inconsistent, citations will refer to page numbers.

*Ha.* Sir, if your love growes weary,  
And thinks you have worne me long enough, I'me willing  
To be left off; but hee's a foolish Sea-man,  
That when his shippe is sinking, will not  
Unlade his hopes into another bottome.

*King.* I understand no Allegories. (p.13)

The king's reference to Haly's reticence, his "guilty blushes," echo Iago's claim of Cassio's "steal[ing] away so guilty-like"(3.3.38) from Desdemona as he begins to thread the web ensaring them all. Mirroring Othello's frustration at Iago's obfuscated linguistic constructions, the king calls for the ousting of rhetoric, refusing the "allegories" Haly presents and asking for the undecorated "truth" behind his insinuations. Similar to Iago's chance capture of the infamous handkerchief, Haly conveniently uses circumstances as proof to convince the king of Mirza's ambitions. While it is the elusive handkerchief that is integral to Desdemona's demise, in Denham's play what further "confirms" the king (p.17) is the absence of the Turkish Bashaws whom Mirza has captured in conquest and welcomed into the Persian court.<sup>269</sup>

When Mirza arrives from his victory against the Ottomans, in a rare display of confraternity between Persians and Turks on stage, he displays his liberality toward the Turkish prisoners when he tells his servants to welcome these "strangers" to court with entertainment and urges them to serve the Persian army: "Forget your Nation, and ungratefull Master:  
And know that I can set so high a price /On valour, though in foes, as to reward it / With trust and honour" (p.10). Mirza's respectful call for the prisoners to "forget" their nation and to adopt

---

<sup>269</sup> Further evidence is presented in the form of Caliph's dream or vision. Bashaws is an Anglicized form of Pasha, a high ranking official in the Ottoman Empire, thus rendering the prisoners as figures of higher status than soldiers and perhaps accounting for their nobility in the play.

Persia as their new home is well received as the prisoners swear their devotion toward the magnanimous and militaristic prince:

Sir, your twice conquered Vassals,  
First by your courage, then your clemencie,  
Here humbly vow to sacrifice their lives,  
(The gift of this your unexampl'd mercy)  
To your commands and service. (pp 10-11)

Although politically beneficial to his person and the Persian Empire, Mirza's assumed sincerity and manifest hospitality toward the Turks is fundamental to both his downfall, and later his vindication, as Haly uses their alliance to "prove" Mirza's perfidy to the king. While Mirza hopes that the Turks will be accommodated in higher ranks of the Persian army, Haly convinces the Turks that the king will not grant them the same honor and that they should flee the court for their own safety. He then uses Mirza's liberality and their absence to manipulate the king, who interprets Mirza's welcome and embrace of the Turks as a sign of his duplicity against the throne: "Nay, then 'tis too apparent, /He feares my Subjects loyaltie, /And now must call in strangers" (p.24). Thus, much like the distorted form of pseudo-hospitality reigning in Cartwright's Persia, the inability to recognize Mirza's hospitability toward the Turks, and the desire to hide its true form from the king, is part of the corruption in the realm that ultimately leads to the "unnatural" (p.47) act of a father sanctioning the blinding of his son.

Mirza's blinding symbolizes the eclipse in familial ties that distorts the organic connection between family members, making Mirza akin to a stranger rather than a son in his father's dimmed sight. Following the blinding scene, Mirza recites his first soliloquy, apostrophizing "nature" and questioning the nature of free-will and its restraints by the overpowering force of fear:

Nature,  
How didst thou mocke mankinde to make him free,  
And yet to make him feare; or when he lost  
That freedome, why did he not lose his feare?  
That feare of feares, the feare of what we know not,  
While yet we know it is in vaine to feare it:  
Death, and what followes death, 'twas that that stamp't  
A terrour on the brow of Kings; that gave  
Fortune her deity, and Jove his thunder.  
Banish but feare of death, those Gyant names  
Of Majestie, Power, Empire, finding nothing  
To be their object, will be nothing too. (pp 52-53)

In his soliloquy on the pervading passion of the play, Mirza begins to contemplate taking revenge on the king; following the source material in Herbert's travel narrative, the historical prince Mirza is said to take revenge by killing his daughter Fatima as she was the king's favorite and he doted on her. However, in Denham's play, Mirza conquers his lower nature and resists revenge, later addressing his new found sense of inner freedom, his true kingdom within despite the loss of the material Persian realm:

Man to himselfe  
Is a large prospect, rays'd above the levell  
Of his low creeping thoughts; if then I have  
A world within my selfe, that world shall be  
My Empire; there I'll raigne, commanding freely,  
And willingly obey'd, secure from feare  
Of forraigne forces, or domestick treasons,  
And hold a Monarchie more free, more absolute  
Than in my fathers seat. (p.71)

Departing from Herbert's account, Denham chooses to distance Mirza from filicide and instead depicts him as a paragon of Stoic virtue, withstanding the external vicissitudes of life with his inner resolution. In his study of Stoicism in seventeenth-century England, Andrew Shiffelt writes on the power of Mirza's self-reflection and how "stoicism amounts to a rhetorical mediation of

anger rather than an elimination of it.”<sup>270</sup> In staging *The Sophy* on the eve of the Civil War, Denham’s Mirza depicts the “heroic norm,” the “Stoic constancy” that was a “moral ideal embraced by both sides.”<sup>271</sup> I would further add that as a type of Cyric Exemplar, Mirza’s stoicism recalls Cyrus’ neo-Stoic cosmopolitanism in *The Wars of Cyrus*, and his desire to militarily advance the Turks parallels Cyrus’ assistance to advance Abradates, a “stranger” in his army.

Like Cyrus, Mirza as military hero and prince with the ability to see the benefit in embracing foreigners in his cause is rewarded because of his clemency and largesse toward the Turks in the play, a visible enactment of hospitality that attempts to recuperate his father’s inhospitable actions. Mirza’s initial embrace of the Turkish strangers ultimately vindicates him in the eyes of the king and serves as the primary force exposing the machinations of Haly and his companion. When the loyal Turkish prisoners of war return disguised and eager to assist the prince, Haly refuses them, claiming “Our Persian state descends not /To interviewes with strangers,” (p.71). When they are discovered and threatened, the enamored Turks are content to die as Mirza’s “martyrs” (p.74) to which a slowly awakening king responds: “Farewell, unhappy friends,/A long farewell, and may you find rewards/Great as your innocence, or which is more,/Great as your wrongs” (p.74). Although the Turks are spared, Mirza is poisoned and dies before the king dies of remorse, Mirza’s son Soffy takes over the crown, and Haly and Caliph are sentenced to be punished.

---

<sup>270</sup> Andrew E. Shifflett, *Stoicism, Politics, and Literature in the Age of Milton: War and Peace Reconciled* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 10.

<sup>271</sup> Shifflett reads an “anti-monarchical perspective” in Mirza’s speech in this royalist drama (*Stoicism*, 9).

The death of Mirza, the virtuous “rock” of the Persian Empire, is conveyed in terms of his status as “martyred prince” whose “sacrificial ‘bloud’” will “cleanse the body politic.”<sup>272</sup> Although little attention is paid to the unusual hospitality Mirza offers the Turks in the play, the manifest embrace of strangers in his realm aligns him with the tradition of hospitable Persian rulers in early modern drama, and the dynamic psychological portrayal of the temptation and fall of the king coupled with Mirza’s pseudo-apotheosis by the end of the play, from militaristic hero to stoic saint sacrificing himself for the good of his realm, is a precursor of the multifaceted, dynamic Persian regal figures that will blossom in a series of late seventeenth-century dramas staging ancient Persia, Zoroastrianism, and the question of tolerance in Restoration England.

---

<sup>272</sup> Birchwood, *Staging Islam*, 79.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Spiritual Cosmopolitanism: Cyrus the Great Restored

In the 1670s, following the death of her husband, Jane Lead began having a series of visions that would later inform her understanding of Christianity as the spiritual leader of the Philadelphian Society for the Advancement of Divine Philosophy, a group espousing an ecumenical vision of Christianity and world unity in the 1690s. Influenced by the work of German mystic Jakob Böhme, the Philadelphians turned to Lead's ministry following the death of John Pordage.<sup>273</sup> Lead, like Margery Kemp and female visionaries before her, discoursed with the Divine through an intermediary—in this instance, Sophia, the spiritual embodiment of wisdom. Although scholars have emphasized the feminized form of her mystical interlocutor, there is a male wayfarer, in addition to the spirit of Christ, that travels with Lead on her spiritual path. In her diary, *A Fountain of Gardens*, published in 1696-97, she recounts “the birth of Cyrus” on June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1677:

*God must bring forth God.* Then queried my Spirit, where, and how, and after what manner will be so marvelous a thing? Sure nothing of mortality can compass such an Immensity, as a Gods excellency in this World to be manifested. *No* said the Spirit of Council, *the Terrestrial Man cannot have any share herein*, either to conceive or bring it forth: But yet such may be the high act of Love in the Most Holy, as to open his Mighty Name *Iehovah* through that mean form of Mortality, and send forth somewhat of a deified express of his Existency, in terrestrial Creatures... Who have been in strong and unwearied travel, for this all-saving Birth of Almighty Power. For indeed such a Birth is needed in the World, that may deliver from all the evils of it. There is nothing, but an Omnipotent Force will conquer the sinful Authorities, that have been so long in Government over all the Creation. *Therefore what are ye to look, and wait for, but the*

---

<sup>273</sup> Julie Hirst, *Jane Leade: Biography of a Seventeenth-Century Mystic* (Burlington: Ashgate Pub, 2006). On the history of the short-lived Philadelphian society, see Paula McDowell, “Enlightenment Enthusiasms and the Spectacular Failure of the Philadelphian Society,” *Eighteenth-century Studies*. 35.4 (2002): 515-533.

*Birth of this Mighty Prince Cyrus to arise in, and to go before you; for it is by meer strength, that he must prevail, to subdue all Nations, whether they be within or without. ... The Babylonish Power doth yet keep and serve it self upon you, and will not let you go free; till this Mighty Prince doth arise to remand you back unto your own Land, and native Freedom again... Pray for the Cyrus Might to be joined with the Nazarite Wisdom of Purity: for without Power ye cannot perform any of my Pleasure, in subduing the Babylonish Power, that hath enlarged it self over the whole universal state of things.*<sup>274</sup>

Lead's mystical Cyrus is powerful and inspired, the "mighty *Cyrus*, who will be raised as that principal Shepherd," to redeem humanity as the "deified express of his Existency" through his combined earthly and spiritual powers. Her late seventeenth-century mystical vision of Cyrus draws upon the Persian king as the hero for a new day of peace and prosperity, the animating spirit confirming and propelling her belief in the inevitable dawning of a redemptive and edifying time. Lead's Cyrus is the most abstract and removed literary conception of the Persian king in the period; he is a figure of pure spirit, intangible, and inaccessible to anyone beyond the mystic religious leader. The Cyrus spirit is associated with earthly power unhindered by a worldly temporality; he is not king "for a time" but a king beyond time. The birth of Cyrus for Lead materializes the spirit of "might" that manifests as a transformative force in the world, ending the "Babylonish Power," an inner state of materialistic servitude possessing the multitudes in England and the world.

Lead's mystical Cyrus draws attention to the multifaceted rhetorical use of Cyrus throughout the seventeenth-century, and in particular the concomitant world-redeeming associations of spirituality and strength that develop in mid-century conceptions of Cyrus

---

<sup>274</sup> Jane Leade, *A Fountain of Gardens, Volume II* (London, 1697), 282-284, emphasis mine.

through the garden motif in Thomas Browne's *The Garden of Cyrus* (1658).<sup>275</sup> Although Lead draws upon the historicity of the biblical Cyrus the Great and his well-known conquest of Babylon that ended the Babylonian captivity and ushered forth an opportunity for the Jewish captives to begin restoring the Temple in Jerusalem, her invocation of Cyrus is typological; the Cyrus to come is a vision of the second coming—"Pray for the *Cyrus* Might to be joined with the *Nazarite* Wisdom of Purity"—and in this sense is greater than Christ and Cyrus individually. As an aspirational conception of the return of Christ, Cyrus's qualities are comingled with Christ's attributes in a new man that will deliver the world, and it is particularly telling that Cyrus, a figure so often associated with the unification and deliverance of humanity, features so influentially in the writings of a millenarian group promoting ecumenical unity. Although short-lived, the much derided Philadelphians promoted "Universal Love" (later evolving into universal salvation) and "the unification of Christian churches to 'all Nations and Languages and Kindreds.'"<sup>276</sup> The occluded place and efforts of the society to achieve its seemingly harmonious ends is in part a reflection of the ridiculed status of mystical, self-revelatory religion marked by "enthusiasm" in its time, and a lack of rigorous, systematic consideration of religious writings in our times, despite the reevaluation of the secularization thesis.<sup>277</sup> Significantly, the physical

---

<sup>275</sup> On the imagery of the title of Lead's diary, McDowell writes: the garden symbolizes "the matrix in which the spiritual plant grows, the fountain the transforming substance that purifies and gives life, and the blossoming of the spiritual plant the attainment of divine wisdom" ("Enlightenment Enthusiasms" 519-520).

<sup>276</sup> In 1695, the Philadelphians, and the Quakers, published a great deal of writings because of a lapse in censorship laws. The group, however, was mocked for its mystical reliance on self-revelation which led to its self-consciousness and ultimate demise. A poem entitled *Elegy, Upon the Philadelphian Society* "delighted in the spectacle of the Philadelphians' apparent failure: 'For all her Vaunt, Poor *Philly's* dead'" (Ibid., 516).

<sup>277</sup> McDowell states the "marginal status" of "explicitly religious writings, particularly those associated with 'enthusiasm,' ... is a matter of how we as a discipline deal with works that do not fit dominant critical models of intelligibility and value" (Ibid., 518).

attacks on the group in the form of interrupted public meetings further testify to the troubled nature of a legally formed “tolerant” society following the 1689 so-called Act of Toleration in which the freedom to hold such meetings was explicitly permitted.<sup>278</sup>

Lead’s typological use of Cyrus in the future-oriented writings of the Philadelphians has implications for the wide-spread appreciation of Cyrus and ancient Persia as paradigms for engaging with early modernity by drawing on the past to direct a vision of a blessed and prosperous future, one that is inspiring and even realistic considering the earthly work that it entails and the “might” it calls upon. Despite the significance of Cyrus for seventeenth-century Europe, few studies are dedicated to the rhetorical use of Cyrus in the period. Arthur Milton Young’s 1964 study, *Echoes of Two Cultures*, provides an overview of significant classical, medieval, and early modern visions of Cyrus and concludes that the mythology wed to Cyrus’s figure—from perceptions of Herodotean pride to Xenophontic romanticism—consistently renders him as an “educating force,” either a “warning or ideal.”<sup>279</sup> More recently, Grogan has detailed the significant reception of Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* in the early modern period, focusing primarily on literary depictions of Persia prior to the Restoration.<sup>280</sup>

This concluding chapter redresses the paucity of Cyrus-oriented scholarship by considering a range of seventeenth-century literary expressions of the legendary king as a figure

---

<sup>278</sup> The Philadelphians even turned to their local magistrate to address the illegal actions of the protestors interrupting their meetings but to no avail. *Ibid.*, 523.

<sup>279</sup> Arthur Milton Young, *Echoes of Two Cultures* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 58.

<sup>280</sup> “‘Many Cyruses’: Xenophon’s ‘Cyropaedia’ and English Renaissance Humanism,” *Hermathena*. (2007): 63-74. Other recent notable literary studies dedicated to Cyrus include Paul J. Rasmussen *Excellence Unleashed: Machiavelli’s Critique of Xenophon and the Moral Foundation of Politics* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009) and Blakeley, “Marlowe’s Counterfeit Cyrus.”

embodying spiritual cosmopolitanism—a form of cosmopolitanism that foregrounds the religious nature of universal solidarity conditioned on spiritual virtues— and inaugurating a hospitable temporality that finds its historical and legal parallels in both James II’s Act of Indulgence and the passing of the limited 1689 Toleration Act. In Cyrus, more than any other hospitable Persian monarch, religion as a force of unity—to bind anew<sup>281</sup>— and not uniformity, manifests through his spiritually guided worldly deeds and his dedication to ethics informed by religious principles. As such, he displays the *coherence* of spiritual cosmopolitanism, its eschewing of false dichotomies—the East and the West, the secular and the spiritual; this non-theocratic yet religiously motivated mode of leadership translates spiritual principles or virtues into practical applications of statecraft and citizenship.<sup>282</sup> Spiritual cosmopolitanism acknowledges the debt owed to religion in promulgating hospitable virtues that create enabling and empowering scenarios, from edifying the dispossessed to welcoming strangers at home. Spiritual cosmopolites, such as Cyrus, often act in a hospitable temporality, a time for transformation and capacity-building.

At the end of the seventeenth century, a very different and far more dynamic Cyrus from that of the stoic Elizabethan hero of *The Wars of Cyrus* is revived on stage in the years following the Glorious Revolution and the political animosities between Protestant King William of Orange and the deposed Catholic king, James II. I argue that the depiction of the rise of Cyrus

---

<sup>281</sup> Intro, in *Rethinking Secularism*, 7.

<sup>282</sup> In emphasizing the “pure stuff” of religion, in Charles Taylor’s words, and the explicit spiritual capacity of the Cyrus paradigm, my definition of “spiritual” encompasses those transcendent qualities and virtues, such as compassion, love, and generosity, that are positive forces in society and are, in myriad ways, attached to religious systems of knowledge. Reading spiritual in terms of such virtues neither dilutes doctrinal belief nor promotes a reductionist understanding of world religions, but rather privileges the common metaphysical core that has been increasingly divorced from the understanding of religion. *Rethinking Secularism*, 52.

the Great in John Banks's drama, *Cyrus the Great, or the Tragedy of Love* (1696) is not simply a matter of partisan politics but rather an instance of self-conscious modernization, of using the temporal distance between the characters and the times to go beyond the rhetoric of legal toleration through a typological framework promulgating a rehabilitative future based on man's commitment to progress found in John Dryden's invocation of the Cyric paradigm in *Annus Mirabilis* (1666), and mystically echoed, as we have seen, in Lead. This chapter reads the prelapsarian language of Banks's drama as part of the late seventeenth-century fantasy of regeneration through an understanding of paradise derived from Zoroastrian ideology and the garden motif of Thomas Browne's *The Garden of Cyrus* (1658). Banks's post 1688 ominous "anti-war" play and its troubled yet virtuous Cyrus contrasts with Dryden's heroic Cyrus of the early years of the Restoration, suggesting that the realism of Banks's work threatens the optimism of the creation myth it promulgates with Cyrus as a type of Adamic figure. Mid-century romance conceptions of Cyrus inform Banks's tragedy, rendering it a syncretic and idiosyncratic version of Cyrus's rise to power with a radical revision of his Herodotean death by the Scythian Queen Tomyris; as such, Banks presents a Persian figure that embodies both male and female leadership qualities, as a culmination of his own work in the genre of the she-tragedy, and as a reflection of and on the recently ended co-regency of William and Mary.

Despite the continued influx of contemporary accounts of Persia that painted the fabled land under the Safavids in various modes, both positive and negative, English dramatists frequently staged Achaemenid Persian kings rather than early modern Persian potentates, in plays featuring Cambyses, Xerxes, Darius, and Cyrus.<sup>283</sup> The staging of Achaemenid Persia is

---

<sup>283</sup> Unlike Persian-themed dramas, Orr notes that "dramatic representation of other Asian and near-Eastern states focused on fairly recent, well-documented historical episodes reported by

particularly useful for its Providential framework, with its central form of “deism” associated with the Mithraic sun. As explained in Chapter Three, staging Persia in the Caroline era ushers in two significant dramaturgical developments for seventeenth-century Persian-themed drama—the creation of dynamic Persian characters portraying psychological complexities as an embodied character rather than an emblematic type, and the growing distinction between staging ancient Persia and early modern Persia that was conflated in the Jacobean era.<sup>284</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century, staging Achaemenid kings is no longer a matter of re-telling a story from the history books as an exemplary model of hospitable virtues but of using the Persian paradigm to reflect on the present condition of the English state, from its newly restored monarchy to its individual freedoms. The topography of Achaemenid Persia facilitates a conception of modernity along the lines of an ancient paradigm, and among the staged Achaemenid kings of the seventeenth century, Cyrus the Great is exceptional as a multifaceted, inspirational ancient figure that is particularly promising for representing hospitable qualities for the early modern moment.

Writing in response to the lack of scholarship on the “serious drama” of the Restoration and the tendency to read exotic locales in seventeenth-century drama as political allegory, Bridget Orr argues that it is the “genre’s utility in negotiating issues of empire,” particularly after the Glorious Revolution, that warrants a sustained study of the heroic drama of the period as it is intrinsically concerned with foreign policies, and staging the “processes of imperial expansion and decline, the *translatio imperii* and the clash between Christian Europe and pagan non-

---

historians and contemporary travelers” in *Empire on the English Stage*, 116. A notable exception to staging ancient Persia includes Thomas Southern’s *The Loyal Brother, or The Persian Prince* (1682).

<sup>284</sup> Ibid., 99.

European societies.”<sup>285</sup> Orr reads the drama informed through the anthropological and historical lens of James Boon, Margaret Hodgen, and Anthony Pagden, which understands difference “through a principle of assimilation” via concepts such as similitude and “symbolic reciprocity.”<sup>286</sup> In her analysis of Persian-themed drama of the period, she highlights the peculiarity of the penchant for staging Achaemenid Persia:

in a period of burgeoning contact with near-Eastern states, plays set in the pre-Christian world of the Persian empires allowed dramatists to revisit and explore classical Greek and Roman formulations of Eurasian differences in terms of cultures, politics and economics rather than assuming religion was the only salient fact. While many of the plays focused on periods of crisis, identified with Oriental corruption, other episodes allowed dramatists to explore the processes by which civil society (the prelude to empire) was constituted.<sup>287</sup>

While Orr clarifies the difference of staging Persia as an ancient empire in contrast with other non-European regions, she upholds Said’s orientalist reading of the texts—together with the biblical Assyrians, ancient Persians “figured as Europe’s origin, as well as...her primordial Other”<sup>288</sup>—and devalues the role of religion for both the individual and society. In this study we have seen how reading Persian-themed drama from an early modern perspective *beginning* with the work of Elizabethan humanists rather than eighteenth-century writers, assists in transcending Manichean definitions of the East and the West and provides a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the reception and configuration of figures such as Cyrus who are undifferentiated with other Persian kings in studies beginning with later periods.

---

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid., 13-16.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 126.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., 116.; Said writes that the “Near Orient” in particular “became known in the West as its great complementary opposite since antiquity” in *Orientalism*, 58.

## From Augustus to Cyrus: A Paradigm of Prosperity and Labor

1666 was a year of wonders in England, according to the nation's soon to be poet laureate John Dryden. Following a breakout of the plague and with the backdrop of the second Anglo-Dutch War, 13,000 buildings, St. Paul's Cathedral, and large quarters of London were obliterated by the Great Fire of London.<sup>289</sup> Writing in response to anti-royalist apocalyptic literature reading the events of 1666 in terms of God's judgement on a newly re-instated monarchical and Anglican England, Dryden celebrates the survival of the British Metropolis after a series of unprecedented phenomena and natural disasters in his "historical" panegyric, *Annus Mirabilis*, "The Year of Wonders," dedicated to the city of London. Near the conclusion of his narrative poem, Dryden evokes an unexpected but appropriately chosen scene of royal restoration through his reference to Cyrus the Great and the beginning of the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem narrated in the biblical book of Ezra:

They have not lost their loyalty by fire;  
Nor is their courage or their wealth so low  
That from his wars they poorly would retire,  
Or beg the pity of a vanquished foe.

Not with more constancy the Jews of old,  
By Cyrus from rewarded exile sent,  
Their royal city did in dust behold,  
Or with more vigour to rebuild it went.<sup>290</sup>

---

<sup>289</sup> On the wide-ranging impact of the Fire of London, Cynthia Wall writes that "all that had been familiar, settled, phenomenologically given was suddenly and entirely swept away; Londoners faced an emptiness that was not only physical and structural but also historical, social, financial, conceptual," in *The Literary and Cultural Spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), ix, 40. As Wall explains, there was a desire for "recovering the London known and lost, rather than creating a London new and unknown" and thus "rebuilding of the city became part of a search for original meaning and original structure" (40).

<sup>290</sup> John Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*, in *Selected Poems*, eds. Steven N. Zwicker and David A. Bywaters (London: Penguin Books, 2001), ll.1153-1160. All subsequent references will be from this edition and are cited in text.

Comparing Cyrus, God's "anointed" (Isaiah 45:1) and famed biblical liberator of the Jewish exiles under the Babylonian Captivity, with England's Charles II casts the English monarch in a divinely ordained role in rebuilding a city tested by the trial of fire only six years after Charles II assumes the throne following the English Civil War and the Interregnum. This "propensity for prediction" as Paul Korshin describes the seventeenth-century imperative for typology, is a cultural response to a politically, socially, and spiritually unstable world: "the present somehow suggested a fulfillment of an earlier prediction or prophecy."<sup>291</sup> If as Korshin describes, typology is "a method of decoding as well as a code, a science of exegesis as well as one of mysterious foreshadowing," what Dryden deciphers through the typological use of Cyrus is a paradigm unlike the Augustan model of prosperity for England; here, typology via Persia conjures a set of hopeful yet arduous associations of progress achieved through man's efforts inspired and empowered by the altruistic actions of the prince.

While it is commonplace to refer to the period as the Augustan age for its neoclassical style, abundant translations of Virgil, Ovid, and Horace, and the aspirational claim that England would be a second Augustan age of peace and stability, thinking of Cyrus as another poignant classical paradigm, with its dynamic inflections marking the ebb and flow of victory and crises, highlights the rhetorical significance of the Cyric figure during the period for writes from Dryden to Lead. In other words, what Augustan Rome lacks as an enduring model for national, and even spiritual, self-fashioning—when peace and religious upheaval arise and threaten England's assumed stasis as the century progresses toward the Glorious Revolution—Cyrus's Persia offers

---

<sup>291</sup> Paul Korshin, *Typologies in England, 1650-1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 3.

a time and place with varying modes of being and doing that are at once inspirational and realistic, as we shall see in Banks's drama. Notably, the allusion to Ezra advocates positive interfaith interactions in its explicit depiction of largess and hospitality between a Zoroastrian king and the Jewish people, and thereby serves as inspiration for cooperation for a nation continuing to reconstruct itself—materially and spiritually—after intense political and religious disparities which fueled the Civil War and polarized the Anglican Church and Puritan dissenters. As Michael McKeon explains, “the first eight years of Charles II's reign is a history of successive attempts to unify England, to isolate and efface the cause of divisiveness.”<sup>292</sup>

Dryden's use of the Cyric paradigm is found in the restorative and future-oriented concluding stanzas, following Charles II's identification as “father of the people” (l.1141) and “God's anointed” (l.1143). Its placement in the prophetic portion of the poem signals toward the temporality of the future vision of Cyrus's blessed work as found in Isaiah, over a century before his reign begins in 559 BCE:

That saith of Cyrus, *He is* my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid. Thus saith the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut; I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron: And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I, the LORD, which call *thee* by thy name, *am* the God of Israel.  
(Isaiah 44:28-45:3)

In Christian typology, the earthly work that “shall be” done during Cyrus's reign prefigures Christ's redemptive spiritual reign. However, while Christ's kingdom is transcendent, Cyrus's

---

<sup>292</sup> Michael McKeon, *Politics and Poetry in Restoration England: The Case of Dryden's Annus Mirabilis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 80. See also, Steven N. Zwicker, *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 77.

domain is immanent, bound by a secular temporality and a terrestrial geography; significantly, as the only non-Jewish biblical personage to be called God's anointed, his Messianism is metaphoric and transcends the literal investment of Jewish kings even while it is inferior to Christ's station. In his explication of Cyrus's anointment, seventeenth-century cleric William Day proposes a symbolic yet mundane understanding of the oil used in the sacred process: "Cyrus might be called the *Lords annointed*, because of those eminent gifts which God gave him, as memory, wisdom, courage, . . . by which he surpassed ordinary men: For such gifts by which one man surpasseth another, may be well compared to *Oyle*, which being mixt with other liquours, alwayes floateth at the top."<sup>293</sup> Figuratively, through his "eminent" divine gifts, Charles II, as a type of Cyrus, is an earthly ruler bereft of the literal anointment of oil, yet harboring potentialities to "subdue nations," open "gates," and receive "treasures of darkness" and "hidden riches" through his exemplary being. In this sense, he is more analogous to Cyrus than Christ.

Dryden's understudied Cyric typology suggests that the fire is both a catalyst to reinvent England and a providential act, preordained by God for a chosen and blessed nation; with its multiple tenses, the reference caters to Dryden's work as history and prophecy; the past tense—"went," "sent"—is a retelling of the story from Ezra and the infinitive—"to rebuild"—is a reminder of the work that is yet to be done, the figurative, future tense of Isaiah that will be fulfilled through the "new-laid work" (l.1168) Dryden asserts as the imminent task of the hallowed city of London. In *Dryden's Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation*, Steven Zwicker posits that

Dryden's vision of a renewed people and a rebuilt London is meant to recall similar visions of renewal in Isaiah and Ezekiel; Jerusalem rebuilt after the Babylonian exile and

---

<sup>293</sup> William Day, *An Exposition of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (London, 1654), 48. In his Preface, Day also writes that "Cyrus, and Isaiah, were Types and Figures of Christ" (A3).

London restored after the fire are correlative types of the eschatological antitype the Heavenly Jerusalem. Thus in *Annus Mirabilis*—as in Isaiah and Ezekiel but not in Revelation—attention to the restored nation can focus on its flourishing commerce or agriculture—signs of God’s special favor for covenanted nations.<sup>294</sup>

In choosing Cyrus and the biblical scene of spiritual and material restoration for his comparison, Dryden venerates a story punctuated by the ebb and flow of crisis and victory in the cycles characterizing the *longue durée* of Judeo-Christian history, and proposes a typology comparing Londoners with the downtrodden but steadfast Jews under the Babylonian Captivity, a group united in upholding their “constancy” and faith in their beliefs and traditions despite the onslaught of trials and tribulations that sought to undermine them. By qualifying the virtues of “constancy” and “vigour” with “not with more,” through the inverted syntax that places the adjective and adverb before the subject “Jews of old” and in parallel positions in the first and last lines of the stanza, Dryden draws attention to the concepts behind the analogy. The diction and word order emphasizes the comparative form moving from singularity to singularity; the seventeenth-century citizens of London are *like* the Jews of the past in their new role as builders, and, as such, the value of the paradigm is in its capacity to magnify virtues to glean from the story for his readers, the downcast citizens of London. The repetition of “more” further reiterates that the English condition surpasses the parallel in its impending labor, echoing Dryden’s opening dedication to the city of London for its “unshaken constancy” that also emphasizes the singularity of historic phenomena: “I know not whether such trials have been ever paralleled in any nation; the resolution and successes of them never can be” (ll.6,15-16).

---

<sup>294</sup> Steven Zwicker, *Dryden’s Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1972), 82.

Following his poignant Cyric comparison, Dryden concludes *Annus Mirabilis* with a promising scene of a spiritually and materially robust future:<sup>295</sup>

Methinks already from this chemic flame,  
I see a city of more precious mould;  
Rich as the town which gives the Indies name,  
With *silver* paved, and all divine with *gold* (ll.1169-1172; emphasis added).

The purifying, alchemical flame transforms England, enabling thereby the creation of a “famed emporium” (l.1205) with its “hospitable shore” (l.1198) as a commanding global leader in trade and naval power: “A constant trade-wind will securely blow, /And gently lay us on the spicy shore” (ll.1215-1216). While Dryden’s final, imperial sendoff has been read for its investment in England’s material future, when read within a typological context of the Cyric paradigm, the economic success of the realm turns our attention to the creedal future even as it parallels the material blessings of silver and gold marking the beginning of the restoration of the temple.<sup>296</sup> When Cyrus commissions the return of the “vessels of the house of the Lord” (Ezra 1:7), the Jewish community regains ownership of their stolen wealth: “And all they that *were* about them strengthened their hands with vessels of *silver*, with *gold*, with goods, and with beasts, and with

---

<sup>295</sup> David Alff writes that Dryden’s poem “delivers an authoritative history of the recent past so that in its last six stanzas, the poem can make a warranted use of the future tense” in “‘Annus Mirabilis’ at the End of Stuart Monarchy: Repackaging a Year of Wonders in 1688,” *Restoration*. 35.2 (2011): 34.

<sup>296</sup> Zwicker identifies the context as one “modeled on the description of Jerusalem’s restoration in Isaiah 60. The central themes of Dryden’s vision—naval commerce, the foreign enrichment of the nation, and the humbling of former enemies—are the subject of Isaiah 60:5-6 and 8-14.” For instance, Laura Brown concludes that “as the proud center of a global network, the modern City of London is for Dryden the site of a fantasy of accumulation, to which goods from a global economic system flow and personified exotic figures – the “East” and “West” – submit to British power,” in “Dryden and the Imperial Imagination,” in *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*, 67.

precious things, beside all *that* was willingly offered” (Ezra 1:6; emphasis added). The investment of material prosperity propels the challenging work of restoring the temple, which is interrupted several times and left incomplete until the reign of King Darius.<sup>297</sup>

Considering the tumultuous labor the “Jews of old” participated in, Dryden’s vision of England’s forthcoming prosperity is laden with appeals to work and toil, to remain “constant” despite facing a desolate city that “one half in rubbish lie” (l.1119). The English may go to the “eastern wealth” (l.1213) but the “storms” (l.1213) will follow their “vessels” (l.1190) along the way. The stormy shoreline Dryden anticipates as the cosmopolitan port opening England to the world is both a symbolic and literal threshold, a portal opening to a turbulent future that is yet to be fulfilled. In this sense, his vision ascribes to Erich Auerbach’s definition of figural prophecy which harbors that which is “provisional and incomplete” despite the “historicity” that distinguishes typology from allegory: “the two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events or figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life.”<sup>298</sup> As Auerbach explains, while historically tentative, the “veiled eternal reality” is fulfilled providentially and in this vein calls upon Dryden and his readers’ steadfast optimism in such a divinely occluded structure, seen only through its shadowy types as aspirational fulfillment for a more lucid future.

### **From *Politique* to Liberal: Restoring the World to its “Antient Liberty”**

Dryden’s typological use of Cyrus establishes a paradigm for thinking about religion and politics that becomes even more germane by the end of the century when a series of events

---

<sup>297</sup> “Then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem. So it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia” (Ezra 4:24).

<sup>298</sup> Erich Auerbach, “figura” in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, Theory and History of Literature*, Volume 9 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), trans. Ralph Manheim, forward Paolo Valesio, 53-60.

following the Great Fire, including the Exclusion Crisis (1679-1681) and ultimately the 1688 Revolution, challenge comfortable notions of prosperous stasis and steady progress incipient in *Annus Mirabilis* as a reflection of the optimism of the early restoration years. While in 1666 the implications of the Cyric paradigm in Dryden frame a future that has its share of vicissitudes, trials, and labor, in 1696, the depiction of a humanized and multifaceted Cyrus of Banks's tragedy dramatizes the realism of the ensuing tumultuous decades, casting thereby the work of reconstruction, both spiritual and material, through a sober reflection on the horrors of war that often accompanies imperial conquest, even when it is divinely ordained as an act for the greater good.

As the pioneer of the "she-tragedy," a genre focusing on the powerful emotions of female heroines such as Elizabeth I in his earlier work,<sup>299</sup> Banks was known for creating dramas with crude "barbarous" language at pivotal transitional moments in English history.<sup>300</sup> Such work written during volatile times such as the Exclusion Crisis led to repeated censorship, including the banning of *Cyrus the Great* in 1681 before the affective tragedy chronicling Cyrus's Babylonian conquest was acted by the King's Company in 1696 at the newly built

---

<sup>299</sup> Jennifer Clement, "Elizabeth I and the Politics of Gender: Empire and Masculinity in John Banks' *The Unhappy Favourite*," *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*. 31.1 (2007): 3; on the "she-tragedy" Clement writes, "the genre participated in the general rise of sensibility as a cultural ideal in the late seventeenth century, an ideal that turned to the body as the site of powerful feeling. Sensibility was thought to be peculiarly suitable to women, but men too found considerable appeal in sensibility's stress on emotion and its physical manifestations. Masculinity, femininity, and the bodily expression of feeling became central to the she-tragedy, and the genre's concern with these ideas reflects the significant changes in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the ways that people thought about gender" (3).

<sup>300</sup> Tracey Miller-Tomlinson, "Pathos and Politics in John Banks' *Vertue Betray'd, or Anna Bullen* (1682)," *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research*. 23.1 (2008): 46. On the "barbarous" nature of Banks's language, see Jayne E. Lewis *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 95.

Lincoln's Inn Field Theatre.<sup>301</sup> After a decade of immersion into the world of feminine heroic virtue and forms of the English history play, Banks's final play returns to the ancient world he depicted in his first plays, *The Rival Kings* (1677) and *The Destruction of Troy* (1679).

Similar to other titular heroes, such as Ann Boleyn, Cyrus is an exemplary ruler who is at once passionate and virtuous. In writing of *Anna Bullen*, Tracey Miller-Tomlinson concludes that Banks's depiction of passions in the play presents "sympathy or compassion as a necessary precondition for virtuous political action."<sup>302</sup> This compassionate disposition, which is often cast as empathetic in *Cyrus*, portrays Banks's Cyrus as an unusual hero with virtues associated with the feminine, such as vulnerability, but not feminized in the disabling, pejorative sense of emasculated "orientalist" tropes. Perhaps, Banks's saw himself in such a figure, having aligned himself with a feminine ethos in earlier work.<sup>303</sup> More than an assumed biographical image, however, in this pseudo she-tragedy we see a novel engagement with the "heroic possibilities of helplessness" through a masculine figure.<sup>304</sup> Cyrus's appeals for and dependence on aid throughout the play range from receiving advice from father-figures to a life-saving appearance from a female ghost. Rather than diminishing Cyrus's worth and emasculating his abilities, these combined sources of aid in his circle emphasize long-standing virtues associated with the Cyric paradigm, such as empathy and largess, while detaching him from his infamous emasculating

---

<sup>301</sup> Susan J. Owen notes that during the Exclusion Crisis, *Cyrus*, *The Innocent Usurper* (1683) and *The Island Queens* (1684) were banned in *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 12. The latter was never performed until it was transformed into *The Albion Queens*. See Lewis Chapter 4 "'False kindred': *The Island Queens* and *The Albion Queens*" in *Mary Queen of Scots*.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>303</sup> In his dedication to *The Island Queens*, Banks apologetically writes "'tho' it be mean, 'tis like the poor Womans Mite, It is my All'" (cited in Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 90). See Lewis for an overview of Banks's association as a "woman's playwright" (90).

<sup>304</sup> Lewis, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 88.

death at the hand of Queen Tomyris, Banks's daring dramatization undermines centuries of writings and iconography lauding the might of the Massagetae queen as an Amazonian ruler subjugating a prideful opponent.<sup>305</sup>

In 1696, there was an attempted assassination of William of Orange by those who favored the deposed James II, and while this political rivalry manifests in Banks's drama, and it is of historical import, the play's depiction of the rise of Cyrus the Great is not simply a matter of partisan politics but of venerating the quality of liberality Cyrus exhibits through his words and deeds.<sup>306</sup> A syncretic rendition combining Xenophon, Herodotus, the Bible, and the French romance, *Le Grand Cyrus* by Madeleine de Scudéry (1653), the late seventeenth-century drama depicts Cyrus's rise to power in the ancient world as a figure of spiritual cosmopolitanism—one enabled within a providential framework while exhibiting the qualities of a hospitable cosmopolite in the seventeenth-century sense. Although earlier Elizabethan visions of Cyrus depict his magnanimity as “*politique* and liberall,”<sup>307</sup> the shrewd princely adjective associated with French toleration and Elizabeth's reign is cast aside for a portrait of one with “liberal hands” bestowing freedoms and liberty on his court and restoring the world to its “antient liberty,” despite the presence of *politique* William III and the equally contingent 1689 Toleration Act. The disassociation of *politique* from Cyrus and the emphasis on liberality instead highlights

---

<sup>305</sup> See Chapter One for sixteenth-century tapestries on the life of Cyrus that feature his symbolic “death” at the hands of Queen Tomyris.

<sup>306</sup> For an overview of the Jacobite assassination attempt see Jane Garrett, *The Triumphs of Providence: The Assassination Plot, 1696* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). See also Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion, and War* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999); Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne*, Yale English Monarchs (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 107-108; and Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 178.

<sup>307</sup> Farrant, *The Wars of Cyrus*, III.i.673.

the play's demystifying rhetoric that focuses on Cyrus the man rather than Cyrus the mythical monarch. His imperial ascent and conquest of Babylon, however, is under scrutiny in the play which participates in anti-war rhetoric, possibly more directly in response to the disillusioned English fighting in the Nine Years' War, which nearly undermines his pristine reputation. While Cyrus is an imperial commander and a divinely ordained force in the world, war is presented as horrifying and dehumanizing, an ambitious obsession that figuratively and literally dismembers all those involved. In Orr's terms, in the play, the "emphasis falls on the cost of war rather than its rewards in terms of glory or wealth."<sup>308</sup> In this vein, Banks's lesser studied play is timely and modern in its configuration of a spiritual, cosmopolitan seventeenth-century gallant and its emphasis on the horrors of warfare.

The first two acts of the play juxtapose the opening scenes of a bloodied battlefield with the subsequent celebratory scene introducing Cyrus at his camp reflecting on the beneficial deeds claimed through his conquests:

O let me rise, and let 'em loose, my Soldiers,  
To throw about your Necks, and thus embrace  
My Valiant Friends, and all my brave Confed'rates,  
By whose sole Aid (Gods be my Witnesses)  
I own it with a Pride, I have restor'd  
The World to its dear antient Liberty,  
Freed Captiv'd Nations from their Tyrant's Yoaks,  
And plac'd 'em on the Necks of barb'rous Kings,  
Tro'd down the Walls of fam'd Semiramis,  
That founded first this Asian Monarchy. (2.1.11)

Although Cyrus's primary act of biblical liberation occurs after his conquest of Babylon at the end of the play, here his self-reflective and laudatory description of his victory anticipates the greater act of emancipation to come and identifies him as a type of foreign re-founder, a restorer

---

<sup>308</sup> Grogan, *Persian Empire*, 124

of “antient Liberty,” disenfranchising nations, and breaking down barriers to prosperity.<sup>309</sup> After the taking of Babylon, Cyrus will “spread [his] Laws o’re all the Earth” taking care thereby of the “the Business of the World” (5.1.57) as his world-encompassing reign is foretold in Isaiah.

Cyrus’s personal proclamation in this first instance recalls the biblical scene of rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem, which begins with a royal indulgence ending an era of hostility to usher in a dispensation of liberty:<sup>310</sup>

Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the LORD *spoken* by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and *put it* also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the LORD God of heaven given me; and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem, which *is* in Judah. Who *is there* among you of all his people? The LORD his God *be* with him, and let him go up. (Ezra 1:1-3)

Cyrus’s “proclamation throughout all his kingdom” is a divinely inspired act that concludes an era of captivity and ushers in a new time of prosperity for the Jews returning to their homeland.

This separation with a past history and state of being marks the beginning of a temporality that is

---

<sup>309</sup> For a discussion of the phrase “antient liberty” in John Milton’s works, see Warren Chernaik, “Areopagitica: ‘The Known Rules of Antient Libertie,’” *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms* (17:3): 317-331. “The tradition of ‘antient libertie,’ as Milton presents it in *The Readie and Easie Way* and *Areopagitica*, is Biblical and classical, rooted in ancient Jerusalem, in the teachings of Jesus and the polity of the pre-Diaspora Jews” (319).

<sup>310</sup> Aspects of this proclamation are also found on the Cyrus Cylinder: “I am Cyrus, king of the universe, the great king... When I went as harbinger of peace i[nt]o Babylon I founded my sovereign residence within the palace amid celebration and rejoicing. Marduk, the great lord, bestowed on me as my destiny the great magnanimity of one who loves Babylon, and I every day sought him out in awe. My vast troops marched peaceably in Babylon, and the whole of [Sumer] and Akkad had nothing to fear. I sought the welfare of the city of Babylon and all its sanctuaries... I collected together all of their people and returned them to their settlements...” trans. Irving Finkel, Curator of Cuneiform Collections at the British Museum ([http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=327188&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=327188&partId=1))

empowering to the captive Jews and is thus an instance of hospitable temporality I have been tracing in this study of Persian-themed drama—that is, a pause, or break in time that dissolves prejudicial, limiting, and disabling penal codes or traditions. While such a configuration of time is not bound to a historical situation and can thus repeat endlessly, in the context of Banks’s play, when Cyrus makes such a self-reflective announcement, his actions are analogous to the Act of Indulgence James II issued in 1687.

Although viewed historically with suspicion for his pro-Catholic agenda, the 1687 Act of Indulgence was in some ways more progressive than the 1689 Act of Toleration which offered certain rights for Protestant dissenters, including the right to meet if their doors remained unlocked so as not to rouse suspicions of seditious plotting, a right that was not judiciously upheld for the persecuted Philadelphians.<sup>311</sup> While “toleration” was not a part of the official title, the term in its positive and negative connotations was used in the 1680s.<sup>312</sup> Yet, as in the constricted minimalism denoting toleration, such non-Anglican groups were not allowed in university or from holding office. As Walsham explains, in many ways the ruling, heralded by historians as a triumphant marker of modernity following the Glorious Revolution, was more restrictive than the Declaration of Indulgence James II had issued in April 1687 “to all his loving subjects for liberty of conscience” which permitted Catholics and Protestants the “free exercise of their religion.”<sup>313</sup> Through his decree, James II “temporarily and theoretically...sanctioned

---

<sup>311</sup> Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 267

<sup>312</sup> Mark Knights, “‘meer religion’ and the ‘church-state’ of Restoration England: The Impact and Ideology of James II’s Declaration of Indulgence,” in *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration*, ed. Alan C. Houston and Steven C. A. Pincus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 44.

<sup>313</sup> J. P. Kenyon, *The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 389.

religious pluralism to an extent unmatched elsewhere in Europe.”<sup>314</sup> James II’s explicit motivations for the indulgence argued that forced uniformity has proven to be a detriment to the prosperity of the nation: “conscience ought not to be constrained nor people forced in matters of mere religion; it has ever been directly contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of government, which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers, and finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed.”<sup>315</sup> James II’s declaration was a progressive response in the aim to separate Church and State as it had reunited during the Restoration through the 1662 Act of Uniformity, itself part of a “reaction to the perceived toleration in the 1650s.”<sup>316</sup>

In contrast to the specific, legalistic tone characterizing the 1689 Act which begins with a series of references to prior acts beginning with the Elizabethan Settlement followed by a list of contingencies, James II’s royal indulgence, prompted by the “law of nature,” is generalized in its liberality:

And to the end that by the liberty hereby granted, the peace and security of our government in the practice thereof may not be endangered, we have thought fit, and do hereby straightly charge and command all our loving subjects, that as we do freely give them leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses or in places purposely hired or built for that use, so that they take especial care, that nothing be preached or taught amongst them which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of our people from us or our government; and that their meetings and assemblies be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all persons freely admitted to them.<sup>317</sup>

James II’s radical interreligious accommodation mirrors both fictional renditions of Cyrus and his repeated declarations of liberality toward all nations and the tone of the biblical scene such

---

<sup>314</sup> Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 267.

<sup>315</sup> Kenyon, *Stuart Constitution*, 389-90.

<sup>316</sup> Knights, “Restoration England,” 42.

<sup>317</sup> Kenyon, *Stuart Constitution*, 390.

representations summon; moreover, as in the case of James II's proclamation, such magnanimity is often hindered by disabling social forces at work, the disintegrative social forces of suspicion, prejudice, and enmity that threaten and thwart strides toward unity. In Ezra, the work of building the Temple is interrupted until the reign of Darius, and in the case of seventeenth-century England, James II's legislation is partially rescinded in the 1689 Toleration Act, and disrupted more immediately during the 1688 Revolution.<sup>318</sup>

James II, borrowing from the divinely ordained outlook of Louis XIV, promoted liberal religious freedom as his royal prerogative while the 1689 Act was a legal ruling of the king-in-parliament; in this vein, both acts responded to the growing consciousness to further develop England's practical understanding of toleration. In his revisionist study of the Glorious Revolution, *1688: The First Modern Revolution*, Steven Pincus challenges the historical narrative of the Revolution, arguing that England did not "defend" its way of life but rather "created a new kind of modern state" that rejected the modernizing impulse of James II and his French absolutist model for one based on the mixed state of the Dutch Republic.<sup>319</sup> The English preference for a tolerant state of parliamentary monarchy makes the staging of Cyrus as a liberal king in the vein of James II potentially problematic in 1696 with William on the throne, and thus signals toward a more hospitable and expansive conception of toleration than that promoted in the Act of Toleration.

### **"pure as the first created Mortals"**

---

<sup>318</sup> James II's personal motivation for such tolerance is ambiguous, although he states in the indulgence that it is his "wish" that the English would embrace the Catholic Church.

<sup>319</sup> Steven C. A. Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 12, 323, 432. Pincus defines "modernization" as: "sociostructural innovations in statecraft" and an "ideological break with the past" (*1688*, 9).

Before turning to the ultimate test of Cyrus's character through the love plot featuring Panthea, the wife of the King of Susa and daughter of Queen Tomyris, and his ability to overcome a temporary lack of volition, the play stages scenes which exemplify Cyrus's diverse virtues of compassion, humility, and hospitality, beginning with the freedom he grants Craesus, King of Lydia, who is taken prisoner and slated to be burnt at the stake, "a just Reward/For him that has so long set all the World/In Flames" (2.1.11). When he is being taken away, Craesus cries out "O Solon! Solon! Solon" (2.1.11), and an intrigued Cyrus interrogates him about his untimely and unusual exclamation. In response, Craesus moralizes on the definition of the "happiest Man/ On Earth" (2.1.12) provided by Solon:

A Man that had no mean nor mighty Fortune;  
His Wife not fair, nor homely, but belov'd,  
And virtuous, and his Children all obedient,  
Who, like the first Man, liv'd in Paradiſe,  
And never preſs'd the Strangers luſcious Fruits,  
Nor drank but what his own full Vines did yield;  
Fed on the Fleſh of his own teeming Flocks,  
And wore no Cloaths but what their Backs afforded;  
In his own Pale grew all his Suſtenance,  
And in his Boſom all the World's content. (2.1.12)

Craesus's Edenic description of idyllic felicity recalls the opening dialogue between Cyrus's bitter uncle Cyaxeres and his attendant Artabasus who defends Cyrus's virtues, reminding him and the audience of the greatness of the ruler, despite the obvious destruction brought on by his enterprise:

...Recall your Temper, Sir, and blame not Cyrus,  
Who, bating his Ambition, ſtill is Virtuouſ.  
His Soul, pure as the firſt created Mortals,  
Who in the Worlds prime Innocence began,  
'Ere Luſt and Power defac'd the tender Image,  
And crept into the Frailties of Mankind. (1.1.6)

Here, Cyrus's inner purity is compared to the pristine consciousness and motivations of prelapsarian, self-sustaining, humble man; in these comparative moments, the language of primordial origins both configures Cyrus's life and conquests as elements forming a myth of the beginning of civilization— paralleling thereby the generative origins of Browne's *The Garden of Cyrus*—and reinforces the process wherewith man loses a seminal state of grace to create a material world of ambition, greed, and loss, the "Frailities" that will take over Cyrus in the domestic and romantic spheres. The play as a type of creation story, with Cyrus representing an Adamic figure, depicts both motifs: the sublime order perpetuating events— the prosperity of the initial creation— as well as man's trials to overcome his lower nature. Moreover, the prelapsarian connotations recall a time of unity before the dispersal and differentiation of cultures and religions, a theme found in both Browne's *The Garden of Cyrus* and the Zoroastrian ideology of sovereignty. In both instances, the pastoral elements are part of the English fantasy of regeneration channeled through a divine source, and this conception of unifying the natural world under a divinely ordained ruler is reflected in Banks's play.

Cyrus's unique imprint on the natural world animates Browne's *The Garden of Cyrus, or The Quincuncial Lozenge, or Network Plantations of the Ancients, naturally, artificially, mystically considered* (1658; henceforth *Garden*). Written during the Interregnum, Browne's *Garden* is a seemingly apolitical botanical manifesto searching for the divine blueprint through the mysterious form and pattern of the quincunx, a rhombus shape, in all of nature and man-made creations. The seventeenth-century physician begins his garden treatise with the centrality of Cyrus the Great to his text, as "all stories do look upon Cyrus, as the splendid and regular

planter.”<sup>320</sup> The *Garden*, with its ruminations on the number five and its physical manifestations in the vegetable, mineral, human, and artificial worlds, could be seen as Cyrus’s eternal offspring, populating Browne’s text as a reflection of the world around him. Despite the eponymous title, scholars have paid little attention to the significance of Cyrus to the text’s central themes and concerns. Claire Preston, reading the *Garden* as a “paradise tract,” highlights the polemics of its publication on May Day in 1658, a contested pagan celebration of spring that was not supported by the current regime under Oliver Cromwell, the Commonwealth, and the Puritans in general.<sup>321</sup> A day in praise of the green man, fertility, and renewal, a pre-Christian festival paying homage to the changing of the seasons, the holiday is itself syncretic, a remainder and reminder of England’s pre-Cromwellian days as well as its pre-Christian heritage. What is overlooked in scholarly assessments of the *Garden* is its ubiquitous host: the host in this pastoral is not an English gardener, a shepherd wooing his nymph, or even a biblical Adam, but a Persian monarch subtly brought into a sublime reflection of the world. The title itself claims precedence over the preeminent biblical garden—it is not the Garden of *Eden*, but the Garden of *Cyrus*, suggesting thereby a world conceived by Cyrus and figuratively invested with his attributes. While Browne embeds a regenerating theme of sovereignty and order amidst ostensible vegetative chaos, by paying homage to an Eastern king and his seminal paradise on earth, his text can also be read as a meditation on cosmopolitanism through nature, of bringing the diverse elements of the world into harmony and conversation with each other, all in the name of Cyrus.

---

<sup>320</sup> Thomas Browne, *The Major Works*, ed. CA Patridies (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 328. All subsequent references will be from this edition and are cited in text.

<sup>321</sup> Claire Preston, “Of Cyder and Sallets: The Hortulan Saints and *The Garden of Cyrus*,” *Literature Compass*. 3.4 (2006): 879.

In her compelling historical study of the lived experiences of cosmopolitanism in early modern Europe, Margaret C. Jacob considers the “practices, behaviors, social habits, [and] mores” of “cosmopolitan behavior,” moving beyond the confines of “national boundaries and confessional fault lines” and the “formation of the nation-states” to look at alternative spaces and circles of cosmopolitan practice, whether deliberate or incidental, unearthed among the work of diverse early modern citizens from alchemists to merchants to masons. Her aim is to create a “history of cultural practices, of de facto mores, not simply high ideas,” calling for a “need to dwell upon praxis or *experientia*, not upon theory, *episteme*, or *scientia*.”<sup>322</sup> In her analysis of the role scientists played in promoting a “cosmopolitan ethos” she writes that

the very practices and languages of early modern science unwittingly played into the formation of a cosmopolitan experience, at least for men...natural borders were crossed, so too social classes...group experience, complete with differences bridged but rivalries also enhanced, had become commonplace. This was especially true when medical and alchemical topics come up for discussion...the alchemical quest required border crossing; alchemy offers one of the keys to understanding the emergence of the cosmopolitan.<sup>323</sup>

In developing a “vocabulary about nature” that focuses on universal patterns of diversification, Browne’s text participates in the same border-crossing, alchemical process Jacob delineates,<sup>324</sup> beginning with his world-embracing dedication: “But the Earth is the Garden of Nature, and each fruitful Countrey a Paradise” and “gentile theology” of the creation of light associated with the alchemical Roman God, Vulcan: “That *Vulcan* gave Arrows unto *Apollo* and *Diana* the fourth

---

<sup>322</sup>Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 11. Although alchemy is an ancient philosophical practice, and hence at odds with the modern sense of cosmopolitanism I’m associating with Cyrus, its transformative capacity and aspiration is in keeping with the aims of the Cyric paradigm.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*

day after their Nativities...may pass for no blinde apprehension of the Creation of the Sunne and Moon, in the work of the fourth day” (325). By paralleling a pre-Christian creation myth, focused on the sun, with the account in Genesis, Browne begins a scheme of commensurability that finds cross-cultural and interreligious unity across arts, philosophy, nature, and all of creation, both artificial and natural.

Browne anchors his mystical and philosophical *Garden* in the immanent realm, a practical, tangible domain, much like the world Browne would dissect as a physician. In this vein, Cyrus as presiding figure and force is particularly appropriate; unlike the unknown Garden of Eden, the Garden of Cyrus can be known, indefinitely:

A large field is yet left unto sharper discerners to enlarge upon this Order, to search out the *quaternio's* and figured draughts of this nature, and, moderating the study of Names and mere nomenclature of plants, to erect generalities, disclose unobserved proprieties, not only in the vegetable Shop, but the whole volume of nature, affording delightful Truths, confirmable by Sense and ocular Observation, which seems to me the surest path to trace the Labyrinth of Truth. (386)

In contrast to the intangible Eden, the Garden Cyrus creates is knowable and therefore an earthly form corresponding to a divine realm, a space that be “confirmable by sense and ocular observation” to “erect generalities” that apply to all humankind. The tangibility of the earth as an emanation of the Cyrus Garden depends on the orderliness, the regularity of the creation as a reflection of the divine imprint. When the “Lord of Gardens” created his seminal work, it was characterized by its symmetry:

According whereto *Xenophon* describeth his gallant plantation at *Sardis*, ... That is, The rows and orders so handsomely disposed, or five trees so set together, that a regular angularity and through prospect was left on every side. Owing this name not only to the Quintuple number of Trees, but the Figure declaring that number. Which being doubled at the angle, makes up the Letter  $\chi$ , that is the emphatical Decussation, or fundamental figure. (328)

For Browne, Cyrus was the inspired gardener who ordered the natural world and whose very language coined the term paradise for European civilization as Browne explains, “we owe the very name of Paradise” to the Persian tongue (327).<sup>325</sup> Although it is not certain if Browne was aware of the implications of Zoroastrian theology and the conceptions of paradise as a way of conceiving the world, his reference to Persian etymology suggests some familiarity with ancient Persian ideology and practices, and certainly Zoroastrianism via Plato and Aristotle informs his philosophical knowledge.<sup>326</sup>

On the symbolism of the gardens in ancient Persia, historian Jenny Rose explains that the gardens were an earthly reflection of an orderly realm allied with the truth and goodness of Ahura Mazda, the good lord: “the king’s mandate is to rule the earth in wisdom...as Ahura Mazda’s agent, maintain order, and promoting the happiness, health and perfection...for the kingdom as a whole.”<sup>327</sup> In the *Garden*, Browne emphasizes the enclosed, ordered beauty of gardens that brings harmony out the diversity of nature. In his description of the etymology, he writes “The word for that disputed Garden, expressing in the Hebrew no more than a Field *enclosed*, which from the same Root is content to derive a garden and a Buckler” (327; emphasis added), and in his description of Cyrus’s work, he notes that “*Cyrus* the elder brought up in Woods and Mountains, when time and power enabled, pursued the dictate of his education, and brought the treasures of the field into *rule and circumscription*” (327; emphasis added). The

---

<sup>325</sup> Rose explains that “the word for a ‘garden’ in this broad sense is the Elamite *partetash*, from an Old Persian *pairidaida*. The term was translated from the Greeks from Xenophon onwards as *paradeisos*—a ‘paradise.’ The word derives from an early Semitic borrowing, from old Persian *pairidaida*...meaning ‘enclosure’” in *Zoroastrianism*, 37.

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

orderliness of “our magnified *Cyrus*” enables him to be the “splendid and regular planter,”<sup>328</sup> inspiring the creation of the ur-garden that spawned the creations of global gardens uniting all of humanity: “The Turks who past their days in Gardens here, will have Gardens also hereafter, and delighting in Flowers on earth, must have Lilies and Roses in Heaven” (320). The unity implanted in the world makes all of creation into simulacra of the divine, a way for man to believe in and see the cosmic order, that can be both hidden and manifest: “the greatest Mystery of Religion is expressed by Adumbration, and in the noblest parts of *Jewish* Types we find the Cherubims shadowing the Mercy-seat. Life it self is but the shadow of death, and souls departed but the shadows of the living: All things fall under this name. The Sun it self is but the dark *simulachrum*, and light but the Shadow of God” (376). If the garden itself is an earthly, tangible image reflecting the divine, and “gardens were before gardeners” than *Cyrus* is an “archetype,” the prototypical gardener in the Adamic sense.

Browne’s concluding thoughts on light and darkness echo the opening image of the birth of the sun and the moon: “Light, that makes things seen, makes some things invisible. Were it not for darkness and the shadow of the Earth, the noblest part of the Creation had remained unseen, and the Stars in Heaven as invisible as on the fourth day, when they were created above the Horizon with the Sun, or there was not an Eye to behold them” (375-76). Light emanating from the life-giving sun is at the center of Browne’s exposition on natural philosophy; it is both metaphysical and literal, penetrating thoughts analyzing the order of things and the photo-

---

<sup>328</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “regular, adj., n., and adv.,” accessed March 10, 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/161414>: “2a. Characterized by evenness, order, or harmony in physical form, structure, or organization; arranged in or constituting a constant or definite pattern.”

synthesis-generating star infusing all of the earth with its life-giving rays. In his fourth chapter, Browne discusses the literal sun through the heliotropic tendency of plants:

though some plants are content to grow in obscure Wells...yet the greatest number are not content without the actual rays of the Sun, but bend, incline, and follow them; as large lifts of solisequous and Sun-following Plants...The same Plants rooted against an erect North-wall full of holes will find a way through them to look upon the Sun. And in tender plants, from mustard seed sown in the Winter, and in a plot of earth placed inwardly against a South-window, the tender Stalks of two Leaves arose not erect, but bending towards the Window, nor looking much higher then the Meridian Sun. And if the Pot were turned, they would work themselves into their former declinations, making their conversion by the East. (367)

The “sun-following plants” are solar worshippers, “making their conversion” daily at the metaphorical altar in the East; despite obstacles, such plants, the “greatest number,” will return to the Sun, the East, in a state of spiritual ecstasy, converting themselves from any artificial orientation the planter tries to impose to further grow and develop. This heliotropism informs Browne’s conception of Cyrus; he is the literal Cyrus of history bequeathing his botanical know-how to humankind but he is also the metaphorical sun hovering over the text.<sup>329</sup> The sun, more importantly, is a powerful cosmopolitan symbol. It is, in essence, the sun in the multiple forms of Cyrus that unifies all the earth and creates a cosmopolitan consciousness in the text through a reflection on nature.<sup>330</sup>

---

<sup>329</sup> The etymology of Cyrus as “Sun” was well-known in the period, as described in Plutarch’s *Life of Artaxerxes*: “Cyrus is the Persian word for sun” (par.1, l.2). In Persian, Cyrus is کوروش (Kurosh) deriving from the Persian noun for Sun, *khor*. Kathryn Murphy notes that the “solar imagery associated with Cyrus” contrasts with the “dark world of *Urne-Buriall*,” its companion piece in “‘A Likely Story’: Plato’s *Timaeus* in the *Garden of Cyrus*” in *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed*, ed. Reid Barbour and Claire Preston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 247.

<sup>330</sup> The sun as cosmopolitan symbol harbors the potential for unorthodox beliefs as Jacob explains in relation to Giordano Bruno: “His search for universal religion based upon hermeticism and sun worship had taken cosmopolitanism, allied with the new science, right into paganism and the heresy of naturalism” (*Strangers Nowhere*, 49-50). Browne concludes his text

Browne's mystical conception of Cyrus as an Adamic figure of the ur-garden anticipates the typology Banks's draws upon in depicting Cyrus's conquest as a creation narrative, amplifying thereby Cyrus's positive relationship with the Judeo-Christian deity of the Hebrew Testament. Before his conquest of Babylon, the "Empire of the World," (5.1.46), Craesus tells Cyrus of the supernatural events at Balthazar's camp that confirm his rise as world conqueror: "The God whom all the world with dread admires,/The Hebrews Worship, and th' Egyptians fear,/Has call'd thee by a Miracle to be/The King of this Great Empire, and the World" (5.1.47). Craesus then narrates the prophetic scene from Daniel 5 with additional supernatural imagery:

Whilst straight a yet more strange and dreadful Scene disclos'd  
 A Bloody Hand appear'd upon the Wall,  
 With a bright Bracelet set with flaming Stars,  
 Dazeling the Eyes of all th' astonish'd Crowd,  
 Then with a Finger which distill'd warm Gore,  
 The God wrote Words in Characters of Hebrew,  
 Which by a Wise Religious Captive of  
 That Nation, was Interpreted of Cyrus,  
 That you should be the Assertor of his God,  
 Who gave Assyria to the Medes and Persians. (5.1.48)

Although biblical accounts do not suggest that Cyrus was aware of Daniel's interpretation of the Writing on the Wall, the inclusion of the prophecy, with its sanguinary amplification, is a catalyst for Cyrus's pseudo-conversion. The biblical exegesis amplifies Cyrus's preordained place in world history as the "Assertor" of the Divine, an addition inferred from Cyrus's biblical

---

with the complementary states of light and darkness the sun and its absence creates on earth: "The Huntsmen are up in *America*, and they are already past their first sleep in *Persia*" (*Garden* 387). His final vision brings the West and the East together in commensurable modes in relation to their orientations toward the sun. When Browne writes, "'tis time to close the five Ports of Knowledge" (*Garden*, 387) his omnipresent "five"—the five senses, the five chapters, the quincunx—also refers to the ancient "cinque ports" on the Eastern edge of England and alludes to the beginning of a journey as well as the end of one, an intellectual place of refuge to rest the reader traversing the knowable diversity of the world. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Cinque Ports, n.," accessed March 12, 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/33149>.

story, and mirrors the plot of the Adamic creation narrative in Cyrus’s acceptance, or increasing knowledge of, the Judeo-Christian deity through His direct intervention in the world. While in the Bible, Cyrus’s dialogue with God is limited to the account in Ezra 1:2 (and 2 Chronicles 36:23)— “Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The LORD God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which *is* in Judah”— in the play, Cyrus’s affective response to the knowledge of the prophecy prompts him to explicitly acknowledge his conditional belief in the Judeo-Christian God in contrast to his earlier pagan reference to the “Gods” (2.1.11):

O my dark Soul! Is there a Mighty God!  
 (As sure there must) in whose admir'd Belief  
 My Mother's Breasts ne're Nurs'd my Infancy,  
 Whose Being was before all Beings else,  
 Who is the Source, Beginning, and the End  
 Of all, yet has no Source, Original,  
 Nor Ending, but art that of which is all  
 Compos'd, and yet art still the same, and not  
 The less, nor greater—*If then* such thou art,  
 O help me, guide me by thy Sacred Power  
 To be the Man this Miracle has meant. (5.1.48; emphasis added)

Cyrus’s humility distinguishes him as a spiritual leader, while the emphasis in his proclamation is on the “man” he is not, the man Panthea later sees in his entirety as “generous, great, unhappy Man” (4.1.44). His parenthetical acceptance of the divine “Being,” the Alpha and Omega, here generalized as “a Mighty God,” is followed by his exposition on the nature of the eternal essence, an entity beyond categorizations, that turns into a prayer for guidance and assistance. Although Cyrus claims he was not raised with monotheism, his instantaneous acknowledgment and commentary on the existence of a singular God further reinforces his divinely inspired knowledge and casts him as a type of Adam, moving from a state of innocence to the experience of God and the world. Cyrus’s pseudo-conversion in Banks’s play calls upon the prophecy in

Isaiah that suggests that Cyrus will know God through the work he completes and the treasures he gains in this world, “that thou mayest know that I, the LORD, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel” (Isaiah 45:3).

### “Cyrus Frailties”

Despite the heroism, both spiritually and materially, that distinguishes Cyrus’s character throughout the play, the haunting realism of the anti-war imagery and its spectacular props threatens the regenerating motifs and world-redeeming implications of Cyrus’s acts. Like other plays performed in the last decades of the seventeenth century, including Elkanah Settle’s *Cambyzes, King of Persia* (1671), in *Cyrus the Great*, there is an increase in spectacle, oscillating between pathos and horror, and an emphasis on emotion heightened by the growing competition between Drury Lane and Lincoln’s Inn.<sup>331</sup> The play begins and ends with battle scenes of Cyrus’s victories which simultaneously depict his martial prowess and Providential favors alongside the inevitable carnage of war. The play begins with the conclusion of a “great Battel” and the opening morbid scene features a “wide spacious Land, ruinous and almost covered with dead Bodies” (1.1.sd). The ghastly scene prompts Cyrus’s uncle, Cyaxares, the King of Medea, to reflect on Cyrus’s rise to power with Artabasus his attendant, who comments on the material devastation wrought by such conflict:

Arta:  
A fatal Glory fires ambitious Man,  
That is for ever with destruction gotten,  
Bright Ruine is the gilding of his Doys,

---

<sup>331</sup> Jean I. Marsden, “Spectacle, horror, and pathos,” in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000): “Rapes, pathos, horror, and special effects were some of the means Restoration playwrights used to provide their plays with the visual appeal which could mean the difference between a successful run and dismal failure” (189).

And humbl'd Nations with his height must fall.  
Our Eyes no other Objects can behold,  
But near and distant Plains all harras'd o'er,  
And great and beauteous Palaces unveil'd.

Cyax.  
No Corn does here enrich the bloody Field,  
Nor Grass adorn the Meads with wanton Green;  
The Trees, the Earth's tall Sons, are all cut off,  
All Places mourn where Cyrus Horse has trod.

Offic.  
The poor and plunder'd Peasants peep abroad  
With piteous Eyes and Hands lift up to Heav'n,  
To see their Labour turn'd to dismal Spoil (1.1.2-3)

The chorus of lament on the general cause of war, “ambitious Man,” detaches from the particular to comment on the destructive nature of armed combat, while drawing in but not condemning Cyrus. From palaces to villages, war is a cause to “mourn” rather than rejoice and Cyrus’s role is as any other military leader. Following the grim reflections of the opening dialogue and the dubious reputation it suggests for Cyrus, the entrance of Macbeth-like witches, supposedly created at the behest of the Assyrian king who is dabbling in the black arts, interrupts the dialogue; the “Wizards” summon a dead corpse from the “Bodies slain by Cyrus” (1.1.4-6) to offer a ghoulish prediction on Cyrus’s temporal reign:

To Cyrus Glories thou shalt add thy Life,  
And leave thy Empires, and thy Darling Crowns,  
To be possess'd by him whom Fate adores,  
Whom, for a time, Heav'n, Hell, and all the World  
Obey. (1.1.6)

Banks’s complicated and problematic stance toward war and Cyrus promotes a separation between the act of war and the actors caught within it; the play’s overall tone of mourning compromises the celebration of Cyrus’s military might and success, but his nobility remains in

tact. In this convoluted and uneasy way, Banks appeals to a growing feeling of disillusionment with the Nine Years War and with war in general while still extolling Cyrus as the harbinger of a new day, perhaps even one with a future of less bloodshed.<sup>332</sup>

The play concludes with the imagery of the grotesque presented in the omnipresent props of dead bodies, returning again with the concluding scenes Panthea describes as “an hundred heaps of mangl'd Bodies” (5.1.54). Banks’s focus on the body and its corresponding emotions humanizes Cyrus the “man” and remains in tension with the language of deification magnifying Cyrus’s pristine, Adamic soul. Cyrus may be an anointed leader, but much like any other king, and like Adam, he is not otherworldly; his capacities are limited although his reign is blessed. Indeed, the way he survives and the play forgoes the Herodotean death by Tomyris is through the intervention of Lausaria’s ghost. Having died of her unrequited love of Cyrus, Lausaria, the character embodying “the tragedy of love,” returns to shield Cyrus from Tomyris and leads him to witness Panthea mourning for her dismembered love, Abradates, who was thrown from a chariot, before she commits suicide. When Cyrus attempts to kiss Abradates’ hand and re-attach it, it remains gruesomely limp and detached, morbidly recalling the earlier reference Cyrus makes regarding his own “liberal hands” (3.1.23). While the play portrays a struggling but victorious Cyrus, one who has the volition to overcome his human passions and temptations, the mournful ending reiterates that he is bereft of the miraculous attributes of Christ and his life-restoring energies to heal the sick and revive the dead.

---

<sup>332</sup> Elisabeth Heard explains that “by the time the peace treaty at Rijswijk was signed on 30 October 1697, the English were tired of fighting and dying for a king obsessed with his campaign against the French” in *Experimentation on the English Stage, 1695-1708: The Career of George Farquhar* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

While Cyrus's main diplomatic actions in the play attest to his ability to be compassionate, just, and virtuous within his imperial domain, he is tested with his consuming adoration of Panthea and found wanting in the sphere of love and the justice it demands. Following the conventions of romance, Panthea's presence initially brings out the worst in Cyrus, presenting him as the opposite of the charismatic leader mitigating his uncle's rage, and rather as one easily smitten, envious, and controlling, lowering thereby his semi-deified status through his inability to control his passions. When Cyrus first sees Panthea he argues with Hystaspes, his courtier, over her as both men have fallen in love with the princess. Cyrus angrily dismisses him, calming only with the influence of Craesus who restrains him, "Hold gallant Cyrus," (2.1.17) and whom he beseeches for advice: "O Craesus say, Cou'd Solon suffer this?/Is there a Rule in all Philosophy/To teach me Patience now?—O tell it me" (2.1.17). Although Cyrus seems unaware that Lausaria, Craesus's daughter is in love with him, he cunningly orchestrates the union of his rival for Panthea's love, Hystaspes, with Lausaria. When both parties react unfavorably to the royal match, Cyrus exiles Hystaspes and Lausaria is left distraught. After Lausaria departs in distress over her unrequited love of Cyrus, a confused Cyrus turns to Cyaxares and beseeches his uncle for help with his unexpected weakness of will:

Tell me, instruct me what to do—  
 O Cyaxares, lend me thy dear Breast,  
 T' unload my Grievs, and learn thy precious Council—  
 ...And oh, my Friends, forgive your Cyrus Frailties. (3.1.25)

Despite his inability to subjugate his "Frailties," a marker distinguishing Banks's vulnerable and passionate Cyrus from the stoic and detached Elizabethan hero of Farrant's *Wars of Cyrus*, Cyrus exhibits a conspicuous self-reflective capacity in the moment, humanizing thereby his mythical persona into one that struggles to overcome his embattled will:

Oh Friends! I feel a War within my Breast.  
The horrid Sound of Fights, and parting Ghosts  
Are all but Musick to my tortur'd Sence—  
Yet fain I'd get the Vict'ry o'er my self;  
But Oh, I can't! and find I am too weak—  
By all the Gods it is beyond a Mortal—  
Ha! Part 'em, or the Sight will kill. (3.1.30)

Ultimately, Cyrus gains “victory” over his ego through a series of appeals from Panthea, and a hideous reminder of the effects of thwarted love through an Ophelia-like scene of madness with Lausaria adorned like Cupid, proving thereby his capacity to subjugate his emotions and honor Panthea’s love of her husband.

### “The Gallant Monarch”

Banks’s most radical intervention in the historical sources of Cyrus’s biography involves the displacement of female wrath for female compassion in foregoing Cyrus’s Herodotean death by Tomyris through the intervention of Lausaria’s ghost; the steadfast spirit of Lausaria returns to shield Cyrus from Tomyris and leads him to witness Panthea mourning for her dismembered love before she commits suicide. In Herodotus’ *Histories*, unlike Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*, Cyrus is killed and later beheaded according to the vengeful Tomyris’ behest:

search was made among the slain by order of the queen for the body of Cyrus, and when it was found she took a skin, and, filling it full of human blood, she dipped the head of Cyrus in the gore, saying, as she thus insulted the corpse, ‘I live and have conquered you in fight, and yet by you am I ruined, for you took my son with guile; but thus I make good my threat, and give you your fill of blood.’<sup>333</sup>

---

<sup>333</sup> Herodotus Herodotus, *The History*, trans. George Rawlinson, (New York: Dutton & Co., 1862).1.214.

Throughout the medieval period, Tomyris is extolled as a chastiser of the prideful Cyrus, “irous Cirus”<sup>334</sup> in Chaucer’s words, and this powerful image of the queen continues to coexist in the Elizabethan period although the applicable moral wanes with the decline of the *De Casibus* tradition and the precedence of Xenophon’s fictionalized biography of Cyrus. Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, when other versions of Cyrus’s life from Xenophon to Scudéry’s popular romance abound, the reliance on the tale as an exemplary narrative is no longer as germane.

Lausaria’s ghost, like the female embodiment of wisdom in Lead’s writings, represents the feminine agency Cyrus depends on to survive and ultimately thrive. In the supernatural military union of Cyrus and the dead Lausaria, Banks reflects aspects of William III’s recent widowhood and the important role of the female spirit to guide and assist as “co-regent.” The question of female guidance, authority, and rule is particularly sensitive during these years as Princess Anne’s succession was not entirely clear yet, with William continuing to resist Anne’s requests to solidify her place in line.<sup>335</sup> Banks makes this association more explicit in his dedication of the play, wherein he aligns Anne with the power of Panthea and Cupid, the presiding deity of the play:

Your Highness his Divine Panthea now,  
Has rais'd him both to Empire and to You.  
The God of Love, who in the Scene departs,  
Bequeaths to You his Quiver and his Darts,  
And, what is more, his Title to all Hearts. (prologue)

---

<sup>334</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer, “The Summoner’s Tale,” in *The Canterbury Tales*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1.2079.

<sup>335</sup> Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 105-110.

Moreover, in the dedication, Banks follows his Elizabethan predecessors in calling upon a familiar modesty trope—aligning the English dedicatee—with ancient Persian royalty. Recalling Elyot’s reference to the “poor husbandman” and Artaxerxes in his prologue to the *Book of the Governor*, Banks places his work within the same analogical tradition: “But when I consider that no Present, of what Value soever, can be made suitable to One of Your Illustrious Character, It gives me Encouragement to hope this Trifle may not be less Acceptable to Your Royal Goodness, than a Pitcher of Water was to the Great Monarch of the World, from the Hands of a Mean Soldier.”<sup>336</sup> While Elyot uses the analogy to compare himself to the village dweller that offers Artaxerxes water because he has no other gift to present to him upon his royal arrival, Banks gentrifies the comparison, casting the “poor husbandman” as a “mean soldier” and placing the water in a “pitcher” rather than bare, humble hands in keeping with the more materially elevated and thereby “civil” version of Cyrus he presents for his female audience.

The collocation of feminine qualities and the emerging concept of “civility” as a marker of toleration in Scudéry’s mid-century romance (translated in 1653) and its later iteration in the discourse of toleration by the end of the century in John Locke’s writings, informs Banks’s characterization of Cyrus as a diplomatic, hospitable leader and partly redeems his military actions and the anti-war impulses in the play. Scudéry’s Cyrus is the most eclectic version of his fictionalized life. On its lack of historical boundaries, and purposeful detachment from its source materials, Humphrey Moseley, the printer of the English edition, celebrates this diverse portrayal of the iconic Persian king in his opening dedication:

If you ask why this should have any Precedence before other Romances, 'tis soon answer'd, that our Author in this hath so laid his Scaens, as to touch upon the greatest

---

<sup>336</sup> John Banks, *Cyrus the Great, Or the Tragedy of Love*, (London, 1696). All subsequent references will be from this edition and are cited in text by act, scene, and page number.

Affairs of our Times: for, Designs of War and Peace are better hinted and cut open by a Romance, than by down-right Histories; which, being barefac'd, are forc'd to be often too modest and sparing; when these disguiz'd Discourses, freely personating every man and no man, have liberty to speak out. And though this hath so many Turns and Changes (which is its peculiar Beauty) yet thereby it is not made dark and Cloudy, but is every where Cyrus, that is, a bright Sun, for so the word signifies in the Persian Tongue, as well as in Hebrew. Perhaps you would know what Cyrus this is, whether the first Great Cyrus who founded the Persian Empire (whose life you have in Herodotus, Solinus, & Justin) or that other second Cyrus, whose Institution and Expedition is so well writ by Xenophon: Be pleas'd to know, 'Tis neither of them, and yet both; for our Author hath drain'd all the Excellencies of both those Two to fill and accomplish this his Grand Cyrus.<sup>337</sup>

A “Grand Cyrus,” in Moseley’s description, is an all-encompassing, peerless, and transcendent figure—a superlative, in essence. Like his name, which “signifies in the Persian tongue” a “bright Sun,” his presence as paragon of virtue and nobility illuminates the morals of the text. The historical inaccuracy of combining two distinct personages in one—Cyrus II, the Great, the Elder, the king from the *Cyropaedia*, and Cyrus the younger, a prince from Xenophon’s *Anabasis*—is part of the “disguiz’d Discourses” that render the romance far more entertaining than a history text, and capable of allegorizing contemporary issues, “to touch upon the greatest Affairs of our Times.” Thus, by mid-century, Scudéry’s Cyrus as romance hero takes precedence over Xenophon’s fictionalized Cyrus, leading to a wider and more feminine audience; indeed, the popularity of this version of Cyrus seems to inspire English bookseller William Hope to capitalize on the recent publication and translation by altering a familiar image of Cyrus and the late King Charles I from Philemon Holland’s 1623 translation of the *Cyropaedia*:

---

<sup>337</sup> Madeleine de Scudéry, *Artamenes, or, The Grand Cyrus an excellent new romance / written by that famous wit of France, Monsieur de Scudery*, trans. by F.G., *Gent* (London, 1653).

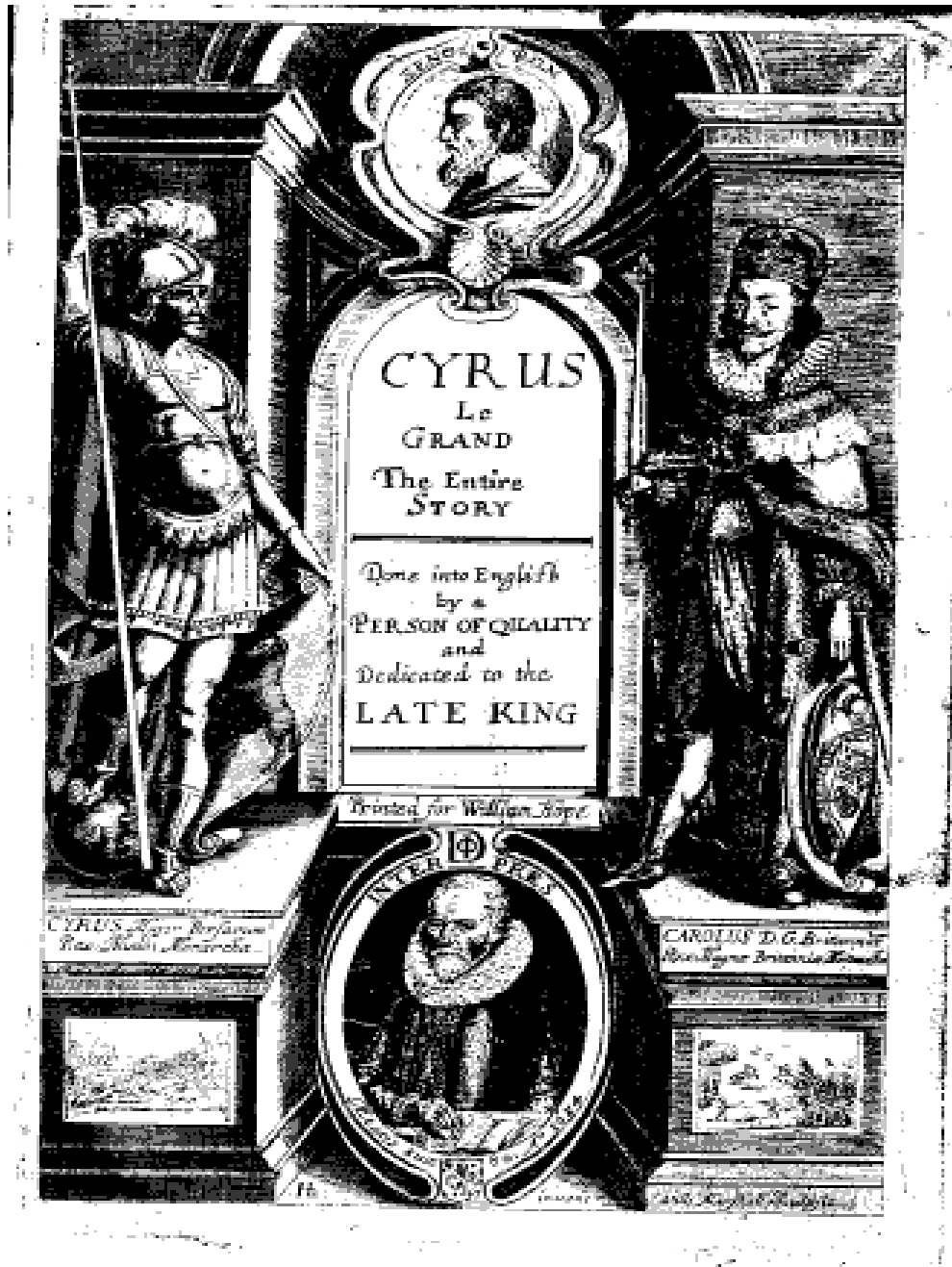


Figure 6. Frontispiece to *Cyrus Le Grand*. 1654. Early English Books Online.

The recycled frontispiece engraving by William Marshall now reads *Cyrus Le Grand/The Entire Story* rather than the original *Cyrupaedia or The Instiution and Life of Cyrus King of Persians*. The Anglo-French title in place of the Greek original, and the deletion of “written in Greek by Xenophon,” as well as Philemon Holland’s name as the translator, undermines the scholastic

nature of the humanist text, presenting it instead as a piece of royalist fiction, a “story,” in the mode of Scudéry’s text. The enlargement of “Cyrus” without the original qualification of “King of Persians” suggests that Cyrus’s name alone carried enough cultural signification and mythology by 1654 for this piece of overt fictionalizing. Although Scudéry’s English title page is completely translated in the 1653 edition: *Artamenes of The Grand Cyrus, An Excellent New Romance.*, Hope’s reprinting uses the French title and its syntax to draw attention to Cyrus’s name, clearly popularized in a distinct feminine register by Scudéry’s well-received novel.<sup>338</sup>

The “civil” virtues Banks transfers from Scudéry’s eclectic version of Cyrus’s life contributes to the marriage of female and male qualities in Cyrus as a diplomatic leader. Banks highlights feminized qualities via Cyrus’s unique reign, suggesting that such attributes are not only gender neutral, but beneficial for all leaders, which in 1696 would be befitting for a recently widowed William III and an aspiring Princess Anne. As Ellen Welch explains, unlike earlier presentations of Cyrus as an ideal imperial figure in the *speculum principis* mode, Scudéry humanizes Cyrus and conceptualizes his empire of civility: “by following Cyrus’s example of studying languages and cultures, listening to strangers’ stories with sympathy, and extending hospitality and even friendship to all comers, the reader too might build an affective ‘empire’ as broad as the hero’s Asian kingdom.”<sup>339</sup> Welch’s analysis responds to contemporary scholarship on cosmopolitanism and its disappointment with historical models of the world-embracing perspective by considering both the ethical dimensions of Scudéry’s Cyrus as a “cosmopolitan hero” with particular strengths in seventeenth-century conceptions of sociability, and the novel’s

---

<sup>339</sup> Ellen R. Welch, “From Aesthetic to Ethical Cosmopolitanism in Scudery’s *Le Grand Cyrus*,” *Cahiers du Dix-Septième 14* (2012): 38.

presentation of Stoic cosmopolitanism, particularly “*oikeiōsis* or the mental exercise through which alien persons or objects are assimilated into the realm of the familiar.”<sup>340</sup> As a child, “moderation, Liberality, Justice, Valour, and all the vertues were so eminent in him” (2:35) and as an adult, when Cyrus is approached to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem, “the most generous Prince in the world” (2:165) is “most sensibly moved” by the request and so commissions this “great act of Charity”: “the good which he did, he alwayes did it with joy and alacrity: And truly he was so sensibly pleased, that he had an occasion of breaking so many chains at one blow, and comforting so many sad souls” (2:166). In keeping with the romance genre, Scudéry coats Cyrus’s liberating, spiritual act with the language of sensibility, coloring the divinely inspired deed as a charitable contribution done from his inherent goodness rather than as an obedient Messiah figure. In the narration of the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, Scudéry’s rhetoric demystifies the episode, bringing the divinely ordained act into the realm of the mundane; rather than an impressive act of God, Cyrus’s actions epitomize the attainable and imitative magnanimity characterizing acts of interreligious hospitality.

While Scudéry secularizes the biblical narrative, the association of Cyrus’s civility and the discourse of toleration in England is grounded in religious systems of knowledge and virtues, and as such, aligns his goodness with a spiritual inclination. Scudéry’s Cyrus embodies the theoretical cosmopolitan seventeenth-century gentleman—civil, liberal, and hospitable toward others—and such traits are the guiding ethos of the world she creates in her novel.<sup>341</sup> Her portrayal of Cyrus as such speaks to the growing confluence of the concept of “civility”

---

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-39.

<sup>341</sup> Civility reigns as a dominating virtue in the world of *Le Grand Cyrus*: on the King of Corinth, Scudéry’s narrator writes, “for this gallant man ever thought the Laws of Hospitality inviolable, and that strangers could not be welcomed with too much Civility” (2:44).

(repeated 308 times in the novel) and modernity as part of toleration rhetoric in early Enlightenment thought.<sup>342</sup> As John Marshall explains, part of the “republic of letters” was a dedication to promote tolerance as a marker of civil and reformed society.<sup>343</sup> Locke emphasizes this convergence of thought in *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) wherein he advocates for the separation of the kingdom of God and man, and defines the roles of the Church and the State in seventeenth-century society, addressing what he deems to be the true nature of Christianity, that of “Toleration”: the “chief Characteristical Mark of the True Church.”<sup>344</sup> For Locke, understanding the “Law of Toleration” elucidates past confusions that perpetuate the persecution of religious sects: “The Toleration of those that differ from others in Matters of Religion, is so agreeable to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the genuine Reason of Mankind, that it seems monstrous for Men to be so blind, as not to perceive the Necessity and Advantage of it, in so clear a Light” (5). Rather than “monstrous” intolerance, sincere Christians should promote “Charity, Meekness, and Good-will in general towards all Mankind, even to those that are not Christians.”<sup>345</sup> Furthermore, in various works, including his educational treatise, Locke adumbrates the necessary conditions for cultivating “civility,” the primary virtue for amicable conversation in diverse groups, from a young age: “But since we cannot accustom our selves to converse with Strangers, and Persons of Quality, without being in their company, nothing can

---

<sup>342</sup>John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Intolerance and Arguments for Religious Toleration in Early Modern and "early Enlightenment" Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 618.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>344</sup> John Locke, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, trans. William Popple, (London: 1689), 1. All subsequent references will be from this edition and are cited in text.

<sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. Locke’s appeal to toleration as a Christian virtue echoes the writing of those who saw the civil wars as “punishment for ‘the general obstinacie and aversenesse’ of the English to ‘tolerate, and beare’ one another. See Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 230.

cure this part of *Ill-breeding*, but change and variety of Company, and that of Persons above us.”<sup>346</sup> Scudéry’s Cyrus, “a stranger no where” and a citizen of “all the world,” (2:92) exemplifies Locke’s principles as he converses graciously with all of humanity because of his cosmopolitan upbringing: “Cambises had alwayes a great desire that his Sonne should be taught the Languages of all the prime Nations in the world: It was his customary Speech, that it were very strange a Prince should not understand the Language of that Nation from whom he would entertain an Embassadour” (2:42).

In Banks’s drama, we see key aspects of Scudéry’s civil, hospitable Cyrus in his diplomatic engagements with his prisoner Craesus and his envious uncle, Cyaxares. Early in the play when Cyrus comments on Craesus’ lowly state at the bottom of Fortune’s Wheel before his impending execution, Craesus responds that now he understands the true meaning and worth of self-reflection: “Let Craesus know himself” (2.1.12). Touched and enlightened by this dearly bought wisdom, a tender-hearted Cyrus displays his own capacity to recognize such praiseworthy conduct by freeing and restoring Craesus to his estate and embracing his unexpected tutor: “Come, then to my Arms,/And shew me how to be a King indeed,/Solon taught thee, and thou shalt teach thy Cyrus” (2.1.13). Cyrus’s willingness to learn from Craesus and then his uncle parallels the same capacity-increasing impulse we have seen in other Persian kings, from the Sherley’s Sophy to Cartwright’s Arsamnes, emphasizing that good leadership and a commendable life is built on a foundation of empowerment that assumes a humble posture of learning that in turn creates capabilities in the leader and his people.

---

<sup>346</sup> John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London, 1693), 167.

By staging the scene with Craesus, the play provides examples of the noteworthy attributes of “Immortal Cyrus,” (2.1.14), namely his wisdom and discretion. In gratitude for his unexpected freedom, Craesus hyperbolically praises Cyrus as the accumulation of all virtues:

O mighty Prince! Thou much more God than Man!  
My emulating Soul flaggs at thy Sight,  
The Genius of the World must bow to thine;  
And all the Virtues of Mankind together  
Make but dimm Light before thy beauteous Presence. (2.1.13)

Exaggerated praise from the play’s Cyrus worshippers, the heliotropic human plants adoring Cyrus as the herald of a new earthly domain, saturates the drama and cultivates a conspicuous reputation for Cyrus that is put under duress in domestic and romantic situations, in particular in responding to his belligerent uncle. Having rejected the gifts of Cyrus’s spoils of war, including the “Royal Captive” (1.1.7) Panthea, Cyrus confronts his uncle who openly turns away from his embrace in the beginning of the second act of the play. Despite his hostility when they meet on stage, Cyrus approaches his elder with calm and diplomacy: “I will hear with Patience if I can” (2.1.19) while a bitter Cyaxares summarizes his good deeds for him from childhood and accuses him of “Ingratitude” (2.1.19), feeling like a “poor Shadow” (2.1.20) of himself. Through his graciousness and congeniality in response to his uncle’s rancor, a graciousness recalling Scudéry and Locke’s account of the proper means to achieve civil conversation, Cyrus persuades Cyaxares of his good intentions and he accepts and remembers the exemplarity of his nephew, ultimately embracing him and proclaiming: “O Cyrus! Thou hast conquer'd me, my Cyrus—I can no longer hold but must forgive thee” (2.1.21). In staging such a reconciliation in a time of political tribulation and enmity between James II and William, this literal embrace manifests an imagined mutuality between rival factions in a year punctuated by an attempted assassination of William. When Cyrus’s uncle dies “by Fortune, and the Chance of War,” he proclaims Cyrus’s

dominion over a united land: “Persia, and Media now shall be but one;/Far greater than Astyages thou art,/The first sole Monarch of the Medes and Persians” (4.1.38-39). Dramatizing unity between uncle and nephew underscores Cyrus’s reception as a cosmopolitan figure, as one who shares a camaraderie with all and inspires such universal unions.

The end of the seventeenth century leaves us with a more complex vision of Cyrus because of the influence of the French romance, *Le Grand Cyrus*, the politics of royal succession and rivalry, developing notions of tolerance, hospitality, and cosmopolitanism, as well as the demands of the theatre going audiences interested in spectacles that such an ancient nearly mythical persona affords. Yet underneath the exigencies of the historical context, the question of why an English playwright would turn to Cyrus and create such an eclectic version of his life remains. Perhaps the very amalgamation, the humanizing, the contradictions of his story is what was most intriguing and most appealing to a seventeenth-century audience looking for realistic paradigms that could translate into ways of being and doing in the tumultuous world around them. Banks’s play humanizes Dryden’s Cyric paradigm, enlarging the affective potential of the figure into an English character on stage, a man whose virtuous soul is tested, found wanting, but is nevertheless destined for something great.

## CODA

### Seeing Hospitality

In 2013, the Cyrus Cylinder—a 2,600 year-old Persian artifact recognized by many as the first charter of human rights—toured the US from coast to coast, having left its domicile in the British Museum. For museum director Neil MacGregor, the cylinder manifests the first “serious attempt” at harmonious coexistence, and he notes that there is even a replica of the clay cylinder at the United Nations Headquarters.<sup>347</sup> The cylinder’s acclaim is based on the proclamation written on it that confirms the well-known biblical benevolence of Cyrus the Great to the Jews under the Babylonian captivity. Written in cuneiform, the cylinder decrees that all restraints on religious freedom are rescinded as Cyrus declares himself to be a “harbinger of peace.”<sup>348</sup> With the emphasis on classical history—that is on ancient Persia rather than modern day Iran—the tour bypassed current international controversies to highlight an effort to promote diversity that has yet to be appreciated in our times.<sup>349</sup>

The tour ended with the cylinder’s display at the Getty Villa in the Pacific Palisades, just an hour away from where I was writing my dissertation. I had seen the cylinder for the first time at the British Museum when I was a graduate student at Oxford in 2005, first learning about Persia’s intriguing history of religious toleration and in turn appreciating my own heritage that

---

<sup>347</sup> Neil MacGregor, Interview by Christiane Amanpour, Launch of the Cyrus Cylinder Tour, *IHF America*. Web. 5 March 2013.

<sup>348</sup> “I am Cyrus, king of the universe, the great king...When I went as harbinger of peace i[nt]o Babylon I founded my sovereign residence within the palace amid celebration and rejoicing... I collected together all of their people and returned them to their settlements...” trans. Irving Finkel, Curator of Cuneiform Collections at the British Museum ([http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=327188&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=327188&partId=1)).

had been somewhat scattered as a first generation Persian-American. Seeing the fragmented, oblong object that could fit in both my hands prompted me to contemplate on its relative material insignificance in relation to the grand social implications it carried when it was first created. I thought then of how the freedom it called for was rather opaque, how the future of the Jews under the Babylonian captivity was not yet realized, and how a hospitable act could be codified and remembered throughout time. What did peace look like when Cyrus proclaimed to usher its advent? Was his decree accepted or questioned by skeptics?

My reflection on my experience that cold English day with the Cyrus Cylinder is akin to Martha Nussbaum's description of the mighty grandeur of the rows of trees at the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem, organic symbols of those who "risked the loss of all that was near and dear to them to save a stranger" despite the forces of institutionalized and state-wide persecution.<sup>350</sup> In response to envisioning hospitality through this concrete arboreal manifestation, Nussbaum asks, "would one, in similar circumstances, have the moral courage to recognize humanity and respond to its claim, even if the powers that be denied its presence? That recognition, wherever it is made, is the basic act of world citizenship."<sup>351</sup> Nussbaum's provocative inquiry is particularly timely today when we are bombarded with hostile forces in the world curbing and undermining the rights of all citizens of our common homeland—rights to live, work, and study peaceably, rights to move and travel for one's prosperity and well-being, and rights to fulfill our individual and collective capacities. We often dramatize war with elaborate details and great enthusiasm but can we envision and enact concord and harmony beyond idealistic proclamations and cartoonish images of holding hands and singing camp

---

<sup>350</sup> Nussbaum, "*For Love of Country*," 132.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

songs? Perhaps because it is in our human nature to depend on the faculty of sight for epistemological certainty, seeing hospitality—in museums, on the stage, and on the screen—is a moral imperative of our times, a way to inspire us through positive models that we can draw upon when we create peace in our minds and, then, in our world.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aaron, Melissa D. *Global Economics: A History of the Theater Business, the Chamberlain's/king's Men, and Their Plays, 1599-1642*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.
- Agamben, Giorgio. *The Signature of All Things: On Method*. Translated by Luca D'Isanto with Kevin Attell. New York: Zone Books, 2009.
- Alff, David. "'Annus Mirabilis' at the End of Stuart Monarchy: Repackaging a Year of Wonders in 1688." *Restoration*. 35.2 (2011): 21-36.
- Andrea, Bernadette. "Elizabeth I and Persian Exchanges." In *The Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I*. Edited by Charles Beem. 169-199. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Andrews, Lancelot. *XCVI. Sermons by the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes*. London, 1629. Early English Books Online.
- Anonymous. *A Pretie new Interlude both pithie & pleasaunt of the Story of Kyng Daryus, Beinge taken out of the third and fourth Chapter of the thyrd booke of Esdras*. London, 1565. Early English Books Online.
- Anonymous. *The Enterlude of Godly Queen Hester*. In *Medieval Drama: An Anthology*. Edited by Greg Walker. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2006.
- Arbab, Farzam. "Promoting a Discourse on Science, Religion, and Development." In *The Lab, the Temple, and the Market: Reflections at the Intersection of Science, Religion, and Development*. Edited by Sharon Harper. Ottawa: IDRC, 2000.
- Ascham, Roger. *The Scholemaster*. London, 1570. Early English Books Online.
- Auerbach, Erich. "Figura." In *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, Theory and History of Literature*. Volume 9. Translated by Ralph Manheim. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Banks, John. *Cyrus the Great, Or the Tragedy of Love*. London, 1696. Early English Books Online.
- Baron, Robert. *Mirza. A Tragedie, Really acted in Persia, in the last Age*. London, 1647. Early English Books Online.

- Benhabib, Seyla. *Another Cosmopolitanism: Hospitality, Sovereignty, and Democratic Iterations* with essays by Jeremy Waldron, Bonnie Honig, and Will Kymlicka. Edited by Robert Post. Oxford University Press 2006.
- Bentley, Thomas. *The sixth lampe of virginittie conteining a mirrour for maidens and matrons*. London, 1582.
- Benveniste, Émile. *Indo-European Language and Society*. London: Faber, 1973.
- Bevington, David. M. *From Mankind to Marlowe: Growth of Structure in the Popular Drama of Tudor England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- Blakeley, John. "Marlowe's Counterfeit Cyrus." *Marlowe Studies: An Annual* 3 (2013): 35-36.
- Bodin, Jean. *Colloquium of the Seven About Secrets of the Sublime (Colloquium Heptaplomeres De Rerum Sublimium Arcanis Abditis)*. Edited by Marion L. Kuntz. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Botwinick, Aryeh. "Shakespeare in Advance of Hobbes: Pathways to Modernization in the European Psyche as Charted in *The Merchant of Venice*." *TELOS* 153 (Winter 2010): 132-59.
- Browne, Thomas. *The Major Works*. Edited by CA Patridies. New York: Penguin Books, 1977.
- Burke, Kenneth. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.
- Burton, Jonathan. *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English drama, 1579-1624*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.
- Busher, Leonard. *Religions peace or A reconciliation, between princes & peoples, & nations*. Amsterdam, 1614. Early English Books Online.
- Butler, Todd Wayne. *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-century England*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008.
- Calhoun, Craig, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen, eds. *Rethinking Secularism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Cannadine, David. *The Undivided Past: Humanity Beyond Our Differences*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013.
- Cartwright, William. *The royall slaue A tragi-comedy*. Oxford, 1639.

- Castiglione, Baldassare. *The courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio diuided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place*. Translated by Thomas Hoby. London, 1561. Early English Books Online.
- Charry, Brinda and Gitanjali Shahani. *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550-1700*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2009.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. "The Summoner's Tale." In *The Riverside Chaucer*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Edited by Larry D. Benson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Chernaik, Warren. "Areopagitica: 'The Known Rules of Antient Libertie.'" *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms* (17:3): 317-331.
- Clement, Jennifer. "Elizabeth I and the Politics of Gender: Empire and Masculinity in John Banks' *The Unhappy Favourite*." *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*. 31.1 (2007):1-25.
- Clopper, Lawrence M. *Drama, Play, and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 2001.
- Coignet, Matthieu, *Politique discourses upon trueth and lying An instruction to princes to keepetheir faith and promise: containing the summe of Christian and morallphilosophie, and the duetie of a good man in sundrie politique discourses vponthe trueth and lying*. Translated by Edward Hoby. London,1586. Early English Books Online.
- Cornille, Catherine, ed. *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Inter-Religious Dialogue*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, Chichester, UK: 2013.
- Cosgrove, Denis. "Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 93.4 (2003): 852-870.
- Davenant, William. *The Temple of Love. A Masque*. London, 1634. Early English Books Online.
- Davies, Julian. *The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism, 1625-1641*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Davis, Rebecca. "Childish Things: Charity and the Liberal Arts." *Postmedieval: a Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies*. 6.4 (2015):457-466.
- Day, John, William Rowley, and George Wilkins. *The Travels of the Three English Brothers. Three Renaissance Travel Plays*. Edited by Anthony Parr. 55-134. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

- Day, William. *An Exposition of the Book of the Prophet Isaiah*. London, 1654. Early English Books Online.
- Degenhardt, Jane H. *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010
- Delmarcel, Guy. *Flemish Tapestry*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999.
- Denham, John. *The Sophy*. London, 1642. Early English Books Online.
- Derrida, Jacques and Anne Dufourmantelle, *Of Hospitality: Cultural Memory in the Present*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Dryden, John. *Annus Mirabilis*. In *Selected Poems*. Edited by Steven N. Zwicker and David A. Bywaters. London: Penguin Books, 2001.
- Elyot, Thomas. *The boke named the Governour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight*. London, 1537. Early English Books Online.
- . *The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knight*. London, 1538. Early English Books Online.
- Ephraim, Michelle. *Reading the Jewish Woman on the Elizabethan Stage*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008.
- Farrant, Richard. *The Wars of Cyrus: An Early Classical Narrative Drama of the Child Actors*. Edited by James P. Brawner. Urbana: The University of Illinois press, 1942.
- Ferrier, R.W. "The European Diplomacy of Shāh 'Abbās I and the First Persian Embassy to England." *British Institute of Persian Studies. Iran* 11 (1973): 75-92.
- Figgis, John N. *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius 1414-1625*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1907.
- Firby, Nora Kathleen. *European Travellers and their Perceptions of Zoroastrians in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Berlin: Reimer, 1988.
- Frey, Linda, and Marsha Frey. *The History of Diplomatic Immunity*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999.
- Gregg, Edward. *Queen Anne*. Yale English Monarchs. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Games, Alison. "England's Global Transition and the Cosmopolitans Who Made it Possible," *Shakespeare Studies* vol. 35 (2007): 24-31.

- Goldstein, David. B. *Eating and Ethics in Shakespeare's England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- ., and Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Shakespeare and Hospitality: Ethics, Politics, and Exchange*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Gordon, Scott Paul. "The Cultural Politics of William Cartwright's *Royal Slave*." In *In the Company of Shakespeare: Essays on English Renaissance Literature in Honor of G. Blakemore Evans*. Edited by Thomas Moisan, Douglas Bruster, and G B. Evans. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002.
- Grogan, Jane. "The Not-Forgotten Empire: Images of Persia in English Renaissance Writing." *Literature Compass* 7/9 (2010): 912-921.
- . "'Many Cyruses': Xenophon's 'Cyropaedia' and English Renaissance Humanism," *Hermathena*. (2007): 63-74.
- . *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549-1622*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Hampton, Timothy. *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Herbert, Thomas. *A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile, begunne anno 1626*. London, 1634. Early English Books Online.
- Herodotus. *The History*. Translated by George Rawlinson. New York: Dutton & Co., 1862.
- Hill, Eugene D. "The First Elizabethan Tragedy: A Contextual Reading of 'Cambises.'" *Studies in Philology* 89.4 (1992): 404-433.
- Hirst, Julie. *Jane Leade: Biography of a Seventeenth-Century Mystic*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.
- Honig, Bonnie. *Democracy and the Foreigner*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Howard, Jean. Introduction to "English Cosmopolitanism and the Early Modern Moment," *Shakespeare Studies* vol. 35 (2007): 19-23.
- Houston, Chloë. "Traveling Nowhere: Global Utopias in the Early Modern Period." In *Companion to the Global Renaissance*. Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture, edited by Jyotsna G. Singh. 82-98. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

- . "Persia and Kingship in William Cartwright's *The Royall Slave* (1636)." *Studies in English Literature 1500 – 1900*. Rice University 54.2 (2014): 455-73.
- Huntington, Samuel P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.
- The Injunctions of 1559. In *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*. Edited by Henry Gee and W.H. Hardy. New York, 1896,
- Jackson, Peter, and Laurence Lockhart. *The Cambridge History of Iran: Vol. 6. The Timurid and Safavid Periods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Jacob, Margaret C. *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Kant, Immanuel, Jeremy Waldron, Michael W. Doyle, and Allen W. Wood, *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*. Rethinking the Western Tradition. Edited by Pauline Kleingeld. Translated by David L. Colclasure. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Karlberg, Michael R. *Beyond the Culture of Contest: From Adversarialism to Mutualism in an Age of Interdependence*. Oxford: George Ronald, 2004.
- Kenyon, J.P. *The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- Kearney, James. "Cosmopolitan Dogs: Foucault's Indifference and Shakespeare's Cynical Divestments." Paper presented at the Renaissance Society of America. Boston, Massachusetts. March 31-April 2, 2016.
- Kearney, Richard. *Anatheism: Returning to God After God*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Knight, Charles, ed. *London*. Vol. 5. London: Charles Knight and Co., 1843),
- Knights, Mark. "'meer religion' and the 'church-state' of Restoration England: The Impact and Ideology of James II's Declaration of Indulgence." In *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration*. Edited by Alan C. Houston and Steven C. A. Pincus. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Knowles, James. "'The faction of the flesh': Orientalism and the Caroline Masque." In *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary Essays on Culture and Politics in the Caroline Era*. Edited by Ian Atherton and Julie Sanders. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

- Korshin, Paul. *Typologies in England, 1650-1820*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Leade, Jane. *A Fountain of Gardens, Volume II*. London, 1697. Early English Books Online.
- Lewis, Jaye E. *Mary Queen of Scots: Romance and Nation*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- . *The English Fable: Aesop and Literary Culture, 1651-1740*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Locke, John. *A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Translated by William Popple. London, 1689. Early English Books Online.
- . *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. London, 1693. Early English Books Online.
- Lockey, Brian C. "Elizabethan Cosmopolitan: Captain Thomas Stukeley in the Court of Dom Sebastian." *English Literary Renaissance* (2010): 3-32.
- Lupton, Julia Reinhard. *Citizen-saints: Shakespeare and Political theology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- . *Thinking with Shakespeare: Essays on Politics and Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- . "Re-vamp: A Response." *PMLA* 126.2 (2011):467-471.
- . "Hospitality." In *Early Modern Theatricality*. Edited by Henry S. Turner. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- . "Making Room, Affording Hospitality: Environments of Entertainment in Romeo and Juliet." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 43.1 (2013):
- MacLean, Gerald M. *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- . "When West Looks East: Some Recent Studies in Early Modern Muslim Cultures." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* Vol. 7 no. 1 (2007): 96-112.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò. *The Prince*. Translated by Daniel Donno. New York: Bantam Books, 2003.
- Marcus, Leah S. "Provincializing the Reformation," *PMLA* 126.2 (2011): 432-439.

- Marsden, Jean I. "Spectacle, horror, and pathos." In *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*. Edited by Deborah Payne Fisk. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Marshall, John. *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Intolerance and Arguments for Religious Toleration in Early Modern and "early Enlightenment" Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Marshall, Peter. *Reformation England, 1480-1642*. London: Arnold, 2003.
- Matthee, Rudi. "The Safavids Under Western Eyes: Seventeenth-Century European Travelers to Iran." *Journal of Early Modern History* 13.2/3 (2009):137-171.
- McCullough, Peter E. *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- McDowell, Paula. "Enlightenment Enthusiasms and the Spectacular Failure of the Philadelphian Society." *Eighteenth-century Studies*. 35.4 (2002): 515-533.
- McJannet, Linda. "Bringing in a Persian." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 12 (1999): 237-267.
- McKeon, Michael. *Politics and Poetry in Restoration England: The Case of Dryden's Annus Mirabilis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- McNulty, Tracy. Introduction to *The Hostess: Hospitality, Femininity, and the Expropriation of Identity*. vii-liii. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
- Mehdizadeh, Nedda. "Translating Persia: Safavid Iran and Early Modern English Writing." Ph.D. Diss., The George Washington University, 2013.
- Meserve, Margaret. *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Meskin, Jacob, and Harvey Shapiro. "'To Give an Example Is a Complex Act': Agamben's Pedagogy of the Paradigm." *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 46.4 (2014): 421-440.
- Middleton, Thomas. *Sir Robert Sherley, Sent Ambassadour in the Name of the King of Persia, to Sigismond the Third, King of Poland and Swecia, and to Other Princes of Europe: His Royall Entertainment into Cracovia, the Chiefe Citie of Poland, with His Pretended Coming into England: Also, the Honourable Praises of the Same Sir Robert Sherley, Giuen Vnto Him in That Kingdome, Are Here Likewise Inserted*. London, 1609. Early English Books Online.

- Miller-Tomlinson, Tracey. "Pathos and Politics in John Banks' *Vertue Betray'd, or Anna Bullen* (1682)." *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research*. 23.1 (2008): 46-67.
- Murphy, Kathryn. "'A Likely Story': Plato's Timaeus in the *Garden of Cyrus*." In *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed*. Edited by Reid Barbour and Claire Preston. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011.
- , and Joshua Cohen, *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1996.
- Newman, Jane. "'Race,' Religion, and the Law: Rhetorics of Sameness and Difference in the Work of Hugo Grotius." In *Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern Europe*. Edited by Victoria Kahn and Lorna Hutson. New Haven: Yale UP, 2001. 285-317.
- Niyesh, Ladan. "Shakespeare's Persians." *Shakespeare* 4, no. 2 (2008): 137-147.
- Nirenberg, David. "Shakespeare's Jewish Questions." *Renaissance Drama* 38 (2010):77-113.
- Ogilby, John. *Asia. The First Part Being an Accurate Description of Persia*. London, 1673. Early English Books Online.
- Orgel, Stephen. "Plato, the Magi, and Caroline Politics: A Reading of *The Temple of Love*," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 4:3-4 (1988): 663-677.
- Orr, Bridget. *Empire on the English Stage, 1660-1714*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Owen, Susan J. *Restoration Theatre and Crisis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Palmer, Daryl W. *Hospitable Performances: Dramatic Genre and Cultural Practices in Early Modern England*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1992.
- Parr, Anthony, ed. *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- . "Foreign Relations in Jacobean England: the Sherley Brothers and the 'voyage of Persia.'" In *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*. Edited by Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems. 14-31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Partridge, Mary. "Thomas Hoby's English Translation of Castiglione's 'Book of the Courtier.'" *The Historical Journal* 50.4 (Dec. 2007):769-786
- Pincus, Steven C.A. *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

- Plutarch. *Plutarch's Lives*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classic Library Edition. Vol. 2. London: W. Heinemann, 1914.
- Publicover, Laurence. "Strangers at Home: the Sherley Brothers and Dramatic Romance." *Renaissance Studies* 24, no.1 (2010): 694-709.
- Purchas, Samuel. *Purchas his Pilgrimage*. London, 1613. Early English Books Online.
- Ramachandran, Ayesha. *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Raleigh, Walter. *The History of the World*. London, 1614. Early English Books Online.
- Remer, Gary. "Dialogues of Toleration: Erasmus and Bodin." *The Review of Politics* 56. 2 (Spring, 1994): 305-336.
- Rose, Jenny. *Zoroastrianism: An Introduction*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010.
- Şahin, Kaya and Julia Schleck. "Courtly Connections: Anthony Sherley's *Relation of His Trauels* (1613) in a Global Context." *Renaissance Quarterly*. 69.1 (2016): 80-115.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- Sandys, Edwin. *A relation of the state of religion and with what hopes and pollicies it hathbeene framed, and is maintained in the severall states of these westerne partsof the world*. London, 1605. Early English Books Online.
- Shakespeare, William. *Othello, the Moor of Venice*. Edited by Michael Neill. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- . *The Merchant of Venice: Authoritative Text, Sources and Contexts, Criticism, Rewritings and Appropriations*. Edited by Leah S. Marcus. New York: W.W. Norton, 2005.
- . *King Lear*. In *The Complete Works*. Edited by Stephen Orgel, and A R. Braunmuller. New York: Penguin, 2002.
- Sharpe, Kevin. *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Sherley, Anthony. *Sir Antony Sherley his relation of his trauels into Persia*. London, 1613. Early English Books Online.
- Shifflett, Andrew E. *Stoicism, Politics, and Literature in the Age of Milton: War and Peace*

- Reconciled*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Sidney, Philip. *A Defence of Poetry*. Edited by Jan Van Dorsten. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Skinner, Quentin. *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: 2*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Smith, Steven Lynn. "Friend or Foe: Popular Perceptions of Persia in England, 1598-1688." Ph.D. Diss. University of California, Santa Barbara, 2010.
- Sokol, B.J. *Shakespeare and Tolerance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Edited by A.C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, and Toshiyuki Suzuki. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: Longman, 2001.
- Stillman, Robert E. *Philip Sidney and the Poetics of Renaissance Cosmopolitanism*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008.
- Stow, John. *The survey of London containing the original, increase, modern estate and government of that city, methodically set down*. Edited by Anthony Munday. London, 1633. Early English Books Online.
- Sousa, Geraldo U. *Shakespeare's Cross-Cultural Encounters*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Sully, Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of. *The Grand Design in Europe: Giving Shape to an Idea*. Edited by Jorge T. Silva. London: Anthem Press, 2009.
- Towers, Suellen M. *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003.
- Trapedo, Shaina. "From Scripture to Script: David, Daniel, Esther and the Performance of Early Modern Identity." Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Irvine, 2013.
- Treanor, Brian. "Putting Hospitality in its Place." In *Phenomenologies of the Stranger: Between Hostility and Hospitality*. Edited by Richard Kearney and Kascha Semonovitch. New York: Fordham University Press, 2011.
- Vitkus, Daniel. "Turning Turk in *Othello*: The Conversion and Damnation of the Moor." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48 (Summer, 1997): 145-76.
- . *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630*.

- New York: Palgrave, 2003.
- Walker, Greg. *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991.
- Wallace, John M. "‘examples Are Best Precepts’: Readers and Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Poetry." *Critical Inquiry: a Voice for Reasoned Inquiry into Significant Creations of the Human Spirit* 1 (1974): 273-290.
- Walsham, Alexandra. *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700*. New York: Palgrave, 2006.
- Welch, Ellen R. "From Aesthetic to Ethical Cosmopolitanism in Scudery's *Le Grand Cyrus*." *Cahiers du Dix-Septième* 14 (2012): 37-54.
- Wilson, Richard. "Making Men of Monsters: Shakespeare in the Company of Strangers." *Shakespeare* 1, no.1-2 (2005): 8-28.
- Xenophon. *The Education of Cyrus*. Trans. by Wayne Ambler. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2001.
- . *Cyrupaedia The institution and life of Cyrus, the first of that name, King of Persians*. Translated by Philemon Holland. London, 1632. Early English Books Online.
- Yarshater, Ehsan. "Communication." *Iranian Studies*, no.1, 1989: 62-65
- Young, Arthur Milton. *Echoes of Two Cultures*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964.
- Zwicker, Steven N. *Dryden's Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation*. Providence: Brown University Press, 1972.
- . *The Cambridge Companion to John Dryden*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.