

## THE EYE AND REFRACTIVE GEOGRAPHY IN *PERICLES*

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### Abstract

The paper highlights the cultural constructedness of vision in the early modern period by drawing on heteroglossic representations of the eye in early English texts, ranging from anatomy and physiology treatises to philosophy, poetry, emblems, and geometrical perspective in astronomy and land surveying. The argument is based on the association of word and image in early modern representations of space, mirrored in Ortelius's notion of geography as the eye of history, which shows the importance of the visual element in the system of acquisition and transmission of knowledge in the Renaissance. In the particular case of *Pericles*, the play unfolds over a vast international geography and creates powerful visual effects. The imaginative spatial conventions of the play can be assimilated to the system of geometrical projection on which maps depended. Locations are used according to a geometric triangulation system to refract the imaginative and spatial vision. As in emblems, the locations unfolding in the play give the action meaning in the process of involved spectatorship. Moreover, in the theatre, the lone monocular beholder of mathematical linear perspective is multiplied into a choric array of spectators.

**Keywords:** eye, geography, Renaissance perspective, spatial imaginary, Shakespeare, Wilkins, *Pericles*.

In a study analysing the function of rhetoric in Renaissance culture, Heinrich F. Plett discusses the rhetorical conceptualization of the visual arts and pictorial poetry in early modern interpretations. Plett defines *ekphrasis*, or the Latin *descriptio*, as the device of “painting pictures with words” (336) and draws on Henry Peacham's *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593) to give a classification of descriptive genres, according to the objects represented, which lies at the basis

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of literary pictorialism in English Renaissance. Among *iconographia*, the description of graphic pictures by verbal ones, *chronographia*, the description of time, or *pragmatographia*, the description of things, Plett mentions in Peacham's list topographia, the true description of a place, and *topothesia*, an imagined description of a place (336–349). These two verbal depictions of place strongly rely on vision as the principal function of cognitive representation and on the eye as the essential organ of that function. The mental process by which the visual impression of a place, its verbal representation, and the imagined image of that verbal representation are constructed deserves some attention. Considering how the early modern English tried to locate themselves and their nation through the creation of maps and literary representations of geographic space, Rhonda Lemke Sanford relies on the concept of “cognitive or mental map” (3) to argue that the metaphoric models of place, as well as particular places created by literary texts (among which *Cymbeline*) shape how people conceptualize and experience their world, allowing them to take visual possession of their topographic surroundings. Various theories in the field of cognitive psychology<sup>1</sup> suggest that such mental maps can be assembled from both verbal and visual knowledge of the surrounding world. Furthermore, my suggestion is that the imagination of each member of the audience attending a play—in this case *Pericles*—can generate further abstractions of these mental maps, in the form of geometric pre-figuring, when placed in direct visual relationship with theatrical representations of geographic space.

This study focuses on the stories we tell about the cultural fashioning of vision in the early modern period and the images we place with those stories as drawn from viewing *Pericles*. Conceiving of geography as “the eye of history,” as Ortelius wrote in the *Paregon's* title page, necessary for the true understanding of history, the Flemish cartographer makes claims regarding the visual character and scientific accuracy of maps as essential for the proper understanding of past events. In this particular case, the past includes the Old and New Testament's geographical and moral coordinates. The overlap between history and geography was a common theme in early modern imagination of space, and their interrelation with the eye and vision drew on the hybrid representations of the eye in early English texts. Moreover, Renaissance topographic and geometric representational techniques posit a fictional system that, like the stage, requires an infusion of imagination to make its fictions plausible, and imagination is invariably related to the mind and the eye. In

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the literature on geography and cognitive psychology and a summary of the empirical research from cognitive psychology dealing with how spatial information is coded, stored, retrieved, and manipulated in the memory, see Loyd 532–48. For visual cognitive theory, which studies “visual cognition as a process of knowing” (193), see Williams 193–210.

*Pericles*, the play's vast international geography suggested by its multiple settings creates powerful visual effects. As a result, the representational spatial relations in the play can be associated with the system of geometric projection in cartography. Locations emerge in relation to a geometric triangulation system, as in refracted light, to evoke imaginative spatial vision. In this way, the locations unfolding in the play acquire meaning in theatrical action, in the process involving the viewing spectator and the space represented on stage, in a three-dimensional triangular relation. At the same time, each member of the audience has a personal perspective on the play's representation of geographic locations; thus, the single beholder of mathematical linear perspective—as represented in books of surveying—is multiplied into a group of spectators.

Early modern accounts on the eye and vision—whether anatomical, physiological, philosophic, astronomic, topographic, navigational, or travel and geographic—place the eye in an important position, at the centre of the human universe of perception. In a 1596 medical treatise by A.T., a “practitioner in physicke,” the author writes of the eye as “the most necessary member of all other”<sup>2</sup> and gives some advice for the “preservation of sight” (2: 56). The medical text lists, on the column “good for the sight,” among a number of herbs and ointments, “to looke upon any manner of green colours,” “to looke in a faire Glasse,” and the commendable hygienic action of “Washing your hands and feete often” (56). Similarly, among the things that are “ill for the sight,” the physician mentions drunkenness, gluttony, looking too much at white or bright things, too much letting of blood, and the stressful situation of “much weeping and overmuch watching” (56). Another physician, Walter Bailey, gives equally unusual advice for the “preservation of eye sight,”<sup>3</sup> as the title page states, in a medical treatise of 1602. Bailey is against writing after a meal or, if need be, one should write standing, or reclining one's head to the right; under no circumstances should one write bowing forward and holding down the head (16). Bailey quotes Avicenna, who says that, for good eyesight, it is useful to comb against the hair every morning, because, in this way, the bad vapours are drawn out and away from the head (17). The physiological and cognitive function of the eye is repeatedly emphasized in medical treatises.

Anatomical descriptions of the eye abound in sixteenth-century medical discourses, connecting the cognitive function of reason with the visual organ. Anatomist John Banister allots an important portion of his comprehensive

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<sup>2</sup> *A rich store-house or treasury for the diseased* (1596) by A. T. went through seven subsequent editions, in 1601 (STC 23606.5), 1607 (STC 23607), 1612 (STC 23608), 1616 (STC 23609), 1630 (23609), and 1631 (STC 23610; 23611).

<sup>3</sup> Bailey's *A briefe treatise touching the preseruacion of the eie sight* (1602) is the fourth edition of this work; others appeared in 1586 (STC 1192.5; 1193), 1587 (1194); subsequent enlarged editions were published in 1616 (STC 1196), 1626 (STC 1197), 1633 (1198).

treatise of the human body, entitled *The Historie of Man* (1578), to the eye. In the section about the skeleton, Banister advances the issue “whether the head was made for cause of the eyes or els of the brayne” (Fol. 6, sig. Dy). Galen argues that the head was made to be the location of the eyes, while Realdus Collumbus, though he does not deny the importance ascribed to the eyes by Galen, maintains that the head was made for the brain because the latter is the seat of reason, more important than sense, as it brings humans closer to divine creatures (Banister 102). Reason is the mistress of all virtues and queen of all animal faculties, as the surgeon argues, while the senses are just servants of reason. After describing the organs of hearing and smelling, Banister goes on to the “noble organs of light,” which may be compared to the sun in the world because they are of central importance. The eyes are “the most delityng and prexious partes in the body” (Banister 102), compared to the sentinels in a fortress, giving warning against enemies. However, as others before him, Banister becomes confused when he needs to explain the physiology of sight, ending abruptly with the self-evident fact that “the eyes are made for the cause of seying” (103). He slips rapidly into rhetoric and digresses on the importance of the faculty of seeing, without which a person would be very unhappy. A major difference between human and animal anatomy of the eye is observed, and evidence comes from quoting Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*:

When euery beast, with prone aspect, to looke on earthy mould,  
He had ordained, yet man he made, the heauens for to behould:  
And that he should his countenance vnto the skyes erect. (Banister 103)

Unlike animals, because of a specific fifth muscle in the eye, as the anatomist argues through the voice of the Latin poet, humans are able to look towards heaven.

Physiology of the eye is frequently connected with the working of the mind and reason or, when this is altered, with the diseases of madness and melancholy. Elizabethan surgeon Philip Barrough, in his 1583 medical treatise entitled *The methode of phisicke*, defines melancholy as “an alienation of the mind troubling reason, and waxing foolish, so that one is almost beside him selfe” (35)<sup>4</sup>. Introducing the chapter about the eye’s anatomy and physiology, Barrough stresses the importance of the organ of sight, considering that “God hath as it were packed and bestovved an infinite varietie of maruels in one litle round subiect” (38). An anatomist is not enough to describe the variety of this organ, but a skilled philosopher and an orator are needed. Barrough points out a

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<sup>4</sup> Philip Barrough’s *The methode of phisicke* (1583) went through eight editions by 1639: 1590 (STC 1509), 1596 (STC 1510), 1601 (STC 1511), 1610 (STC 1512), 1617 (STC 1513), 1624 (STC 1514), 1634 (STC 1515), and 1639 (STC 1516).

significant paradox related to the eye: although by means of the eye and observation we are able to look into things and observe the order of nature, the eye has always been blind when describing itself and we cannot clearly discern and describe its functions. Similarly, in his compilation *Wits Theater of the Little World* (1599), Robert Albott (or sometimes signed Allott) documents the supremacy of vision over the other senses: “Of all the fiue Sences, the sight is most piercing and subtile, for the kinde thereof is ferie” (44). From anatomy and physiology to philosophical discourse, the eye is the centre of the humanists’ attention. Medieval philosopher Roger Bacon analyses the concept of vision and the influence of sight on human psychology in *The Mirror of Alchemy* (1597). The title reflects the preoccupation with problems of mirroring. The medieval philosopher quotes some examples of people with the evil eye—Ovid’s report that in Scythia there are women with double eyeballs, who kill men only by looking at them—or people of good spirits, whose looks comfort others (Bacon 60–61). Fictionalized spaces (Scythia) and incredible stories (such as Ovid’s) recreate an imaginary world for the reader, in which the eye and ocular functions are the centre of attention.

The eye is, paradoxically, the source of clear reason and the symbol of the mind, as well as the cause of illusion. As William Cornwallis observes in *Discourse upon Seneca the Tragedian* (1601), the eye represents reason as against imagination or fantasy; hope is the result of good reasoning, while fear—described earlier in the chapter—is considered a punishment of the soul resulting from the fall (sig. B<sup>r</sup>). Moral virtue is achieved by observing the counsel of the soul, yet it cannot be attained in the absence of just employment of mind and body. Sometimes, as Cornwallis argues, the soul follows the inclination of the body, and the comparison is with the illusion of reality given by the eye: “in many things doth the soule follow the bodies inclination, euen as the eye seeth by the assistance of a spectacle, whose glasse, if false, the eye cannot see truly” (Discourses upon Seneca sig. D<sup>r</sup>). Associations among eye, reflection, and light are recurrent in early modern moral philosophy. In his popular book of *Essays* (1600), in Essay 10, “Of Ambition,” Cornwallis claims, in the Platonic vein, that we are in darkness; the light of the sun, or observation by means of the eyes, cannot help us achieve true knowledge, which is obscured by “Opiniō” (*Essayes* sig. F3<sup>r</sup>)<sup>5</sup>. However, as Cornwallis shows in Essay 17, reason helps us distinguish between appearance (deriving from the eyes) and essence; philosophy alone can unmask the fears of the soul and show them as chimeras, or illusions, created by fear and darkness and expelled by “the eye-light of Knowledge” (Cornwallis, *Essayes* sig. K4<sup>v</sup>). Consequently, according to early

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<sup>5</sup> The *Essayes* by Cornwallis (1600) went through eight subsequent editions, in 1606 (STC 5776; 5776.3), 1610 (STC 5777), 1614 (STC 5778), 1616 (STC 5779; 5780), 1632 (STC 5780.7; 5781).

modern epistemology, the senses (mainly the eye) organised the world, then transmitted their results to reason (or to imagination), in order to be processed and transformed into knowledge.

There is a clear distinction between divine and human knowledge in the early modern period; the latter, in the Baconian denotation, is achieved by means of observation and experiment, with the help of the senses. Human knowledge is invariably flawed, as Sir John Davies argues in *Nosceteipsum*, the Neoplatonic poem on self-knowledge (sig. B<sup>f</sup>).<sup>6</sup> A series of questions leads to the idea that we cannot know anything clearly because the lamp of reason is clouded by the impressions of the senses (represented by the eye and ear, considered the higher senses):

How can we hope, that through the Eye and Eare,  
This dying Sparkle, in this cloudie place,  
Can recollect those beames of knowledge cleare,  
Which were enfus'd in the first minds by grace?  
(Davies, *Nosceteipsum*, 3, sig. B2<sup>f</sup>)

Knowledge of the natural world, acquired by way of reason, is compared to knowledge obtained through the senses: it is just as relative. There are claims that “the mind is like the eye” because it gathers knowledge by degrees through this organ of sense; yet the mind is unlike the eye, because it can reflect upon itself. However, the intellect is corrupted and sees its own image. Therefore, as the poet’s reasoning goes, I know myself to be human, which is a “proud and a wretched thing” (Davies, *Nosceteipsum* 5, sig. B3<sup>f</sup>). As gleaned from these texts of natural philosophy, influenced by Renaissance Neoplatonism, the eye is an instrument of partial knowledge of the natural world and a source of illusion, while sight is misleading and limited to individual perspectives.

In early modern astronomy, the perspective principle is adopted with caution because there is a distinction between knowledge obtained through observation of the universe, which is drastically limited by our visual sense, and the geometric representation of this knowledge. Thomas Hill, in his astronomical treatise *The Schoole of Skil* (1599), describes a “material Sphere” (3)<sup>7</sup> as an image constructed of rings and circles, which is made to represent the motion of heavenly bodies to the eye. As can be seen in Figure 1, this geometric projection is similar to the concentric structure of the eyeball. Thus, the graphic representation becomes symbolically compatible not only with the object it

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<sup>6</sup> Sir John Davies’ *Nosceteipsum* (1599) is the third and last of the editions of this work, issued in 1599 (STC 6355, 6355.2); subsequent editions appeared in 1602 (STC 6356), 1608 (STC 6357), 1619 (STC 6358), and 1622 (STC 6359).

<sup>7</sup> The editor’s (William Jaggard) preface to Thomas Hill’s *The schoole of skil* (1599) indicates that he had got hold of an old MS of Hill’s.

represents (the universe), but also with the instrument whereby the universe and its representation are perceived (the eye). In addition, Hill makes the distinction between “observation” and relative “judgment of the eye” (3). Observation is the result of purposeful and carefully guided experiment conducted by reason, while “judgment of the eye” (Hill 3) is just the appearance of things, as the eye sees them in perspective. The relativity of perception and size is also emphasized in the example according to which, although the Earth seems huge to the human eye, it is just a speck in the universe (Hill 52), as geometric rules aver.

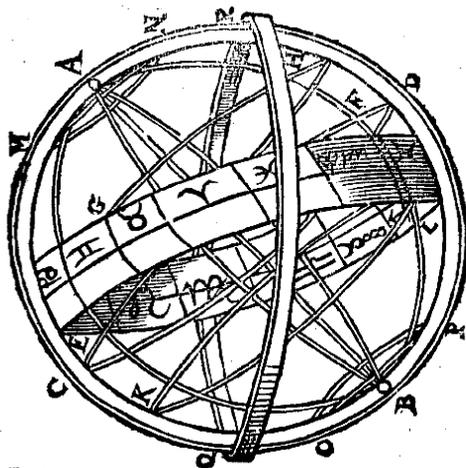


Figure 1: Thomas Hill. Illustration of the Sphere on the title page of *The Schoole of Skil*(1599)

Perspective projection and geometry were used in early modern geography and cartography<sup>8</sup> in the representative visualization of maps, especially with the advent of the Mercator projection. Geographers, land surveyors, and astronomers relied on vision and perspective methods in their observations. In trying to demonstrate that there is a multiplicity of heavens, Thomas Blundeville, in his astronomical and navigational treatise (1594),<sup>9</sup> raises the question of optical illusion in observing the universe: “How is it to be

<sup>8</sup> For studies on Renaissance cartography see Karrow 101–6 and Gordon and Klein, eds. For a discussion of “representational spaces” and “mapmindedness” in Shakespeare’s England see Gillies 19–45; for cartography and stage space, see Matei-Chesnoiu 9.

<sup>9</sup> Blundeville is best known as a writer on equestrian subjects, but this work is of particular interest to historical geographers because it offers a survey of explorers and recent discoveries of new worlds, but shows skeptical views on the practical possibilities of a northwest passage.

proved that there is such multiplicite of heauens, sith to the eye it seemeth one whole bodie”? (Chapter 4, 137).<sup>10</sup> Proof can be obtained by means of geometric representation, as in the image of the Sphere (Blundeville 137<sup>f</sup>). Moreover, in chapter 54, Blundeville describes a navigation instrument useful to know the tides, which was known by Michel Coignet (350<sup>v</sup>), the Flemish cartographer, mathematician, and engineer. Blundeville’s image of this instrument is uncannily similar to the plane representation of the universe (the Sphere) and to the iris of the eye (Figure 2).

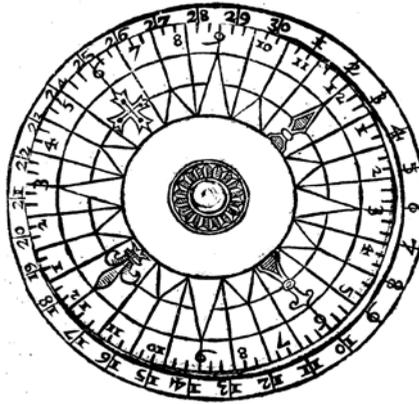


Figure 2: Thomas Blundeville, Image of an instrument for observing tides, in Chapter 54, “The Arte of Navigation,” *M. Blundeville his Exercises* (1594), p. 350<sup>v</sup>

From astronomy, or rather astrometry, to geometry, geography, navigation, topography, and land surveying, the principle of representation in relation to the eye has generated an image system based on mathematics, Euclidean geometry, and visual techniques of perspective. In painting, this principle was used to give the work a stronger illusion of depth. In land surveying, it was used pragmatically to measure the distance between two points in relation to a third one, as well as to measure the heights of buildings. For example, in the chapter entitled “Longimetria” of his geometrical treatise *Pantometria* (1591), Leonard Digges gives instructions on how to measure the distance to a ship at sea with the help of a mirror by applying geometrical calculations in accordance with the angle of vision (27).<sup>11</sup> The exemplifying

<sup>10</sup> An enlarged edition of Blundeville’s huge compendium appeared in 1597 (STC 3147), containing eight treatises, then in 1606 (STC 3148), 1613 (STC 3149), 1622 (STC 3159), 1636 (STC 3151), 1638 (STC 3151; 3151a; 3151a.5).

<sup>11</sup> This is the second edition of *Pantometria* (1591) by Leonard Digges, the first having been published in 1571 (STC 6858).

image, like many others in this text, shows the correlation of mathematical perspective and individual eye observation, as represented in Figure 3:

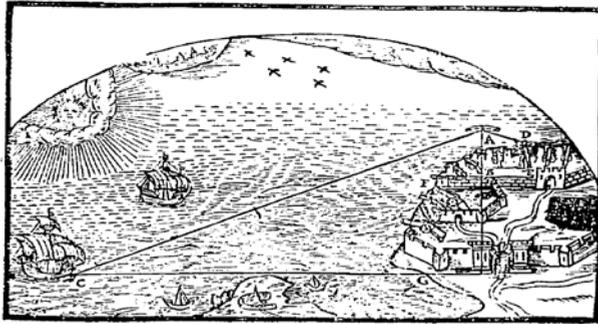


Figure 3: Leonard Digges, Measuring the distance to a ship at sea, *Pantometria* (1591), p. 27.

The early modern world seen in perspective was, thus, the natural world understood in its deeper, timeless harmony and values. Geometry, through perspective techniques, revealed the metaphysical order of the natural world, which was otherwise veiled beneath the fugitive sense impressions of mutable reality. Arranged in the orderly grid of geometry and mathematics, visual experience—whether it was in land measurements, painting, or theatre—acquired intellectual status and value.

William Cuningham's *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559), which is the first book in English to touch upon the art of navigation in relation to astronomy and cosmography, is structured in the form of a dialogue between Spoudaeus, representing the scholar who asks questions and raises objections and Philonicus, who has the role of teacher, answering all the questions and offering precepts. Thus, the information emerging from the book is given the benefit of being filtered through various mirroring perspectives. The very notion of “glasse” suggests mirroring and reflection of cosmographic and topographic knowledge. After Philonicus explains to his interlocutor how to calculate the latitude and longitude of a city, Spoudeus exclaims: “O how precious a Jewell is this, it may rightly be called à Cosmographicall Glasse, in which we may beholde the diuersitie of countries” (Cuningham 120). Philonicus explains to Spoudeus how to calculate the distance to a third city by knowing the “angle of sight” of two places. The angle of sight is “that Arke or portion of the Horizont of anye place, comprehended betwixte two Meridiane Circles and drawne by the verticall Circle of the first place, vnto the Meridian of the secõde, whose distaunce you seke out” (Cuningham 138). These calculations seem very complicated, even to the already instructed Spoudeus, so his teacher presents a sketch showing how to find the distance in miles from Norwich to Windham (in

Norfolk) and from Windham to Swarston, when knowing the distance between Norwich and Swarston, as shown in Figure 4:

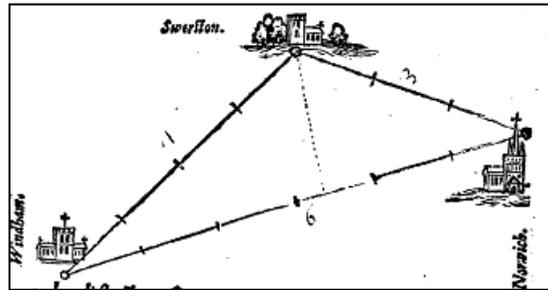


Figure 4: Image showing how to calculate the distance in miles to a third city when knowing the distance between two cities, in William Cuninghame's *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559), p. 140.

This form of calculation in topometry relies on the angle of vision and is one of the practical methods used in early modern science to organize space. At the same time, such a method of topographic projection could be applied to the fictionalization of geographic places dramatized in *Pericles*. The audience's imagination tends to work in the same organized manner when visualizing the spaces suggested in the play, in an attempt to stabilize the multifaceted visual universe created through the play's multiple settings.

An early modern geographic reflection of space, the *Topographical Glasse* (1611) by Arthur Hopton, is a treatise on surveying and the theodolite by the astrologer, almanac compiler, and designer of instruments, who enjoyed a great contemporary reputation. The book contains practical advice on how to build a topographical glass; how to measure the distance between two cities according to their latitude and longitude on the map; or how to measure the heights of towers. All these operations are performed with instruments that depend on the angle of vision and form a triangle with the object required to be measured; on the vertical (when measuring a tower, a hill, or a mountain); or on the horizontal (when measuring the distance between three cities). Hopton explains how these measurements can be translated graphically into a map of the region. In chapter 86, accounting how to find out the distance of any place from the place where one is situated without the help of an instrument, Hopton describes how one should make a triangle, which would point towards the spot required to be measured, with one angle in the viewer's angle of vision and have someone set two staffs in the direction of each line; then, the topographer goes to the first staff and repeats the operation, looking in the direction of the lines of the triangle, and so on. Then the distance between the staffs is measured and the calculation is made (Hopton 165). Hopton describes the process and then gives the example and a sketch of how to measure the distance between two points on

land, and then the situation of a ship at sea. Many of the members of the audiences at the Globe must have consulted these popular sketches and measurements for practical purposes. In addition, the skills of calculating distances developed a special kind of visual imagination, which could be applied in appreciating and visualizing locations called for and dramatized in plays.

Approaching *Pericles* with these considerations of perspective foremost, one might temporarily ignore investigations concerned with the corruption of the text, the question of divided authorship, and the place of Wilkins and his narrative in the history of the writing of the play. In *Pericles*, the triangulation perspective appears on a temporal and spatial level. The temporal depth is provided by the antiquity of the multiply-rewritten Apollonius story, the presence of Gower, and the eye(s) of the audience at the time of performance. In analysing the dramatic uses of romantic narrative, John Arthos interprets the presence of Gower as a device “to let us know that what we see before us on the stage is not merely a story dramatized, but a story told by someone who knew about these strange things when they happened” (254). If not actually an eye-witness, because the Apollonius romance dates from Hellenistic times, Gower is just one of the many narrators who took over this story, in the manner of ancient narratives; therefore, his perspective gives depth to the time frame. Sara Hanna observes that “Gower takes care to establish perspectives—temporal, moral, and visual—on the events we are about to witness” (“Christian Vision and Iconography” 94). In the same line of thought, F. David Hoeniger sees the play’s staged episodes and the frequent change in locale as a means of producing the impression that “what we are witnessing is Gower presenting his story mainly in the form of a guided progression of selected shows rather than as drama” (“Gower and Shakespeare” 472). Moreover, given Gower’s excellent literary reputation in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods,<sup>12</sup> his report was interpreted as coming from a reliable source, so his perspective was to be trusted. As Richard Hillman notes when discussing Gower’s role in the play, “Shakespeare’s approach emerges as unique, less because of what Gower does than because of who he is” (428). Regardless of the role of Gower’s presence in the play—to achieve dramatic compression, to extend the narrative scope, or simply as the traditional romance chorus figure—he provides a triangular temporal frame linking the Greek romance past, the more recent medieval history, and the present of theatrical performance.

The spatial triangulation perspectives in *Pericles*, however, are more complex. It may be argued that the multiple Eastern Mediterranean locations of the hero’s peregrinations are derived from the source text(s) and they are part of the familiar mannerism of Greek sophistic romance, together with pirates, sea-storms, shipwrecks, apparent death, etc. However, it is easy to discern a

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<sup>12</sup> For Gower’s good reputation in early modern England, see Scott 30–47.

geographic triangulation pattern depending on the eye of the beholder in the Tarsus, Antioch, and Tyre cluster; the Pentapolis, Ephesus, Mytilene group; the Sparta, Corinth, Athens, Antioch, and Macedonia locations, mentioned in the names of the knights competing for Thaisa's hand (a knight of Sparta, a prince of Macedon, a knight of Antioch, one of Athens, a prince of Corinth, and a sixth of Tyre, Pericles); or the diseased western Europeans, the Spaniard and the Frenchman at the Mytilene brothel, whose fates are connected with a third, a "poor Transylvanian" (Sc. 16, 120)<sup>13</sup> who was already dead, but whose unseen presence reminds of a country north of the Danube, but also replays the memento morimotif. The three "unexpected visitors" (Mahon 91),<sup>14</sup> in John Mahon's words, at the brothel in Mytilene, and especially the dead Transylvanian, are used to advance the plot towards the providential goal and to emphasize the fortunabilis theme, common to the play and the source.

The ambiguous topoi in Pericles and the vague Hellenistic<sup>15</sup> atmosphere are dramatized as part of a common "European" ancient and early modern world, a site of fluid interference of archaic and Elizabethan practices intersecting within the imaginary world of a far-travelled story.<sup>16</sup> Whether Shakespeare revised an earlier play—or not—does not alter my analysis of the play's imaginative landscape in relation to the eye. However, since my argument focuses mainly on the topical references in the two brothel scenes, considered to be by Shakespeare, I hope that my comments on these three locations might illuminate indirectly the problem of authorship. All Apollonius narratives focus on a brothel scene, yet only Pericles mentions members of three European nations (the Spaniard, the Frenchman, and the Transylvanian)<sup>17</sup> in connection to

<sup>13</sup> References to the Shakespeare text are keyed to the *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al. Further references are to this edition and will be given parenthetically in the text. My focus is on the surviving text of *Pericles*, corrupt as it is, including the possible collaborative enterprise with Wilkins and the generally accepted view that Shakespeare wrote most of all Acts III-IV (Shakespeare, ed. Hoeniger liv); or Scenes 10–22 in the Oxford and Norton editions, the "reconstructed" text of *Pericles* (Shakespeare, ed. Wells and Taylor; and Shakespeare, ed. Greenblatt et al.).

<sup>14</sup> Mahon writes of characters under whose agency the theme of divine providence is advanced in *Julius Caesar*, with a lateral reference to Pericles's travels (Mahon 91–110).

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of Shakespeare's representation of Greek culture and the Mediterranean see Hanna ("Shakespeare's Greek World," 107–28).

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of Shakespeare's representation of Greek culture and the Mediterranean see Hanna ("Shakespeare's Greek World," 107–28).

<sup>16</sup> For further reference to the extension of the Apollonius narrative see Smith (1972) and Archibald (1991); Archibald gives only a brief survey of the versions of the story of Apollonius produced up to 1609, the year of publication of the quarto of *Pericles*, admitting that there are "too many to be described in detail" (182).

<sup>17</sup> There is no mention of "Transylvanian," "Spaniard" or "Frenchman" in the sources of Pericles: Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Twyne's *Patterne of Painefull Adventures*, or in

this place. My focus is on the two brothel episodes in Scenes 16 and 19, particularly on the intriguing references to three European nationalities in the context of the discussion on venereal disease: the Pander's report on a "poor Transylvanian" (16.18),<sup>18</sup> who is dead for having lain with one of the "poor three" (16.6) prostitutes left in the depleted Mytilene brothel; Boul't's account of the lecherous and ludicrous "Spaniard" (16.87),<sup>19</sup> whose mouth watered at the mere description of Marina's charms; and the already diseased "French" Monsieur Veroles (16.90),<sup>20</sup> who gloats in expectation of seeing her.

The particular reference to the three white male Europeans, a Transylvanian, a Spaniard and a Frenchman, formerly lodged or expected to stay at the brothel on the island of Lesbos,<sup>21</sup> integrate the Western paradigms of race, sex and travel within the common space of the brothel, the marketplace,<sup>22</sup> the theatre, and a formal geography of illusion. In an imaginary projection on a map, their countries of origin form a triangular shape pointing to three corners of Europe. The ethnographic characteristics suggested by these national stereotypes

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Wilkins' narrative *The Painful Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre*. Moreover, Bullough admits that, in the brothel scene, "for the first time the play elaborates considerably on the story material" (6: 364). Hoeniger, in the Arden edition of *Pericles*, considers that the two brothel scenes are clearly by Shakespeare (Shakespeare, ed. Hoeniger liv). Q1 mentions all these nationalities, the Spaniard, the Frenchman, and the Transylvanian (*Oxford Shakespeare: Original Spelling Edition* 1214). All Qs are consistent in this respect.

<sup>18</sup> Davis and Frankforter consider Shakespeare's reference to the "Transylvanian" as incidental: "In Shakespeare's England this would have been a remote and obscure place, so it is likely that Shakespeare is merely drawing on the common knowledge of Latin in which Transylvania means 'across the forest'" (488). This is a position I argue here.

<sup>19</sup> Shakespearean references to Spaniards are usually a form of ethnic parody, for the obvious reasons of the Armada conflict. The Spaniard is mocked for his lechery and his ruff. Bevington glosses that the large starched collars worn by Spanish gentlemen were a matter of jest to the English (Shakespeare, ed. Bevington 1423, n101); there is another ironic reference to a Spanish non-speaking gentleman in *Cymbeline* (1.4. SD).

<sup>20</sup> According to Davis and Frankforter, "French nobles are often portrayed as being too fashion-conscious and decadent" (173); the French Monsieur Veroles's presence is "used for nationalistic humor like the Spaniard mentioned before him; his name is French for 'pox' or 'syphilitic sores'" (503).

<sup>21</sup> The Greek island of Lesbos, off the coast of Asia Minor, may create associations with love and poetry in the minds of some members of the reasonably educated Jacobean audience. The poets Terpander, Arion, Sappho, and Alcaeus were born there, and the poet Anacreon maliciously alludes to the island in a way that suggests that it was already known for the practice of female homosexuality, to which it has given its name (Howatson 522).

<sup>22</sup> Concerning common representations of the marketplace in early modern England, Dillon shows how language and the theater were, in popular use, "an image of the marketplace" (221).

of vices converge within the socially-conditioned space of love as commodity, an artificially constructed site of self-delusion and grotesque reality, as specified in Boulton's<sup>23</sup> explicit remark: "Well, if we had of every nation a traveller, we should lodge them all with this sign" (16.99–100).<sup>24</sup> The brothel sign is a visual emblem, which can be actualized and given shape only in the play's production; the three spatial references, as suggested by the respective nations, converge towards this focal point. According to the pimp's figurative logic, his verbal description of Marina, the image of an image, simultaneously expands geographically to include all nations (of Europe) and contracts to the iconic representation of a social space: the brothel, the theatre, or the printing house. This geometric configuration of space in groups of triangles suggested in *Pericles* may be assimilated to the topographical methods of calculating distances among cities or countries. Moreover, constructed representation of space in a play and geometric projection of distance in the terrain require the same type of visual imagination.

As sight was seen in the early modern period as a combination of the world meeting the eye and the eye projecting out images from the mind, new value was placed on subjective experience, on the ability of the individual eye and mind to know the world. Other modes of representation in anatomy, astronomy, geometry, geography, cartography, or topography depend on several different iconic techniques of objectification, abstraction, reduction, or idealization, all of which are based on diagrammatic representational conventions involving the eye as the focus of perception. English playwrights working in the public theatres at the turn of the seventeenth century began to conceptualize problems of theatrical representation in terms that derived from classical authors and from contemporary developments in early modern geography, applied mathematics, and pre-scientific thought. Shakespeare's theatre supplements the bareness of décor with ubiquity of action over a large geographic expanse, which is especially evident in the romance genre and in *Pericles*; here, location is used not simply to structure the action, but to refract the larger social and representational logic that made these locations meaningful in early modern culture. Thus, the perspective view in the play follows the geometric triangulation system, with the eye of the spectator as the focal point, the stage as the material space, and many geographic perspectives opening in direct relation to the beholder. This multiplicity of vision is augmented by the pulverization of individual depictions of each space, in accordance with the perception of each member of the audience.

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<sup>23</sup> Boulton's name is not found in any of the sources; Bevington glosses that "the name phallically suggests a shaft, a projectile or arrow" (Shakespeare, ed. Bevington 1421); Rubinstein suggests that Boulton is appropriately named, since "to bolt is to copulate" (30)

<sup>24</sup> Bevington glosses this passage as: "attract them to lodge here by means of Marina's picture, metaphorically hung out as though it were a shop sign" (*The Complete Works of Shakespeare: Pericles* 1423, n112); *The Norton Shakespeare* offers a similar paraphrase: "We would draw them all here by my pictorial description of Marina" (2757, n6).

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