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The Eastern Mediterranean Power of Transformation: The Construction and  
Deconstruction of the Image of the Englishman in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*

by

Satomi Mihara

Abstract: This thesis examines how Shakespeare responds to the contemporary effort to establish English identity, which was both stabilised and destabilised by the encounter with the Eastern Mediterranean culture. I analyse *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*, in which the characters travel across the Eastern Mediterranean. Comparing Shakespeare's early comedy with his late romance, I argue that these plays reveal the ambivalent English relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean world which affected the formation of the notion of Englishness through commercial and cultural transaction in the early modern period.

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## Introduction

A common structure to Shakespearean comedies and romances is a movement from one world to the other: the young lovers fly from the court to the Forest of Arden in *As You Like It* (1599), or to the forest of fairies and spirits in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595-96). Bohemia in *The Winter's Tale* (1610-11) is also the pastoral shelter from the court; the merchants in *The Merchant of Venice* (1596-97) leave the busy city of Venice for Belmont to obtain beautiful women. Even from these few instances, it can be said that Shakespeare was conscious of the function of space. Critics have considered Shakespearean characters' movement as a means of self-recognition, observing that the other place enables the characters and their societies to renew themselves. This concept is represented, for example, by Northrop Frye's idea of the "green world" or C.L. Barber's "festive world". According to Frye, "[t]he action of the comedy begins in a world represented as a normal world, moves into the green world, goes into a metamorphosis there in which the comic resolution is achieved, and returns to the normal world" (182). Frye's and Barber's arguments are based on the view that Shakespeare compares the two opposite worlds, one is the 'normal' world and the other is the illusory world deviating from the established system of the real society. However, such arguments about the binary space of Shakespearean drama tends to oversimplify the function of each world and the characters' internal change within the world. The way in which the space affects the formation of the characters' self-image can be more complex by associating their movement with the contemporary vogue of travelling abroad. Thus, rather than establishing binarism of the normal and the illusory world, I will consider the impact of early modern travel as a means of the Englishman's self-fashioning in Shakespeare's drama. This introduction will examine how travelling abroad contributed to defining Englishness as well as spoiling the image of the Englishman in the early

modern period. Also, I will argue the importance of Shakespeare's representation of the Eastern Mediterranean world, where the characters in *The Comedy of Errors* (1594) and *Pericles* (1607-8) travel, since the encounter with that world affected the formation of English identity in the period.

If we take note of early modern travellers' encounters with other cultures, we can establish the relationship between Shakespearean characters' travel and the contemporary search for English identity. In the early modern age, travellers were expected to bring back knowledge about other cultures from abroad, through which England developed its model of how the kingdom should be. In *The Treasure for Traveilers* (1578), William Bourne categorises, along with noblemen and gentlemen, travellers as contributors to the commonwealth: "they are very necessary members in the common weale in diuers respectes, that are Trauaylers into other Countries, and they are able to profyt theyr owne Countrie in diuers respectes" (sig. \*\*iii<sup>r-v</sup>).<sup>1</sup> Bourne tells his readers repeatedly that travellers should be beneficial to their commonwealth, which was the conventional instruction in travel guides of the period. Jerome Turler also mentions in *The Traueiler of Jerome Turler* (1575) that travelling abroad can bring a profit to the country:

[W]e shal then finde, that, Traueill is nothing else but a paine taking to see and searche forreine landes, not to bee taken in hande by all sorts of persons, or vnadvisedly, but such as are meete thereto, eyther to the ende that they may attayne to suche artes and knowledge as they are desirous to learne or exercise: or else to see, learne, and diligently to marke suche things in strange Countries, as they shall haue neede to vse in the common trade of lyfe, wherby they maye profite themselues, their friendes, and Countrey if neede require. (sig. B3<sup>r</sup>)

Similarly, Thomas Palmer argues in *An Essay of the Means How to Make our Travailes More Profitable* (1606) that personal journeys are required to benefit the commonwealth.

He discusses one of the traveller's duties as follows:

The first is to counsaile and deliberate with themselues, whether they bee mooued with the iust pretence of doing good to the Common weale, whereof they are, and for the enabling of themselues, with such knowledges as

appertaine to their seuerall callings; or whether their owne lusts and affections pricke them not forward. (sig. F2<sup>r</sup>)

They should not travel for their own purpose, and they need, before setting out, to deliberate whether their travel will be profitable to the commonwealth. In this sense, travels were the necessary means to develop England by absorbing desirable foreign customs and knowledge. This nature is reflected in the common structure of travel drama in the period, for “journey plays make particularly acute the sense of the originating culture, using the concept of the journey’s end, the other place, as a means of redefining the journey’s origin” (Holland 162). Shakespeare’s travel drama is also embedded in this tradition of journey, a journey to explore the domestic culture.

Yet, travel was also considered as a deviation from the norm of the ideal Englishman, and travellers were often blamed for abandoning their own custom. The travellers imitating foreign fashion or language were a target of derision in the early modern literature. The convention appears, for example, in John Lyly’s *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1579):

Let not your minds be carried away with vain delights, as with travelling into far and strange countries, where you shall see more wickedness than learn virtue and wit; neither with costly attire of the new cut, the Dutch hat, the French hose, the Spanish rapier, the Italian hilt, and I know not what. (118)

Euphues not only mocks the travellers addicted to the continental fashion but also suggests that they might also be tempted to follow the vicious custom of foreign lands. Similarly, in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), Thomas Nash ridicules the travellers who imitate foreign fashion and language even after they return home:

For the idle traeller, (I meane not for the Souldiour,) I haue knowen some that haue continued there by the space of halfe a dozzen yeares, and when they come home, they haue hid a little wee-rish leane face vnder a broad French hat, kept a terrible coyle with the dust in the streete in their long cloakes of gray paper, and spoke English strangely. (300)

For these writers, the travellers’ imitation of foreign culture meant the danger of spoiling the image of the Englishman. In this sense, travelling abroad caused a threat to the established notion of Englishness. Therefore, the contemporary encounter with other

cultures both formed and deformed the image of the Englishman. This contradiction might be related to the complexity of the function of Shakespeare's dramatic world, for his plays describe the instability of the characters' self-image which is also constructed and deconstructed by encountering different cultures during their travels in that world.

While many of the relationships between England and foreign countries were considered on the basis of a binary opposition—for example, Protestant England versus Catholic Spain, or civilised England versus primitive America—the relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean was very subtle. The opportunity for the commercial, diplomatic, and cultural transaction with the region increased in the early modern period, which contributed to the development of England. The encounter with the Eastern Mediterranean culture, however, was also an impediment to the definition of Englishness, since the Eastern Mediterranean world, marked by the diversity of race, religion, and culture, was a complex entity which cannot be defined as England's "other".

Shakespeare seems to be interested in the Mediterranean world, for he uses the Mediterranean setting in many of his plays. These works describe, for example, the commercial world of Venice, the maritime battlefield of Cyprus, or the place for romantic love, Illyria. Yet, most of the studies in Shakespeare's geography tend to focus on one city, examining the historical or cultural background peculiar to the city. As a result, the studies of Shakespeare's representation of Italy diverge from that of the Ottoman territory. In contrast, *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*, which partly share their sources, see characters travel around the vast area of the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, the two plays' geography is more intricate than Shakespeare's other Mediterranean drama, and it enables us to consider Shakespeare's image of the Eastern Mediterranean culture as a whole, not of a single regional culture.

In this thesis, I will examine how Shakespeare responds to the contemporary effort

to establish English identity, which was both stabilised and destabilised by the encounter with the Eastern Mediterranean culture. I will take up *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*, in which the characters travel across the Eastern Mediterranean. By considering how the space is interrelated with the characters' attempt to construct their self-image, I will argue that their experience within Shakespeare's imaginary Mediterranean world reveals the early modern notion of how the Englishman should be.

Chapter I considers how Shakespeare imagines the Eastern Mediterranean world which he uses as a setting for *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*. I will argue that the plays' geography reflects an image of the Eastern Mediterranean world depicted in the contemporary maps, travel writings, and literature. This argument invites a reconsideration of the seemingly contradictory geography of the play. I will suggest that, rather than contradictory, the geography actually describes the Eastern Mediterranean as an aggregation where various cultures are intricately mixed. Furthermore, I will examine the ambivalent English attitude to the Eastern Mediterranean, which comes from their desire to imitate its powerful culture as well as to establish their own culture different from it. By examining both the contradictory nature of the Eastern Mediterranean world and the Englishman's contradictory emotion towards its culture, I will argue that the encounter with the Eastern Mediterranean constructed and deconstructed the notion of Englishness, which the travellers in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* experience.

In chapter II, I will analyse *The Comedy of Errors*. The play is filled with principal commodities of Eastern Mediterranean trade such as tapestry, silk, and olive oil. In this commercial world, every material and monetary exchange results in failure due to the confusion of the twins' identity. The dual disorder of material and identity reflects the anxiety about the unstable image of the English gentleman in a period when the English introduced the Mediterranean luxuries into their household for self-fashioning. The confusion of Englishness is also represented in the travellers' fear of metamorphosis and



the metaphor of Circe. The contemporary writers of travel guide often mentioned Circe, a witch who transforms travellers into swine in Homer's *Odyssey*, in order to warn the English travellers against the internal transformation. Therefore, I will examine the play's representation of the material circulation and metamorphosis to consider how the desire and anxiety for the formation of Englishness is disclosed by these two motifs.

Chapter III will offer an analysis of *Pericles*. In contrast to the commercial world of *The Comedy of Errors*, the unlawful trade is salient in this late romance. Marina, who is captured by pirates and sold to a brothel, is entangled with the immoral economy of the Eastern Mediterranean. Piracy and prostitution were considered as a disturbance to the ideal image of the Englishman, for the businesses corrupted the Englishman's morality. Yet, Marina rather exerts transformative power in the brothel by reforming the male travellers seeking sexual pleasure. Similarly, Pericles' travel is to introduce his ideal economic system into the cities he visits. Through the way in which Marina and Pericles reform the immoral form of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, I will argue that they reconstruct the relationship with its powerful culture.

Comparing Shakespeare's early comedy with his late romance will serve to consider how his representation of the Eastern Mediterranean changed or did not change during his life as a dramatist. Moreover, since the multicultural world of the Eastern Mediterranean in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* is never restricted by the binary opposition relating to the idea about the characters' movement from one world to the other, it will be a suitable ground to examine the complexity of Shakespeare's use of space.

## Chapter I

### Shakespeare's Imaginary Mediterranean

In this chapter, I will explore how Shakespeare imagines the Eastern Mediterranean world which provides *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* with the geographical settings and cultural background. The geography of the two plays has been traditionally studied on the basis of the plays' ancient sources and the city's religious or historical background, by which critics often conclude that the plays depict the ancient Mediterranean world. This method, however, ignores the significance of early modern England's cultural and economic relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean region. Investigating the contemporary English attitude to the Eastern Mediterranean culture and economy, I will examine the connection between the two plays and the early modern encounter with the Eastern Mediterranean world which both promoted and impeded the establishment of Englishness. Through this method of study, we can reconsider the apparent confusion and contradiction of the play's geography which might make readers think that Shakespeare has little knowledge about the Eastern Mediterranean world. Instead, I will argue that the Eastern Mediterranean region is imagined as a multicultural world which itself has contradiction and ambivalence.

In the following sections, I will at first investigate the traditional views on Shakespeare's geographical ambiguity. After that, I will argue that Shakespeare's image of the Eastern Mediterranean comes from the contemporary description of the world by examining maps, travel writings, and drama in the early modern period. Lastly, I will consider how the English attitude to the Eastern Mediterranean world is related to the formation of English identity, which contributes to the analysis of Shakespeare's Mediterranean plays.

## 1. Preceding studies of the plays' geography

It might be natural to think that the geography of both *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* is an ancient Greek or Hellenistic world on the grounds of their classical sources: the main plot of *The Comedy of Errors* originates in *Menaechmi*, written by an ancient Roman dramatist Plautus;<sup>2</sup> *Pericles* is based on the Greek romance 'Apollonius of Tyre', which was continually popular from fifth to seventeenth century (Gossett 70).<sup>3</sup> *The Comedy of Errors*, too, adopts the story of Apollonius for the plot of the shipwreck and the separation of the family. The story of 'Apollonius of Tyre' became widely known to English writers in the Renaissance, and *Pericles* is based on the version of John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (1393), or Laurence Twine's *The Pattern of Painful Adventures* (1576), which is the English translation of the medieval work, *Gesta Romanorum* (Gossett 70-71). Although the direct sources of *Pericles* are these medieval works, the play emphasizes its connection with antiquity rather than the middle ages. In the very first lines of the play, Gower as a narrator remarks, "To sing a song that old was sung, / From ashes ancient Gower is come" (1.0.1-2).<sup>4</sup> He introduces the play's framework by revealing that the story comes from more distant past than the period when the poet himself wrote the story. Thus, the beginning of *Pericles* suggests that the play originates in the ancient story.

Examining the geography of *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* as a reflection of their classical sources, critics like Linda McJannet and Sara Hanna consider the plays' settings as the ancient Greek or Hellenistic world. McJannet observes that *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* "are set in pre-Christian, and apparently pre-Roman, times in the eastern Mediterranean" (86). Hanna investigates the representation of Greek culture in Shakespeare's Greek plays, arguing that "Shakespeare's Greek world is what Cicero identified as the temptation of the sea, drawing people away from home" (113). She compares Shakespeare's Roman world as representing "the movement toward the

center” with a Greek world which has a “centrifugal tendency” (113). She connects the pattern of Shakespearean characters’ movement to the other world with Cicero’s argument about the ancient Greeks’ aspiration for going abroad. Therefore, she attributes the yearning for voyage embedded in Shakespeare’s Mediterranean plays to that of the distant past, not contemporary England.

Critics who pay attention to the ancient history of Shakespeare’s Mediterranean world also point out the mixture of paganism and Christianity, comparing the city’s pagan culture in the ancient times with numerous biblical allusions in the plays. Because Ephesus was known as a location of the temple of Diana or Artemis, the geography of *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* is often analysed in terms of the religious background of the city: F. Elizabeth Hart examines the function of Diana as a virginal and maternal figure within the patriarchal systems of *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*; Randall Martin notes the multiculturalism of Ephesus, where Hellenistic and Christian values are conflated. Both Hart and Martin consider Ephesus as a place where paganism and Christianity, the ancient and contemporary, and plural symbols relating to the goddess are mixed. Their argument on multiculturalism of the Eastern Mediterranean city is, however, limited to the religious aspect.

These views about the geography of the two plays do not examine the increasing opportunities of commercial, educational, and diplomatic travel to the Eastern Mediterranean region in the early modern period. If we compare Shakespeare’s Mediterranean plays with the contemporary reality of, or what people thought as real about, the Eastern Mediterranean world, we can reconsider the reason for ambiguity or lack of exactitude of the plays’ geography, which readers might dismiss as Shakespeare’s lack of knowledge about the Eastern Mediterranean.

## 2. Ambiguity of Shakespeare’s Mediterranean geography

The question about the extent to which Shakespeare has knowledge of the Eastern Mediterranean geography has bothered critics for a long time. Indeed, *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* are full of geographical confusion or misconception, which suggests Shakespeare's indifference to geographical exactitude. In *The Comedy of Errors*, Egeon mentions "Epidamium", but no city with this spelling existed in reality. According to Egeon's explanation in the First Folio, he was born in Syracuse and sails to "Epidamium" seeking commercial gains, but his family is shipwrecked by the storm. As the family is disrupted, one is carried toward Corinth, the other to Epidaurus. Most editors conclude that Shakespeare may refer to "Epidamnus", which is situated on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, since the city appears in the play's source, *Menaechmi*. Another problem is the discrepancy between Egeon's account and his wife Emilia's. In the ending, Emilia recollects that "[b]y men of Epidamium he and I, / And the twin Dromio, all were taken up" (5.1.350-51). Egeon never mentions men of Epidamium, and they may imply men of the ship from Epidaurus as Egeon says.

A common feature shared by the two plays is that the difference between each city is blurred. Although *Pericles* visits plural cities in his travel, it is often said that the cities have no regionality or specificity, and they are almost interchangeable. This problem leads some critics to the conclusion that the play's geography is what Lisa Hopkins calls "Greece of the Mind", that is, the space is a reflection of *Pericles*' inner state. In this case, the cities can easily change their meaning in order to operate as a symbol of traveller's mentality, and so the space itself is empty and meaningless. The ambiguity of local difference can even be seen in *The Comedy of Errors*. Although the play begins with the struggle between two city-states, Syracuse and Ephesus, the Duke refers to the quarrels as "intestine jars" (1.1.11), as if the two cities are parts of the same nation. Kent Cartwright explains the play's lack of regionality by arguing that it depicts the commercial world of the Mediterranean:

The action's predominant location is 'the mart'. The fictive world connotes

displacement and relocation, along with commercial bustle and constant voyaging among the coastal cities of the Mediterranean. In this atmosphere, differences between west and east blur, and the play's locales become curiously undifferentiated. (54)

As Cartwright observes, Shakespeare depicts the Mediterranean world as the centre of a global market where various cultures and people get into contact. In the two plays, the regionality of each area is not an issue, and every city is merged into a single image of the Eastern Mediterranean world.

Therefore, the geographical ambiguity, which is seemingly a mistake in spelling or a confusion over the location or regionality of each city, shows Shakespeare's indifference to the exactitude of the Eastern Mediterranean geography. Indeed, Shakespeare seems not to care about the details of the location and the difference of locales, but it is not just because Shakespeare knew little about the Eastern Mediterranean geography. Rather, he infuses the contemporary view of the world, for it is imagined as a single aggregation which lacks the difference between the cities. As I will argue, the characteristic of each city is integrated into Shakespeare's imaginative map of the Eastern Mediterranean world.

### 3. Shakespeare's concept of the Eastern Mediterranean world

In order to understand Shakespeare's image of the Eastern Mediterranean world as an aggregation, we need to look at not just each city's characteristics but the whole region from a broader angle. Referring to early modern maps, travel writings and literary works, I will examine Shakespeare's imaginative map of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Compared to the source of *The Comedy of Errors*, Shakespeare changes the area the characters visit. In *Menaechmi*, the traveller explains his itinerary as follows: "six yeares now have roamde about thus, *Istria, Hispania, Massylia, Ilyria*, all the upper sea, all high *Greece*, all Haven Towns in *Italy*" (Warner 17). In this play, travellers even wander around the western end of the Mediterranean, that is, Iberian Peninsula, and the

eastern end of their journey is Greece. However, in *The Comedy of Errors*, Egeon's account of his past journey in the first scene includes the broader coastal area of the Eastern Mediterranean:

Five summers have I spent in farthest Greece,  
Roaming clean through the bounds of Asia,  
And coasting homeward, came to Ephesus;  
Hopeless to find, yet loath to leave unsought  
Or that, or any place that harbors men. (1.1.132-36)

His route mainly focuses on the eastern side of the Mediterranean, and he and his son finally arrive at Ephesus in Asia Minor, which Plautus never treats in his play. Ephesus as a setting of *The Comedy of Errors* may be influenced by the story of 'Apollonius of Tyre', the play's other source. In *Pericles*, whose main source is 'Apollonius of Tyre', the characters come together at Ephesus in the final scene. In this play, the characters never reach even the Balkans, and the extent of Pericles' journey is further east than that of Egeon and his son. Therefore, Shakespeare's interest in the Mediterranean world in these plays does not reach Tyrrhenian Sea and westward, but instead concerns the eastern side of the Mediterranean.

Shakespeare's interest in the eastern side of the Mediterranean may partly come from some of the contemporary maps of the Mediterranean. If we look at the relation with these maps, we can find where Shakespeare's image of the Eastern Mediterranean as an aggregate comes from. Charles Whitworth points out that the 1560 Geneva Bible contains a map of the Mediterranean which describes the places related to the Acts of the Apostles. The western end of the map is a part of Italy, and Ephesus is situated at the centre of the map. Whitworth argues that Paul's missionary journey resembles Egeon's travel (39). The play's connection to Paul's journey is often discussed by critics who find Christian elements in this play. Abraham Ortelius' *Parergon* (1579), which was originally an appendix to his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), also shows the map of Paul's peregrination. The extent of the map is almost the same as that of Geneva Bible, although Ortelius' clearly shows the Tyrrhenian Sea.

It is noteworthy that *Parergon* also includes the maps describing the voyages of Aeneas, Odyssey, and Jason. In accordance with the route of their navigation, all three maps depict the Eastern Mediterranean, which coincides with Shakespeare's geographical interest. Shakespeare often alludes to the three legendary voyagers in the plays which are set in the Eastern Mediterranean. In *The Tempest* (1611), shipwrecked courtiers recollect the wedding ceremony in Tunis they took part in, referring to Aeneas:

*Seb.* 'Twas a sweet marriage, and we prosper well in our return.

*Adr.* Tunis was never grac'd before with such a paragon to their queen.

*Gon.* Not since widow Dido's time.

*Ant.* Widow? a pox o' that! How came that widow in? widow Dido!

*Seb.* What if he had said "widower Aeneas" too? Good Lord, how you take it! (2.1.73-81)

Similarly, the characters of Homer's *Odyssey* are mentioned in *The Comedy of Errors*, when Antipholus relates Luciana to siren, saying "Sing, siren, for thyself, and I will dote" (3.2.47). The reference to Jason appears in *The Merchant of Venice*, as Gratiano compares himself with Jason: "We are the Jasons, we have won the fleece" (3.2.241). Merchants, travellers, and voyagers in Shakespeare's plays thus relate themselves with the mythical and legendary voyagers. These legends' course of navigation might draw Shakespeare's travellers toward the Eastern Mediterranean.

In particular, Odyssean influences on *The Comedy of Errors* are notable. In Ortelius' map of Odysseus's journey, the title "VLYSSIS ERRORES" can be found. Because the original meaning of "error" is "[t]he action of roaming or wandering" (OED 1), *The Comedy of Errors* is a story not only about misrecognition but also about wandering which is inspired by Odysseus's journey. Further, the play describes the interrelation between these two meanings. Antipholus S. mentions his anxiety when he travels to the unknown land:

I to the world am like a drop of water,  
That in the ocean seeks another drop,  
Who, failing there to find his fellow forth  
(Unseen, inquisitive), confounds himself. (1.2.35-38)

In this metaphor of a drop of water, he relates himself with the world, suggesting that



wandering around the world leads to the confusion of a self. Thus, even though the whole action of the play takes place only in Ephesus, the story of the twins' misrecognition originates in the travellers' voyage whose extent can be traced on Ortelius' map.

Moreover, because the legendary voyagers travel all over the eastern side of the Mediterranean, not to a single destination, the maps of their route become larger. These Mediterranean maps by Ortelius do not focus on the detail of one city's appearance but show the locational relation between cities or areas. For example, compared to the map of the "Empire of the Great Turke" or "The Roman World", which describe the details of cities or rivers in the Mediterranean region, we can notice how much blank space occupies the maps of the three voyagers' journey, for the description of the city name decreases in number and the inland is almost empty in the three maps. For these maps, it is more important to trace the route of the three legends' voyage than to describe each city's characteristics. Thus, Shakespeare's ignorance about the details in each city suggests that his imaginative Mediterranean world is put in one frame like these maps. His imaginative geography of the two plays shows the unified concept of the Eastern Mediterranean where various areas are interrelated.

That these maps include Italy as well as the Middle East is important, for *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* have Italian elements as well. Antipholus E. calls "Good Signior Angelo" (3.1.1), and Signior is "frequently used by Shakespeare with an Italian name or in an Italian setting" (Cartwright 3.1.1.n). Likewise, Circe, who is referred to in the play, was believed to live in Aea, an island on the Tyrrhenian sea. The witch was often related to Italian vice by the contemporary writers, as I will argue in chapter II. Because the play is a story about the interrelation between Syracusan and Ephesian characters, the western side of the dramatic world is inseparable from the play's concern. An Italian flavour is added even in *Pericles*. In the scene of the tournament, a prince of Macedon's motto is "in Spanish: '*Piu per dolcera que per força*'" (2.2.27), which "is

closer to Italian than Spanish” (Gossett 2.2.27.n). Furthermore, as I will discuss in chapter III, the play describes the market of prostitution which was especially famous as an aspect of Venetian culture in contemporary England. Although the criticism of Shakespeare’s representation of the Eastern Mediterranean is mostly separated from studies in Shakespeare’s Italy, we can surely see the conflation of both elements in the two plays.

Since Italy, especially Venice, and Turkey were the most powerful regions which dominated the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean world in both a commercial and a diplomatic sense, Shakespeare depicts their common feature in his Mediterranean plays. Indeed, the depiction of commercial world in *The Merchant of Venice* is very similar to that of *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*. As merchants, both Antonio’s friends and Egeon mention their worry about the commodity which brings them profit in the opening scene. As Antonio is in a melancholy mood, his friends guess that “Antonio / Is sad to think upon his merchandise” (1.1.39-40), and each of them mentions how anxious he will be if his cargo is exposed to danger. Likewise, Egeon tells that he sailed to Epidamnus with “[the] great care of goods at random left” (1.1.42). Not only Antonio’s ship is finally wrecked, but also Egeon and his family as well as Pericles suffer shipwreck, which reflects the danger of sailing in the Mediterranean in the early modern period. Shylock refers to the possible dangers of land and sea: “there be land-rats, and water-rats, water-thieves and land-thieves, I mean pirates, and then there is the peril of waters, winds, and rocks” (1.3.22-25). This danger is dramatized in *Pericles*, in which pirates abduct Marina on land and take her into their ship to sail to Mytilene. The commodity of the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean trade is common to these plays too. Salarino mentions his ship is loaded with spices and silks (1.1.33-34). In *The Comedy of Errors*, a tailor shows silks to Antipholus S. (4.3.8), and in *Pericles*, Gower tells how Marina knits silks beautifully (4.0.21, 5.0.8). In addition, in *Pericles*, Thaisa’s

coffin contains “full bags of spices” (3.2.66). The common features of these plays which reflect the contemporary commercial world are not distinct from port to port, but rather consist of the whole imagery of the Eastern Mediterranean market.

The unified concept of the Eastern Mediterranean is also described by Shakespeare’s contemporary dramatists. In *The Jew of Malta* (1590), a source of *The Merchant of Venice*, Christopher Marlowe describes how characters recognise the Mediterranean as a united world. Barabas expresses his sense of supremacy due to the profit from the investment in the Mediterranean commodity:

Mine argosy from Alexandria,  
Loaden with spice and silks, now under sail,  
Are smoothly gliding down by Candy shore  
To Malta, through our Mediterranean sea. (1.1.44-47)

His words “our Mediterranean sea” suggests that he feels he dominates the whole world of the Mediterranean because money gained by the ship sailing the Mediterranean will belong to him soon. He says “our”, not “my”, for he recognises that other businessmen in Malta gain profit from the trade too. His speech thus suggests not just his personal wealth but Malta’s power of trade. His sense of dominance over the whole sea shows the contemporary English view of the power of Eastern Mediterranean trade which dominates and unites the whole region. This world view is based on the military strength of the Eastern Mediterranean as well. The Turkish leader Calymath realises the impregnability of Malta when he sees it from the broader angle:

And now I see the situation,  
And how secure this conquered island stands  
Environed with the Mediterranean sea,  
Strong countermured with other petty isles;  
And toward Calabria backed by Sicily,  
Two lofty turrets that command the town.  
When Syracusan Dionysius reigned;  
I wonder how it could be conquered thus? (5.3.5-12)

He thinks Malta’s defensive capacity comes not only from the island’s military strength but also from the relation with the surrounding islands and even the sea itself. Since the Ottoman Empire was also partly surrounded by the Mediterranean, Calymath’s

awareness represents not the Turkish view but the English attitude to the mighty power of the Eastern Mediterranean world. Therefore, when dealing with Shakespeare's imaginary Mediterranean world in my thesis, I suggest the united concept of the region which includes Italy and the eastern side of the Mediterranean.

If we reconsider Shakespeare's ambiguous description of the Mediterranean geography from this view point, we can understand how he infuses the early modern attitude to the Eastern Mediterranean world into his plays. For example, if we go back to the question of Epidaurus, we can see that Shakespeare places it in a larger frame of the early modern image of the Eastern Mediterranean, because the contemporary descriptions of Epidaurus were always provided in relation to Venice and Turkey, the powerful regions in this era. Fynes Moryson explains Epidaurus on the Adriatic shore:

Raguze of old called Epidaurus, and the chiefe City of Selauonia, is foure hundred miles distant from Venice, built at the foot of an high mountaine, vpon the Sea shoare, and hath great trafficke by those Seas, and huge ships, which the Kings of Spatne haue often hired, and ioined to their Nauy. The gouernement is popular, and this City to the wonder of many, doth to this day maintaine the liberty, though it be seated betweene the very iawes of the two powerfull States of the great Turke and Venetians, to one of which all other neere Townes Ilands and Countries are subiect. (sig. Z3<sup>r</sup>)

Epidaurus came to be called Ragusa in Moryson's time, and he notes that the city is situated between Turkey and Venice. He emphasises how the city evades the control of these mighty states despite the geographical closeness to both of them. Likewise, the reference to the Aegean Epidaurus appears in Samuel Purchas' chapter about the Turkish war, which describes that the city was besieged by Suleiman's army (sig. Y1<sup>v</sup>). *The Travellers Breviat* (1601), the English translation of Giovanni Botero's historical description of the kingdoms in the world, mentions Epidaurus in the chapter named "The Great Turk":

Vnder the Empire of the Turkes is comprehended the better part of the ancient threefold diuision of the earth. He holdeth in Europe the whole sea coast, which from the borders of Epidaurus stretcheth it selfe to the mouth of Tanais. (sig. F4<sup>r</sup>)

All three accounts relate Epidaurus with the Turks' and Venetians' mighty power.

Whenever the city appears in travel writings, the writer's concern is how the Ottoman or Venetian power affected the city, not the characteristic of the city itself.

As for the exactitude of the location of Epidaurus, Thomas Coryate confuses the Adriatic Epidaurus which was replaced by Ragusa with the Aegean Epidaurus as a birthplace of Asclepius:

From that finally through the heart of Greece, by the Cities of Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Lacedemon, Thessalonica, and to the Citie of Ragouze, heretofore Epidaurus, so sacred for the image of Aesculapius in the countrie of Sclauonia, once called Illyricum. (*Traveller* sig. F4<sup>v</sup>)

The description of the Eastern Mediterranean cities even in the early modern travel writing included misrecognition or misinterpretation, and therefore Shakespeare was not an unusual case. For these writers, more significant is not to look at each city's characteristics separately, but to relate the cities to the map of the Eastern Mediterranean world as a whole.

#### 4. Multiculturalism of the Eastern Mediterranean

The concept of the Eastern Mediterranean as a single cluster in which each region is closely interrelated highlights its multiculturalism. Situated at an intersection of western Europe and eastern Asia, the Eastern Mediterranean world as a whole was a space where various cultures and peoples mingled. By the complicated network of commerce, it became a borderless and topsy-turvy world, mixed with features of every region. Fernand Braudel points out this nature of the Mediterranean world:

[T]he extent and immensity of the intermingling of Mediterranean cultures, all the more rich in consequences since in this zone of exchanges cultural groups were so numerous from the start. In one region they might remain distinctive, exchanging and borrowing from other groups from time to time. Elsewhere they merged to produce the extraordinary charivari suggestive of eastern ports as described by romantic poets: a rendezvous for every race, every religion, every kind of man, for everything in the way of hairstyles, fashions, foods and manners to be found in the Mediterranean. (763)

Braudel recognises the Mediterranean as a unified world, which has an economic and cultural network between the regions. In order to consider Shakespeare's recognition of

this characteristic of the Eastern Mediterranean world, I will examine how the English people saw this world in the early modern period.

England established a strong relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean region mainly through commerce. English merchants already traded with the Eastern Mediterranean in the early Tudor period. Although the English ships disappeared from the area between 1550 and the early 1570s because of the growth of Turkish maritime power, trade in the Mediterranean region including Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean reopened in the 1570s (Andrews 88). Since then, the English commercial transaction with the Eastern Mediterranean world flourished. Even though the Turks were known as infidels, Queen Elizabeth was willing to cooperate with the Ottoman Turk to counter Catholic Spain and to gain a commercial profit in the Mediterranean ports. In order to establish a regular trade with Ottoman ports, William Harborne, the merchant and diplomat, was sent to Constantinople as an agent. His effort enabled Queen Elizabeth to exchange letters with Sultan Murad III. As a result, in 1580, Sultan granted the English merchants the right to trade safely and the establishment of consulates (Chew 152). Further, the foundation of the Levant Company accelerated the development of Anglo-Ottoman trade. The early English merchants exported to the Levant kerseys, lead, tin, but the export of broadcloths which took the place of kerseys in the 1590s largely expanded the Mediterranean markets (Davis 118-20). Trade with the Levant prospered between the 1580s and 1620s, which became more profitable business than any other foreign trade (Andrews 97). The rich and successful merchants engaged in the Levantine trade were thus a vital part of the commercial development in England.

For the English merchants, the commercial interaction with the Eastern Mediterranean world was an encounter with its multiculturalism. As a centre of a global market, the Eastern Mediterranean ports were full of merchants from various countries. For example, Aleppo was recognised as a multicultural city by the English merchant

John Eldred, who travelled to the city in 1583:

This is the greatest place of traffique for a dry towne that is in all those parts: for hither resort Iewes, Tartarians, Persians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many sorts of Christians, and inioy freedome of their consciences, and bring thither many kinds of rich marchandises. (Hakluyt sig. Z2<sup>v</sup>-Z3<sup>r</sup>)<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, the section “Of the mightie Citie of Cairo” in Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principal Navigations* (1589) describes the diversity of races in the city: “In Cairo are people of all Nations, as Christians, Armenians, Abexins, Turkes, Moores, Iewes, Indians, Medians, Persians, Arabians, and other sortes of people, which resort thither by reason of the great traffique” (sig. R4<sup>v</sup>). Merchants and travellers had thus an opportunity to encounter a variety of people working or living in one city of the Eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, the English who had never been to the land could learn such characteristic by books as well. In her discussion of the liminal nature of the Eastern Mediterranean, Constance Relihan quotes the early modern description of multiculturalism of Turkey in William Waterman’s *The fardle of facions* (1555), a translation of Johannes Boemus’s popular book of cultural study: “All this countrie that now is called Turcquie, is not enhabited by one seuerall nacion, but there be in it Turcques, Grekes, Armenians, Saracenes, Iacobites, Nestorians, Iewes and christians” (sig. D4<sup>v</sup>). The Eastern Mediterranean world was recognised as a melting pot of races.

For the English, the Eastern Mediterranean was also a place where past and present were conflated. When English travellers visited Eastern Mediterranean cities, their thoughts often diverged to the past figure of what they were seeing before their eyes. Warner G. Rice argues that the early modern English travellers often described the Eastern Mediterranean by citing the classics or comparing what they saw with the classical stories. For example, Nicolas Nicolay does not offer his own fresh opinion about the relics he saw but only shows the traditional view other authors had observed (Rice 216). We can clearly see Nicolay’s confusing interest in the past and present of Greece in the order of chapters of *The Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, Made*

*into Turkie* (1585). For instance, the chapter “The auncient religion of the Graecians” is followed by “The Moderne religion of the Graecians”. His description of Greece is a conflation of the ancient times and the contemporary situation. Ortelius’ *Parergon* and *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* also contain a mixture of past and present. As I have argued, the maps in these works include the ancient legendary voyagers’ route of navigation as well as the contemporary picture of the world. Likewise, Ortelius’ explanation of each country is full of reference to the ancient writers. For example, when describing the geographical features of Italy, Ortelius mentions, “Ptolemey describeth it in the forme of an Isthmos or Peninsula, which the sea incloseth on three sides, the other is walled by the Alpes. The ancient writers doe liken it vnto an Oke-leafe” (71). Ortelius’ map thus follows the tradition of travel writings in the early modern period.

The Renaissance was a time when English travellers aspired not only to witness the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean culture and people but also to rediscover its past. This enthusiasm made travellers interested in seeing the relics in Greece and the Levant. Shakespearean travellers, too, are willing to see them when entering the unfamiliar Eastern Mediterranean land. In *Twelfth Night* (1601-2), which is set in Illyria on the Balkans, Sebastian says, “What’s to do? / Shall we go see the reliques of this town?” (3.3.18-19), “I pray you let us satisfy our eyes / With the memorials and the things of fame / That do renown this city” (3.3.22-24). In *The Comedy of Errors*, Antipholus S. plans to “view the manners of the town, / Peruse the traders, gaze upon the buildings” (1.2.12-13) when he arrived at Ephesus. They are interested in seeing the historical buildings as soon as they enter the land. In the early modern period, the ancient buildings in Greece and the Levant reminded the English travellers of the contemporary situation of the site, just as the present figure of the buildings reminded them of its past. Ortelius’ description of Greece starts with its ancient picture:

Greece, which sometime was as it were the mother and nurce of all good learning and disciplines, of a rich and wealthy country, and which by his



valour and magnanimity was Empresse & Prince of the better halfe of the world, is at this day driuen to that state (such is the mutability and vnconstancy of fortune, which turneth all things vpside downe) that there is no part of it but either it is subiect to the Turke and enthralled to his slauish seruitude, or els it is vnder the command of the Venetians, or tributary to them. (91)

He compares the past glory of Greece with the contemporary miserable state of the country which is oppressed by the Turkish and Venetian powers.

Shakespeare follows the literary tradition of mixing the description of the past and present Eastern Mediterranean, as we can see in his Mediterranean plays. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Lorenzo and Jessica compare their situation with the ancient legendary story set in the Eastern Mediterranean by the repetition of “In such a night” (5.1.1-22). They refer to the story of Troilus and Cressida, Pyramus and Thisbe, Dido and Aeneas, and Medea and Jason, just as the literary tradition of quoting the ancient works to describe the present condition of the Eastern Mediterranean sites. Likewise, from the apparently meaningless exchange between Adrian and Gonzalo in *The Tempest* about whether Tunis was once Carthage (2.1.84-86), Paul A. Cantor finds the fusion of the classical and modern picture of the Mediterranean. He observes, “the importance of the Mediterranean for Shakespeare points not just to East-West hybridity in Renaissance culture, but to ancient-modern hybridity as well, which is to say classical-Christian hybridity” (909). The conflation of ancient paganism and Christianity seen in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* as mentioned before is also applicable to this characteristic of Shakespeare’s representation of the Eastern Mediterranean. Although Egeon refers to “the gods” (1.1.98) which suggests the ancient paganism of Ephesus, all other characters use the word “god”, and Antipholus S. declares that he is a Christian. In *Pericles*, the characters worship “[t]he gods of Greece” (1.4.97), but the play is filled with the biblical elements as well. Even when the play’s sources are the classics, contemporary elements are introduced into the plays. Shakespeare’s Eastern Mediterranean world is a space which mirrors the Englishmen’s interest in both the past

and present of that world.

Thus, Shakespeare's Eastern Mediterranean is a world which erases any borders by mixing up the opposite elements. Indeed, the ease of a border incursion is suggested in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*, for, in the dramatic world where the past and present mingle, time itself is described as topsy-turvy. For example, in *The Comedy of Errors*, "The hours come back" (4.2.54) because according to Dromio S., "It was two ere I left him, and now the clock strikes one" (4.2.53). The play shows the uncertainty and fluidity of time. In *Pericles*, too, Gower stresses the ease of traveling time as well as places in the dramatic world:

Thus time we waste, and long leagues make short;  
Sail seas in cockles, have and wish but for't,  
Making, to take our imagination,  
From bourn to bourn, region to region. (4.4.1-4)

Shakespeare's Mediterranean world is as timeless as the contemporary travel writings. As well as the border of a region vanishes and thus the distinction between the cities is lacking, the border of time can be easily crossed in this world.

Therefore, the image of the Eastern Mediterranean world in early modern England was marked by the mixing of race, religion, and time. It was a space where east and west, Christianity and paganism, past and present, and all cultures and peoples mingled. Shakespeare's Mediterranean drama describes the nature of this topsy-turvy world rather than the characteristics of each city. Apparent confusion and misconception of geographical details in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* are integrated into a single image of the Eastern Mediterranean world which itself has ambivalence and contradiction as the contemporary description of that world reveals. Furthermore, because such world mixes up any binary oppositions and erases the differences, it functions to erase the borders of cultural distinction. Shakespeare describes the way in which Englishness dissolves in this Eastern Mediterranean world in the two plays as I will discuss in the following chapters.

## 5. Ambivalent attitude to the Eastern Mediterranean

I have so far discussed how the English considered the Eastern Mediterranean as a world which mixes up different cultures and peoples, but the English emotion toward the Eastern Mediterranean itself also had ambivalence and contradiction. In order to make this clear, I will refer to the critics who discuss the English double feeling towards the Eastern Mediterranean culture, which is helpful for the analysis of *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*.

Gerald MacLean argues that Englishmen were fascinated by the Ottoman Empire as well as feel threatened by its power. According to MacLean, this ambivalent emotion comes from the English desire to learn what an empire should be from the Eastern Mediterranean model so that they can imitate it to construct their own, which he calls “imperial envy”. He discusses England’s sense of inferiority to the mighty power of the Ottoman Empire, observing that Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism cannot be applied to the early modern English writing about the empire. While Said explores how Europe has represented East as an inferior “other” to confirm its own superiority, MacLean argues that England saw the Ottoman Empire as a mighty power, a concept which he calls “imperial envy”: “It involves identification as well as differentiation, of sameness as well as otherness, of desire and attraction as well as revulsion” (MacLean 22). The sense of imperial envy is described especially in the English diplomatic record. As mentioned before, Queen Elizabeth wanted to make an agreement with the Ottoman Turk for diplomatic and commercial advantage. From the fact that the English consuls working in the Ottoman territory restored Turkish captives in 1586, MacLean suggests that:

Redeeming a sizeable group of Ottoman captives, and then transporting them several thousand miles so they might be returned to their native land, can hardly be interpreted as the action of a people secure in their superiority over the Ottomans; rather it suggests the policy of a suppliant, if not

subordinate, nation seeking to ingratiate itself with an empire. . . . (75-76)  
Behind the hospitality of local Englishmen in the Ottoman land, there was a desire to establish the strong relationship with the mighty empire. The existence of mighty power in the Eastern Mediterranean offered the English a hope to become equated with this empire and a sense of inferiority to it at the same time.

While MacLean discusses the English desire to imitate the Eastern Mediterranean power, the fear of assimilation into its culture, at the same time, was frequently represented in the contemporary drama. In particular, dramatists described an anxiety for the moral corruption of Englishmen by the representation of “turning Turk”. For example, Othello’s anxiety for chaos of the Venetian society is disclosed by these words: “Are we turn’d Turks, and to ourselves do that / Which heaven hath forbid the Ottomites?” (*Othello* 2.3.170-71). The implication of ‘turning Turk’ is not necessarily limited to the religious conversion. The phrase was used as a proverb in this period, and it generally meant “to undergo a complete change for the worse” (Schmidt “Turk”). For the Englishmen, the conversion to Islam entailed the change into morally and behaviourally worse condition.

Daniel Vitkus argues that the phrase also indicates the English fear for the fluidity of the Mediterranean identity:

Seen through English eyes, what it meant to be a “Turk” was itself a disturbingly illusive and unstable identity. This could produce anxiety as well as admiration. The Turks and their “nation” were often depicted by European writers as a people without a deep-rooted, essential identity of their own. (*Turning Turk* 16)

As the cultural exchange with the Eastern Mediterranean accelerated in this period, England absorbed its culture as well as its commodity. However, because of its multiculturalism, what England absorbed was a mixture of race, religion, and cultures, which disturbed the stable English identity. Thus, the dramatic representation of “turning Turk” is, for Vitkus, a product of the anxiety for destabilization of English identity by the contact with multiculturalism of the Eastern Mediterranean through trade. He argues

that the various forms of exchange including religious, commercial, and sexual exchange were represented in the contemporary drama: “The space of ‘trade’ in the early modern Mediterranean is an ‘in-between space’ of liminality and hybridity, where transformation takes place” (*Turning Turk* 22). His idea of liminality is based on Homi Bhabha’s argument about the mixture of native and colonial cultures and especially his reference to a “liminal space”: “This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy” (Bhabha 5).<sup>6</sup> Vitkus observes that Bhabha’s idea is useful to deconstruct Said’s binarism of “otherness”. Thus, Vitkus argues that Bhabha’s postcolonial theory about the mixed culture can be applied to the early modern contact between the English and the Eastern Mediterranean culture, which caused the English anxiety about transformation of their cultural identity.

Similar to Vitkus, recent critics attempt to analyse Shakespeare’s plays in terms of the ambivalent position of the Eastern Mediterranean world which was a kind of obstacle to the establishment of English identity. Relihan also discusses the liminality of the Eastern Mediterranean world which functioned to connect western and eastern cultures, considering *Pericles* as “a romance [. . .] dependent upon locations whose relation to Europe may be considered liminal” (281). Like Vitkus, Relihan uses the word “liminality” as the borderline where two cultures contact, and thus the world cannot be Europe’s other. According to Relihan, the play discloses James I’s anxiety about the development of the English kingdom in his attempt to expand England’s power into the Mediterranean. The liminal culture of the Eastern Mediterranean, however, leads the play’s ending to imply not the unification of James’ kingdom but its political fragmentation (Relihan 293).

Critics like MacLean, Vitkus, and Relihan deal with the ambivalent relationship between England and the Eastern Mediterranean. MacLean’s concept of imperial envy

indicates the English contradictory emotion, that is, the desire to imitate the Ottoman Empire as well as the desire to define Englishness which is different from the Ottomans. Similarly, by considering the Eastern Mediterranean as a liminal space, that is, a space of cultural mixture, Vitkus and Relihan analyse how the English drama reveals the difficulty in establishing English cultural identity because of the contact with multiculturalism of the Eastern Mediterranean. In addition, as both MacLean and Vitkus challenge Said's binarism, they argue that the English could not view the Eastern Mediterranean world as a fixed "other". Building on this work, I will examine *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* in the following chapters. Their arguments on the English double feeling towards the Eastern Mediterranean help to consider how these plays represent not just the English enmity toward infidel or diabolical culture but more complex emotion which is related to both the construction and deconstruction of the secure concept of what the Englishman is. Especially, I would like to deal with the commercial as well as cultural relation between England and the Eastern Mediterranean which is reflected in the plays. While MacLean examines "the growth of imperial fantasies and ambitions" (21) in early modern England, Vitkus focuses on the commercial relation to the Eastern Mediterranean world because England had not yet developed into the mature empire. The state had more concern for gaining profit and power through global trade rather than a colonial enterprise. In the period when England sought to develop into a trading power, the English gentlemen's self-fashioning was related to showing off their wealth and global power as I will discuss in the next chapter. At the same time, there was criticism that the Englishmen might be morally corrupted if they absorb immorality of the Eastern Mediterranean by importing its culture and commodities. Thus, MacLean's idea of imperial envy can be modified by focusing on how the Englishmen attempted to imitate the commercial as well as cultural, not imperial, model of the Eastern Mediterranean. Furthermore, Vitkus and Relihan's study

of liminality is useful to examine the way in which Shakespearean travellers who entered the liminal Eastern Mediterranean world experience transformation of their self-image, since that world erases the border of cultural difference as mentioned before. I will consider how the Eastern Mediterranean world is represented in Shakespeare's two plays as the space which changes Englishness through commercial and cultural transaction.

In conclusion, Shakespeare's depiction of the Eastern Mediterranean in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* can be reconsidered in terms of the contemporary encounter with the Eastern Mediterranean world through commerce, diplomacy, and any other travels as well as its literary representation which formed the image of that world in early modern England. Shakespeare's indifference to the geographical details in the two plays comes not from the lack of his knowledge but from his view of the Eastern Mediterranean world as an aggregation, a world where various cities and countries are interrelated. This idea is derived from the contemporary image of the Eastern Mediterranean world, because for the English writers, it was a space where various races, religion, and time are conflated. It means that the world cannot be defined as monolithic in character, and so it cannot simply be England's detestable "other" like Catholic Spain. That is, the Eastern Mediterranean world could not be an object of comparison in order to define Englishness, but rather the encounter with multiculturalism of the world casts doubt upon the stable notion of English identity. Shakespeare thus describes the function of the Eastern Mediterranean world which erases the border of cultural difference. He suggests the border between the English and the Eastern Mediterranean culture is blurred in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*, and so the travellers in these plays experience the crisis in change of their self-image once they enter that world. The ambivalent position of the Eastern Mediterranean in the early modern period is also revealed by the English contradictory attitude to the world, since the English were both fascinated and threatened by the Eastern Mediterranean power which was a cultural and commercial model for

them. The English sought to imitate its desirable culture, that is, the luxury and global power, while they rejected immorality of the Eastern Mediterranean and attempted to differ from it in order to form the ideal image of the English gentleman. In this sense, Shakespeare describes both the desire to absorb the Eastern Mediterranean culture and the fear of being absorbed into the culture. In the following chapters, I will argue that the Eastern Mediterranean world is represented as a space which changes the notion of English identity through the commercial and cultural transaction, and that the English aspiration and anxiety for the contact with the Eastern Mediterranean are represented in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*.



## Chapter II

### The Material and Metamorphic power of the Eastern Mediterranean in *The Comedy of Errors*

In this chapter, I will analyse *The Comedy of Errors* in the context of commercial and educational transaction with the Eastern Mediterranean. Both dimensions are related to the contemporary discussion of Englishness, for some of the Elizabethans considered that the owning of imported Eastern Mediterranean commodities as well as educational travel to the Eastern Mediterranean caused depravity of the Englishmen. Firstly, by investigating how the contemporary Englishmen depended on the Eastern Mediterranean commodities for self-fashioning, I will establish a new meaning of the link between the confusion of the twins' identity and of material exchange in the play. Because of the mistaken identities, money or commodities do not reach the right person but are involved in Eastern Mediterranean trade. I will argue that the distorted circulation of objects in Ephesus connects the household with Eastern Mediterranean trade, which reflects the influx of the Eastern Mediterranean commodity into the Elizabethan household. Furthermore, in the play's commercial world where men are equated with money or luxury items, the characters can be easily replaced by another person whom the item reaches. In this pattern, the replacement of the owner of Antipholus E.'s house with the stranger Antipholus S. implies that Englishness might be destabilised by the intrusion of the Eastern Mediterranean culture. Secondly, I will focus on the representation of Circe, which the Duke mentions when he faces the confusion of the twins' identity. Circe, the witch who transforms travellers into swine in Homer's *Odyssey*, was often referred to by the contemporary English writers who warn travellers against their moral corruption in foreign countries. At the same time, Circe was a symbol of seductive foreign women in such literature. In *The Comedy of Errors*, the travellers fear metamorphosis while they

are fascinated by women who metamorphose them, which reflects the contemporary fear for transformation of Englishness as well as the desire for the attractive Eastern Mediterranean culture. Therefore, considering these two aspects of the Anglo-Mediterranean relationship, I will point out the English ambivalent attitude to the Eastern Mediterranean which is reflected in the play.

### 1. Eastern Mediterranean trade in *The Comedy of Errors*

*The Comedy of Errors* is filled with concern for commerce, as the beginning of the play suggests. The Duke mentions the play's background at the outset, explaining that the conflict between Syracuse and Ephesus is so intense that both Syracusans and Ephesians "admit no traffic to our adverse towns" (1.1.15). The state's crisis is caused by the Syracusan Duke's rage towards merchants, and the play shows how much stability of commercial relationships are significant for the state's foreign policy. Moreover, his speech about the new rule reveals his commerce-centred way of thinking:

Nay more, if any born at Ephesus be seen  
At any Syracusian marts and fairs;  
Again, if any Syracusian born  
Come to the bay of Ephesus, he dies, (1.1.16-19)

The states' mutual hostility is not only among merchants but the whole nation, for the states ban "any born at Ephesus" and "any Syracusian born" from visiting each other's city. At the same time, he imagines that those who might come to each city are merchants, because he refers to "marts", "fairs", and "bay". Therefore, although this new rule affects all people in the two countries, the Duke seems to have merchants uppermost in his mind. He calls the merchants "our well-dealing countrymen" (1.1.7), which suggests that at least he considers the merchants as a core of his nation. In this way, the Duke's first speech at the first scene reveals the importance of commerce for his state's policy.

In fact, the frequent reference to words relating to finance and commerce in this

play is notable. According to Whitworth,

The word *money* occurs twenty-six times in Shakespeare's shortest play, more than in any other work in the canon. *Marks* (the amount of money) and *mart* also occur more times than in any other play. *Gold* and *golden* are found more often only in *Timon of Athens*, *ducats* and *merchant(s)* more times only in *The Merchant of Venice*. (49)

Critics have paid attention to the commerce-centred tendency in the dramatic world, equating the play's setting with contemporary London. Stephen Greenblatt observes, "in *The Comedy of Errors*, there is in reality only daylight and the familiar city street of Roman comedy, a street reassuringly adapted to the commercial world of Shakespeare's London" (683). He analyses this play as follows:

[I]n *The Comedy of Errors*, there is only the single urban setting, a setting that would have reminded contemporary audiences of the bustling city that stretched out beyond the walls of the playhouse. In the sixteenth century, London had become the center of a commercial culture that Shakespeare deftly sketches with quick strokes. (688)

Similarly, Douglas Bruster relates Shakespeare's plays with the situation of the early modern theatres which contributed to the commercial development in London. In the analysis of *The Comedy of Errors*, he discusses how the human relationship is described by the material exchange (73-77). Jonathan Gil. Harris observes that the references to market in the plays are related to the contemporary London merchants and their activity of international trade (29-51), but he does not specifically treat Eastern Mediterranean trade.

Indeed, among the critics who pay attention to the commercial elements of the play, very few consider the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean trade as a context of the play. However, the play reflects multiculturalism of the Eastern Mediterranean commercial port, for Ephesus has the commercial relationship with Syracuse as well as there appears a merchant who is "bound / To Persia" (4.1.3-4). Moreover, the play is filled with the principal commodities in the Levantine trade: Dromio S. loads a ship with "[t]he oil, the balsamum, and aqua-vitae" (4.1.89); Antipholus E. has "the desk / That's cover'd o'er with Turkish tapestry" (4.1.103-4);<sup>7</sup> Antipholus S. tells, "a tailor call'd me

in his shop, / And show'd me silks that he had bought for me" (4.3.7-8). These commodities show that the play's commercial world reflects the contemporary trade between England and the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, by investigating how the importation of the Eastern Mediterranean goods affected the lifestyle in early modern England, I will reconsider the play's cultural context which is related to the establishment of the notion of Englishness in the period.

As mentioned above, "the oil", namely olive oil (Cartwright 4.1.89.n), "balsamum", "aqua-vitae", which is ardent spirits (Schmidt), carpets, and silks were the main commodities in the Levantine trade. The section "The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Leuant" in *The Principal Navigations* describes the early Levantine trade in the years between 1511 and 1534: "The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malinesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and some other spices, &c" (Hakluyt sig. H6<sup>v</sup>). Since the trade with Turkey started in the Elizabethan age, "English merchantmen could now fetch for the home market without intermediaries cotton wool and yarn, Turkish carpets and cloths, galls, Persian silk, and the sweet oils, sweet wines and currants of the islands" (Andrews 93).

Especially, fabrics from Turkey and Persia became indispensable for the life in England. It was in the Elizabethan period when the silk industry prospered, and it needed much raw silk which was imported from the Eastern Mediterranean countries.

Raw silk, which was imported in negligible quantities in the mid-sixteenth century, came in substantial and rapidly rising volume from the time of the opening of the Levant trade, and became the largest of English raw material imports; (Davis 125)

In spite of the increasing popularity of Turkish and Persian silk, Italy kept exporting silk goods to England from long before 1570. According to Ralph Davis,

With the growth of wealth in England, and especially with the spreading habit of proclaiming wealth by ostentation in dress, the import of these silk goods was fully maintained; they were hardly affected by the appearance of the English silk industry, which made stuffs of poorer quality competing

with French imports. (135-36)

As Davis observes, the English demand for silk grew due to the desire to show their own power and wealth. MacLean observes, “the possession and display of costly silk clothing and ‘Turkey’ carpets enabled the nobility and upwardly mobile to declare their social superiority” (34). That is, these commodities were the means for the Englishman’s self-fashioning.

Such use of the Eastern Mediterranean commodities is mentioned in *The Description of England* (1577) by William Harrison. He explains how the English nobles and gentlemen’s houses are furnished with commodities from Turkey. But he emphasises, “I do not speak of the nobility and gentry only, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our South Country” (200). He observes that “Turkey work” or rich textiles can be found not only in the noblemen’s houses but also “in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthy citizens” (200). Harrison further explains that even lower people started to furnish their house with these commodities in his time:

[I]n time past the costly furniture stayed there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, even unto the inferior artificers and many farmers, who, by virtue of their old and not of their new leases, have for the most part learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their joined beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine napery, whereby the wealth of our country (God be praised therefor and give us grace to employ it well) doth infinitely appear. (200)

It was common for various classes of people to hold commodities from Turkey or Persia, which can prove England’s wealth as Harrison proudly says. Those goods functioned to construct an image of the Englishman holding wealth and power.

The luxurious furnishings from the Eastern Mediterranean in the Elizabethan house is also depicted in *The Taming of the Shrew* (1593-94), which is set in Padua.

Gremio boasts:

First, as you know, my house within the city  
Is richly furnished with plate and gold,  
Basins and ewers to lave her dainty hands;

My hangings all of Tyrian tapestry;  
In ivory coffers I have stuff'd my crowns;  
In cypress chests my arras counterpoints,  
Costly apparel, tents, and canopies,  
Fine linen, Turkey cushions boss'd with pearl,  
Valens of Venice gold in needle-work;  
Pewter and brass, and all things that belongs  
To house or house-keeping. (2.1.346-56)

With “Tyrian tapestry” and “Valens of Venice”, Gremio’s house is full of the Eastern Mediterranean fabrics. Therefore, Turkish carpet which covers a table in Antipholus E.s’ house reflects the popular interior of the Elizabethan house. In addition to the Eastern Mediterranean fabrics, luxury items appear in the play, as the expensive chain Antipholus E. requested the goldsmith Angelo to make. His note describes “[h]ow much your chain weighs to the utmost charect, / The fineness of the gold, and chargeful fashion” (4.1.28-29). The Eastern Mediterranean commodity in the play suggests how the English introduced the exotic goods in their country, while at the same time the play depicts the life in the Eastern Mediterranean region.

The exotic and magnificent goods helped the English not only to show off their wealth, status and prerogative, but also to “support a fantasy of personal involvement with an imminent, yet already established, global power” (MacLean 38). The English believed that they could imitate the Ottoman Empire by gaining the goods from the country. In other words, the goods from the great empire were a source of imperial envy. The English desire to possess these Eastern Mediterranean commodities is a key to understanding the contemporary discussion about Englishness, because possessions represented identity in early modern England. As the study of material culture shows, “[t]he physical form of objects was always a starting point for considering the nature of humanity, its sorrows and joys and the strength and quality of its relationships” (Richardson 3). For example, the stone of a ring was sometimes used “not to display its owner’s wealth or taste in aesthetic terms, but rather to display the owner him or herself” (Richardson 38). Catherine Richardson thus examines how Shylock’s ring in *The*

*Merchant of Venice* functions to reveal his personality and human relationship in the dramatic society.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Hilary Larkin argues that clothes were one of the important markers of Englishness. The vogue for wearing foreign clothes was discussed seriously in early modern England because it was not just the problem of the wearer's appearance.

According to Larkin,

In many of the texts there is evidence not merely of disgust or a desire to poke fun, or even the poor man's habitual envy of what is not his, but of fear: a palpable fear that seems due to a belief that these fashions could actually work deep personal and societal transformations. There is a sense, in short, in which clothes are thought to 'make' the man or indeed unmake him. (80)

Thus, introducing foreign fashion was related to spoiling the image of the Englishman, for "it was felt that fashion had the capacity not only to establish identities, but also to destabilise them" (Larkin 80). In this culture where materials represented the owner's identity, owning Eastern Mediterranean goods meant that the self-image of the Englishman is partly constructed by the Eastern Mediterranean culture. Both *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* describe this materialistic idea, although its intensity is different. In *The Comedy of Errors*, commodities dominate the characters so strongly that the twins' identities are confused through the material exchange. In contrast, such power works only partly in *Pericles*, and *Pericles* calls into question this problematic value system as I will argue in chapter III. Therefore, based on the early modern material culture, I will focus on how *The Comedy of Errors* describes the power of the Eastern Mediterranean commodity which affected the notion of Englishness in the period.

## 2. Circulation of domestic and international commodity

In the commerce-centred world of *The Comedy of Errors*, people exchange various items and money. However, because of the mistaken identities between the couple of twins, the exchange is not completed as people expect. Significantly, the mistaken exchange, as a result, connects the household with Eastern Mediterranean trade. When

arriving at Ephesus, Antipholus S. receives his money from a merchant which he soon leaves with Dromio S. But after that Dromio E. appears instead, bringing the message that his wife is waiting at home to have dinner. When Antipholus S. asks, “tell me how thou hast dispos’d thy charge” (1.2.73), Dromio E. replies, “My charge was but to fetch you from the mart / Home to your house, the Phoenix, sir, to dinner” (1.2.74-75). Thus, Antipholus’ money is metaphorically exchanged for a wife at home in this scene.

Dromio E. tells Adriana about this curious exchange:

When I desir’d him to come home to dinner,  
He ask’d me for a [thousand] marks in gold:  
“’Tis dinner-time,” quoth I: “My gold!” quoth he.  
“Your meat doth burn,” quoth I: “My gold!” quoth he.  
“Will you come home?” quoth I: “My gold!” quoth he;  
“Where is the thousand marks I gave thee, villain?”  
“The pig,” quoth I, “is burn’d.”: “My gold!” quoth he. (2.1.60-66)

Dromio clearly explains that every word relating to Adriana and her home is translated into ‘gold’ by Antipholus S. We can hardly know why Antipholus S. deposits his money with the merchant, but the whole movement of money which starts from the merchant’s hands and terminates in Dromio’s message about Adriana reinforces the link between the domestic and the commercial dimensions.

This material circulation which involves Antipholuses, Adriana, and a merchant can also be seen in the exchange of the chain which Antipholus E. bought for Adriana. Cartwright points out that the chain “is linked with both the domestic mercantilism and the international trade that characterize the playworld, since the goldsmith must collect payment for the chain in order to settle accounts with a merchant bound for Persia” (35-36). As he observes, the chain which is a gift from the husband to the wife is to be exchanged for money which is finally passed into the merchant’s hands. The gift delivered within the household is not only exchanged as a commodity in Ephesus, but also circulates in the broader context of Eastern Mediterranean trade.

This triangle of material exchange appears again in the act four. Antipholus E.



orders Dromio E. to buy a rope to punish his wife and her confederates in locking him out of his house. Yet Dromio S. appears with “a bark of Epidamium” (4.1.85) which is ready to leave Ephesus and carry the travellers abroad. The rope which signifies the relationship between a wife and husband is here exchanged for the ship which contains Levantine commodities like the oil, balsamum, and aqua-vitae, and is about to sail in the Mediterranean. In the play’s commercial world, the household property can be easily exchanged for commodities in the Eastern Mediterranean trade, and vice versa, which reflects how Eastern Mediterranean commodities flowed into the English household through trade in Elizabethan England.

In fact, the term “home” has double meanings in this play, that is, a house where one’s family lives and a home country. This duality is suggested at the opening of the play by the story of Egeon’s travel to find both his family and his home country. Egeon tells that he and his son travelled to seek their family, “coasting homeward, came to Ephesus” (1.1.134). “Home” here can indicate both their house and their home country since the sentence is embedded in the story about the quest of their family and in the geographical description of their travel. The opening scene thus offers the play’s framework in which one’s house is linked to his home country. This duality can also be seen in the contrast of household and business, and of home country and abroad, which is suggested by the relationship between wives and their husbands who are engaged in a mercantile business. Egeon says, “My wife . . . / Made daily motions for our home return” (1.1.58-59) when she followed her husband and came to Epidamnus. Likewise, Dromio E. mentions, “My charge was but to fetch you from the mart / Home to your house” (1.2.74-75), because Adriana is waiting for her husband to dine together. Both wives beg their husbands to leave where they are doing business and to come back home. The contrast of the house and the place for commerce is suggested when Luciana says, “Because their business still lies out a’ door” (2.1.11). In the play’s world, which is the

centre of global commerce, the contrast between household and the place of business means the contrast between home country and abroad.

At the same time as the play's locale is based on the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean, home in the play represents England. Dromio E. calls his master's house "your house, the Phoenix" (1.2.75), and for the contemporary audience, the Phoenix recalled the building which existed in London. It was "the sign of a Lond. tavern; also the sign of a shop in Lombard St." (Sugden "Phoenix"). Likewise, as I have argued, "Turkish tapestry" in the house suggests the popular interior in the English house as well as calling to mind the Eastern Mediterranean lifestyle. Antipholus E. is thus both a native of Ephesus and the Elizabethan Englishman, and his house represents the English house located in the Eastern Mediterranean city. The house is both the home for Antipholus E. and the home for the English. This blurring of the locational distinction between England and the Eastern Mediterranean enables the play to describe how the Eastern Mediterranean commodities easily flow into England. The circulation of commodities in this borderless world emphasises that the Eastern Mediterranean culture encroaches on England, and the play suggests that the contemporary English lifestyle blurs even the cultural distinction between England and the Eastern Mediterranean.

### 3. Analogy between human and luxury items

Responding to the Elizabethan material culture in which the luxury goods from the Eastern Mediterranean represented their owner himself, *The Comedy of Errors* discloses the interchangeability of a man and money or luxury items. At the beginning, where the commerce-centred value system is suggested, the Duke remarks that the merchants in his country "[w]ho, wanting guilders to redeem their lives" (1.1.8) lost their lives at the conflict with Syracuse. Under the law, those who enter each other's city can escape death only when "a thousand marks be levied / To quit the penalty and to ransom

him” (1.1.21-22). Thus, the very beginning of the play reveals the dramatic world’s values which equates men with their properties. When First Merchant says Egeon cannot “buy out his life” (1.2.5), it implies that Egeon becomes the Eastern Mediterranean commodity in the commercial relationship between Syracuse and Ephesus.

Humans easily become a commodity in both a literal and metaphoric sense in this play. In the discourse of commerce which dominates the play, Dromio E. compares a man to an object of trade. He says, “It would make a man mad as a buck to be so bought and sold” (3.1.72). Further, Dromio E. suggests the link between money and human body. When Antipholus S. asks, “Where is the thousand marks thou hadst of me?” (1.2.81), Dromio replies, “I have some marks of yours upon my pate; / Some of my mistress’ marks upon my shoulders; / But not a thousand marks between you both” (1.2.82-84). His pun transcribes the meaning of money into the marks of his body. Similarly, Adriana equates property with human’s body. She thinks that the loss of value of her beauty causes her husband’s loss of his love toward her. She remarks:

I see the jewel best enamelled  
Will lose his beauty; yet the gold bides still  
That others touch and, often touching, will  
Where gold; and no man that hath a name  
But falsehood and corruption doth it shame. (2.1.109-13)

She uses two analogies between jewels and women’s beauty, and between gold and men’s reputation. The play’s analogy between human and substance invokes the early modern material culture where the Englishmen fashioned themselves by the Eastern Mediterranean luxuries. The play emphasises that people in Ephesus not only hold but also become the luxury items or money in this centre of the Eastern Mediterranean market.

In this value system, we can see how the characters pay more attention to the item rather than its owner. When Antipholus E. complains, “I promised your presence and the chain, / But neither chain nor goldsmith came to me” (4.1.23-24), it means that he was equally waiting for the chain and a man who brings it. In the play’s commercial world

where the presence of commodity has much power, one's attention seems to be directed to the object rather than the person when constructing human relationship.<sup>9</sup> Antipholus further grumbles, "Belike you thought our love would last too long / If it were chain'd together, and therefore came not" (4.1.25-26). As he compares the relationship with Angelo to a chain, human relationships are often thought in the material level in this play.

Because people depend on these luxury items in the construction of social relationship, one character can be easily replaced by another person whom the item reaches. The chain represents not only the bond between Antipholus E. and Angelo but also the marital relationship between Adriana and Antipholus E. When Adriana is worried that her husband may lose his lover for her, she says, "Sister, you know he promis'd me a chain; / Would that alone a' love he would detain, / So he would keep fair quarter with his bed!" (2.1.106-8). First Folio's "alone, a love," is confusing and many editors emend these words differently. Yet, according to Whitworth, "[h]owever one emends F's 'alone, a loue', the sense is reasonably clear: Adriana would gladly forgo the gift her husband has promised her, if only he would remain faithful" (2.2.108.n.). Adriana disregards the importance of chain as a proof of faith at this time, but her words reveal that the chain is a symbol of their relationship. Antipholus E. later remarks, "That chain will I bestow / (Be it for nothing but to spite my wife) / Upon mine hostess there" (3.1.117-19). In contrast to Adriana, who denies the importance of chain, he thinks giving the chain to another woman will distress his wife.

Together with the chain, a ring symbolises the relationship between a wife and husband. Adriana's complaint, "from my false hand cut the wedding-ring, / And break it with a deep-divorcing vow?" (2.2.137-38), indicates the ring as a symbol of marriage. Later, Antipholus E. wears the courtesan's ring after he is refused to enter his house. When the courtesan says, "Give me the ring of mine you had at dinner, / Or, for my

diamond, the chain you promis'd" (4.3.68-69), it is implied that the owner of both the chain and ring, symbols of the relationship between Adriana and Antipholus, are in danger of being replaced by the courtesan.

In this way, a human can be metaphorically replaced by another person through the exchange of luxury items, because these commodities are considered as a reflection of the owners. This structure is vital in considering the influence of the Eastern Mediterranean luxuries on the self-fashioning of the Englishman. In this play, as contemporary Englishmen could feel that they gained the power and wealth of the Ottoman Empire by holding commodities imported from the region, holding another character's item means to take his or her place. This pattern can be applied to the play's main concern, the confusion of the twins' identity, for the replacement of the twins' position is also caused by failure of material exchange. In the next section, I will argue that the confusion of the travellers and the natives in the play reveals the contemporary anxiety that the notion of Englishness might be destabilised by the Eastern Mediterranean culture.

#### 4. Confusion of material exchange and of the twins' identity

As the ring and chain which are almost given to the courtesan signifies the replacement of Adriana and the courtesans' position, the travellers and the Ephesians can be easily exchanged when the property of one reaches the other. The idea that losing property affects its owner's self-image is suggested by the traveller Antipholus. After Antipholus S. is mistaken for Antipholus E. by Dromio E., who knows nothing about Antipholus' money, he relates the fear of losing his money with that of changing his physical and mental traits:

Upon my life, by some device or other  
The villain is o'erraught of all my money.  
They say this town is full of cozenage:  
As nimble jugglers that deceive the eye,

Dark-working sorcerers that change the mind,  
Soul-killing witches that deform the body . . . (1.2.95-100)

He equates “the villain” who seizes his money with “sorcerers” and “witches” who change his mind and body. For him, the wicked people in the strange city rob him of his property and change his self-image at the same time. This fear is related to the early modern anxiety about the instability of Englishness which was intensified through importation of the Eastern Mediterranean commodities.

In Elizabethan England, although introducing the luxury goods from the Eastern Mediterranean became popular, some writers condemn the change of the English lifestyle and their morality. Samuel Chew points out that Harrison laments the change of the Englishman’s character (238). In the chapter “Of woods and marishes” in *The Description of England*, Harrison explains how the contemporary English houses imitate Persian luxury. According to Harrison, the English were satisfied with houses made of willow and other cheap kinds of woods in the old days so that oaks can be used for churches, religious houses, palaces and noblemen’s houses, which changed in Harrison’s time:

And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oaken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow but a great many, through Persian delicacy crept in among us, altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration. (276)

With a note in the margin, “Desire of much wealth and ease abateth manhood and ouerthroweth a manly courage” (276), Harrison relates the contemporary fashion of houses with the Englishmen’s inner change, warning that desire for wealth and elegance affected by Persian lifestyle will lose manliness.

The Eastern Mediterranean luxury is also derided by the contemporary dramatists. In *The Gull’s Hornbook* (1609), which is a satirical guide for foolish gallants, Thomas Dekker instructs, “After dinner you may appear again, having translated yourself out of your English cloth cloak into a light Turkey program, if you have that happiness of

shifting” (35). Grogram is “a coarse fabric of silk, of mohair and wool, or of these mixed with silk” (OED 1), and Turkish costly garments represent the conceited men’s affected fashion. Dekker calls Paul’s Walk “Your mediterranean aisle”, which “is then the only gallery, wherein the pictures of all your true fashionate and complemental Gulls are, and ought to be hung up” (34). With a reference to “the Persian lock” which is “the best and most essential parts of a gallant” (50), Dekker critically describes how the English gallants are affected by the Eastern Mediterranean commodity which enables them to show off their styles. In George Chapman’s *An Humorous Day’s Mirth* (1599), too, Dowsecer condemns people who are affected by the Turkish luxurious fashion:

I do not here deride difference of states, no not in shew, but with that such as want shew might not be scorned with ignorant Turkish pride, beeing pompous in apparel, and in mind: nor would I have with imitated shapes menne make their native land, the land of apes, living like strangers when they be at home, and so perhaps beare strange hearts to their home . . . . (sig. D2<sup>v</sup>)

In these instances, writers suggest that men’s nature is affected by what they own, so owning the Eastern Mediterranean commodity means changing both their appearance and mind. In John Marston’s *Histrion-Mastix* (1610), Pride uses the similar trope as Chapman’s:

Let all your sundry imitating shapes,  
 Make this your natiue soyle, 'the land of Apes.  
 Then Ladies trick your traines with Turkish pride,  
 Plate your disheau led haire with ropes of Pearle,  
 Weare sparkling Diamonds like twinckling starres,  
 And let your spangled crownes shine like the Sunne, . . . (sig. D1<sup>r</sup>)

Marston too refers to “Turkish pride” with which people wear luxurious items, and he calls such imitative country “the land of Apes”. The dramatists satirise the English who fashion themselves with Turkish or the Eastern Mediterranean items to boast of their richness. Pointing out the Englishman’s moral depravity, they warn that the image of the Englishman is transformed by Eastern Mediterranean commodities. Thus, the confusion of the strangers and the natives through the material exchange in *The Comedy of Errors* reflects an anxiety over the power of the Eastern Mediterranean commodity.

Moreover, Chapman's argument that the Englishmen who wear Turkish cloths are "[l]iving like strangers when they be at home" is metaphorically realised in the play. Because of the mistaken identity, Antipholus S. dines with Adriana instead of her true husband, which means that the stranger stays at Adriana's home as if he is the inhabitant of the house. In contrast, Antipholus E. who is the owner of the house is locked out of the house, and temporarily becomes a stranger. As I have argued, the house is a symbol of England for Antipholus E. although it is located in an Eastern Mediterranean city. The device of mistaken owner of the house functions to represent the intrusion of the foreign into the English household.

When Adriana meets Antipholus S., whom she thinks is her husband, her words, "Ay, ay, Antipholus, look strange and frown" (2.2.110), imply Antipholus S. is a stranger. She further repeats the word "strange":

How comes it now, my husband, O, how comes it,  
That thou art then estranged from thyself?  
Thyself I call it, being strange to me,  
That, undividable incorporate,  
Am better than thy dear self's better part. (2.2.119-23)

Adriana insists that her husband looks strange to her because his familiarity and his love with his wife are gone. However, Antipholus S. changes the meaning of "strange" into "foreign", mentioning that "[i]n Ephesus I am but two hours old, / As strange unto your town as to your talk" (2.2.148-49). The existence of Antipholus S. denies not only the fact that Antipholus E. is Adriana's husband, namely, an inhabitant of this house but also that he is not an inhabitant of this city. With Luciana's surprise, "how the world is chang'd with you" (2.2.152), Adriana's home metaphorically changes into a foreign world which is actually inhabited by the stranger. Therefore, in addition to the circulation of the Eastern Mediterranean commodities throughout the play, the story of the stranger entering the house represents how the strange and foreign easily flow into England or the English household, as Chapman describes.

In contrast, in the play's value system where a man's identity is equal to his



property, Antipholus E. cannot be identified by his wife when he loses his property, the house. As Adriana misrecognises Antipholus S. as her husband, Antipholus E. cannot enter his own house. When Dromio S. stays in the house instead of him, Dromio E. cries, “O villain, thou hast stol’n both mine office and my name” (3.1.44). As he says, the true inhabitants of the house lose their roles. As Mary Thomas Crane points out, Antipholus E. defines his identity by his properties by repeatedly using the words like “my door” (3.1.30), “the house I owe” (3.1.42), “mine own doors” (3.1.120).<sup>10</sup> In fact, the role of the two Antipholuses completely changes places. In the opening of act three, scene one, Antipholus E. is confused because according to Dromio E., “I did deny my wife and house” (3.1.9), which are in fact Antipholus S.’s words. But it soon becomes reality because he is both denied by his wife and his house. The replacement of the owner of Antipholus E.’s house which represents England with the stranger Antipholus S. thus implies the crisis of Englishness by an intrusion of Eastern Mediterranean commodities into the English household.

In this way, the play’s identity crisis which accompanies the distorted exchange of goods and property represents a fear that the image of the Englishman might be destabilised by Eastern Mediterranean culture. Although the mobility of commodities as well as the character’s dependence on these items reflect the English desire to import and own the Eastern Mediterranean goods to imitate the power and wealth of the region, the disturbance relating to the replacement of the travellers and the natives calls into question the notion of Englishness in the period when the cultural transaction blurs the difference between the English and the Eastern Mediterranean culture.

##### 5. A fear of metamorphosis and the representation of Circe in the early modern literature

While the impact of the Eastern Mediterranean commodity on the Elizabethan household suggests its power of changing the English lifestyle and morality, the play

also shows the changeability of travellers' morality who enter the Eastern Mediterranean land. Although travels to acquire desirable foreign customs or learning was considered profitable for England in the early modern period, travelling abroad was also discussed negatively. The anxiety for the contact with the Eastern Mediterranean culture is implied by the travellers Antipholus S. and Dromio S., who fear metamorphosis throughout the play. Above all, if we examine the cultural context of the representation of Circe, we can find the connection between the characters' fear of metamorphosis and the contemporary argument on the travellers who ruin the image of the Englishman.

Circe is mentioned at the climax of the play. When the duke witnesses the confusion of the twins' identity, he remarks:

Why, what an intricate impeach is this!  
I think you all have drunk of Circe's cup.  
If here you hous'd him, here he would have been;  
If he were mad, he would not plead so coldly. (5.1.270-73)

Circe is a witch who transforms travellers into swine in Homer's *Odyssey*. Various interpretations are presented as to why the Duke invokes Circe when he sees the indistinguishable persons at one time. According to Cartwright, the Duke suggests "that *CE*'s characters are altered in mind and not in body" (5.1.271.n), while Whitworth observes "[t]he Duke merely means that they are all bewitched" (5.1.270.n). They dismiss Circe's characteristic of transforming men's bodies, probably because no one's body actually changes in this scene. Yet, Shakespeare is conscious of Circe's power of deforming the human body. Another use of Circe in Shakespeare's drama can be found in *1 Henry VI* (1589-90). Richard Duke of York tells Joan la Pucelle:

Damsel of France, I think I have you fast:  
Unchain your spirits now with spelling charms,  
And try if they can gain your liberty.  
A goodly prize, fit for the devil's grace!  
See how the ugly witch doth bend her brows,  
As if, with Circe, she would change my shape! (5.3.30-35)

Joan, a sinful witch for England, is here compared to Circe who has a power to change man's "shape". Joan replies, "Chang'd to a worsen shape thou canst not be" (5.3.36).

Shakespeare thus recognized Circe's metamorphic power when he wrote *I Henry VI*, and he had already focused on "shape" in the use of the motif of Circe. Similarly, in *The Comedy of Errors*, Antipholus S. mentions that the town of Ephesus is full of "[d]ark-working sorcerers that change the mind, / Soul-killing witches that deform the body" (1.2.99-100). The characterisation of a witch as a person who changes a man's body is close to Richard's reference to Circe, but Antipholus S. also mentions the change of mind. Likewise, when the travellers are mistaken for other persons, they think that they are in crisis of transformation of both their mind and body:

*S. Dro.* I am transformed, master, am [not I]?

*S. Ant.* I think thou art in mind, and so am I.

*S. Dro.* Nay, master, both in mind and in my shape.

*S. Ant.* Thou hast thine own form.

*S. Dro.* No, I am an ape. (2.2.195-98)

As Dromio S. observes that his transformation occurs "both in mind and in my shape", the travellers think that people in Ephesus have a power of changing both the travellers' mind and body. Therefore, the Duke's reference to Circe's magic at the climax evokes Antipholus S. and Dromio S.'s fear of metamorphosis throughout their stay in the foreign land. In addition, it is significant that unlike the use of Circe in *I Henry VI*, the characters in *The Comedy of Errors* refer to Circe or a witch as a person who changes mind as well as appearance, because in this play Circe's magic of metamorphosis is related to the Eastern Mediterranean power of transforming Englishness. Thus, I will investigate the early modern representation of Circe and the metamorphic power of the Eastern Mediterranean as a threat to the image of the Englishman, which is the context of *The Comedy of Errors*.

The early modern travel writers often reminded the readers of the episode of Circe in order to counsel travellers against attaining undesirable foreign manner and becoming a degenerate person. The most influential writer who connected Circe's enchantment with travellers' transformation is Roger Ascham. He writes:

But I know as many, or mo[re], and some sometime my dear friends (for

whose sake I hate going into that country the more), who parting out of England fervent in the love of Christ's doctrine, and well furnished with the fear of God, returned out of Italy worse transformed than ever was any in Circes' court. I know divers, that went out of England, men of innocent life, men of excellent learning, who returned out of Italy, not only with worse manners, but also with less learning; neither so willing to live orderly, nor yet so able to speak learnedly, as they were at home, before they went abroad. (152)

He condemns the travellers who are affected by Italian bad habits. The motif of Circe is used to point out the danger of transformation into a morally and behaviourally corrupted person. As Ascham criticises Italian culture by comparing it with Circe's court, Circe, who lived in Aea near Italy, is used as a symbol of Italian vice in his work. Ascham's work became a trigger for the negative image of returned travellers in this period.

According to Sara Warneke,

Roger Ascham's bitter attack on Italian travel in *The Scholemaster* published during 1570 was largely responsible for the sudden deterioration of the traveller's public image. Ascham's powerful imagery of the wicked and often Machiavellian Italianated traveller had a profound influence on subsequent imagery of the educational traveller during the late sixteenth century. (7)

While educational travel increased in this period as a means to develop the English gentleman morally and intellectually, Ascham took up the opposite position from those who praised educational travel to Italy. Since that moment, the convention of adopting Circe's story often appeared in travel writings. Turler gives a warning to the readers in his travel account published in 1575:

To these also this often happneth, that there are some forreine People so craftie and subtle, that when they perceave a man to bée enamoured with their pleasures, they leaue no meanes vnassaid to detaine him lenger with them: chaunginge themselues into all fourmes and figures after the maner of Protheus, both to cosin hym of his money, and as Circe did to Vlisses mates, transforme him from a man to a beast. (sig. E8<sup>r-v</sup>)

By referring to the transformative power of Circe as well as Proteus, Turler argues that travellers may be tempted into evil pleasure and finally degenerate into a beast. Turler discusses the danger of acquiring the bad habit of foreign countries:

To conclude we must so line among forrein Nacions that when we returne home wée may frequent our owne Cuntrey guise if it bée good, not bringe

home with vs vices for vertues, ignorance for knowledge, naughtines for goodnes, opinion for certentie, sicknes for health, or whatsoeuer els is wicked & execrable, both wt losse of time, and expense of money, and so to returne home with shame, and shame enough. (sig. F1<sup>v</sup>-F2<sup>r</sup>)

As he uses the terms “nations”, “country”, and “home”, Turler considers that the corruption of travellers is not a personal problem but related to England’s pride. He approves the kind of travel which brings England learning or virtue, but he points out that it is accompanied by the risk of bringing home shame. Likewise, in *The True Trauaile of All Faithfull Christians* (1585), William Chub argues:

Pittifull it is, that Circe raigneth to bewitch such men, and to transforme them from their honourable estate and shape of mankind, into the disfygured shew of brute beastes, but this happeneth, when men fall from God, and obey their owne appetites, and lusts, then they become brute beastes, that haue no vnderstanding, and God giueth them vp vnto their owne vile affections. (sig. F5<sup>v</sup>-F6<sup>r</sup>)

Using the term “beasts”, Turler and Chub do not mention what kind of animals they have in mind. The transformation into a beast is considered as the most shameful for the English gentlemen who travel abroad for education, for the image of the beast highlights how these travellers will be uncivilised, lustful, and weak in temptation. The episode of Circe was thus altered to show the English readers the danger of being an inhuman creature by making contact with a foreign culture.

To compare travellers with animals was also effective in pointing out the foolishness of imitation itself, because it signifies that such people are so uncivilised that they cannot cultivate themselves without copying other cultures. Above all, the comparison with apes in contemporary travel writing often implied the English who imitate foreign customs, and Dromio’s reference to the transformation into an “ape” (2.2.198) may come from this convention. In *The English Ape, the Italian Imitation, the Footsteppes of France* (1586), William Rankins uses this convention. He observes: “Thus (imitating the Ape) the Englishman killeth his owne with culling, and prefers the corruption of a forraine Nation, before the perfection of his owne profession” (sig. A3<sup>v</sup>). He criticises those who abandon their morality which can be acquired in England and try

to copy the foreign culture instead. He argues that Englishness has changed through the imitation of foreign customs:

Howe hatefull will it hereafter seéme to our selues, when the bowels of that place which brought vs foorth, our Countrey that nourisht vs (for which euery mēber is borne to die) expecting helpe at our hands our condition then to be so altered, our manners transformed, our estates so estranged, and our dueties so disguised with the spotted imitation of other Nations, that we shal cleane forgette to temper the proffered time, with the naturall benefite of our owne common good. (sig. A3<sup>v</sup>)

By using the words “alter” or “transform”, Rankins uses the representation of apes not only as a symbol of imitativeness but also to suggest the image of an ugly man who changed from the moral and virtuous Englishman into an imitator of foreign vice. In this literary tradition, Shakespeare uses the representation of an ape in *Richard II* (1595):

The open ear of youth doth always listen;  
Report of fashions in proud Italy,  
Whose manners still our tardy, apish nation  
Limps after in base imitation. (2.1.20-23)

Similar to Rankins, the symbol of an ape specifically indicates the imitators of Italian fashion and manner. Likewise, Chapman and Marston’s allusion to the imitation of “Turkish pride”, as mentioned before, also accompanies the satire on “the land of apes”. Imitators of Italian and Turkish fashion were thus often criticised as apes in the contemporary drama.

As the representation of metamorphosis in travel literature developed, the image of transformed travellers became more exaggerated. The episode of Circe was known to the English writers so well that the *Odyssey* itself was referred to as a story of travellers who transform in the foreign land. When Lyly deals with the disadvantage of travel in *Euphues and His England*, published in 1580, he cites Homer’s story:

I am of this mind with Homer, that as the snail that crept out of her shell was turned eftsoons into a toad and thereby was forced to make a stool to sit on, disdainning her own house, so the traveler that straggleth from his own country is in short time transformed into so monstrous a shape that he is fain to alter his mansion with his manners, and to live where he can, not where he would. (176)

As we can see from the words “monstrous a shape”, the transformed traveller is

described as more horrific. Shakespeare too uses this word to describe an encounter with inhabitants of the island in *The Tempest*:

If I should say I saw such [islanders]  
(For, certes, these are people of the island),  
Who though they are of monstrous shape, yet note  
Their manners are more gentle, kind, than of  
Our human generation you shall find  
Many, nay, almost any. (3.3.29-34)

Gonzalo here contrasts “monstrous shape” of people in an uncivilized land with their gentle manners which might have reminded the audience of the English gentleman’s ideal behaviour. Turning to a monstrous shape therefore indicated the worst model of the English gentleman in this period. Moreover, Lyly suggests that the monstrous travellers changed so much that he cannot live in his house which symbolises England. Similar to the representation of the house in *The Comedy of Errors*, Lyly compares a house with one’s native land in order to denunciate the travellers who abandon England or English custom.

In this way, by picturing the travellers as ugly and inhuman, early modern writers often suggested how the English are threatened with deterioration through the encounter with foreign, especially Italian or Turkish, cultures. The reference to Circe as well as the travellers’ fear of metamorphosis in *The Comedy of Errors* are based therefore on a particular literary tradition. The Duke’s reference to Circe does not just point out the magical situation of the twins’ confusing identity but is involved in the cultural trope of anxiety that travellers are morally corrupted by encountering the foreign vice and thus the image of the Englishman might be degenerated. Resonating with the metaphor of Circe, Antipholus S. and Dromio S.’s fear of metamorphosis comes from such literary representation that pictures the horrible image of degenerate Englishmen who are infected by the wicked foreign customs.

## 6. Enchantment of the Eastern Mediterranean

Although the fear of metamorphosis suggests a risk of travel in the Eastern Mediterranean land, the travellers in *The Comedy of Errors* are attracted by the unknown city at the same time. While Antipholus E. is involved in much trouble by the misrecognition of identity such as temporarily losing his house, being arrested for an unpaid account, and being locked up as a mad man, Antipholus S. acquires the house, wife, and money instead of Antipholus E. For Antipholus S., Ephesus is a rich city. He says: “I see a man here needs not live by shifts, / When in the streets he meets such golden gifts” (3.2.182-83). Because people mistake the two Antipholuses, “[s]ome tender money to me, some invite me; / Some other give me thanks for kindness; / Some offer me commodities to buy” (4.3.4-6). Just as the contemporary Englishmen longed for the Eastern Mediterranean luxury, Ephesus in this play is an attractive city where travellers find abundance and wealth.

Antipholus S. and Dromio S. are especially fascinated by native women. After being mistaken for Adriana’s true husband, Antipholus S. says, “What error drives our eyes and ears amiss? / Until I know this sure uncertainty, / I’ll entertain the [offer’d] fallacy” (2.2.184-86). He notices that what happens to him is an error, but he deliberately accepts this error. Being attracted by foreign woman was conventional in travel literature, and the early modern travel writers often warned young travellers not to be seduced by women in foreign countries. For example, Antipholus compares Luciana with “sweet mermaid” (3.2.45) or “siren” (3.2.47). As well as Circe, sirens are the character in Homer’s *Odyssey*, and Shakespeare’s contemporary writers often mentioned sirens as a symbol of dangerous but attractive women in foreign countries. In *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*, an old man warns Euphues,

The pestilence doth most rifest infect the clearest complexion, and the caterpillar cleaveth unto the ripest fruit; the most delicate wit is allured with small enticement unto vice, and most subject to yield unto vanity. If, therefore, thou do but harken to the Sirens thou wilt be enamoured, if thou haunt their houses and places thou shalt be enchanted. (Lyly 37)

Sirens represent the foreign women who lure the English travellers into the vice of



lechery. The old man cautions that what is seemingly beautiful is a wily plot to draw men into vice. Likewise, Antipholus S. finds that Luciana is enchanting but threatening for his morality:

But her fair sister,  
Possess'd with such a gentle sovereign grace,  
Of such enchanting presence and discourse,  
Hath almost made me traitor to myself;  
But lest myself be guilty of self-wrong,  
I'll stop mine ears against the mermaid's song. (3.2.159-64)

He thinks that the tempting woman leads him into moral corruption, although Luciana herself does not mean to seduce him. This speech thus reflects the convention of travel literature to show how the male travellers are vulnerable to women's temptation abroad.

From this context, we can find that the symbol of Circe has another meaning. Although Circe was described in travel writings as a horrible witch Englishman should avoid, she was also a symbol of an attractive woman who fascinated travellers. Antipholus S. and Dromio S. are thus willing to transform after they are enchanted by witch-like women. When Antipholus S. falls in love with Luciana, he remarks,

Against my soul's pure truth why labour you,  
To make it wander in an unknown field?  
Are you a god? Would you create me new?  
Transform me then, and to your pow'r I'll yield. (3.2.37-40)

He considers Luciana as a person who changes his body, but he voluntarily submits to her power of transformation. Luciana here becomes a kind of witch who attracts travellers in the unknown land. As Antipholus S. contrasts "my soul's pure truth" with "your words' deceit" (3.2.36), women's deception was one of the main danger for young English travellers. Turler's comparison of Circe with "so craftie and subtle" foreigners and his warning against being "enamoured with their pleasures", as mentioned before, also point out this fear, for the image of the men turned into beasts indicates that they are seduced into becoming lustful by women.

Soon after Antipholus is enchanted by Luciana, Dromio S. similarly claims the crisis of metamorphosis by a woman. He says, "Marry, sir, such claim as you would lay

to your horse, and she would have me as a beast; not that, I being a beast, she would have me, but that she, being a very beastly creature, lays claim to me” (3.2.85-88). The repetition of the word “beast” suggests the tradition of travel writing which describes a woman changing a man into a beast. He mentions his experience of metamorphosis again: “She had transform’d me to a curtal dog, and made me turn i’th’ wheel” (3.2.146). Moreover, Dromio S. says, “I, amaz’d, ran from her as a witch” (3.2.144). Responding to Dromio, Antipholus fears that “[t]here’s none but witches do inhabit here” (3.2.156).

In addition to Luciana, Antipholus S. again meets a woman he calls “witch” (4.3.78), a courtesan. He feels that he is almost deceived by the woman, for he tells her, “I charge thee, tempt me not!” (4.3.48). He thinks that what happens to him is “imaginary wiles”, for “Lapland sorcerers inhabit here” (4.3.10-11). After this awareness, he tells the courtesan, “Thou are, as you are all, a sorceress” (4.3.66), so she is one of the city’s inhabitants who “wiles” him. For him, a sorcerer or sorceress are deceivers. In this way, an executor of Antipholus S. and Dromio S.’s metamorphosis is always a woman, and they consider the woman as a witch. Later, like Antipholus S., Dromio S. is willing to accept the women attracting him: “methinks they are such a gentle nation that, but for the mountain of mad flesh that claims marriage of me, I could find in my heart to stay here still, and turn witch” (4.4.153-56). In spite of the fear of metamorphosis, they both accept it, and Dromio even hopes to stay in the unknown land. It implies the Eastern Mediterranean charm which attracts the English traveller who feels at ease in the foreign country and custom. Ephesus is thus described as an attractive but dangerous city for travellers, which suggests the Eastern Mediterranean power of luring the English travellers into moral corruption. Moreover, the woman’s power of transforming male travellers is described in *Pericles* too, although the direction of transformation is reversed in this late play, as I will argue in chapter III.

In this chapter, I have dealt with the two aspects of the early modern relationship

between England and the Eastern Mediterranean which is reflected in *The Comedy of Errors*: one is the commercial relationship, that is, the import of Eastern Mediterranean commodities into the English household; the other is the educational relationship, especially the English gentleman's travel which is described in literature through the representation of Circe or metamorphosis. We can see that both aspects are related to the ambivalent English attitude to the Eastern Mediterranean. In the play's commercial world, where the commodities of the contemporary Levantine trade are often referred to, the domestic items which people exchange get involved in the international trade. Further, the characters depend on these items in human relationships so much that one's position can be replaced by another through material exchange. In this pattern, the natives are replaced by the travellers when one's property, the house, is occupied by the other. This mobility of both commodities and people between the household and the Eastern Mediterranean world reflects how the contemporary Englishmen were eager to introduce Eastern Mediterranean goods into their household as a means of self-fashioning. At the same time, the interchangeability of the travellers and the natives suggests the vulnerability of the notion of Englishness, reflecting the contemporary argument that the image of the English gentleman was made up by the Eastern Mediterranean luxuries which might corrupt their morality. Likewise, the Englishman's overseas travel was often discussed by the early modern writers in two ways. While it was considered as profitable for education of a gentleman, some writers, by using the metaphor of Circe or metamorphosis, warned that the travellers might be morally corrupted by seductive foreign women. In this literary tradition, *The Comedy of Errors* describes how the travellers are both afraid of and fascinated by the women who metamorphose them, and the Duke refers to Circe as an explicit marker of this convention.

Therefore, the story of the twins' mistaken identity suggests that the contact with

the Eastern Mediterranean culture both constructs and deconstructs the image of the Englishman. In the early modern period, the Eastern Mediterranean could not be England's explicit "other" because of the English double feeling, a fear and fascination. This is why the impact of the commodities from the Eastern Mediterranean and of the travel to the Eastern Mediterranean was problematic. In spite of the contemporary discussion about the Englishmen's moral corruption through the commercial and educational transaction with the Eastern Mediterranean, the English could not drive away its culture because of the desire to imitate its power, wealth, and knowledge to fashion the image of the English gentleman. *The Comedy of Errors* shows this dilemma through the motifs of the material circulation and metamorphosis. In this play, both commodities and people can easily cross the borders between households, which represents England and the Eastern Mediterranean world, but escalates the confusion about the twins' identity. The blurring of the distinction between travellers and inhabitants depicts the moment when Englishness dissolves into the Eastern Mediterranean world.

Shakespeare later describes in *Pericles* similar motives as in *The Comedy of Errors*, that is, materialism and the transformation of male travellers, which suggest the power of the Eastern Mediterranean culture in the period. However, both aspects are subverted by the travellers Pericles and Marina, who propagate the ideal image of the Englishman in the cities they visit. In the next chapter, I will consider how they deal with the problematic relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean culture which has already been depicted in the early comedy, *The Comedy of Errors*.

## Chapter III

### The Reformation of Immoral Trade in *Pericles*

In this chapter, I will examine the distorted form of commerce in *Pericles*. In contrast to the commercial world of *The Comedy of Errors* in which the official Eastern Mediterranean trade in the early modern period is reflected, the economy of *Pericles* foregrounds the unlawful commercial systems, that is, piracy and prostitution. While contemporary England entered this immoral form of commerce, both businesses were considered as an obstacle to the notion of Englishness. Through the story of Marina, who is sold to a brothel by pirates, the play describes how the image of the Englishman was destabilised by this violent economy of the Eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, Marina transforms this immoral form of trade into a virtue, since she reforms the customers of the brothel seeking sexual pleasure. Her transformative power can be linked with women's power of metamorphosing male travellers as discussed in chapter II, but its function is opposite to what Circe represents in *The Comedy of Errors*. Likewise, in the world where the official trade never functions, Pericles introduces a new form of trade, a trade of morality. Abandoning the exchange of commodities, he denies the material culture in which man's identity is represented by luxurious items. Therefore, I will analyse how Marina and Pericles present the ideal image of the English gentleman through the reformation of the play's commercial system, which reflects the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean culture.

#### 1. The immoral economy of the Eastern Mediterranean

In the story of Pericles' romantic journey, neither merchants nor markets are described. Although reference to "full bags of spices" packed in Thaisa's coffin (3.2.66) and "silken bags" (3.2.41) call to mind the principal commodities of the contemporary

Eastern Mediterranean trade, Pericles' story does not completely depict the material exchange like *The Comedy of Errors*, as I will argue later. Instead, the play describes the reality of the contemporary commercial activity through Marina's story. It is not lawful trade but piracy that introduces the monetary exchange into the play, for pirates kidnap Marina and sell her to a brothel. When Bawd asks "her price" (4.2.51), Bolt answers, "I cannot be bated one doit of a thousand pieces" (4.2.51-52), and Pander promises to pay the pirates money instantly. Marina is thus involved in the piratical trade of the Eastern Mediterranean as a commodity. If we examine the impact of pirates in early modern England as well as the image of pirates in English literature, we can see how *Pericles* shows the anxious relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean economy.

In early modern England, piracy was considered as a disturbance to the English official trade. The Elizabethan government often used privateering to gain a profit in the Mediterranean, but after the peace treaty with Spain in 1604, many crews of privateer lost their job and turned to unlawful pirates. The desire for making profit caused the increasing change from legitimate privateers, who contributed to the government's interest, into the outlaws who destabilised the official commercial system. In "A Proclamation to repress all Piracies and Depredations vpon the Sea", which was announced in the first year of James' reign, piracy is described as "most hatefull to his minde, and scandalous to his peaceable gouernment" (James I sig. D5<sup>v</sup>). The proclamation was issued repeatedly during James' time. As Barbara Fuchs observes, "their very repetition suggests how difficult it was to contain the unruly agents that the state had once employed" (48). Some of these crews joined the Muslim pirates who were thriving in the Eastern Mediterranean. Fuchs discusses the impact of the movement from privateering to piracy:

This unstable continuum of privateer, pirate, and renegado disrupts the legitimacy of a view of the English nation based in commerce. While the privateer's heroics call into question the duller ethics of the merchant, and the pirate's depredations threaten the very possibility of licit commerce, the

alliance of the renegade subject to the Barbary States produces a highly unstable identity, one often represented as extremely fragile. (51)

The increase of the English seamen who joined the Muslim pirates was a source of anxiety for the establishment of England as a commercial empire. More and more crews abandoned the connection with the English government and colluded with the Muslim pirates, which means that England was deprived of its commercial power by Islamic nations. Vitkus describes how the English entered the new Eastern Mediterranean economy:

English alliances with Islamic princes, mediated by Jews and renegades, and English involvement in piracy and the slave trade, led to the perception that there was a new, Machiavellian commercial mentality during this period, and that English subjects were coming increasingly into contact with an amoral economy of maritime conception that was based on force and fraud. (*Turning Turk* 172)

It was an economy of violence that the English newly encountered through the Eastern Mediterranean commerce.

*Pericles* describes the function of this violent economy. It is notable that Marina puns on the Barbary pirates: “Alack . . . that these pirates, / Not enough barbarous, had not o’erboard thrown me / For to seek my mother!” (4.2.63-67). Marina connects the image of the Barbary pirates with brutality and wishes that the pirates cast her into the sea. In fact, Leonine imagines that pirates will kill her: “There’s no hope she will return. I’ll swear she’s dead, / And thrown into the sea” (4.1.98-99). Although pirates say, “A prize, a prize!”, “Half-part, mates, half-part” (4.1.93-94), which suggests that they see Marina as a profit, Leonine’s words highlight the image of brutal pirates. However, the pirates are not too barbarous to kill Marina because it is more profitable to sell her as a slave. The barbarous act of kidnapping Marina and selling her for profit reflects the reality of the violent commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean. The pirates in *Pericles* thus serves to evoke the Englishman’s fear of the power of the Eastern Mediterranean economy by describing how Marina is suddenly entangled with its economic activity.

Moreover, Marina’s encounter with pirates might have reminded the

contemporary audience not only of the fear of falling prey to the barbarous pirates in the Eastern Mediterranean, but also the possible danger of “becoming” the pirates. In the early modern period, the English pirates were described as figures who disturb the image of virtuous English merchant. The merchants were praised as heroic contributors to England’s economy, and many writers glorified a figure of the merchant-hero in literary works. Laura Caroline Stevenson argues that the Elizabethan writings “formed a popular history of merchants which showed that businessmen had a long tradition of service to the commonwealth and, more particularly, to the crown” (107). In this literature, merchants were depicted as honest and virtuous knights or courtiers. Because of this literary tradition, the description of pirates, in contrast, puts an emphasis on how they are evil, and an impediment to the commonwealth. For example, Nash emphasises the brutality of piracy in *The Unfortunate Traveller*:

Quick witted Sir *Thomas Moore* traueled in a cleane contrarie prouince, for he seeing most common-wealths corrupted by ill custome, & that principalities were nothing but great piracies, which, gotten by violence and murther, were maintained by priuate vndermining and bloudshed. . . . (245-46)

He suggests that piracy affects corruption of the commonwealth because of the viciousness of the piratical act. As James’ proclamation describes piracy as an act “committed on the Seas by certaine lewd and ill disposed persons” (James I sig. D5<sup>v</sup>), the government attempted to establish an image of pirates as an opposite to the virtuous merchants. Likewise, Moryson deals with piracy in relation to the Englishman’s goodness: “all good Englishmen I may professe; that they abstaining from prohibited traffick, no good Englishmen wished good successe or impunity to any English ships exercising piracy, especially against so neare confederates” (sig. Bb2<sup>v</sup>). Appealing to Englishman’s morality, the writer hopes to exclude wicked pirates from the community of noble merchants in England.

However, it was not easy to establish a stark contrast between evil pirates and virtuous merchants. In *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles*,



*presupposed to be intended against the realme of England* (1592), Richard Verstegan regards the increase of piracy as problematic:

Let vs also consider the great decay of Trafike, that of late yeares the countrie is brought vnto, whereby not only many principall marchantes, which were wont to transport great riches and comodities to the realme, are become banckruptes, and sundry of them enforced to turne their trade of marchandize into meere piracie, but also diuers whole townes are decayed, & the people compelled to beg, that before were honestly sustained by the trade of clothing. (sig. D6<sup>r</sup>)

He has a sense of crisis because the trade by regular merchants does not function and they shift their business to piratical trade, which is the “decay” of commerce for him. As Verstegan feels apprehensive, the official merchants or privateers could easily turn into pirates, and the distinction between them was very ambiguous. Fuchs argues that the English pirates acting in the Mediterranean “passed as merchants until they spotted a likely target, which suggests that the differences between English merchants and English pirates were not as clear as it might have appeared at first” (47-48). Although the government attempted to create an image of pirates as wicked “others” through the proclamation in order to protect the glorified image of official trade, it was difficult to separate pirates from the merchant community. In fact, pirates were an important part of commercial network in the Eastern Mediterranean. There was always a possibility that the legitimate English merchants enter the violent form of commerce and turn into an undesirable person the government feared. Thus, Marina’s involvement with pirates suggests the possibility of “becoming” the pirates, that is, corrupting morality by entering the Eastern Mediterranean economy.

Indeed, reflecting this anxiety, any kinds of trade in the dramatic world are considered in terms of traders’ morality. Especially, the play emphasises how the monetary transaction relating to Marina always lacks morality. For Dionyza, killing Marina is profitable just as Leonine can earn money from her. Dionyza remarks,

Let not conscience,  
Which is but cold in flaming, thy [lone] bosom

Inflame too nicely, nor let pity, which  
Even women have cast off, melt thee, but be  
A soldier to thy purpose. (4.1.4-8)

To complete this trade for Marina's life, Leonine needs to abandon his conscience. The word "conscience" relating to commerce is used again in the brothel, a place of immoral business. The owner of the brothel is conscious that his business is against man's morality: "O, our credit comes not in like the commodity, nor the commodity wages not with the danger" (4.2.30-31). He says, "If there be not a conscience to be us'd in every trade, we shall never prosper" (4.2.11-12). He repeats the word "conscience" ironically, when he talks about how to make money in the business: "there's two unwholesome, a' conscience" (4.2.21-22). As he emphasises the word, he is aware that the brothel is a place where travellers lose their conscience. Although Bawd replies, "other sorts offend as well as we", Pander continues, "As well as we! ay, and better too; We offend worse. Neither is our profession any trade, it's no calling" (4.2.36-39). Their use of the word "offend" is effective to show Pander's sense of guilt, since it is contrary to Marina's perception of her business. Preaching to the customers rather than prostituting herself, she proudly tells Lysimachus, "I cannot be offended with my trade" (4.6.70). The characters' sense of morality is always aroused when they are involved in the monetary exchange.

Therefore, although pirates themselves play only a little part in Marina's story, they serve to highlight the immoral trade in the dramatic world which is practiced by various characters. As the contemporary entry into the new Eastern Mediterranean economy disturbed the English ideal image of powerful commercial empire consisting of virtuous and heroic merchants, the play suggests the power of the Eastern Mediterranean economic system in which men can easily corrupt their moral by trade. The threat is also represented by depicting how Marina, who is so virtuous that she never "did ill turn / To any living creature" and "never killed a mouse nor hurt a fly" (4.1.75-76), is suddenly involved in Dionyza's plot to murder, kidnapped by barbarous pirates,

and thrown into the danger of engaging herself in the sexual trade, all of which is related to monetary exchange.

## 2. The multicultural markets of sexual trade

As the owner of brothel uses the word “conscience” ironically, prostitution is another kind of immoral commerce which discloses the negative aspect of the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean economy. Mytilene is described as a prosperous market of prostitution. In this play, the words “mart” and “market” only appear in the scene of brothel which is a centre of global market. In order to call customers together, Pander tells Bolt, “Search the market narrowly. Mytilene is full of gallants” (4.2.3-4). Likewise, when Marina is introduced as a novelty into the brothel, Bawd asks, “hast thou cried her through the market?” (4.2.93). Bolt then tells how people in the market reacted to this effective advertisement. It is revealed that the best place to find men who pay for prostitution in Mytilene is the marketplace, as if the customers of the brothel are equal to traders. Thus, investigating the early modern travel writings, I would like to connect *Pericles’* Mytilene with the market of prostitution in the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean which was considered a cause of the Englishman’s depravity.

In the early modern period, Italy was famous for prostitution while the land was a centre of global commerce. Thomas Coryate, who visited Venice, observes, “the name of a Cortezan of Venice is famed over all Christendome” (*Cruidities* 261 [263]). Coryate describes how the European travellers visited the city to indulge in prostitution:

For so infinite are the allurements of these amorous Calypsoes, that the fame of them hath drawen many to Venice from some of the remotest parts of Christendome, to contemplate their beauties, and enjoy their pleasing dalliances. (*Cruidities* 265)

As discussed in chapter II, Italian culture was sometime denounced for leading male travellers into sexual temptation. The idea mainly came from prosperous market of prostitution in the country. According to Warneke,

The popular Elizabethan image of an immoral and lecherous Italian society fostered the belief that Italian courtesans proved a particular temptation for travellers. Travellers' reports supplemented literary images and encouraged the popular belief that thousands of prostitutes thronged the streets of the major Italian cities. (201)

Although the business fascinated the English travellers, they were threatened with being involved in this immoral form of trade. Writers of travel writing often pointed out the danger of prostitutes. In *A Most Delectable and True Discourse* (1616), William Lithgow warns travellers against whoredom in the Eastern Mediterranean:

This I intimate to all trauellers in generall, that if they would that God should further them in their attempts, blesse their voyages, and grant them a safe returne to their natiue Countries (without the which, what contentment haue they for all their paines) that they would constantly refraine from whoredome, drunkennesse, and too much familiarity with strangers: For . . . it is impossible hee [a traveller] can returne in safety from danger of Turkes, Arabs, Moores, wilde beasts, heate, hunger, thirst and cold. (sig. M2<sup>r</sup>)

In this work, Lithgow mentions Turks, Arabs and Moors, but he condemns lechery of Italy as well in *The Totall Discourse* (1640). He observes that Italian people are

so inclin'd to unnaturall vices, that for bestiality they surpasse the Infidells: the women of the better sort are slavishly infringed from honest & lawfull liberty . . . They of the vulgar kind are both ignorant, sluttish and greedy; and lastly the worser dregs, their impudent Curtezans, the most lascivious harlots in the world. (sig. C5<sup>v</sup>)

He condemns courtesans, thinking that Italian vice is worse than that of the infidel Turks. Whether Mytilene in *Pericles* reflects Italian or Turkish culture, it suggests the English image of the Eastern Mediterranean as a centre of prostitution.

Indeed, the brothelkeeper's reference to "conscience" as mentioned before invokes the contemporary image of Italy whose ruin might affect the English travellers.

Turler considers Italy as a place where travellers attain evil conscience:

There is an auntient complaint made by many that our cuntreyemen vsually bringe thrée thinges with them out of Italye: a naughty conscience, an empty Purse, and a weake stomacke: and many times it chaunceth so indéede. (sig. F1<sup>r-v</sup>)

It seems to be common to mention travellers' conscience in travel guides, as Palmer too advises travellers to keep their good conscience:

[I]t is the duetie of all men to fit and applie themselues, not onely to their

maners and customes with whom they liue; but singularly to haue an eye of diligent watch to their particular affaires as well for knowledge and encrease of experience, as for the retention of a sound and holy conscience. (sig. H1<sup>v</sup>)

Palmer adds, “let no man loose the raings of his owne lust and fancie amongst strangers” (sig. H1<sup>v</sup>). He thus imagines that sexual temptation specifically loses man’s conscience. The brothelkeeper’s awareness that his business lacks conscience implies the contemporary fear that such trade affects the Englishman’s morality.

As Venetian courtesans gathered male travellers from all over the world, the play highlights multiculturalism of the market in Mytilene. Bawd tells Marina that in the brothel she will “taste gentlemen of all fashions”, and “have the difference of all complexions” (4.2.78-80). Bolt tells that a “Spaniard” (4.2.100) and a “French knight” (4.2.105) in the market are excited at the announcement about Marina. Bolt says, “if we had of every nation a traveller, we should lodge them with this sign” (4.2.113-14). Multiculturalism of Mytilene thus reflects the global market of sexual trade in the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean. Andrew Hadfield pays attention to Shakespeare’s description of Venice as a multicultural centre of sexual trade in *Othello* (1604), which is partly set in Venice. According to Hadfield, in order for Iago to succeed in tempting Othello to suspect Desdemona, the play uses the negative image of Venice as a sexually corrupted place in early modern England. He points out that the leading male characters in the play are not Venetians but foreigners, while female characters are Venetians and they are often represented as whores. As Hadfield discusses, the play suggests

that Venice can tolerate and absorb a number of strangers, but that in the end such cosmopolitanism may well prove problematic and perhaps even undermine the social fabric. It is not only too much sexual liberty that is bad for you, but a liberty that compromises your identity and brings with it certain threats. (78)

His argument about *Othello*’s Venice as a global market of prostitution which leads the society to chaos can be applied to the dramatic world of *Pericles*, as Mytilene too represents the corrupted society.

Similar to Mytilene, the cities Pericles visits are depicted as a multicultural centre

to which male travellers from various countries come together to acquire a woman. According to a fisherman, in the court of Pentapolis, “there are princes and knights come from all parts of the world to just and tourney for her love” (2.1.109-10). There come, for example, “A knight of Sparta” (2.2.18), “A prince of Macedon” (2.2.24), and a knight from Antioch. The court of Pentapolis is a kind of multicultural market for knights seeking a princess. Pentapolis echoes the first scene because many princes visit the court of Antioch to attain the princess, Antiochus’ daughter. When Pericles explains the aim of his journey to Antioch, he says, “I sought the purchase of a glorious beauty” (1.2.72). Thus, in this play, every female including the princess of Antioch, Thaisa and Marina becomes a kind of commodity which is an object of male desire. When Bolt calls his customer “our cavalleria” (4.6.12), it suggests the connection between knights and the customer of the brothel. This connection becomes more ironic if we look back to the literary tradition which glorifies merchants as knights or courtiers. Bolt’s analogy between traders of sexual pleasure and knights suggests the grotesque version of a merchant-hero. The play’s link between knights searching for a beautiful princess and the men enjoying prostitution implies that even Pericles’ romantic journey is within the framework of the Eastern Mediterranean economy in which women become commodities for men.

In fact, women in this play are often considered as an object of trade. In his letter, Pericles considers Thaisa as “worth all our mundane cost” (3.2.70). Cerimon later uses the similar analogy, the metaphor of Thaisa as a jewel. When Thaisa opens her eyes, he remarks,

behold  
Her eyelids, cases to those heavenly jewels  
Which Pericles hath lost, begin to part  
Their fringes of bright gold. The diamonds  
Of a most praised water doth appear,  
To make the world twice rich. (3.2.97-102)

Cerimon compares Thaisa’s eyelids with jewels which Pericles packed in the chest, as

well as comparing her eyes with diamonds. As he says, Thaisa is a kind of wealth which enriches the country. Thaisa's coffin is thus a kind of ship laden with commodities, for it contains spices and jewels together with herself as a commodity.

Like Thaisa, Marina is often referred to as an object of trade. In this play, the word "profit" is always used in relation to Marina. For Leonine, killing Marina is a means to make money. In order to persuade Leonine into killing Marina, Dionyza tells him, "Thou canst not do a thing in the world so soon / To yield thee so much profit" (4.1.3-4). Of course, Marina's death is profitable for Dionyza too. When Marina finds that Dionyza tries to kill her she cries, "How have I offended, / Wherein my death might yield her any profit, / Or my life imply her any danger?" (4.1.79-81). Above all, Marina becomes an actual commodity in the brothel. Bawd tells Marina how to gain money:

Mark me: you must seem to do that fearfully which you commit willingly, despise profit where you have most gain. To weep that you live as ye do makes pity in your lovers; seldom but that pity begets you a good opinion, and that opinion a mere profit. (4.2.116-21)

Marina, whether she is killed or sold as a prostitute, brings a profit to people. In this way, only women become commodities in *Pericles*, in contrast to the materialistic world of *The Comedy of Errors*, where every character is compared with commodities or items. This emphasis on women as commodities reflects the centre of sexual trade in the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean which attracted travellers around the world including the English gentleman. By depicting the piratical transaction and prostitution, the play highlights immorality of this commercial system in the Eastern Mediterranean which might degenerate the Englishmen.

### 3. Marina's transformative power

It is significant to examine how Marina is involved in the distorted form of commercial system in the play, since her function is different from many of the Englishmen who were entangled in the Eastern Mediterranean culture. Kidnapped by

pirates and thrown into a new community, Marina becomes a captive as well as commodity of the pirates. Comparing Marina's function with the conventional description of the Englishman living in the Muslim community, I will point out that Marina subverts the relationship between the powerful Muslim and the English captive by reforming the commercial system of Mytilene.

Captivity was familiar to the contemporary English audience as it was often practised in the Mediterranean. Not only those who joined the Muslim pirates but also some of the English captives who were suddenly thrown into the Muslim community converted to Islam in order to live in the new society. The danger of abandoning England as well as Christianity was often depicted by the contemporary writers through the representation of 'turning Turk'. As discussed in chapter I, the phrase does not necessarily mean the religious conversion, but it suggests the danger of moral corruption through encounter with the Eastern Mediterranean culture. Above all, responding to the English image of the Ottoman culture, 'turning Turk' sometimes meant the Englishman's sexual degeneration. Vitkus argues that a conversion to Islam was related to the moral corruption by a sexual temptation:

According to Protestant ideology, the Devil, the Pope, and the Turk all desired to "convert" good Protestant souls to a state of damnation, and their desire to do so was frequently figured as a sexual / sensual temptation of virtue, accompanied by a wrathful passion for power. ("Turning Turk in *Othello*" 145)

He discusses how religious conversion was described in erotic terms in the early modern literary works. According to Vitkus, conversion to Islam was considered as "a kind of sexual transgression or spiritual whoredom" (145-46). Islam was condemned by Christian writers because they thought that virtuous Christians were tempted into sensual pleasure as well as sexual freedom which the Muslim life allows. Based on this idea, English writers used the phrase "turn Turk" with a sexual implication like "to become a whore" or "to commit adultery" (Vitkus 157). Therefore, the story of Marina, who is captured by pirates and sold to the brothel, invokes the contemporary anxiety for 'turning



Turk' in terms of the Englishman's sexual corruption.

However, the audience soon realise that Marina's role as a captive is opposite to the situation of the contemporary English captives, since she reforms the corrupted men by preaching. As Bawd says, "she would make a puritan of the devil, if he should cheapen a kiss of her" (4.6.9-10). The image of religious conversion in the nest of sexual temptation suggests the literary tradition of turning Turk, but Marina reverses its power relation. Rather than being transformed by the immoral life in the Eastern Mediterranean, Marina transforms male travellers haunting the brothel into virtuous persons. According to Nabil Matar, the reconversion of those who turned Turk sometimes appeared in literature:

Against such a rising tide of conversion to Islam, some English playwrights and poets adopted a new strategy: instead of attacking Islam and the "Moor," they presented in their work a real or an invented renegade and described the horrid retribution awaiting him. Alternatively, they showed the renegade undergoing a spiritual change that resulted in his return to Christianity. The renegade was punished for his apostasy or converted back to his original faith: in both cases, writers demonstrated Islam's failure in retaining its converts and the Christian God's punishment of those who rejected Him. (492)

Matar argues that this literary representation does not correspond with the account given in contemporary travel writing, and thus it is the writers' invention to remonstrate with the evil renegades and to show the English or Christian values.<sup>11</sup> Although such popular representation is limited to the religious reconversion of renegades, Marina's role is more complex. As well as reversing her own danger of turning Turk by abolishing prostitution in the brothel, Marina reforms the sexually corrupted male travellers who symbolise Christians turning Turk.

Although Marina negates sexual trade with men, it does not mean that she fully abandons trade, but rather she changes the form of trade into the exchange of morality. The exchange between Marina and Lysimachus emphasises the analogy between prostitution and preaching. When Lysimachus asks, "how long have you been at this

trade?” (4.6.66-67), Marina interprets the meaning of “trade” as a trade of morality. She thus replies, “I cannot be offended with my trade” (4.6.70). Further, in response to Lysimachus’s query, “How long have you been of this profession?” (4.6.72), Marina changes the meaning of “profession” from the business of prostitution to a confession of faith, and replies, “E’er since I can remember” (4.6.73). In this way, Marina never denies that she is involved in a business but intentionally changes the form of business. Indeed, Lysimachus pays money for her preaching (4.6.105, 113). Therefore, Marina not only corrects men’s corrupted mind but also reforms the ruined commercial system of Mytilene by fundamentally transforming the trade itself.

Marina’s reformation of the Eastern Mediterranean market is a means to confirm the notion of Englishness by proposing the model of the virtuous English gentleman. Although captives were often considered infected by the Muslim culture, MacLean argues that the life of captivity in the Eastern Mediterranean was an opportunity to confirm English identity. MacLean deals with the discourse of imperial envy narrated by the English captives who entered the Ottoman administrative elite. He observes,

Contemporary readers of early modern captivity narratives were certainly being invited to imagine themselves members of a privileged nation, whose numbers included brave men capable of transforming captivity into direct personal agency. (102)

In other words, captives could become a kind of ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. Above all, the representation of English masculinity in the Ottoman land by “[e]xploring different forms of sexuality in the East” (MacLean 102) confirmed the sense of Englishness. For example, MacLean argues that the English captive wearing the Eastern costume represented himself as a feminized man, which is an object of comparison for English masculinity (103-5). In fact, the description of corrupted culture of the Eastern Mediterranean in the English travel writings was a means to praise the Englishman’s virtue. Coryate, who describes the realities of prostitution in Venice, mentions the man who reformed a courtesan:

[T]he godly man tooke occasion to persuade her to the feare of God and religion, and to the reformation of her licentious life, since God was able to prie into the secretest corners of the world. And so at last converted her by this meanes from a wanton Cortezan to a holy and religious woman. In like manner I both wished the conversion of the Cortezan that I saw, and did my endeavour by perswasive termes to convert her, though my speeches could not take the like effect that those of Panutius did. (*Cruidities* 270)

Following Panutius, Coryate himself tried to reform a courtesan. The conversion of a degenerate courtesan was a dream for the Englishman, which Marina realises. Marina is the model of a virtuous person in the estimation of the people around her. Cleon calls her “lady, / Much less in blood than virtue” (4.3.6-7), and Lysimachus estimates her to be “a piece of virtue” (4.6.111). In the brothel, Men’s corruption contrasts with Marina’s virtue. After meeting Marina at the brothel, one gentleman declares, “I’ll do anything now that is virtuous, but I am out of the road of rutting for ever” (4.5.8-9). Similarly, Lysimachus, pretending that he is not interested in prostitution from the outset, remarks, “Had I brought hither a corrupted mind, / Thy speech had altered it” (4.6.104-5). Thus, Marina is the agent who experiences the different form of sexuality in the Eastern Mediterranean, by which she shows the picture of virtuous gentleman.

Furthermore, Marina’s final marriage to Lysimachus represents the introduction of an English value system into Eastern Mediterranean culture. While the owner of the brothel suggests that their customers are mostly travellers, Lysimachus is not a traveller but a native of the land. Through the marriage between Marina and the native Lysimachus, the play represents the reformation of the marriage system in Muslim society. Contemporary writers noticed the difference between the English and Muslim custom of marriage. When William Biddulph compares the Muslim law which allows polygyny with the English marriage system, his explanations are based on the assumption that every Muslim wife is a prostitute. According to Biddulph, “it is lawfull for them to take as many wiues as they will, or as many as they are able to kéepe. And whensoever he disliketh any one of them, it is their vse to sell them or giue them to any

of their men-slaves" (sig. K2<sup>r</sup>). He reveals that Muslim wives are treated as slaves and often traded between men. In contrast,

If the like order were in England, women would be more dutifull and faithfull to their husbands than many of them are: and especially, if there were the like punishment for whores, there would be lesse whoredome: for there, if a man haue an hundred women, if any one of them prostitute herselfe to any man but her owne husband, he hath authoritie to binde her, hands and feet, and cast her into the riuer with a stone about her necke, and drowne her. (Biddulph sig. K2<sup>v</sup>)

His use of the words "whores", "whoredome", and "prostitute" emphasises that the treatment of wife in the marriage system under the Muslim law is equal to prostitution in England. In *Pericles*, Marina avoids prostituting herself to Lysimachus and finally marries him legally. Through the reformation of Lysimachus, she transforms the Muslim custom in which women easily become a kind of prostitute into the English system where women's chastity is respected.

Both the market of sexual pleasure in *Pericles* and the representation of Circe's metamorphosis in *The Comedy of Errors* suggest the Eastern Mediterranean power of transforming Englishman's morality. Yet the representational method differs between the two plays. *The Comedy of Errors* uses the fictional figure of Circe or Sirens and the literary representation of metamorphosis to point out the danger of the Eastern Mediterranean women. The travellers' fear of metamorphosis is thus only symbolic, as Luciana does not mean to seduce Antipholus. In contrast, *Pericles* directly depicts the reality of sexual trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, which is effective to draw the audience into the discussion about the English involvement with its culture. Although the connection between prostitution and religious terms invokes the literary representation of 'turning Turk', the play does not just follow the literary tradition but inverts the direction of 'turning'. While Circe in *The Comedy of Errors* suggests that the English travellers might be allured into degeneration by native women in the Eastern Mediterranean, Marina's function is totally opposite. *Pericles* thus replaces the

transformative power of the Eastern Mediterranean culture depicted in *The Comedy of Errors* with the ideal power of England. During the transition from the early comedy to the late romance, the implication in Shakespeare's Mediterranean drama changed from a mere sign of fearful impact of the Eastern Mediterranean culture to a hopeful presentation of how the Englishman can cope with its power.

#### 4. Pericles' trade of morality

Resonant with Marina's story, Pericles too introduces the trade of morality into the play's economy. Since critics tend to consider that Pericles is travelling in the romantic world, they often point out that "[p]rostitution is the only commercial activity depicted in the play" (Cohen 2713). Indeed, in contrast to the centre of global market in *The Comedy of Errors*, the cities Pericles visits are devoid of markets, and the official trade does not function in the play's world where an immoral form of business is foregrounded. However, Pericles is engaged with mercantile activity during his travel in a different way from *The Comedy of Errors*, for his ideal economic system is related to the notion of what a kingdom should be. I will argue that Pericles, as a prince, establishes the ideal relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean countries through the reformation of the economic system in his journey.

Before Pericles visits, the cities seem to depend on natural resources earned from the sea, which suggests instability of economy in the dramatic world. A fisherman in Pentapolis discloses the reality of life in the country: "Here's them in our country of Greece gets more with begging than we can do with working" (2.1.63-65). No merchants appear in this world, but workers complain about harshness of earning. Hearing that Pericles has never practiced fishing, the fisherman replies, "Nay then thou wilt starve sure; for here's nothing to be got now-a-days unless thou canst fish for't" (2.1.68-70). People in Pentapolis do not seem to have an idea of earning money by trade with other

country, and they talk as if the only means to make a living is gaining provisions by themselves.

Self-sufficiency which causes poverty is described more tragically in Tarsus. In the first scene of Tarsus, the governor Cleon and his wife Dionyza despair at the poverty of the city which was once rich. The city's richness was supported by natural resources, so the city is ruined when it lacks these products:

But see what heaven can do by this our change:  
These mouths who, but of late, earth, sea, and air  
Were all too little to content and please,  
Although they gave their creatures in abundance,  
As houses are defil'd for want of use,  
They are now starv'd for want of exercise; (1.4.33-38)

It is revealed that the city's richness depends on nature, not on the stable trade with other ports. Unlike Ephesus, where the international trade was active, Tarsus cannot hold its wealth because the city does not seem to receive imports from abroad. Like the fishermen in Pentapolis, Cleon thinks that other wealthy cities profit from natural resources:

O, let those cities that of plenty's cup  
And her prosperities so largely taste,  
With their superfluous riots, hear these tears!  
The misery of Tarsus may be theirs. (1.4.52-55)

The cities Pericles visits flourish by its local products, and never share them by the commercial transaction.

Pericles is often compared with James I, and some critics argue that he learns how to serve his kingdom from each city he visits.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, his journey is to become "a true prince" (1.2.124) and his encounter with different cultures is a means to establish his kingdom. In particular, his political activity can be linked with England's endeavour to develop its commercial power in Jacobean period. Since James's peace treaty with Spain in 1604 and commercial treaty with France in 1606, "the political environment, so long inimical to trade, had become exceptionally favourable for investment and growth. And concurrently a series of good home harvests provided a further stimulus to trade" (Dietz 107). Resonant with England's rapid expansion of overseas trade, Pericles' journey is

full of discovery of different economic systems. Steve Mentz argues that Pericles seeks the model of extracting value in order to expand his kingdom. As to his encounter with fishermen in Pentapolis, Mentz observes, “fishing here represents a new way for Pericles to extract value from the water . . . the prince finds on the shores of Pentapolis a new model for deriving sustenance directly from the sea” (72). In this case, he learns from the fishermen a new economic system which helps to strengthen his kingdom. Yet, it does not necessarily mean that he follows the economic system he finds during the travel. Rather, his journey is to reform the established economic system or value system in each city and to confirm his ideal of what an economic form and a kingdom should be.

Pericles introduces a trade into the country which is not established as a mercantile nation. He appears in Tarsus with a ship loaded with corn. However, the trade Pericles offers is not the material exchange like *The Comedy of Errors*. Pericles says, “We do not look for reverence but for love, / And harbourage for ourself, our ships, and men” (1.4.99-100). What he desires is not money nor other commodities but love and security of himself and his company. In Pericles’ romantic journey, economy is described as the exchange of virtue and morality. Pericles introduces in the market-less cities a new form of trade which does not depend on materials and is not aimed at gaining money. Praising his revival of the city by the transaction, citizens in Tarsus “[b]uild his statue to make him glorious” (2.0.14). The impact of his reformation is thus proved by the citizens’ acceptance of his mercantile activity.

Pericles’ ideal form of economy which helps to sustain a kingdom is partly based on the feudalistic idea. As for the relationship between a king and subjects, he declares that he is “no more but as the tops of trees, / Which fence the roots they grow by and defend them” (1.2.30-31). He respects a mutual relationship between a king and subjects, thinking that sustaining the subjects is his duty. He realises this belief in Tarsus, as is expressed in Cleon’s words, “Your Grace, that fed my country with your corn, / For

which the people's prayers still fall upon you" (3.3.18-19). Protecting the citizens of Tarsus by food in exchange for their love, Pericles shows the model of a king to Cleon. Steven Mullaney too finds a feudal relationship between Pericles and people in Tarsus in this transaction: "It is a gift without reserve, a demonstration of legitimate authority in action – of a patriarchal power that does not feed upon its subjects or dependents but rather nourishes and protects them" (138). Mullaney points out that while in Twine's *The Patterne of Painful Adventures* this exchange takes place in the marketplace, *Pericles* does not mention the place, and the play attempts to dissociate itself from the cultural context of early modern commercialism.<sup>13</sup> However, Pericles does not totally abandon commercial activity like Marina's case. In fact, Pericles' story is filled with the words relating to payment, commodities, and shipping. Cleon replies,

The which when any shall not gratify,  
Or pay you with unthankfulness in thought,  
Be it our wives, our children, or ourselves,  
The curse of heaven and men succeed their evils! (1.4.101-4)

Cleon promises to "pay" for the provisions with gratitude, which suggests that it is not a gift but a transaction. Moreover, Pericles' concern, "What shipping and what lading's in our haven" (1.2.48), Helicanus' words that Pericles "puts himself unto the shipman's toil" (1.3.23), and his "ships . . . stor'd with corn" (1.4.92-95) suggest his engagement with mercantile activity. As mentioned before, his chivalric journey to search for a princess too is described as the mercantile adventure to acquire a woman as a commodity. Thus, Pericles is not just a feudal lord but a merchant. In Tarsus, Pericles establishes both the material and spiritual relationship with people, for he exchanges food for love. Therefore, his trade is a fusion of feudalism, an ideal and nostalgic form of exchange, and capitalism, the reality of contemporary commerce.

Pericles repeats this form of trade, for he again offers commodities and demands virtuous acts. When he throws Thaisa's coffin into the sea, he packs spices and jewels into it. As mentioned before, spices invoke commodities in the contemporary Eastern



Mediterranean trade. Yet in the letter Pericles writes, “Besides this treasure for a fee, / The gods requite his charity!” (3.2.74-75). What he attempts to exchange with the “fee” is “charity”, human virtue. Again, his respect for charity is related to his ideal of what a kingdom should be. When Pericles fears Antiochus’ attack on his kingdom, he mentions that all he can do is grieving for the subjects, which is “princely charity” (1.2.100). He thus believes that charity is necessary for the relationship between a king and subjects, which he attempts to establish through the trade with a person he never knows, Cerimon. This transaction results in more than his expectation, for Thaisa is rather revived than buried by Cerimon. This is because Cerimon is famous for his charity, as a gentleman says: “Your honour has / Through Ephesus pour’d forth / Your charity” (3.2.43-45). Gower too appreciates Cerimon’s charity in the epilogue: “In reverend Cerimon there well appears / The worth that learned charity aye wears” (5.3.93-94). Transaction with Pericles succeeds when the trading partner holds enough payment of virtue which Pericles demands.

In contrast, if a person does not have enough virtue, the transaction fails. Pericles requests charity from Cleon, too. When he asks Cleon to look after Marina, he says, “I charge your charity withal [Marina]” (3.3.14). Cleon promises to reward him for providing corn, and Pericles believes him because of his “goodness” (3.3.26). Pericles again exchanges morality with Cleon in this scene, but Cleon fails to raise Marina safely since she is kidnapped by pirates. As opposed to Cerimon, Gower speaks of Cleon as “wicked” (5.3.95). In this way, Pericles’ trade disregards the importance of money or commodities and focuses more on the character’s morality. He spreads to the Eastern Mediterranean world his ideal economic system, by which he controls the economic relationship with each region and expands his authority. Such political and mercantile activity reflects England’s attempt to form a powerful commercial empire, but Pericles’ ideal is different from the contemporary notion of commercialism. Establishing the

quasi-feudal relationship with each city, he reconstructs the economic relationship between England and the Eastern Mediterranean. The nostalgic idea of respecting human virtue in transactions serves to reinforce the contrast between virtuous Englishmen and immorality of the Eastern Mediterranean culture which Marina's story suggests as well.

Replacing the material exchange with the trade of morality, Pericles negates materialism. Yet, the cities Pericles enters are proud of their richness, reflecting the contemporary Eastern Mediterranean cities. Cleon narrates how his country was once rich:

This Tarsus, o'er which I have the government,  
A city on whom plenty held full hand,  
For riches strew'd herself even in her streets;  
Whose towers bore heads so high they kiss'd the clouds,  
And strangers ne'er beheld but wond'ring at;  
Whose men and dames so jettied and adorn'd,  
Like one another's glass to trim them by;  
Their tables were stor'd full, to glad the sight,  
And not so much to feed on as delight;  
All poverty was scorn'd, and pride so great,  
The name of help grew odious to repeat. (1.4.21-31)

People in a gorgeous dress, their pride, and the strangers' wonder at the city invoke the image of the Ottoman land in early modern England. Likewise, the court of Pentapolis is described as luxurious, for the knights participating in the tournament are compared with gems. Simonides remarks,

As jewels lose their glory if neglected,  
So princes their renowns if not respected.  
'Tis now your honour, daughter, to entertain  
The labor of each knight in his device. (2.2.12-15)

Roger Warren compares this speech with Adriana's reference to a jewel in *The Comedy of Errors*, and finds similarity between her words, "yet the gold bides still / That others touch" (2.1.110-11), and the fifth knight's emblem which is "gold that's by the touchstone tried" (2.2.37).<sup>14</sup> As he points out, there is continuous reference to jewel or gold as a reflection of man's status between the two plays, which resonates with the contemporary material culture. In order to marry Thaisa, the knights are required to show

their nobility by their luxurious accessories like emblems, and Thaisa's duty is to receive these materials instead of the knights' passion. However, what Pericles brings with him is only a rusty armour. He does not have any luxurious items, for he sold his only jewel that is not swept away by a wave so that he can buy a horse to participate in the joust (2.1.155-59). In contrast to other knights whose nationality Thaisa mentions, Pericles is repeatedly referred to as a "stranger". As Suzanne Gossett observes, "Thaisa has been able to identify the homelands of three of the other knights, but Pericles is without the furnishings whose distinguishing markings would identify his nationality" (2.2.41.n). Although other knights too are strangers for Thaisa, she says, "He seems to be a stranger" (2.2.42). The stranger here means not only that Pericles is a foreigner but also that he is strange compared to other knights' fashion. As the second lord says, "He well may be a stranger, for he comes / To an honor'd triumph strangely furnished" (2.2.52-53). This scene thus discloses how people judge other's nationality by appearance. In the community where people's identities are represented by luxurious items, only Pericles denies this value system. Because no one can tell Pericles' nativity and personality, the courtiers try to assume them by his appearance:

He had need mean better than his outward show  
Can any way speak in his just commend;  
For by his rusty outside he appears  
To have practic'd more the whipstock than the lance. (2.2.48-51)

However, in response to the exchange between the lords, Simonides remarks, "Opinion's but a fool, that makes us scan / The outward habit by the inward man" (2.2.56-57). In the court, Pericles calls into question the value system in which the national difference as well as men's nobility is confirmed by the luxurious items they own, and he encourages people to look at men's inside.

In fact, the play shows the emptiness of desiring wealth and status, a source of imperial envy. Cerimon, who has enough virtue in the trade of morality with Pericles, observes, "I hold it ever / Virtue and cunning were endowments greater / Than nobleness

and riches” (3.2.26-28). He does not desire “to be thirsty after tottering honor, / Or tie my [his] pleasure up in silken bags, / To please the fool and death” (3.2.40-42). As he mentions silk to criticise seeking profit, he satirises those who desire a luxurious life of the Eastern Mediterranean. While properties are a key to understanding the owner’s identity in *The Comedy of Errors*, Pericles abandons material exchange and resists the materialistic idea to reconstruct the relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean culture. Pericles’ reformation of economic system suggests the lifestyle which no more depends on the Eastern Mediterranean goods.

In conclusion, *Pericles* foregrounds the immoral form of trade, piracy and prostitution, which reflects the English ambiguous attitude to the involvement with the Eastern Mediterranean commerce. Although both businesses were considered as a disturbance to the ideal image of England or the Englishman, their desire for the rich and seductive power of the Eastern Mediterranean kept strengthening the connection with its culture. The increase of English seamen who joined the Muslim pirates in Jacobean period was a source of anxiety since it destabilised the self-image of England as a powerful commercial empire. While pirates were often described as evil, barbarous, or impedimental to the commonwealth by the government and some writers, the distinction between pirates and merchants was actually ambiguous. Likewise, Italian prostitutes were famous as a cause of Englishmen’s depravity, yet they allured many male travellers from England. Reflecting this anxiety for moral corruption, the characters in *Pericles* refer to their morality whenever they are engaged in trade. The two businesses salient in the play function not only to invoke the contemporary Englishman’s fear and fascination in the encounter with the Eastern Mediterranean economy but also to show the way to deal with the dilemma by describing how Marina and Pericles introduce the new form of trade into the economic bloc. Although Marina is thrown into the danger of degeneration in the brothel, she rather reforms male travellers as well as the commercial

system of brothel itself. Pericles as well, calling into question the material culture in which men's nobility is confirmed by their luxurious items, replaces the material exchange with the trade of morality. Constructing his ideal economic system in each city is a means to confirm his idea about the way to strengthen his kingdom as well as to expand his authority in the world. Through Marina and Pericles' reformation of the commercial system, the play contrasts immorality of the Eastern Mediterranean culture with the ideal notion of Englishness and thus pictures a self-image of virtuous English gentleman. While *The Comedy of Errors* only describes the English ambiguous attitude to the Eastern Mediterranean culture and the travellers from Syracuse are helpless before the fearful world, *Pericles* succeeds in reversing the power relation between England and the Eastern Mediterranean. The reversal of the relation with the dominant Eastern Mediterranean culture reflects the Englishman's desire to attain its power, which comes from imperial envy.

## Conclusion

I have analysed Shakespeare's two Mediterranean plays, *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*, in order to examine how these plays reveal the ambivalent English relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean world which constructed and deconstructed the notion of Englishness through commercial and cultural transaction in the early modern period. Chapter I offered an examination of the plays' geographical and cultural background. Critics tend to consider that the plays' geography is based on the ancient world which comes from the plays' sources. However, by investigating the contemporary image of the Eastern Mediterranean, I demonstrated that it is possible to reconsider the reason for vagueness or lack of exactitude of the geographic description in the two plays. Their geographic ambiguity comes not from Shakespeare's lack of knowledge but from his attempt to infuse the contemporary notion of the Eastern Mediterranean world as an aggregation, where various regions and cultures are complexly intermingled. In fact, early modern literature and travel writing described the Eastern Mediterranean as a mixture of race, religion, and time. Shakespeare's drama represents the function of this topsy-turvy world which mixes up any binary oppositions and erases the cultural differences. Thus, the experience of characters travelling in that world serves to call into question the solid notion of Englishness. Further, Shakespeare's Eastern Mediterranean discloses the English ambivalent relationship to its culture. Because of their contradictory feelings—the desire to imitate the Eastern Mediterranean culture as well as to differentiate Englishness from it—the Eastern Mediterranean world cannot be defined as England's explicit "other". Therefore, the relationship with that world affected the formation of English identity in a very complex way, which is represented in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles*.

In chapter II, I analysed Shakespeare's early comedy, *The Comedy of Errors*, in

terms of the commercial and educational transaction with the Eastern Mediterranean. I suggested that the two dimensions are related to the construction and deconstruction of the early modern notion of Englishness, for the importation of the Eastern Mediterranean commodities and a travel to the Eastern Mediterranean contributed to the English gentleman's self-fashioning. Both were also considered a cause of Englishman's depravity. In the play's commercial world which reflects the contemporary Levantine trade, the exchange of domestic items is involuntarily entangled with the international trade because of the twins' mistaken identities. The confusion between domestic items and commodities of Mediterranean trade represents the English aspiration for owning luxury items from the Eastern Mediterranean as a means of self-fashioning. The characters depend on their properties representing the owner so much that their roles are easily replaced by someone through the material exchange. Resonant with the contemporary discussion about moral corruption of the Englishman who imitates the Eastern Mediterranean culture, the play suggests the danger of confounding the self-image of the Englishman by dependence on the Eastern Mediterranean goods. The anxiety about the unstable notion of Englishness is also represented by the travellers' fear of metamorphosis which is reinforced by the Duke's reference to Circe. Early modern travel writings and literary works often mentioned Circe or used the rhetoric of metamorphosis to warn the English travellers against their moral corruption by seductive foreign women. The travellers Antipholus and Dromio, too, are allured by native women, though they fear the women's metamorphic power. *The Comedy of Errors* thus reveal the English desire to absorb the Eastern Mediterranean culture as well as the fear of being absorbed into the culture.

In chapter III, I analysed the late romance *Pericles*. In contrast to *The Comedy of Errors*, the lawful trade does not function in the world of *Pericles*. Instead, the play foregrounds the immoral form of business, piracy and prostitution, in order to describe

how Marina and Pericles reform these economic systems which were considered as impedimental to the self-image of virtuous Englishman in the early modern period. During the period when the number of English seamen joining Muslim pirates increased, it was conventional to contrast the evil pirates with the heroic English merchants, yet the distinction between pirates and merchants was actually ambiguous. Representing the anxiety about becoming pirates, that is, the anxiety about corrupting morality by trade, the characters in the play always refer to morality when they are engaged in any kinds of transaction. Especially, the story of Marina, who is suddenly kidnapped by pirates and sold to the brothel, suggests the fear of being entangled with the violent commerce of the Eastern Mediterranean. Italian prostitutes too were famous for depraving the Englishman, although such women allured travellers from all over the world. The play describes how female characters become commodities in the multicultural market of sexual trade. However, Marina is not affected by the immoral life of the Eastern Mediterranean, but rather reforms the customers of the brothel and its economic system itself. Likewise, Pericles introduces the trade of morality into the cities he travels to. Negating materialism, he replaces the material exchange with the new form of trade which respects human virtue. He realises his ideal economic system which he believes strengthens a kingdom, and he expands his authority by controlling the economic relationship with the cities. Thus, I argued, Marina and Pericles subvert the power relation between England and the Eastern Mediterranean, which reflects the English desire to establish the solid notion of Englishness and build a powerful kingdom. *Pericles* describes not only the English ambivalent feeling about being involved in the Eastern Mediterranean culture, but also the way to contend with the dilemma.

Therefore, Shakespeare's two Mediterranean plays represent English contradictory feeling towards the Eastern Mediterranean culture. The plays' multicultural world enables the transaction of commodities, cultures, and people, which



affected the formation of the notion of what the Englishman is in the early modern period. However, while *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* are set in the same geographic area, the dramatic process of establishing the relationship with the Eastern Mediterranean differs between the two plays. As Marina's role reverses the function of Circe in *The Comedy of Errors*, the characters in *Pericles* who represent the English virtue acquire the Eastern Mediterranean power of transforming travellers in comparison with the helpless travellers from Syracuse. The transition from the early comedy to the late romance accompanies the shift in the way to deal with the feared but fascinating culture.

This study on the continuous but changing representation of Shakespeare's Mediterranean world has demonstrated that he infuses the contemporary image of the world into his Mediterranean plays including even one of the most romantic plays. Although the settings of *The Comedy of Errors* and *Pericles* are often considered as just a fairy land or the romantic world, we can see how these plays deal with the complexity of the relationship between England and the Eastern Mediterranean in the early modern period. If my argument were examined in relation to Shakespeare's other Mediterranean plays, it could offer the opportunity to reconsider Shakespeare's understanding of the plays' geography. In addition, this thinking could encourage a reconsideration of his use of space and the way in which it is closely related to characters' experience, especially as many in these plays are travellers. As this study has shown, the way in which the travellers struggle with the powerful world they are thrown into reveals not only that their self-image is transformed by the space but also that they attempt to control the space to establish their self-image. The study of fictional encounter with other strange worlds will always contribute to exploring how Shakespeare's drama enters the contemporary discussion of what the Englishman should be and wants to be.

## Notes

1. As for the citation of early printed texts, I basically add signature numbers unless they are not provided in the original text, in which case I add page numbers.
2. William Warner's translation of *Menaechmi* was published after *The Comedy of Errors* but Shakespeare may have read the manuscript version.
3. It is generally accepted that *Pericles* is coauthored by Shakespeare and George Wilkins, who is the author of the novella, *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre* (1608). The play's authorship has been much studied through the analysis of language, and most critics conclude that acts one and two are written by Wilkins. For example, M. W. A. Smith analyses first words of speeches, while MacD. P. Jackson investigates the rhymes in *Pericles* and Wilkins' *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (1607). As a result, both Smith and Jackson demonstrate that the author of acts one and two is Wilkins.
4. In this thesis, all citations from Shakespeare's works are based on *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed.
5. This is cited by Lawrence Danson, who relates Othello's fear of "turning Turk" to the hybridity of the Mediterranean. For further discussion, see Danson 5.
6. For Vitkus' discussion about Bhabha's theory, see Vitkus *Turning Turk* 12-14.
7. Samuel Chew observes that tapestries were not produced in Turkey, so they may imply carpets which England imported from Turkey in this period (182).
8. For further discussion, see Richardson 37-63.
9. Richard Henze argues that the chain, as well as ropes, symbolise the cohesion of society, discussing that "the misplacement of the chain and weakening of the bonds bring distrust, confusion, loss of social stability" (40).
10. See Crane 49.
11. For example, Matar treats Robert Daborn's *A Christian turn'd Turke* (1612) and

Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* (1624): "while Daborn had shown the renegade's horrid death, Massinger dramatized the renegade's return to Christ; while Daborn frightened his audience away from Islam, Massinger showed that same London audience Christianity's victory over Islam" (496).

12. The studies on Pericles' political activity as a reflection of James' are various, depending on the idea about whether Pericles succeeds to control the circumstances in each city. Bradin Cormack examines James' strategy for expansion of British empire. According to Cormack, through establishing the diplomatic relationship with the cities he travels to, "Pericles is reinventing the national identity disrupted by his jurisdictional displacement as an imperial or transnational identity" (161). In contrast, Stuart M. Kurland points out Pericles' powerlessness during his travel and links his abandonment of political duty in Tyre with the popular belief in James' indifference to the state affairs.

13. Examining *Pericles* in terms of the tensions between Shakespearean playhouse and the contemporary London society, Mullaney argues that the play attempts to be distant from the commercial activity of the period in order to show the marginality of the playhouse. The only exception is the brothel as a marketplace, where Marina changes the bawdy house into a playhouse. According to Mullaney, "she ruins her masters' trade not by driving them out of business but by converting a licensed yet illicit sexual transaction into the stage setting for a more theatrical form of exchange" (144). For further discussion, see Mullaney 135-51.

14. See Warren 128-29.

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