CARTOGRAPHY AND THE CRAFT OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PROSE



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Abstract

This thesis is an examination of the influence of practical geography and cartography, as taught in the English universities, on seventeenth-century prose. Much previous work on the connection between literary work and cartography has proceeded on terms alien to the language of this teaching, mainly those of 'space' and 'representation'. My introduction instead surveys the language of the Latinate textbooks through which university teachers in geography communicated their art, showing that the inculcation of prudence, mental reformation, and habitual character-formation were the desired effects of learning to read maps. Relating these new emphases to the post-Aristotelian concept of *habitus* so popular in humanist pedagogy, the introduction closes by showing the geographical *habitus*'s effect on Jean Bodin and John Milton.

Four chapters examine the influence of this mental and behavioural view of cartography's virtues on an individual author, each of whom, much criticism has argued, reflect the major currents in prose-style during the century. Francis Bacon's metaphors of mapping illustrate the shared communicative purpose of cartography and figurative language in theories of education, and this connection is shown to have bearing on Bacon's ambitions for the reform of learning. Robert Burton's half-parodic program of curing melancholy contains much praise of mapping's imaginatively pleasurable *varietas*, a praise recognisably shaped by the pedagogical background. Thomas Fuller projected a personal style of politically-inflected 'moderation' in his maps of the Holy Land, pairing his cartographic style with his rhetorical party-pleasing as a single project. John Aubrey used his scribbled 'prospect-drawings' to develop an idiosyncratic, chaotically 'delightful' view of antiquarian practice and the mind's reform. The conclusion reviews the familiar, misleading and oddly similar historiography of prose and geography over the century, arguing that these four authors represent a historical *hiatus*, where the concerns of 'science' and 'objectivity' were not cardinal virtues of thought.

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My first debt of gratitude, and my largest, is owed to my supervisor, Dr. Kathryn Murphy. Katie has been a taproot of support, warmth, humour, and insight for the duration of this DPhil, and the MSt out of which it emerged. I can imagine no other supervisor who, while offering suggestions for research which left the intellectual content of this thesis far better than I am capable of alone, could at the same time notice and rectify (twice) an incorrect medial sigma buried in a long footnote, in successive versions of a chapter (Ch. 2, note 25). If anybody reads this thesis with half the attention with which Katie has, I will feel it has been more than worthwhile. Many other members of the Oxford English Faculty and beyond have read work towards this thesis with generosity and care, some when they were in no way obliged to: Prof. Adam Smyth, Dr. Kate Bennett, Prof. Peter McCullough, Prof. Nandini Das, Prof. Lorna Hutson, and Dr. William Poole all offered insightful and improving comments. Teaching has played a significant role in the thought behind this project. Those who trusted me with their students are to be greatly thanked: Dr. Laura Ludtke, Dr. Michael Mayo, Prof. Abigail Williams, Prof. Marina Mackay, and of course the students themselves. Dr. Eric Langley, Dr Rachel E. Holmes, and Prof. Alison Shell were among the earliest supporters of this project and its author. The librarians of the Bodleian are the *sine quibus non* of any original primary research apparent in these pages.

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Isabella Figueiredo's love, scepticism, eccentricity, intelligence and care remind me that writing this thesis was, in the event, the smaller half of the past few years.

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A Note on Conventions, Abbreviations, and Texts

I have omitted place of publication from modern works when citing publishers. In older works, I have kept place of publication and (where possible) the name of the publisher or printer, as being of potential historiographical importance. Place of publication for all works can be found in the Bibliography. I have chosen on a case-by-case basis whether to use a modern edition of early modern works, or to rely on the original printing, though I have sought in as many cases as possible to preserve original spelling (hence the nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions of Fuller, Burton and Aubrey, with modernised spelling, have not been cited, and Spedding, Ellis and Heath's edition of Bacon used only when not superseded by the more recent *Oxford Francis Bacon* and the original text or manuscript unavailable). In the Introduction and first three chapters I have followed a policy of low intervention when transcribing original material, in both manuscript and print, expanding abbreviations with italicised letters, and preserving all other points of orthography. The thorny matter of transcribing Aubrey is considered fully in the footnotes to Chapter 4. Likewise, I have in all chapters but the fourth cited works by the chapters' subjects in the body of the text; in Chapter 4, because Aubrey frequently requires further bibliographical description when citing his manuscripts, I have moved references to his works to the footnotes.

I have kept abbreviations in the footnotes to a minimum, with five exceptions. The volumes of the *History of Cartography* project are cited as *HOC*, along with their volume number; entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s online edition are cited as *OED*; entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*'s online edition are cited as *ODNB*; Lewis and Short's Latin dictionary is cited as *Lewis and Short*; the more recent Brill dictionary of Ancient Greek is cited with a short title throughout, as is Liddell and Scott's older Greek dictionary. Full references to all of these sources can be sought in the Bibliography.

All translations in this thesis, where not otherwise indicated, are my own.

Introduction

I—Prolegomena

Quos tardè disco, disco tamen, abiicioque,
Admittorque meo quaeque probare modo.
Admoveor Physicae, conflataque cuncta Magister
Materia & Forma, ut partibus, esse docet;
Et Species rerum volitando per aera, formas
Donare hinc oculis, auribus inde sonos.
Multos Effectus tribuit Syn- & Anti-pathiae,
Et supra captum talia multa meum.
Ergo ad amoena magis me verto, librosque revolvo,
Queis prius instructus, non bene doctus eram.
Pascebamque animum Chartis imitantibus Orbem,
Telluris faciem, & Sydera picta videns:
Gaudebam Soli comes ire, & cernere cunctis
Terricolis justos qua facit arte dies.
Tempore sed justo cum Baccalaureus Artis
Essem (namque hic est primus in Arte gradus)
Oxonium linquo…[1]

[Those things which I learned late, I nevertheless learned, and mastered, and I was permitted to examine anything in my own fashion. I was moved towards physics, and my tutor taught that all things were put together from matter and form, as if from parts; he also taught that the *species* of things, by flying through the air, presented forms to the eyes, and sounds to the ears. He attributed great effects to Sympathy and Antipathy, and many such things beyond my comprehension. Therefore, I turned to more pleasant matters, and re-read some books, by which I had been previously informed, but not quite taught. I also nourished my mind with maps which imitated the globe, and the surface of the earth, seeing too the stars figured there: I rejoiced to travel as the sun's companion, and see with what skill it made the days suitable for all the earth-dwellers. But at the precise time when I was a Bachelor of Arts (for this is the first degree in the Arts), I left Oxford…]

Here, in Thomas Hobbes's verse autobiography, the Monster of Malmesbury recounted his apparently unpleasant encounter with Aristotelian physics and metaphysics at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and the measures he took to refresh his sluggish spirit.[2] The only one of these measures which he named was the reading of maps, which he used to 'nourish' [*pascere*] his mind, or soul [*animum*]. Hobbes's nostalgic

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[1] *Thomae Hobbes Angli Malmesburiensis Philosophi Vita*, London, 1682, 58.

[2] For a summary of this part of Hobbes's life, see Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes*, Oxford UP, 2002, 3-5. On the unreliability of later polemical accounts of education and its shortcomings in early-century Oxford, see Mordechai Feingold, 'The Humanities', in *The History of the University of Oxford Volume IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, Oxford UP, 1997, 211-357, esp. 247ff.

sense that this reading was an extracurricular, private, and almost naughty pursuit was not altogether honest: at Oxford and Cambridge between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, geography began to be cultivated as a fitting pursuit for the young student; imperial ambition, the expanded tutorial system, and the appointment of college lecturers in the subject combined to vastly widen the scope of the curriculum's content.[3] Nevertheless, to connect Hobbes with cartography, especially in the context of an anti-Aristotelian passage, might seem to raise two images of seventeenth-century 'modernity'—the one an anticlerical, heretical partisan of new 'scientific' methods of explanation, the other an increasingly objective, epistemologically authoritative, and territorially domineering mode of portraying the world, as Lesley Cormack summarised: 'mathematical geography allowed scholars to create an abstract, geometrical globe on which to place England and the rest of the known world. They reduced the world to a system they could understand and in so doing began to tame it'.[4] Scholarship has often seen institutionalised cartography as a stereotypically 'scientific' discipline, which has carried with it all the critical panegyrics and counterblasts attendant on the pretensions to objectivity and accuracy in that conception of 'science'.[5]

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[3] See the authoritative account in Lesley Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography and the English Universities, 1580-1620*, Chicago: Chicago UP, 1997. See also J.N.L Baker, 'Academic Geography in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 51.3 (1935): 129-44.

[4] Cormack, '"Good Fences Make Good Neighbors": Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England', *Isis* 82.4 (1991): 639-61, 661. For a summary account of changes in European cartography in the period up to the mid-seventeenth century, see David Woodward, 'Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change', in *HOC3* , 3-24.

[5] Recent studies of the literary resistance to an apparently totalising, domineering 'cartographic' project include Chris Barrett, *Early Modern Literature and the Poetics of Cartographic Anxiety*, Oxford UP, 2018; Adam Sills, *Against the Map: The Politics of Geography in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Virginia UP, 2021. For a wider-ranging, influential critique of cartography and adjacent practices of 'objectivity', see Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 2007; for a critique specific to cartography, see J. B. Harley, 'Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe,' *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57–76. These works have grown up in parallel with the minor critical industry of 'counter-mapping' studies, inaugurated by Nancy Peluso, 'Whose Woods are These?: Counter-mapping Forest Territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia', *Antipode* 27.4 (1995): 383-406.

The purpose of this thesis is altogether elsewhere. I illustrate instead a culture of geographical learning, and its influence on the period's prose, that is alien to straightforward notions of 'objectivity' and epistemological domination, and which responds more closely to a strand of thought on show in Hobbes's particular vocabulary in the passage above.[6] '*Pascebamque animum*'—the locution recalls a two-century-old paradigm, outlined most clearly by one typical university textbook from nearly a century before Hobbes's autobiography was published: geography is the discipline, the textbook declares, with which 'those who are somewhat more prudent, are accustomed to nourish [*pascere*] both the mind [*mentem*] and the sight [*aspectum*] with the variety, both most pleasing and most useful, of geographical maps [*tabularum Geographicarum*]'.[7] The substantial content of these textbooks—written and set, *pace* Hobbes, by university teachers—most often trudges through matter-of-fact explanations of the meridians, parallels, equinoxes, and various problems attendant on the rudiments of cartographic practice. But in passages like these, which abound in the textbooks, the authors are clear that students should take a specific mental effect from learning how maps work, one which is both 'nourishing', 'pleasing' [*gratissima*] and 'useful' [*utilissima*]. The result is, as the textbook sets out, that maps 'render their minds [...] more prepared for every sort of discipline', not only the knowledge of matters geographical.[8] Learning to read maps developed cognitive competence in the general practice of student life.[9] It is this view of practical geography as a habitually-nurtured, behaviour-forming, and mentally beneficial activity, and its outworking into the animating questions of four authors' work,

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[6] For a fuller treatment of Hobbes's work and cartography, see Pat Moloney, 'Hobbes, Savagery and International Anarchy', *The American Political Science Review* 105.1 (2011): 189-204.

[7] 'Haec est [disciplina], [...] ubi [...] tabularum Geographicarum, cum utilissima, tum gratissima varietate me*n*tem simul & aspectum pascere, qui paullo sunt cordatiores, consuescant'. Jacobus Chynaeus [James Cheyne], *Cosmographia sive geographia de Iacobi Cheyneii ab Arnage I. V. Doctoris, duobus libris comprehensa*, Douai: Balthasar Bellère, 1599 [2nd. ed], sig. B2^{r}.

[8] ' Illæ mentes non omnino abiectas ad omne disciplinarum genus instructiores reddunt': Cheyne, *Cosmographia*, sig. B2^{v}.

[9] On the university disciplines as cognitive conditioning, and the consequence of this for literary work, see Katrin Ettenhuber, *The Logical Renaissance: Literature, Cognition and Argument, 1479-1630*, Oxford UP, 2023, *et ad indicem* for various local, less pedagogically oriented references to studies of literary cognition.

that this thesis describes. What follows in this introduction will develop in detail a sense of university pedagogy's emphasis on the cognitive effects of geographical education. Initially, however, in order to note the need in literary criticism for such a revised sense of how cartography was encountered by students of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the recent critical terrain of studies comparing literature with mapping, which has proved remarkably fertile, must be surveyed.

II—Space, Representation and Authority: The Critical Landscape

The monumental *History of Cartography* series, the single most comprehensive scholarly resource on all periods of map history, has supplied nearly every author since 1987 who has traced literature's relationship to cartography with a working definition of their non-literary corpus: 'maps are graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world'.[10] The seeming transparency and capaciousness of this definition has dictated much of the analytical scope of subsequent work; it has circumscribed the field of what 'maps' constituted for readers both early modern and modern. Its language, however, is not neutral: in this section and the next, I will outline how the critical use of its categories, specifically 'representation' and the 'spatial', and the hasty connection that is often made from these concepts to those of authority, control, and epistemological domination, have led as much to the exclusion of material relevant to the literary reception of early modern geographical thought as to its inclusion.

Studies of early modern cartography and literature usually position themselves in some relation to the foundational work of Richard Helgerson, who first published *Forms of Nationhood* in 1992.[11]

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[10] J.B. Harley and David Woodward, 'Preface', in *HOC1*, xv-xxi, xvi.

[11] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England,* Chicago UP, 1992, esp. Ch. 3: 'The Land Speaks', 105-48. This chapter was first published in 1986, as 'The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England', *Representations* 16 (1986): 51-85.

Helgerson's aim was to show how cartography and poetry during Elizabeth's reign combined to create a vision of absolute royal power, followed by an ironic subversion of this power at the turn of the seventeenth century, where Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* and the more localised discipline of chorography refigured the English land and its particularities as central to a national self-image, rather than showing the presence of absolute sovereignty at all levels of life. The result was that 'while rivers and woods, towns and castles, even political boundaries appear on maps as features intrinsic to the land, explicit symbols of royal control are necessarily made to look marginal, merely decorative, and thus ultimately dispensable'.[12] I do not intend to assess this claim on its own terms, though recent years have seen substantial challenges to this view of cartography, chorography and 'localism'.[13] Worth noticing, however, are the methodological terms with which Helgerson frames his argument:

> Maps [...] could never be ideologically neutral, could never be mere tools, whether of monarchic centralism or of any other organization of power. They inevitably entered into systems of relation with other representational practices and, in doing so, altered the meaning and the authority of all the others.[14]

Behind the characteristic language of the New Historicism, outlining 'systems of relation' between a devotedly plural group of texts, Helgerson is rehearsing the *History of Cartography* project's definition here: maps, and 'other representational practices'. That is to say, maps and poetry, drama, travel writing, prose-fiction (alongside other more ephemeral documents of New Historicism's preoccupation with the exercise and representation of power). If cartography is to be scrutinised only in so far as it 'relates to' other such practices, it is to the exclusion of material which does not 'represent'. As this thesis argues, we miss significant aspects of geographical thought's influence if this is the case.

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[12] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 112.

[13] See Sills, *Against the Map*, 2-10; Lorna Hutson, *England's Insular Imaginings: The Elizabethan Erasure of Scotland*, Cambridge UP, 2023, 76-7.

[14] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 147.

Other works of the 1990s, though framed in very different national and theoretical contexts, tended to construct their corpora in similar fashions. Tom Conley's *The Self-Made Map* (1996) took French literature as its domain, charting 'the new importance afforded to the *self* and the self's relation to national space' in early modern France, taking the similarly New Historicist concept of 'self-fashioning' to show how 'the' French self 'acquired a consciousness of its autonomy through modes of positioning that are developed into both textual and gridded representations of reality'.[15] Conley's book is welcome in its capacious choice of texts, including Rabelais and Montaigne alongside more typically 'cartographic' works. However, he is telling in his definition of 'cartographic writing', the book's operative concept: 'writings can be called "cartographic" insofar as tensions of space and of figuration inhere in the fields of printed discourse'.[16] The constellated terms stated by and implied in the definition offered by *The History of Cartography* still dominate, offering with various emphases 'space', 'representation', and 'figuration' as the jointures connecting literature and mapping as disciplines, and Conley makes the further point that such 'cartographic' operations are engaged in an agonistic process of self-assertion and the assumption of authority through literature: 'earlier works evince a cartographic consciousness and a sense of selfhood in the ways that their discourse is gridded or allegorised through appeal to spatial rhetoric'.[17] Conley and others coin the adjective 'cartographic' to imply a range of connected concepts which, I argue below, are to be found comparatively rarely in the material through which practical geography as a discipline took shape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the 'cartographic' in recent criticism does not map on to *geographia* (the

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[15] Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France*, Minnesota UP, 1996, 2. On self-fashioning, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*, Chicago UP, 1979.

[16] Conley, *Self-Made Map*, 3.

[17] Conley, *Self-Made Map*, 23. See also, for characteristic books of this critical period, John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, Cambridge UP, 1994; Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590–1612,* Cambridge UP, 1996.

university-study where mapping and map-reading were taught through many resources, not only maps themselves) as neatly as it might.

Henry Turner's treatment of literature and mapping in the *History of Cartography*'s third volume develops this conceptual vocabulary: 'those texts that adopt formal conventions that are most closely analogous to the techniques of cartographic representation will be of particular importance. These textual conventions would include any technique of objectification, abstraction, reduction, or idealization'.[18] With 'cartographic representation' the assumed topic, the politics and forms of 'representation' were increasingly called into question. This critique of 'representation' and its various epistemological and political agendas has been especially prominent in some of the most recent works on literature and cartography. Chris Barrett's *Early Modern Literature and the Poetics of Cartographic Anxiety* (2018) sets out from a position that, rather than connecting literature and mapping through the question of 'representation', divides them. Taking authorial anxiety as its governing trope, Barrett outlines how a group of writers' 'articulated anxiety becomes poetically generative, producing works that examine, challenge, and reform literature's own techniques for spatial representation. [...] In seeking to reform its own practices of making meaning, literature exploited the opportunity to distinguish itself from the map'.[19] What this amounted to, in the poetic work of Edmund Spenser, Michael Drayton, and John Milton, was a critique of cartography *tout court*: 'what emerges from literary efforts to absorb, to explore, to harness, to mimic, to deploy, or to challenge the map is a sense of the cartographic as being, ultimately, representationally insufficient, while claiming a kind of

[18] Henry S. Turner, 'Literature and Mapping in Early Modern England, 1520–1688', in *HOC3*, 412-26, here 424. For Turner's book-length treatment of these questions in relation to the 'representational practice' of drama, see *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts*, Oxford UP, 2006.
[19] Barrett, *Cartographic Anxiety*, 3.

representational sufficiency pretending to the objective'.[20] Internal contention between 'representational practices', rather than literature and cartography as representational 'sister arts', is Barrett's revised focus.[21] This turn towards negative relationships between disciplines, however, preserves the basic category of literature and cartography's differing abilities to be sufficiently 'representative'.

This is also the case with Adam Sills's *Against the Map* (2021), which takes the later seventeenth-century resistance to a different form of cartographic 'absolutism' as its topic. Sills makes no apologies for generalisation, arguing that 'the map engenders and promotes a particular politics of space that invariably serves the interests of a hegemonic national or imperial power against those who would challenge or upend its authority'.[22] While advancing a helpful critique of scholarly assumptions of 'the congruence between the map and various literary works' along abstractedly 'spatial' lines, Sills outlines the literary production of Foucauldian 'heterotopias', or spaces which somehow resist the inevitably domineering activity of 'the' map, in the work of Bunyan, Behn, Swift, Defoe and Johnson.[23] A 'heterotopia', for Sills, is a space constructed in literature which 'resists being reduced to the cartographic projection yet, in that act of resistance, still internalises the imperative to impose a sense of order and coherency on the spatial heterogeneity of early modern Britain'.[24] That is to say, it is a representational challenge, still 'cartographic' in a broader sense, which operates through a literary form of representation which is inherently more just to local particularity than the 'abstraction' and

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[20] Barrett, *Cartographic Anxiety*, 18.

[21] An earlier example of contention between literature and 'spatial arts' is given in Turner, *Renaissance Stage*, Ch. 8: 'Ben Jonson's Scenography', 244-78. For Poetry and Painting as the early modern paradigm of 'sister arts', see Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric*, Clarendon Press, 1988, Ch. 7: 'Rhetoric and the Sister Arts', 340-74.

[22] Sills, *Against the Map*, 2

[23] Sills, *Against the Map*, 12,

[24] Sills, *Against the Map*, 11.

'reduction' which Turner identified at the heart of a mapping impulse during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The quietly polemical valorisation of literature's capacity to 'represent' space, that is, to do justice to its experiential, social and cultural complexity has, indeed, been one preoccupation of criticism which negatively contrasts writing and mapping.[25]

This brief survey has necessarily excluded much valuable work, and has inevitably effaced the details of these books' local analyses of early modern writing.[26] But their methodological allegiances, where the relative sufficiencies and insufficiencies of competing media in their representations of space (and the concomitant impression of a power-struggle over 'cartographic' authority) is the battleground on which they raise their banners, are unmistakable. Following the *History of Cartography*'s definition, this criticism has treated 'maps' as objects to be evaluated by their techniques of representation, their correspondence to the represented space, and their relation to other mimetic disciplines. There have, though, been notable exceptions: Jess Edwards's unjustly neglected book, *Circles in the Sand*, advances an extended critique, along poststructuralist and sociological lines, of work which relates literature and mapping on the grounds of abstract, uncontextualised 'space'.[27] While retaining 'space' as a central concept, Edwards is forceful in his deconstruction of that category: 'The illustrations I include here tend to be examples less of spatial representation than of discourses on spatial representation. This is a book which makes little attempt to read maps "themselves", dealing instead with their cultural currency in textual discourse. [...] I think early modern geometry and

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[25] See, e.g., Morgan Ng, 'Milton's Maps', *Word and Image* 29.4 (2013): 428-42.

[26] The more influential texts I have omitted here include Frank Lestringant, *Écrire la Monde: Quinze Études sur Rabelais, Postel, Bodin et Littérature Geographique*, Paradigme, 1993; Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plow: the Representation of Agrarian England, 1500-1660*, Cambridge UP, 1996; Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature and Empire in Early Modern Spain*, Chicago UP, 2003.

[27] Edwards, *Writing, Geometry and Space in Seventeenth-Century England and America: Circles in the Sand*, Routledge, 2006.

geography were radically rhetorical and remain meaningless beyond language. They cannot, in themselves, be read'.[28] Edwards instead advances a reading of early modern 'mathematical practitioners' as manifesting a distinctly Protestant 'culture of discipline', promoting themselves as mediators of the world for the benefit of their students.[29] This thesis is in sympathy with Edwards's view of the 'radically rhetorical' character of early modern cartography and geography, though the grounds of my argument will be less reliant on modern theory, and more on 'rhetoric' as it was understood by seventeenth-century university students.

Edwards is also critical of the two master theorists of the literary-cartographic connection, whose influence is worth summarising: from within the discipline of historical geography, J.B. Harley; from the philosophical tradition without, Michel de Certeau. Working from the outside in, de Certeau's influence on recent work is difficult to overstress. In the third part of *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 'Spatial Practices', de Certeau writes in a fashion which presupposes 'representation' as a simultaneously dominant and insufficient category, especially with regard to the 'cartographic': imagining himself standing atop the Empire State Building and surveying New York, he asks,

> is the immense texturology spread out before one's eyes anything more than a representation, an optical artifact? It is the analogue of the facsimile produced, through a projection that is a way of keeping aloof, by the space planner urbanist, city planner or cartographer. The panorama-city is a "theoretical" (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices. The voyeur-god created by this fiction, who [...] knows only cadavers, must disentangle himself from the murky intertwining daily behaviours and make himself alien to them.[30]

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[28] Edwards, *Circles in the Sand*, 12.

[29] The 'mathematical practitioners' were first identified as a social and institutional group in the foundational book by E.G.R Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England*, Cambridge UP, 1954.

[30] De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* [1980], trans. Steven Rendall, California UP, 1984, 92-3. Cf. Conley, *Self-Made Map,* 6: 'the self's emergence is evinced when discourse and geography are coordinated, and the self becomes autonomous only (1) when it is fixed to an illusion of a geographic truth (often of its own making) and (2) when it can be detached from the coordinates that mark its point of view, its history, its formation, and the aesthetics and politics of its signature'. De Certeau is engaged approvingly at length in Barrett, *Cartographic Anxiety*, 12-15.

The negative political and aesthetic reading of 'cartographic' epistemology is exceptionally clear here: as a historian and theoretician of 'practice', de Certeau abominates all 'representations' which do not do justice to quotidian, 'practical' activity. A significant number of the critical works which I have discussed cite de Certeau, if not approvingly, at least as definitive of the violence which mapping does to the realm of 'place', which is characterised by 'specificity, hauntedness, and particularisation by social transactions', and betrayed by what is 'nothing more than a representation'.[31] De Certeau's post-Heideggerian adherence to the supremacy of the 'murky intertwining daily behaviours', the 'real' experience masked by visual and 'representative' media, has proved remarkably influential in its assumptions, and has often proved restrictive of the categories used in literary criticism.

De Certeau's critique was given substantial historical content at the turn of the 1990s by J.B. Harley, who is most often the first name on reading lists in the history of cartography. Harley's series of articles attempted to create a critical corpus for a study of 'the rhetoric of the map', based on the observed fact that 'maps [were] being read as literary texts rather than as a mechanical replication of technical processes, by an increasing number of scholars', and the contention that 'rhetoric is part of the way all texts work and that all maps are rhetorical texts'.[32] Profoundly shaped by the New Historicism and contemporary literary criticism, Harley belatedly opened up the history of cartography to ideology-critique.[33] The operation of power which lay 'behind' any given map was, in a self-

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[31] Barrett, *Cartographic Anxiety*, 13.

[32] Harley, 'Silences', 71; 'Deconstructing the Map' [1989], repr. in *Classics in Cartography: Reflections on Influential Articles in* Cartographica*,* ed. Martin Dodge, Wiley, 2011, 273-94, here 285. See also Harley, 'Maps, Knowledge and Power', in Dennis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniel (eds.), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge UP, 1988, 277-312.

[33] For an outline of critical responses to Harley's work, both from a 'positivist' traditional school of map-history, and from a similar theoretical viewpoint to Harley's, see Edwards, *Circles in the Sand*, 4-7.

consciously Foucauldian idiom, the central question for Harley and a great many critics who followed him. Combined with de Certeau's spatial theories, Harley's historical arguments crystallised the priorities which have lain at the centre of much work which aims to show how authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries connected their own writing to the work of mapping. These priorities have found a wider field in the 'spatial turn' in literary criticism, which examines how material space governs much literary activity, and has developed the critical tropes of space, place and representation's transformation of embodied experience to a point of great, and often misleading, saturation.[34]

'Space' and its distortion by ideologically invested cartographers and politicians; literature and cartography vying as 'representational practices' in their efforts to portray space; the relative value of writing and mapping in their evocation of the experience of individuals, and this contest's political implications: these are some of the more salient questions in the past thirty years of literary scholarship. This thesis, instead, draws a connection between the *materia* of cartography—its textbooks, technical language, and published exempla—and a group of authors who cannot be easily situated in line with these tropes. The result is a sense of practical geography as a voracious pursuit, whose undeniable origin in the attempt to portray territory led to questions far afield from this initial aim. The textbooks which this introduction surveys often combine geography's most 'spatial' elements—maps—with work on the anthropological, abstractedly mathematical, and rhetorical elements of the discipline: as this thesis proceeds, it will become clear that the 'cartography' of its title could encompass types of knowledge well beyond the engraving of a country's outline on a copperplate. This is not in order to discount 'spatiality' and representation as valid topics of enquiry: most, if not all of the maps considered here did attempt to 'represent' at least some aspect of a given

[34] For a summary of the early modern 'spatial turn', see Lynn Robson, '"We'll build in sonnets pretty rooms": Early Modern Literary Studies, the Spatial Turn, and Ecocriticism', *Literature Compass* 7.12 (2010): 1062-76.

territory (I do not deal primarily with fictional, mythical or otherwise self-consciously confected maps). It is only to argue that a close look at how geography was taught at the time reveals a remarkable continuity between the rhetorical and psychological aspects of early modern learning, and its notionally 'scientific' pursuits. Here, I survey some representative examples of a type of writing which yields a uniquely direct access to the questions raised by this educational material, and shows in particular relief the influence of pedagogical material on some topics seen as characteristic of the period—seventeenth-century prose. Accordingly, I will rely on a different critical sponsor: Matthew Edney, the director of the *History of Cartography* project, whose recent work is an attempt to synthesise some of the issues arising from within the project's summative efforts, and promises to change the theoretical landscape for historians of cartography.

Pace the work of his predecessors in the project's first volume, Edney opens *Cartography: the Ideal and its History* (2019) with a complaint that most work which purports to be about 'cartography' is really just about a particular idealised conception of 'the map': taking what could be called a uncompromisingly nominalist stance, he argues that 'when "maps", "charts", and "plans" are placed in their social contexts—why they are commissioned, how they are used, and who uses them—then it becomes apparent that what separates them is much greater and of more import than what they have in common'.[35] The most scholars can do, Edney argues, is identify 'modes of mapping', defined as 'a coherent arrangement of processes for producing, circulating, and consuming maps'.[36] This attentiveness to 'processes'—termed a 'processual' approach by Edney—serves to undermine the 'ideal' of his title, a three-century-old collection of 'preconceptions' which identify 'cartography' as a

[35] Edney, *Cartography: the Ideal and its History*, Chicago UP, 2019, 3. This book is the first of a projected series of three.
[36] Edney, *Cartography*, 27. For a proposed (and explicitly provisional) table of 'modes' see 33.

singular project with commensurable goals at all levels and sites of production.[37] Instead, Edney advocates—in a fashion self-consciously indebted to English Literature departments and the History of the Book—an 'openness' to forms that are not recognisably 'maps' in conventional scholarly treatments of 'mapping' (Edney declares in no uncertain terms that the term 'cartography' should be 'killed off'):

> it has become impossible to sustain the commitment to the map's self-contained materiality. The words used on maps are the same as those used to write books and to make speeches; the decorative marginalia of maps recapitulate graphic motifs from art and science; the coordinate systems parallel analemmas and other mathematical imagery; the sign systems used for maps are applied to other discourses, as metaphors and satires. As the self-containedness of the individual map frays, so too does the generic category of the normative map and with it the singular conception of cartography.[38]

Edney's plea is, in effect, for a better and more capacious historicism. This is not about treating maps as 'cultural texts' or vectors for 'social energy', rather it is a call to scrutinise particular moments in the history of mapping on their own terms, noticing their points of contact with and influence on other media with a studied innocence of what these connections 'should' mean.[39]

In this thesis, the works of prose I have chosen are included because they are, to a recognisable degree, influenced by a specific and distinct mode of 'mapping'—the humanist and late-humanist teaching of geography at the English universities, conducted primarily through Latinate textbooks, not all containing maps but uniformly discussing techniques for their production and use—and engage noticeably and creatively with this mode. They are not included because they are in some sense

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[37] For the historical treatment of these 'preconceptions', see *Cartography*, 50-102.

[38] Edney, *Cartography*, 37. Edney's debt to the history of the book is especially noticeable when comparing his arguments to Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 111.3 (1982): 65-83, and '"What is the History of Books?" Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History* 4.3 (2007): 495-508. Edney cites Darnton in *Cartography*, 94. For Edney's diatribe on 'killing' cartography, see *Cartography*, 231-7.

[39] For these shibboleths of New Historicism, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: the Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*, California UP, 1988, esp. 1-20.

'spatialised', because they reflect an 'un-cartographic' view of nationhood, or because they exemplify a paradigmatic form of 'representation' which is competing with 'cartography' writ large.[40] The result of this comparison is that many authors of the seventeenth century seem to have understood the 'spatial' aspect of mapping as subservient or secondary to other, more disciplinarily capacious matters. The purpose of this survey has been, in the first place, to show how surprising to literary criticism this observation might be, given the closely connected and internally restrictive categories employed by the separate works.[41] In much literary criticism and map-history, 'space', 'representation', and their application to Harleian questions of power and authority have been the *sine quibus non* of any 'cartographic' material's connection to literary work.[42] I will suggest that an aspect of geography sold frequently to students in this period was, as we have seen above, its mental effects, whereby the activity of map-reading and map-making would create a certain *habitus* in a student, rendering him 'prepared for every sort of discipline'.[43] It is this trope of mapping as a mentally transformative discipline which Francis Bacon, Robert Burton, Thomas Fuller, and John Aubrey employed to fascinating effect in their work: the next section will illustrate how this trope came about, and give a sense of the number of educational texts which employed it.

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[40] On the under-theorised category of 'representation' in the idealised 'cartography', see Edney, *Cartography*, 58-64, on the preconception of 'Pictorialness'.

[41] Some of the works discussed above have in fact been seen as exemplary implementations of the criteria for analysis advocated by Edney. See, e.g., Edney's praise for Sills, *Against the Map*, published in the paperback edition.

[42] Edney himself cautiously retains the categories of space and representation as fundamental in his revised definitions of maps and mapping, see *Cartography*, 41: '"*mapping*" is the representation of spatial complexity / "*map*" is a text representing spatial complexity'. He goes on to qualify this: 'To be clear: I use "representation" in a constructivist sense. It is the process by which meanings are constituted and communicated. It is, moreover, an ongoing process, as texts are continually interpreted and reinterpreted by their consumers. "Representation" should not properly be used for the final product, so that it is quite inappropriate to refer to "*a* representation"'. Rather than this self-consciously counterintuitive re-definition of terms, I have chosen to avoid the term 'representation' as far as is possible.

[43] The term *habitus* has been taken from a pedagogical tradition which I outline in Section 4 below.

III—Mapping and the Mind: Humanist Geography and the Textbook Tradition

In Johannes Manlius's popular miscellany of humanist commonplaces, the *Locorum communium collectanea* (1563), gathered in great part from Manlius's probable teacher, Philipp Melanchthon, the section 'On Studies' [*De studiis*] has a short anecdote on 'The Utility of Geographical Maps':

> To look at maps, to consider places and regions, should be a recreation [*ludus*] for you: just as it was for the Emperor Charles V. For when he was besieging the town of Wittenberg, then stationed in the region of Pistritz, when his generals came to him, he sat propped up on his arms at the table, and was looking at Cosmographical maps. Thus he was found brooding over [*incubere*] maps, and considering the places and regions in which he was garrisoned with the army.[44]

The vision of 'utility' here is characteristically humanist, in that any sense of utility (at least in the worldly, militarily efficient sense) is entirely hidden behind a scene of pleasure, absorbed attention, and study. The passage's register is decidedly not one of military plotting; rather, the 'generals' [*principes*] find the Holy Roman Emperor 'propped up on his arms' [*suffultus brachiis*] in his pleasurable contemplation of a map, beginning to look more like St. Jerome in his study than Charles Caesar. There is no direct connection drawn in the commonplace between the military action and Charles's map-reading; we must only infer that he is plotting the siege, and we are to do so under the assumption that we are looking at 'recreation' [*ludus*]. The implication is, of course, that this study itself leads to *utilitas* and promotes military excellence, but it is significant that the imperial scene of map-reading takes place at an oblique angle to the siege without—the *vita activa* must follow from a certain mental disposition to study, where one pores over, becomes devoted to, cultivates the map (these are all

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[44] Manlius, *Locorum communium collectanea a Iohanne Manlio per multos annos, tum ex lectionibus D. Philippi Melanchthonis, tum ex aliorum doctissiomorum virorum relationibus excerpta*, Frankfurt am Main, 1594, 533: '*Geographicarum tabularum utilitas*. Inspicere tabulas, considerare loca & regiones, debebat vobis ludus esse: sicut Cæsari Carolo V. Cùm enim hic esset in obsidione oppidi Wittembergae, tunc in pago Pistritz, quando accesserunt ad eum principes, suffultus brachiis sedit apud mensam, & inspexit tabulas Cosmographicas. Ita inuentus est incubere tabulis, & considerare loca & regiones, in quibus ipse cum exercitu versaretur.' I quote from this 1594 edition. The USTC counts thirteen separate editions of the *Collectanea* between 1563 and 1594, mainly printed in Frankfurt and Basel.

within the semantic range of *incubere*).[45] In a passage which claims usefulness as its topic, this example equivocates between means and goal.

Melanchthon himself, Manlius's teacher, would have recognised this broader point about the mental virtues of understanding geography. At the end of his oration 'On Geography and Astronomy' (1536), held, like Charles's siege and much else, at Wittenberg, he devotes a single short sentence to the fact that 'no navigation, nor any remotely long journey can be set upon or navigated by anybody ignorant of this art'.[46] The rest of this section of the oration devoted to geography praises its capacity to aid a student in understanding the Holy Scriptures, as a tool to focus the mind during prayer, and as a general moral instructor:

> and unless [this] art is prominent, all men would think the earth were infinite, and would only know the spaces and distances of those regions which were ready at hand. From this grave errors would arise in life. Now see, how pleasing, how useful it is [*quam gratum, quam utile est*] to embrace the whole round of the earth with the mind [*mente*], comprehended indeed with a sure, easy and compendious reckoning, and if you contemplate the whole in thought as well as with your eyes [*cogitatione tanquam oculis*], you might wonder at its smallness, since it is five thousand four hundred of our miles.[47]

Melanchthon combines two humanist tropes here: the first, the view that geography is of especial use for the recognition of God's providence and skill in creating the world; the second, that all study should be both pleasing and useful, a remarkably long-lasting and influential reading of a short line of

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45 See *Lewis and Short*, s.v. 'incubo', 1. v.

46 Melanchthon, 'De geographia et astronomia', in *Corpus Reformatorum. Philippi Melanthoni Opera quae supersunt omnia*, eds. Karl Gottlieb Brettschneider and Heinrich Bindseil, 28 vols., Halle: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1834–60, vol. 11, 292-8, here 296: 'Nulla navigatio, nullum iter paulo longius suscipi, aut certe gubernari potest, ab huius artis ignaris'. For a brief look at Melanchthon's placement of geography in his system of disciplines, see Sachiko Kusukawa, *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: The Case of Philip Melanchthon,* Cambridge UP, 1995, 183-4.

47 Melanchthon, 'De geographia', 296: 'Ac nisi ars extaret, omnes homines infinitum quiddam esse terram cogitarent, ac tantum earum regionum spacia et intervalla scirent, quae adiissent. Hinc multi graves errores in vita orirentur. Nunc vero quam gratum, quam utile est mente complecti totum terrae ambitum, et quidem certa, facili et compendiaria supputatione comprehensum, quem si cogitatione tanquam oculis totum contempleris, possis etiam mirari parvitatem, cum sit nostrorum miliarorum quinquies mille quadrigentorum.'

Horace's *Ars poetica*, *omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci* [he has won every point who mixes the sweet with the useful].[48] Geography was an inherently moral discipline, in that it served as a handmaiden to right religion, but it was particularly effective in this rôle because it was a mentally pleasing craft, an *ars* and a *ludus*. And tellingly, Melanchthon was clear that this pleasure and wonder arose when maps were not just looked at, but thought upon: it was 'with the mind' [*mente*] that the 'whole round of the world' was 'embraced'; the vertigo of recognising the world's relative smallness occurred when the map-reader worked by 'thought' [*cogitatione*] rather than only with their eyes [*oculis*].[49] Indeed, as Melanchthon goes on to observe, geographical and astronomical enquiry were so beneficial because the type of thought they encouraged mirrored the final cause of the human mind, in the contemplation of God's works: 'since we are born for this contemplation [*ad hanc considerationem nati simus*], it follows that it is pleasurable to natures which are not distorted and monstrous'.[50] This is a point which Melanchthon also made in his poetic ode 'On Geographical Maps': 'The most beautiful order of the world, and the primary bodies distributed in their proper places, show that God exists [...] Therefore it is beneficial to look at these geographical maps, which such things as these advise the viewer to

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[48] On providence in humanist geography during the reformation, and Melanchthon's innovation within this tradition, see Manfred Büttner, 'The Significance of the Reformation for the Reorientation of Geography in Lutheran Germany', *History of Science* 17.3 (1979): 151-69. Büttner's work in the 1970s is an extraordinarily comprehensive treatment of humanist geography and theology. For a full list of titles see the Bibliography. The literature on *dulce et utile* is very large: for a recent and provocative survey of the English context, which emphasises the novelty of the humanists' reading of this line, see Katherine Little, *Humanism and Good Books in Renaissance England*, Oxford UP, 2023, esp. 30-36, and Ch. 6: 'Horatian *Dulce et Utile* as Poisonous Reading', 132-54.

[49] Cf. Melanchthon's major source for this oration, the pseudo-Aristotelian *De mundo:* 'So those who have earnestly described to us the nature of a single place, or the plan of a single city, or the size of a river, or the beauty of a mountain, as some have done before now [...] all these might well be pitied for their meanness of spirit, since they are overawed by commonplaces and pride themselves on insignificant observations. The reason is that they are blind to the nobler things—I mean the cosmos and the greatest features of the cosmos. For if they once genuinely gave their attention [ἐθαύμαζόν—*sc. wondered, marvelled at*] to these things, they would never wonder at any other; everything else would appear small and worthless to them, in comparison with the matchless superiority of these.', in E. S. Forster, D. J. Furley (eds.), *On Sophistical Refutations, On Coming-to-Be and Passing Away*, *On the Cosmos* [1955], Harvard UP, 2014, §§391a-b.

[50] Melanchthon, 'De geographica', 297: 'Ad hanc considerationem cum nati simus, necesse est eam voluptati esse non monstrosis, non distortis naturis'.

do'.[51] Maps showed the order of the world as God had designed it, in a fashion analogous to the most perfect operation of the human mind.

Melanchthon and his probable pupil show a characteristic humanist accommodationism, where the secular, often classical arts were praised in so far as they were morally beneficial, in both quotidian and Christian devotional contexts, as well as pleasurable.[52] In this praise, humanists speculated on the peculiar manner in which the consumption of cartography affected the mind; sometimes this affect was a curative reunion of the mind with its created purpose, sometimes it was simply a particularly absorbed form of attention, soothed by a sense that what one was doing was both pleasurable and worthwhile [*dulce et utile*]. It is the purpose of this section, and of the thesis as a whole in more detail, to show the persistence of this type of thinking about the function of mapping into the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries, especially for those who encountered geography at university—thinking which emphasised, within its technical and practical unfolding of geography's *ars*, the pleasurable, morally beneficial, and mind-oriented virtues of learning to read and make maps.[53]

This has not been the prevailing note sounded in studies of the institutional climate of geography-teaching. Lesley Cormack's invaluable *Charting an Empire* (1997), whose scrupulously

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[51] Melanchthon, 'De tabulis geographicis', in *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. 10, 261-2: 'Esse Deum, ostendit mundi pulcherrimus ordo, / Et distincta locis corpora prima suis. / [...] Has igitur tabulas Regionum cernere prodest, / Quae spectatorem talia multa monent'.

[52] Cf. Little, *Good Books,* esp. 68-96.

[53] Melanchthon's influence on the English university curriculum was enormous: for a survey of the influence on logic and dialectic teaching, see Ettenhuber, *Logical Renaissance*, 35-55; for the broader context, see the articles in Günther Frank, Kees Meerhoff (eds.), *Melanchthon und Europa*, 2 vols., Jan Torbecke Verlag, 2002, vol. 2, esp. Sachiko Kusukawa, 'The Reception of Melanchthon in Sixteenth-Century Oxford and Cambridge', 233-54. Melanchthon's orations were widely available in many continental editions, one of which, *Liber selectarum declamationum Philippi Melanthonis, quas conscripsit...,* Strasbourg: Kraft Müller, 1541 (USTC 672889) survives in many copies in English university libraries.

gathered lists of geographical books held in libraries at Oxford and Cambridge should provide the bedrock for any study of cartography in its institutional setting, nevertheless stresses the 'scientific' quality of geographical education and its aims at the end of the sixteenth century: 'geography [...] provided an ideology of the utility of knowledge, which helped transform English science into Baconianism'.[54] The first chapter of this thesis will show, ironically, that Bacon himself relied far more frequently on an older, 'rhetorical' conception of cartography. Here however, it is most important to note that the prevailing argument of this influential account concerns geography's resolutely public-facing, utilitarian nature: 'since geography was so closely engaged with political and economic concerns, its practitioners developed an ideology that counted the knowledge gained to be useful and in fact claimed that the goal of such intellectual activity must always be utility'.[55] As I have suggested above and will go on to argue, even in the climate of the late-sixteenth century where the demands of imperial ambition weighed heavily on educational culture, university geography was still very much inflected by the older humanist paradigm of geography as an internal, moral pursuit; the longevity of this influence over the seventeenth century is attested to by Hobbes's opening poem.[56] Instances of geography's *utilitas* still carried with them the implication of its *dulcitas,* and former students still registered the textbooks' more effusive language in praise of geography as a faint presence in later work.

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[54] Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, 224.

[55] Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, 229-30.

[56] This is not to say that humanist geography lacked political ambition. See, for an excellent account of how the humanists used cartography as a political tool for the construction of 'Europe' as an ideal continental unit, Katherina Piechocki, *Cartographic Humanism: The Making of Early Modern Europe*, Chicago UP, 2019.

One of the most detailed early pedagogical works which advocated the use of mapping in education was the Spanish pedagogue and humanist Juan Luis Vives's *De tradendis disciplinis* (1531).[57] In his section on 'Natural Knowledge', Vives was precise on the mental effects of a latently geographical knowledge, in a fashion characteristic of the so-called 'father of modern psychology'.[58] After a caution about the uncertainty of natural knowledge, Vives adjudicates between practical utility and contemplation of providence:

> thus the contemplation of nature is unnecessary and even harmful unless it serves the useful arts of life, or raises us from a knowledge of His works to a knowledge, admiration, and love of the Author of these works. Hence everything, which merely serves to stir curiosity, must be cast well on one side, lest the mind, distracted by curiosity, should omit to inquire into the knowledge of better things, the knowledge of which is of true and real value to a philosopher.[59]

Seeing the 'useful arts of life' and contemplative theological knowledge as the twin aims of natural enquiry, Vives then turns, perhaps unsurprisingly given the above examples, to a treatment of geography as the first route into this enquiry:

> first we must consider the easiest kinds of knowledge, viz., those things that are evident to the senses. [...] There should be, in the first place, a general explanation, an exposition or, as it were, a picture of the whole of nature [...] so that a full representation and description of the whole earth is included in a map [*comprehensa delineatio atque orbis universi descriptio in tabula*].[60]

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[57] Vives, *De tradendis disciplinis libri quinque,* Antwerp: Michael Hillenius, 1531. I quote from the translation in Foster Watson, *Vives on Education*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1913. The *De tradendis*'s influence on university pedagogy in England is difficult to ascertain; however, the first English edition advertised its annotations as being 'by an Oxford scholar', and mentioned Vives's own stay as a lecturer at Corpus Christi, Oxford (1523-4): see *Iohannis Ludouici Viuis Valentini, olim rhetoricæ professoris in Collegio Corporis Christi apud Oxonienses. Libri XII. De disciplinis.*, London: William Stansby, 1612.

[58] This has been a critical commonplace since the publication of Foster Watson, 'The Father of Modern Psychology', *Psychological Review* 22.5 (1915): 334-5. For a more recent survey of and study in Vives's psychological thought, see Kaarlo Havu, 'Between Faculty Psychology and Moral Philosophy: Juan Luis Vives on *Phantasia* and the Education of the Prince', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 55.1 (2021): 27-50

[59] Watson, *Vives on Education*, 167.

[60] Watson, *Vives on Education*, 168. Watson translates *tabula* here as 'picture', but it is clear in the context of the passage that Vives is referring to mapping. He also writes 'as in a map', though no *tanquam* appears to signal the metaphor in Vives's text.

Vives' terms here are some of the thorniest in the early modern Latinate geographical lexicon, and are worth pausing here to clarify. *Tabula* and *descriptio*—neither of these words meant only 'map', and the only unambiguous term, *mappa*, was rarely used by humanists. Many translate *tabula* as 'picture', and *descriptio* most often simply means 'description'. Again and again in this thesis, these terms and others will recur in connection with geographical material with troubling ambiguity; Bacon in particular was purposively ambiguous in his terminology. The best one can do is assess the terms in their local context, and here Vives clearly reads the *descriptio in tabula* as part of a program of geographical reading. Geography rightly practiced was a propaedeutic art, where the attention of the student was recaptured from undue 'curiosity', and set on a *via plana* towards the right objects of knowledge: he went on to recommend geographical works by [pseudo-]Aristotle, Johannes Sacrobosco, and Pomponius Mela. Characteristically, this preliminary study was framed by Vives in terms of mental faculties and capacities, and he concluded his list of geographical books by arguing that 'there are some students little suited for the higher investigation of causes, viz., those who are of sluggish wits, who, so to say, let their heads drop down, because they cannot rise to such topics, or cannot bear the bright light. [...] Such students must stop at this point'.[61] Unlike Melanchthon, Vives saw geography not as representative of the mind's final contemplative purpose, but as a preliminary entry for weaker minds to a course of studies which ended with 'higher investigation of causes'. As a discipline which worked, at least initially, on the sense of sight, it offered a type of thought tethered to tangible experience, rather than the disembodied cognition of pure metaphysics. As we shall see in the first chapter, Bacon manipulated this propaedeutic conception of mapping in his attempts to describe the ambiguous process of preliminary organisation which his ideal investigator would perform, between the gathering of particulars and their synthesis into conceptual units.

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[61] Watson, *Vives on Education*, 169.

This section of the *De tradendis* recapitulates an earlier passage in which Vives is even more forthcoming on how he conceived of geography as affecting the mind. In his early 'Divisions of Knowledge', one of the final categories was 'Observation of Nature'. His complex introduction to this category is worth citing at length:

> Our division, if I am not mistaken, for the convenience of students should be as follows: those things which serve for observation and knowledge involve first the exercise of sight on the external face of Nature, which means, clearly, the use of the senses, as, for instance, we gaze at a picture, and just in the same way as cities, peoples, mountains, rivers are placed before the eyes on a map [*in tabella proponuntur oculis*]. This is called inspection [*aspectus*] or reflection [*contemplatio*] and he who is skilled in it is called *aspector*, or *contemplator*. Let the keenness of sight of the mind [*mentis acies*] descend from its height to the intimate working of Nature which is concerned with the inner essence of everything. For in this study an entrance is found to the essential heart of things more readily by the mind than by the eye, it occurs through the eye [*etsi per oculum tamen*]. The man who thus penetrates with his mind into Nature is the first or most inward philosopher [*primus philosophus, seu intimus*] and his knowledge is "first philosophy" or knowledge of the innermost work of Nature [*prima philosophia vel intimum Naturae opificium*]. From both mind and eyes, the wise man seeks for the outward causes which lie near to the eyes and the other senses. This kind of skill is called *scrutatio* or *investigatio* [...] Afterwards let him proceed to those studies which escape every observation of the senses.[62]

Vives's passage is couched in the language of humanist rhetorical theory. That a map is said to place matters 'before the eyes' is directly related to the Erasmian praise of *enargeia* and its capacity to *res ob oculos ponere*; the invocation of the 'mind's eye' is a trope of contemporary treatments of good rhetoric.[63] The signal importance of rhetoric to early modern conceptions of cartography, and the relevance of the 'before the eyes' conceit will be explored in the context of Bacon's work in Chapter 1. Here, however, the broader aspect to be observed is Vives's delineation of the movement between sense

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[62] Watson, *Vives on Education*, 41. I have slightly modified some of Watson's translation.

[63] See Heinrich Plett, *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity and the Early Modern Age: The Aesthetics of Evidence*, Brill, 2012, esp. 89-117; Sara Newman, 'Aristotle's Notion of "Bringing-Before-the-Eyes": Its Contributions to Aristotelian and Contemporary Conceptualizations of Metaphor, Style, and Audience', *Rhetorica* 20.1 (2002): 1-23.

and the imagination in the context of a map's effect. The viewer, or *aspector*, first looks only with their eyes upon the map. Then, in a fashion typical to accounts of cognition since at least Aristotle, the 'eyes of the mind' (*mentis acies*) are engaged by the initial influence of the sight, and the less sense-bound faculties operate in their search for the 'causes' of metaphysics. Vives is especially emphatic here that these two types of thought imply different areas of competence, and that mapping is a central figure for the early, visually striking type of cognition, less tethered to 'inner Nature' but imaginatively provocative. It seems that cartography offered the mind a way of thinking that was, in itself, an especially striking, cognitively focussed form of attention to 'outward causes', and in relation to the broader curriculum, a propaedeutic to a less externalised, 'philosophical' type of study. These two mental virtues—the ability to function with sufficient attentiveness to prudently infer from the external world; and the base-level promptness for more rarefied thought—will appear as central to the literary works which this thesis treats.

Vives's addiction to psychological explanation is, of course, the local cause here. But the works more directly to do with geography which followed, in this case explicitly intended for university audiences, rehearsed many of the tropes which we have seen in these more broad-strokes treatments of the discipline by humanists. Let us take, as a starting point, the textbook to which I compared Hobbes's autobiography at the outset of this introduction—James Cheyne's *Cosmographia sive geographia* (1576). Cheyne himself was somewhat eccentric to the mainstream of British institutional geography, and to the Protestant universities in general: as a Catholic exile from Aberdeen to France, he moved frequently between Paris and the Scottish seminary at Douai, where outside of his geographical work he produced commentaries on Aristotle and traditional works of astronomy for his pupils.[64]

[64] See, for a skeletal account, Thompson Cooper, rev. Anita McConnell, 'James Cheyne', *ODNB*. One of Cheyne's pupils gave an account of his teacher and his character: see Thomas Dempster, ed. D. Irving *Thomae Dempsteri Historia ecclesiastica*

Nevertheless, his geographical textbook was evidently known enough to be repeatedly recommended as a vital work for the student—alongside such luminaries as Abraham Ortelius, Petrus Bertius, and Peter Apian—by Bartholomäus Keckermann, the exceptionally influential German-Polish teacher whose work on geography will be discussed below.[65] Keckermann particularly recommended Cheyne for his 'considerate circumspection' in describing the people of the Americas due to want of certain information; here, however, Cheyne's remarkable preface to what was, in effect, a somewhat dry and technical manual of geographical education, is most significant.[66]

For from the outset, Cheyne advertises geography in terms of its persuasive psychological effect. Placing the discipline of mathematical geography in relation to its foundations in geometry, he writes that 'this concord of nature expresses itself in geometrical shapes, and the mutual support of intervals and lines, each of the other, so that the theories born from these elements do not coax you to believe, they force you; nor do they solicit assent, so much as they express it with a certain tacit strength, and through the initial understanding of the terms alone [*sola terminorum cognitione antegressa*], wrench it from you'.[67] In distinguishing cartography and its sister arts from ordinary, rhetorical

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gentis Scotorum, sive, de scriptoribus Scotis, 2 vols., Edinburgh: Balfour Society, 1829, vol. 1., 193-4. On Cheyne's disputed role in the foundation of the seminary at Douai, see Hubert Chadwick, S.J., 'The Scots College, Douai, 1580-1613', *The English Historical Review* 56.224 (1941): 571-85.

65 See the list of recommended books in Keckermann, *Systema geographicum*, Gdansk, 1611, 191: 'Studios[i] Geogr[aphiae] [...] Addant deinde *Theatrum Ortelii* vel potius eius *Epitomen* a *Philippo Galæo* editum, addant etiam pulcherrimas *Bertii* Tabulas*, Appiani* Cosmographia*m*, Geographiam *Chinæi* [sc. *Chynaei*, Cheyne's], distributionem orbis *Næandri* & alios autores quos passim in lectione citauimus'. Two Oxford books show the *De geographia*'s currency into the seventeenth century. The Bodleian's copy, 8º K3 Art., appears to be part of a student collection: it is bound in a contemporary binding with Keckermann's *Disputationes philosophicae, physicae praesertim* (1604), a collection of printed disputations on metaphysical and natural-philosophical subjects held at Keckermann's gymnasium in Gdansk. The copy in St. John's College, HB4/3.d.1.16, was donated in 1602 by William Paddy, a prominent physician and benefactor of the library.

66 Cf. Keckermann, *Systema*, 187: 'vehementer probem consideratam circumspectionem Iacobi Chynæi, qui in Epilogo Geographiae suae horrescere se ait quoties autorum scripta evolvit, quae ad gentium mores attinent, propterea quod magna in no*n*nullis sit mentiendi libido'.

67 Cheyne, *Cosmographia*, sigs. B1$^{r\text{-}v}$: 'ea naturae conspiratio in schematis geometricis, & mutuis intervallorum atque linearum subsidiis sese aperit, ut nata ex his theoremata ad crede*n*dum non inducant, sed cogant; nec tam assensum eliciant, quam tacita quadam vi exprimant, & sola terminorum cognitione antegressa, extorqueant'.

methods of inducing the mind's cooperation, Cheyne simultaneously defines it as a unique species of those persuasive arts. Though the verbs change, the results to be sought are still 'belief' [*credendum*] and 'assent' [*assensum*]. This language sets the scene for the rhetorical set-piece from which I quoted at this introduction's beginning, and is worth including at length here. Imagining geography as a discipline which 'by a certain secret philter excited miraculous love for itself in the minds of the chief amongst men', he develops an elaborate conceit concerning geography's installation as a noble discipline:

> It is this [discipline], which having been lifted on high with a certain pomp and pride, sought the citadels and atria of the nobles; where it then adorned all of the walls, so that those who were a little more intelligent became accustomed to no longer amuse the eyes with the empty spectacle of tapestries of hunts, but to refresh the mind with the variety, now most useful, now most pleasing, of geographical maps. And as much as it is more practical [*prudentius*], it is more useful [*utilius*] for educating the mind—thus to wander frequently through various regions of the terrestrial globe presented to the eyes in a little map—than to expend one's gaze on the ridiculous images of dogs, deers, hawks, birds, woods, trees, and I know not what other things. For if you seek the present delight of the eyes from these images, which will pass away of its own accord in an instant, you cannot expect anything further. But these maps leave in the minds of their observers the most delightful variety of objects, imprinted by liberal and free cognition [*liberali ingenuaque cognitione*] of the provinces of the earth. They render minds which are not entirely abject more prepared for every sort of discipline.[68]

This extraordinary passage—whose resonance with the cartographic thought of Robert Burton will become clear in Chapter 2—develops a polemical account of why a student should care about the meticulous treatment of the circles, zones and colures in the ensuing textbook, through a detailed

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[68] Cheyne, *Cosmographia*, sigs. B2^{r-v}: 'Haec enim est quae [...] philtro quodam arcano admirabiles sui amores in principum virorum animis excitavit. Haec est, quae quasi po*m*pa & fastu quodam in sublime euecta, arces atque atria nobilium petivit; ubi ita omnes parietes exornavit, ut, non iam beluatorum tapetum inani spectaculo oculos ludificare, sed tabularum Geographicarum, cum utilissima, tum gratissima varietate me*n*tem simul & aspectum pascere, qui paullo sunt cordatiores, consuescant. Et tanto sane prudentius, quanto ad animum excole*n*dum utilius est, per varias orbis terrarum regiones brevissima tabella oculis subiectas frequenter peregrinari, quam ludicris canum, cervorum, accipitrum, volucrum, syluarum, arborum, & nescio quarum rerum, simulacris aspectu*m* defatigare. Etenim si ex his praesentem oculorum delectationem, sua spo*n*te illico perituram, sustuleris, nihil est quod praeterea expectes: Contra vero illae iucundissimam rerum varietate*m* liberali ingenuaque provinciarum terrae, & regionum cognitione conditam, in animis spectantiu*m* derelinquunt: Illæ mentes non omnino abiectas ad omne disciplinarum genus instructiores reddunt'.

appeal to the virtues of imprinting cartographic 'variety' in the mind. Again, the intended effect is not entirely clear—Cheyne goes on to uphold Odysseus as the ideal proto-geographer—but the stress seems to be, not unlike in the *De tradendis*, on a certain readiness-for-thought in a general sense, a promptness of mind inculcated by the simultaneous *utilitas* and *dulcitas* of map-reading and its ability to contain *varietas* within the compass of the individual student's thought. Maps, it appears, made men for all seasons, whose aristocratic cast of mind was further emphasised by Cheyne in his denigration of the lucre-chasers who were not interested in geography: 'such clamourings of unlearned men should not be borne: "What matters it to us where Rome is? Where Carthage? Where Athens? What money or reward will this bring us?" [...] I don't know whether they should more justly be transported into a *pistrinum*, where other than illiberal profit (by which all is measured) they can sense nothing with their eyes, nor ponder anything in their minds'.[69] Cheyne here invokes the punishment reserved in Roman comedy for refractory slaves, forced labour in a *pistrinum*, or corn-mill, though twisting this image into a symbol of small-minded money-grabbing.[70] The notion of public profit and utility, so emphasised by Cormack, is almost wholly absent here, substituted for a still class-based but nevertheless different concept of *liberalitas* and *ingenium*, connected with a non-dissolute form of mental discipline, and bolstered by humane learning.[71]

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[69] Cheyne, *Cosmographia*, sigs. B4^{v}-5^{r}: 'Hinc illae ineruditorum hominum occlamationes non ferendae: Quid ad nos uvi Roma? Ubi Carthago? Ubi Athenae? &c. Quid haec lucri aut quaestus afforent? [...] nescio an non rectius in pistrinum transportarentur, ubi praeter illiberalem quaestum (quo omnia metiu*n*tur) nihil sentire aut oculis, animove lustrare queant'

[70] Cf. Terence, trans. John Barsby, *The Woman from Andros* [*Andria*], Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2014, 1.2.[199]: 'verberibus caesum te in pistrinum, Dave, dedam usque ad necem' ['I shall whip you to the point of death and send you to the mill, Davus']. On the image of slavery in Roman comedy as it was used in early modern pedagogy, see Urvashi Chakravarty, *Fictions of Consent: Slavery, Servitude and Free Service in Early Modern England*, Penn UP, 2022, 45-88.

[71] On *ingenium* and practical thought, with special attention to Bacon, see Rhodri Lewis, 'Francis Bacon and Ingenuity', *Renaissance Quarterly* 67.1 (2014): 113-63. For a view of the 'gentlemanly' geographical ethic as a political tool, see Jonathan M. Smith, 'State Formation, Geography, and a Gentleman's Education', *Geographical Review* 86.1 (1996): 91-100.

Cheyne's preface was a bravura performance of the humanist valuation of geography. However, even after the geographical revolutions of the late-sixteenth century, and the severing of strict ties between theology and geography, the preoccupation with pleasure, mental acuity, and *ingenium* persisted in textbooks emerging from European universities. Keckermann himself, who, Manfred Büttner has argued, 'emancipated' geography from theology in service of a 'neutral geography, not standing in service to theology' (though this development was itself downstream of theological innovation), exhibited in his *Systema geographicum* (1600) the traces of this familiar vocabulary.[72] Keckermann's pedagogical innovation was a 'systemic' approach, whereby each discipline was treated by a method of division, definition, axiomatic summary, and practical exercises: a student could follow the same process in geography as they did in physics, theology, or logic.[73] Keckermann thus divided his treatment of geography into *geographia generalis* and *geographia specialis*; he gave relatively little space to the latter, which was concerned with individual continents, peoples, and customs, but further divided the former into sections on the use of 'general' globes and maps.[74] It is in the section on maps that we notice the reappearance of popular tropes. Keckermann tellingly

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[72] Büttner, 'Die Neuausrichtung der Providentiallehre durch Bartholomäus Keckermann im Zusammenhang der Emanzipation der Geographie aus der Theologie', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 28.2 (1976): 123-32, here 124: 'Keckermann [...] eine emanzipierte Geographie entfaltet, zugleich aber nicht nur die theologischen Argumente, die gegen eine solche Emanzipation der Geographie sprechen, entkräftet, sondern sogar feststellt, daß gerade die neutrale, nicht im Dienste der Theologie stehende Geographie eine noch viel bessere theologische Aufgabe übernehmen kann'. See also David N. Livingston, 'Science, Magic and Religion: A Contextual Reassessment of Geography in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *History of Science* 26 (1988): 269-94.

[73] On Keckermann's enormous influence, see Ettenhuber, *Logical Renaissance*, 69-96; Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543-1630*, Oxford UP, 2007, 127-68; Joseph S. Freedman, 'The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d. 1609)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141.3 (1997): 305-64.

[74] On Keckermann's apparent disdain for *geographia specialis*, on the grounds of the latter's resistance to systematisation and low pedagogical value, see Büttner, 'Neuausrichtung', 129, n. 17: 'Von Landerkünde scheint er nicht viel zu halten. *Expressis verbis* sagt er zwar nicht, daß sie eigentlich keine Wissenschaft ist; aber aus seiner Gesamtdarstellung ergibt sich, daß für ihn doch wohl nur die *Geographia generalis* Bildungswert besitzt, da man nur in ihr Denken [*sic*] lernen kann, nicht jedoch in der Landerkünde, in der es ja nur um Reisebeschreibung und um Zusammentragen von Material geht, das man nicht in eine Ordnung bringen kann und will.'

recounts an anecdote concerning Erasmus, not too dissimilar to that told by Manlius/Melanchthon about Charles V:

> Erasmus of Rotterdam, when he was fifty, was so smitten with love of Geographical Maps, that when he was busy with his *Annotations* on the Acts of the Apostles, he not only had them constantly before his eyes in his study, but even committed to memory the locations of places depicted on the maps, indeed seeing, that venerable old man, how great the utility [*utilitas*] of these maps was (and joined with the greatest Pleasure) for the study of sacred Theology.[75]

Once again, utility and pleasure are joined at the hip in an image of geography serving a fundamentally literary disposition, training the mind and memory to work for theology as part of the *studia humanitatis*. Keckermann later sounds a little like Cheyne, of whom, we have seen, he greatly approved: 'I cannot approve the custom of Craftsmen, who make their maps far too large, and fill them with various pictures, of I know not what birds or trees, by which pictures the mind of the observer is distracted, as is the strength of the Imagination [*Phantasiae*], which ought to firmly imprint upon itself [*imprimere sibi*] the sites of the principal parts of the terrestrial globe'.[76] In the Vivesian fashion, Keckermann always had one eye on the conditioning of the Imagination which geography could offer. As a bridging cognitive faculty in contemporary theory, which preserved images taken in by the Sense and to be acted upon by the Reason, Imagination was a powerful intermediary between what one saw and how one's mind acted upon it: if the Imagination was correctly directed, a prudential response to the sense-data of the world was as good as guaranteed.[77] Keckermann's stress on Imaginative training is

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[75] Keckermann, *Systema geographicum*, 114-5: '*Erasmus Roterod*. Iam quinquagenarius tanto correptus fuit Chartarum Geogr. amore, ut cum occuparetur in Annotat. super acta Apostolorum, non tantum perpetuò eas in Musæo suo ante oculos habuerit, sed etiam locorum situs in Tabulis expressos memoriæ commendarit, videns nimirum venerandus senex, quanta esset harum Tabularum, cum summa Voluptate coniuncta utilitas etiam ad sacrosanctæ Theologiæ studia'.

[76] Keckermann, *Systema*, 118: 'Nec possum probare Artificum consuetudinem, qui nimis vastas Tabulas conficiunt, easque implent variis picturis, nescio quarum auium, arborum, quibus picturis distrahitur mens spectatoris, & diffunditur seu dissipatur vis Phantasiae, quae situm praecipuaru*m* orbis terrarum partium debebat firmiter sibi impremere'. This sentiment is repeated again later, cf. 127: 'Non necessaria in Tabb. Geogr. sunt picturae auium, nauium, animalium, & quae alia eius modi ex phantasia Pictoris ad oblectamentum oculorum pinguntur'.

[77] On the contemporary view of the cognitive faculties, see Gary Hatfield, 'The Cognitive Faculties', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, eds. Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers, Cambridge UP, 2000, vol. 2, 951-1002;

communicated with a caution as to the dangers of over-ornate maps, which would function much like the tapestries fawned over by the decadent aristocracy which Cheyne had pastiched. Geography's pleasurable and useful effect on the mind was paired, here as elsewhere, with the desire to form a certain type of aesthetically literate *érudit*: 'he must be stupid and deficient, whose mind and eyes are not affected by those most elegant and beautiful Maps'.[78]

Keckermann's *Systema* seems to have been well-known in English universities.[79] And as the above examples indicate, the conception of geography which preserved so much of the humanist vocabulary pervaded European institutions, shaping the language of a culture of geographical pedagogy from which the authors considered in this thesis liberally borrowed. More ephemeral documents of various institutions and their quotidian activities further confirm the continental popularity of the thinking I have outlined above, in the context of the more occasional, ceremonial records of university life. Petrus Bertius, the Flemish geographer who upon his conversion to Catholicism in 1620 became professor of mathematics at Louis XIII's Collège de France and was appointed royal historian, delivered an oration on geography for the occasion.[80] As a primarily historical geographer—he produced an atlas half of whose maps were revised versions of Ptolemy's—

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on the Aristotelian roots of *phantasia*/visual Imagination, see Ronald Polansky, *Aristotle's De Anima: A Critical Commentary*, Cambridge UP, 2007, 403-33.

78 Keckermann, *Systema*, 115: 'Et oporteret sanè truncum esse ac stupidum, cuius animum & oculos non afficere*n*t, artificiosiss. & pulcherrimae illae Tabulae'.

79 Joseph Mead, a tutor at Christ's College, Cambridge during Milton's time there, recommended Keckermann's *Systema geographicum* as part of a geographical book-list: see Harris Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, 2 vols., Illinois UP, 1956-60, vol. 2, 342-3. John Crossley, a printer between Oxford and London, applied to the Stationers' Company for permission to print the *Systema* in 1612, though no copy survives, if it were printed at all: the entry states that the book was 'to be printed when yt is further Aucthorised'. Cf. Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D*, London, 1876, fol. 220b (12 May 1612). On Crossley, see R.B McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*, The Bibliographical Society, 1910, 82. Crossley also seems to have entered Vives's *De disciplinis* in the register, albeit tentatively: cf. Arber, *Transcript*, fol. 216 (10 Feb. 1611/12).

80 Bertius, *Bertii de geographia oratio, habita in collegio Cameracensi, xi.. kal. Iulii, quo die professionem regiam auspicatus est*, Paris, 1622. On Bertius's life, see L.J.M Bosch, *Petrus Bertius 1565-1629*, Krips Repro, 1979.

this oration did not focus on scientific advancement.[81] He divided his treatment into the praise of geography 'from its honourableness, divinity, and pleasurableness' [*ab honestate, divinitate, iucunditate*], 'from its utility for practical wisdom' [*ab utilitate ad prudentiam*], 'for understanding histories' [*ad historias intelligendas*], 'for explaining authors' [*ad explicationem authorum*], for theology, medicine, physics and 'customs' [*mores*]. In this final section, Bertius rehearses the usual gobbets on the practical moral value of reading maps, especially from a historically comparative perspective, in the process repeating a trope we first encountered in Melanchthon:

> Indeed [it is good] to form our habits [*mores formari*] to patience, to fortitude, to greatness of spirit, to temperance, to tranquility of mind [*tranquilitatem mentis*], with the aid of this discipline. For what can seem great to him, to whom not even the terrestrial globe is great? [...] Territories, cities, citadels are laid waste to. Elsewhere whole islands are drowned by the sea. Still elsewhere new ones burst forth; and still you demand constancy in any corner in the earth?[82]

Geography's double-edged quality, where it opened up in particularly vivid form the variety and vicissitudes of the world, while simultaneously showing their relative insignificance in light of a newly (and newly awful) diminutive world, was part of its mental and moral effect. We will see all of these elements used by Robert Burton in some of his most famous *excursus*.

Also important is Bertius's emphasis on the historical perspective and its virtues for the mind. Ortelius's statement in his *Parergon* (1595) that geography is 'the eye of history' has become a commonplace of such standing that it often appears unattributed in scholarship; it was a sentiment elaborated more fully by Jean Bodin earlier in the century, whose simultaneously literal and metaphorical connection between history and geography, the conclusion to this introduction will

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[81] See Bertius, *Theatrum geographiae veteris*, Amsterdam: Isaac Elzevier, 1618.

[82] Bertius, *Oratio*, 19: 'Sed et mores nostros constat ad patientiam, ad fortitudinem, ad magnitudinem animi ad temperantiam, ad mentis tranquillitatem, huius disciplinae beneficio formari. Quid enim magnum ei videri potest, cui ne ipse quidem iste terrarum orbis est magnus? [...] Vastantur regiones, urbes, arces. Alibi integrae insulae mari hauriuntur. Alibi novae subnascuntur; et tu tibi in aliquo terrae angulo perpetuitatem polliceris?'

argue, cast long shadows into the seventeenth century.[83] History, like geography, was a mode of reading *varietas* and worldly vicissitude, and of training the student to respond to this *varietas* prudentially: not only did geography aid history in helping the reader to fix events in imagined space; they shared a vocabulary of ethical import.[84] Another smaller piece, similar to Bertius's, which shows how cartography's alleged effects emerged at the level of metaphor (an aspect of the pedagogical background which was hugely important for Bacon), is the formidable Dutch scholar Daniel Heinsius's oration in praise of history, held when he received the professorship of that discipline at Leiden. Selling his pedagogical method, Heinsius wrote that 'that which has sympathy with the mind has always seemed to me of chiefest importance. That which feeds and delights it, so that it seems almost to occupy it, and infiltrate it, and to possess it entirely'.[85] Shortly afterwards, Heinsius singles out the Roman historian Florus as particularly useful for the novice student: 'we see, as if in a map, the life of the Roman people, their customs, their studies, but primarily their wars and battles, which our Florus pursues carefully, with as much brevity as he could manage in composing it'.[86] Just as maps themselves could communicate information in a striking, cognitively pleasurable manner, communication which was pleasurable in the same fashion was readily compared to mapping. Peter Heylyn's *Mikrokosmos* (1621), the most popular vernacular textbook on geography to appear in English in the seventeenth century, contained almost no discussion of maps; nevertheless, it permitted itself

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83 On this sentiment of Ortelius's, see P.H. Meurer, 'Ortelius as the Father of Historical Cartography', in M. van den Broecke, van der Kroegt (eds.), *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas. Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of his Death, 1598–1998*, HES, 1998, 133-59.

84 For this aspect of traditional history, see Anthony Grafton, *What was History?: The Art of History in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge UP, 2013, 67: '[traditional history] highlighted its pedagogical function as a source of moral principles exemplified in action, which could teach the intelligent reader prudence, and its literary nature as a genre that could not only inform, but move, its readers.'

85 Heinsius, *Danielis Heinsii de praestantia ac dignitate historiae oratio, habita cum Historicam Professionem auspicaturus esset*, Leiden, 1614, sig. B1^{r}: 'Mihi vero praecipuum semper est visum, quod cum animo nostro habet consortium. quem ita pascit ac oblectat, ut propemodum occupare eum, & invadere, & totu*m* possidere videatur'.

86 Heinsius, *Oratio*, sig. B4^{v}: 'Videbimus tanquam in tabella, vitam populi Romani, mores, studia, in primis autem bella & proelia, quae non sinecura, quantum quidem in concisa illa brevitate potuit, Florus noster prosecutus est'.

the same metaphor to describe its summary introduction: 'Thus haue I laid before thee, as in a Map, all that I haue performed, in this *new creation* of this *Little world:* in which I haue equally endeauoured thy good, and mine owne credit'.[87] This metaphorical connection arose mainly in the discussion of reading history, so close were the two disciplines in the early modern curricular formation; but as we shall later see, it also found its way into much further reaches of intellectual culture.

It would be easy to dismiss orations such as these, along with many of the comments in textbooks which I have offered, as mere rhetorical window dressing, entirely extraneous to the technical work which the 'real' discipline involved.[88] It is part of this thesis's goal to show that, in the case of a number of university-educated authors, this rhetoric was taken very seriously indeed, and formed substantial part of their thought on 'scientific' enquiry, theories of communication, exegesis, and pedagogical reform. Here, however, it is important to stress that geography's institutional situation meant that rhetoric was, in fact, a crucial part of the way it was offered to students: since geography rarely had its own statutory place in curricula, and—not only in the English universities—would be offered by tutors on an *ad hoc* basis, it needed to be actively sold as worthwhile.[89] Bertius's oration, for all its high-minded panegyric on geography's perennially delightsome usefulness, closes with an advertisement for his teaching and how to sign up to it.[90] Given the pedagogical strictures on the

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[87] Heylyn, *Mikrokosmos: A little description of the great world. Augmented and revised*, Oxford, 1625, sig. ¶3^{v}. The USTC counts eight editions (each in a number of states) of Heylyn's work printed before 1640. Cf. Fletcher, *Intellectual Development*, vol. 2, 343. On Heylyn in contention with another geographer, Thomas Fuller, see Chapter 3 below.

[88] This is exactly the point made by Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Harvard UP, 1986, 3: '[Guarino Guarini] probably did not expect to be taken entirely seriously. Teachers notoriously court their students in their introductory lectures in the hope of high enrolments.'

[89] On the manner of teaching geography in the English universities via the tutorial system, see Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, Chapter 1.

[90] Bertius, *Oratio*, 23: 'Et quia Regiae cathedrae dignitas id videtur exigere, ut accurratius [*sic*] omnia distinctiusque a nobis hoc loco expendantur, ad quam rem longiore temporis tractu opus est; auctor sim iis qui morae impatientes per compendium doceri volunt, privatim ut me adeant, & familiari institutioni meae se docendos commitant. Dabimus operam, ut paucis mensibus tantum quisque proficiat, quantum sufficiet, ad reliquu*m* huius stadii sine doctore decurrendum.'

discipline, then, the rhetorical praise of geography was a central aspect of how students first encountered it, and—fittingly—one of the most striking ways it imprinted itself on their minds. A virtue was made of necessity, and geography came to be understood by later authors as a mentally beneficial discipline, via the surprisingly pervasive influence of the rhetoric which framed the technicalities.

Such orations as these, and their characteristic rhetoric, were remarkably long-lasting: as late as 1703, Jakob Gronow, the Dutch classicist teaching at Leiden, lamented in his oration on geography how 'some old crudeness's envy' had separated Geography and History from one another and assailed them both, leaving the two disciplines like 'cadaver[s], deprived of that living and well-fitting beauty of the body'; it was Gronow's task to renew the impression of geography as a 'picture offering recreation [*ludum*] to the hands and to the mind'.[91] The preoccupation with the mind's reform was pervasive in geography teaching, as it was in much rhetorical praise of humanist and late-humanist education. Scholarship has, in general, played down the significance of this praise, seeing it as at odds with concrete educational practice. The next section will argue that in the case of imaginative literature, the praise did in fact have a distinct if relatively limited effect, and that this effect can be better understood via a concept popular in contemporary educational theory. This concept, known as *habitus*, connected various disciplines to one another, through a theory of imitative behavioural formation

[91] Jacobus Gronovius, *Oratio de geographiae origine, progressu, ac dulcedine*, Leiden: Jordanus Luchtmans, 1703, 5-6: 'Quum enim illa [sc. geographia] dupliciter spectetur, vel sibi relicta, vel historiae juncta & innexa; certe hanc quidem speciem sic comperias laceratam ab aliqua ruditatis praeteritae invidia [...] sine hoc subsidio aut glutine ista tam venuste catenata temporis perceptio sit disjectum dissipatumque cadaver, totaque illa vivi & bene concinnati corporis puchritudine distitutum [...] Illa [sc. geographia] enim terrae sive pictura sive descriptio dicenda, illa declaratio plagarum rerumque, quas Deus primo exposuit, mox humani generis solertia polivit ac mitigavit, illa singulorum tractuum imitatio oculis simul manibusque & animo ludum praebens'.

which all post-Aristotelian ethical philosophy had inherited.[92] It is, I suggest, a looming background to the literary conception of cartography as a pleasurable, vivid, and summarily various tool for thought.

IV: 'All Sorts of Disciplines': The Geographical habitus

Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton's widely influential 1986 work, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, set little stead by the rhetoric considered here. In the face of triumphal histories of humanism as a civilisational force, Jardine and Grafton illustrated in profound detail that the actual practice of the classroom was often unedifying drudgery:

> To embark on generalised discussion of the intrinsic value of a classical education for character formation, or as a grooming for the public servant, would have been to distract the pupil from the task in hand. It would have required a different kind of attention from the pupil: something more intellectual and less disciplined than the regimented note-taking, rote-learning, repetition and imitation in which he was engaged.[93]

Any of the 'character-forming', behavioural, or mental virtues which I have been claiming as evident in the geography teaching of the time were wildly eccentric to the manner in which daily classroom practice would unfold.[94] Any benefits of 'character', 'dignity', or 'humanity' that such hard educational yards would produce were, in the authors' words, 'incidental advantages of humanist pedagogy as actually practiced'.[95] It would be unwise to quarrel with Jardine and Grafton over their interpretation of the mass of evidence which they produce: I can only claim, like Thomas Fuller later in this thesis,

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92 On the institutional situation of geography as a force for mixing disciplines, see Charles W.J. Withers and Robert J. Mayhew, 'Rethinking "Disciplinary" History: Geography in British Universities, c. 1580-1887', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27.1 (2002): 11-29.

93 Grafton and Jardine, *Humanities*, 22.

94 Geography as a discipline is not substantially addressed by Grafton and Jardine. They do, however, give one intriguing example of Guarino Guarini's division of Grammar into 'Methodical' and 'Historical' sections, the latter of which contained geography. See *Humanities*, 10.

95 Jardine and Grafton, *Humanities*, 23.

that such matters of fact as concrete classroom activity are beyond my purview.[96] That the ideal of behavioural and mental reformation existed is beyond dispute; the chapters that follow will show that a succession of university-educated authors were familiar enough with the ideal to adopt its language and thought to their own creative ends. Furthermore, as Sorana Corneanu has recently argued at length, the seventeenth century saw the rise of *cultura animi* (the cultivation of the mind) as an avowed goal of scholars and 'scientists': beginning with Bacon (though the argument could be extended to a much earlier period), this tradition of *cultura animi* saw that

> the rightful pursuit of true knowledge is a process that takes the form of regimens for the entire mind. This conception comprises the related notions of a need to diagnose the state of one's cognitive and affective faculties through self-examination, and of a possibility—as well as duty—to cure their infirmities and cultivate their strengths.[97]

Humanist pedagogy's emphasis on the mind was not an ossified, quickly-dispatched footnote to a soon-outmoded style of teaching and research; rather, it can be seen as a precursor to this later development in theories of the mind's reform for well-conducted learning. But rather than dispute the 'real-world' effect of these ideas, this section will outline a strand of thought in educational and psychological theory that underwrote the language of prudence and *humanitas* in the geography textbooks. The term *habitus* is witness to a near-universal view on the part of teachers (or at least a publicly-expressed view) that learning individual disciplines was a matter of conditioning one's mind and behaviour. It is the technical and theoretical precedent for the everywhere-apparent sense ,in the authors considered below, that geography was an apt vehicle to speculate on the operation of minds, both their readers' and their own.

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[96] See Chapter 3 below, 189.

[97] Corneanu, *Regimens of the Mind: Boyle, Locke, and the Early Modern* Cultura Animi *Tradition*, Princeton UP, 2012, 2.

The concept of *habitus*, through repeated re-readings of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, became a long-lasting term used to conceive of disciplines, practices, and institutional cultures as tools of personal formation, rather than sets of restricted protocols or results.[98] A telling example comes from late-sixteenth-century Cambridge, in a published debate over Ramism which emerged during Petrus Ramus's high-water mark of influence.[99] The Cambridge logician William Temple (1555-1627) and the Herborn Theologian Johannes Piscator (1546-1625) contended over Ramus's definition of dialectic which readers of English literature know well in its Marlovian context: '*dialectica est ars bene disserendi*', 'dialectic is the art of discoursing well'.[100] In Piscator's eyes, Temple cleaved to the simplistic view that 'the act makes the art' [*usus artem facere*]; just as the German *Kunst* [art] derived from the verb *können* [to be able to (do something)], an art was defined by its ability to produce results.[101] Piscator, however, saw the word as more complex. Treading in Aristotle's tracks, Piscator argued that an art not only consists of its *dynamis* or *facultas*, that is its capacity for concrete artistic action, but also of *hexis* or *habitus*, that is the disposition of mind which the practitioner of an art must learn, *before* they put it into practice: 'one and the same matter may be called *hexis*, that is *habitus*, with respect to the subject by whom it is possessed [*habetur*], and in whom it inheres: but *dynamis*, that is *facultas*, with

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98 For the modern theory of *habitus* see above all Pierre Bourdieu, trans. Richard Nice, *The Logic of Practice*, Stanford UP, 1992. Bourdieu wrote extensively about formal and informal education in relation to *habitus*, see Bourdieu, trans. Nice, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge UP, 1977; Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, trans. Nice, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Sage, 1977.

99 The literature on sixteenth-century English Ramism is very large: for an important treatment of the Cambridge context, see Lisa Jardine, 'The Place of Dialectic Teaching in Sixteenth Century Cambridge', *Studies in the Renaissance* 21 (1974): 31-62. For more on his influence, see Chapter 2 below, 124 n. 40.

100 cf. Christopher Marlowe, eds. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, *Doctor Faustus: A- and B- Texts (1604, 1616)*, Manchester UP, 1993, I.i.6-7, where Faustus quotes and translates the slightly different form, '*Bene disserere est finis logices*. / Is to dispute well logic's chiefest end?'

101 *Gulielmi Tempelli philosophi Cantabrigiensis epistola de dialectica Rami, ad Joan. Piscatorem Argentinens. unà cum Joan. Piscatoris ad illam epist[olam] responsione*, London: for John Harrison, 1583, 20: 'Certé usus artem facere, usitato proverbio dicitur. Et nos Germani artem ex ea facultate vocamus *Kunst*, á verbo *Kœnnen*, id est posse'.

respect to its end, that is the work to the performance of which it is directed'.[102] If the *facultas* was the capacity of an art to produce results, the *habitus* was the learned disposition of mind which underwrote this capacity. This dual definition allowed Piscator to further advance his own reading of 'art' against Temple's rather more narrow understanding of the term: 'I use the term 'art' to denote a certain *habitus* and *facultas* in the mind of the artist: but you use the same word to signify the right description of precepts, the course of which the artist follows in their work'.[103] While Temple allegedly defined art by its result-producing, codified aspect, Piscator saw an art as something which equally inhered in the character of its student.[104]

Habitus (Gk. *hexis*) in the *Nicomachean Ethics* was a term imported from the *Categories*: where in the latter it simply denoted a long-lasting quality inhering in a logical object, in the former it was a distinct view of human behaviour, underpinning Aristotle's theory of how repeated action (thus our sense of 'habit') combined with the exercise of reason to inculcate virtue, whether in the field of practical ethics or of the practical arts (*techné*).[105] *Hexis*, too, was a means of understanding teaching without the stricture of precepts. A *hexis* was 'an entrenched psychic condition or state which develops through experience rather than congenitally', but it was not a means of knowing the exact nature of

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[102] Temple & Piscator, *Epistolae*, 21: 'Nec vero quicquam vetat ut una eademque res, et *hexis* id est habitus dicatur, ratione subjecti a quo habetur, cuique inhaeret: et etiam *dynamis* id est facultas, ratione finis, nimirum operis ad quod efficiendum destinata est'.

[103] Temple & Piscator, *Epistolae*, 21: 'Ego .n. artis vocabulo usus sum ad significandu*m* habitum quendam & facultatem in mente artificis: tu vero idem vocabulum usurpas ad significandum legitimam praeceptorum descriptionem, quorum ductum artifex in agendo sequitur'. Cf. Temple's spikier response in Ramus, ed. Temple, *Dialecticae libri duo*, Cambridge: ex officina Thomae Thomasii, 1584, 218: 'Mitto tuam de artis vocabulo inanem distinctionem. Vide quid mihi ex ista responsione ad Piscatorianae animadversionis denudādam imbecillitatem occurrat'.

[104] I have adapted this paragraph from Flynn Allott, 'Renaissance *habitus*: Three Books on Early Modern Pedagogy and Literature', *COMITATUS* 55 (2024) 247-62.

[105] For an excellent summary, see Thornton C. Lockwood, 'Habituation, Habit, and Character in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*', in Tom Sparrow and Adam Hutchinson (eds.), *A History of Habit: From Aristotle to Bordieu*, Lexington Books, 2013, 19-36. For the early modern reception of the *Nic. Ethics*, see Jon Miller (ed.), *The Reception of Aristotle's Ethics*, Cambridge UP, 2012, 171-221; on the specifically institutional context, see Feingold, 'The Humanities', 306-27.

all future experience.[106] Rather, by creating 'an ability to act in a way which is responsive to the particular circumstances involved in any particular action', the virtuous man's *hexeis* made him a paragon of practical wisdom.[107] There is a clear resonance here with Cheyne's view that geography conditioned the mind to be responsive to 'every sort of discipline'; the refusal to prescribe action in advance, but rather to provide a basic responsiveness to the various unpredictability of the world, was an animating element both of Aristotle's concept and early modern textbooks on geography. If geography as it was taught at university-level was an *ars*, it would have its own *habitus*: part of what the passages in the previous section were trying to do, I suggest, was define this *habitus*'s nature.

William Costello briefly and astutely noted in the 1950s that Cambridge teaching aimed at the formation of *habitus* specifically as against mere repetition of codified pedagogy: 'rhetoric included much more than the mere parroting of precepts: the student who had read widely among the Greek and Latin masters necessarily acquired a *habitus* of style which reduced the precepts to practice'.[108] Critical attention to the term has faltered for a while, though recently Colin Burrow has shown how the stress on 'habit (*hexis*), practice, and induration' were characteristic of Greek and Latin rhetorical pedagogy, and formed the intellectual background to the stipulation that a student should imitate an author or teacher's 'style' rather than their specific words or actions.[109] *Habitus*, for Burrow, is part of 'dispositional imitation', or a process of behavioural formation where a student adopted a general manner of proceeding from their programme of reading, exercising prudence (itself a habitually nurtured, and utterly paramount virtue in Aristotle's scheme) while adapting pedagogical material to

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[106] Lockwood, 'Habituation', 23.
[107] Lockwood, 'Habituation', 27, 28.
[108] Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum in Seventeenth-Century Cambridge*, Harvard UP, 1959, 61.
[109] Burrow, *Imitating Authors: Plato to Futurity*, Oxford UP, 2019, 69, *et ad indicem*. Cf., on *stilus* and *hexis*, Kathy Eden, *Rhetorical Renaissance: The Mistress Art and her Masterworks*, Chicago UP, 2022, 101-2.

their own circumstances. Recent work on specific intellectual knots of the seventeenth century have attempted to revive the term for their own purposes. Tarek R. Dika, in a treatment of the intellectual background to Descartes's 'subject of science', has argued (somewhat neatly) that it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that *habitus* began to be conceived of as a unifying force *between* arts, rather than each art having its own *habitus*: the emphasis here was on 'Aristotelian practical wisdom (φρόνησις, *phronesis* or *prudentia*, in Latin), which unifies the ethical virtues in deliberations about what to do in particular cases'.[110] Closer to the field of institutional history is Jessica Winston's look at the Inns of Court, England's 'Third University', where the term is used to illustrate how the increasing unity in practice between the various Inns effected a popular and parodiable *habitus* of an Inns-man: those who studied there inevitably came 'to learn the habits and *habitus*—the dispositions, styles, ways of talking, and listening—of the legal magistracy'.[111]

In all of these examples, it is notable how *habitus* provokes the vocabulary of 'disposition', 'character', and 'manner of proceeding'. These terms distance textbooks, institutional cultures, and pedagogical theory from their positive content, and relate them to what Grafton and Jardine called the 'incidental advantages' of humanist education. Whether or not the teachers I have surveyed here were hopeless optimists or ideologically-cowed apparatchiks attempting to conceal pedagogy's 'real' work, their books exhibit a marked attention to *habitus* as exactly this type of prudential induration. Almost every author of the textbooks above had considered *habitus* somewhere in their work. Melanchthon defined the concept in his *Erotema dialectices* (1547), and tellingly used the analogy of a painter to describe it, showing the passage from manual practice to mental aptitude: 'In Luke the art

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110 Dika, *Descartes's Method: The Formation of the Subject of Science*, Oxford UP, 2023, 52.

111 Winston, *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558-81*, Oxford UP, 2016, 39.

of painting is a *habitus*: Luke learns to paint, and after his hand is trained [*assuefacta est*], he paints more easily and surely those lines, which his mind gazes upon and enjoys painting, than other unskilled men paint'.[112] Cheyne's only other major work, a series of *scholia* on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, glossed prudence or *phronesis* as a *habitus*, an understanding which Dika views as characteristic of the period.[113] Keckermann's *Systema logicae* (1601) subjected the term to his system: it was given a historical treatment as it appeared in Aristotle, Roman authors, and recent dialecticians; it was separated from *dispositio* as a more long-lasting quality of character, instilled by reason and repeated practise.[114] One seventeenth-century reader in Oxford bound Cheyne's *De geographia* together with a collection of natural-philosophical disputations published by Keckermann, the very first of which defined both *scientia* and *prudentia* as *habitus*.[115] University students could hardly fail to have encountered the concept when dealing with work in dialectic, metaphysics, or natural philosophy: through these authors' definitions and metaphors, *habitus* was associated with a practical attitude to the *artes*, and with a process of becoming skilled in any given *ars* by training the mind as much as the body. When understanding the function of geography beyond its precepts, then, students would have a conceptual background against which they could set the unique benefits of becoming practised in this *ars*: to be ready for 'every sort of discipline', to keep the vertiginously multiple world in check; to organise complex information in visually pleasurable, absorbing *imagines*; to form oneself into a characteristically learned,

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[112] Melancthon, *Erotema dialectices, continentia fere integram artem, ita scripta, ut iuventuti utiliter proponi possint*, Leipzig, 1547, 38: 'In Luca ars pingendi est habitus, didicit pingere Lucas, & postquam manus assuefacta est, facilius & certius pingit eas lineas, quas mens intuetur, quam alii rudes pingerent'

[113] Cheyne, *Analysis sive resolutio, et quaestionum difficilorum in xiv. libros Aristotelis de divina philosophia dilucida explicatio*, Douai: for Balthasar Bellère, 1599, fol. 13b: 'prudentia [...] est recta rerum agendarum ratio [...] est habitus cum ratione vera coniunctus, ad agendum idoneus.' Cf. fol. 70b for Cheyne's disambiguation of the concept.

[114] Keckermann, *Systema logicae*, Hanover, 1601, 97-100.

[115] Cf. n. 65 above. Keckermann, *Disputationes*, 2, 3: 'Scientia est habitus acquiescens in contemplatione earum rerum, quae humanae volutati aut operae non subiacent'; 'prudentia [...] habitus est in boni moralis operatione occupatus'.

aesthetically literate, and aristocratically male moral archetype. These were the skills advertised by teachers of geography, and they constituted the geographical *habitus*.[116]

This thesis's goal will be to show that, through various interpretations of geography's *habitus*, authors of prose framed their own literary priorities in relation to the apparent mental and behavioural virtues of this discipline. The other side of this argument is to show that their thought still retained a fundamental relationship with practical geography, rather than the exhibiting of a broader set of moral or psychological principles only secondarily 'cartographic'. Francis Bacon readily called his *Advancement of Learning* (1604) 'as it were a small Globe of the Intellectuall world'; the frontispiece to the later Latin expansion of the work (as translated into English by Gilbert Wats), advertising a ship sailing beyond the Pillars of Hercules, makes clear this piece's investment (both material and 'Intellectuall') in the cartographic changes wrought by transatlantic ventures.[117] However, Chapter 1 will show that in his Latinate works, particularly the *Novum organum* and its early drafts, Bacon allied this contemporary (and imperial) line of thinking with the communicative and psychological conception of cartography I have been outlining here. In unfolding this connection, new light will be cast on Bacon's use of metaphor, and on metaphor's relationship with mapping. Chapter 2 will revise a range of critical opinion concerning Robert Burton's avowed love for maps, and the place in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621-51) in which 'mapping' is said to take place. Much of what has been shown above about the pedagogical insistence on mapping as a practice which both exposes and contains

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[116] I have not discovered any texts explicitly defining geography's *habitus*, and have had to work inductively: a tantalizingly close example, however, is David Abercromby's bilingual polymathic primer *Academia scientiarum*, where immediately before the section outlining geography's rudiments, Abercromby translates the Latin *habitus* as both an 'art' and a 'habit'. Cf. Abercromby, *Academia scientiarum*, London: for J. Taylor, 1687, 70-73.

[117] Bacon, ed. Graham Rees, ed. Michael Kiernan, *The Oxford Francis Bacon IV: The Advancement of Learning*, Oxford UP, 2000, 194; Bacon, trans. Gilbert Wats, *Of the Advancement and Proficience of Learning, or the Partitions of Science, in Six Books*, Oxford: by Leon: Lichfield, 1640.

varietas will become relevant, as will the emphasis on mental reformation. My contention, *pace* much criticism, is that for Burton it is through, rather than against variety, that mapping performs its curative work.

Chapter 3 turns to a less-read figure, the church historian Thomas Fuller, whose *Pisgah-sight of Palestine* (1650) offered an extremely popular and influential set of maps depicting the Holy Land. I will show how Fuller developed his maps in tandem with his own distinctive brand of prose-style, both of which stressed 'moderation'—a political boon for Fuller's precarious situation during the Interregnum—as the ultimate goal of the historian. Fuller actively promoted his holistic personal 'style' as a *habitus* which responded to the *varietas* of confessionalised philological debate and political factionalism, and functioned as a potential salve to social wounds. The final chapter will consider the antiquarian writings of John Aubrey, who in his 'perambulations' of various English counties produced many 'prospects'—hasty, sketched perspective maps of individual landscapes. Aubrey assigned a clear communicative rôle to these 'prospects': he saw them as visually striking, mentally provocative inducements to future work; all of these preoccupations will sound familiar. Again, Aubrey's 'prospective' thought on cartography was intimately connected to the apparent goals of his 'minute' prose-style; he developed his own pedagogical theory of both in the *Idea of Education* (1669-94).

None of these authors ventured to define geography's *habitus*, or even to mention the concept explicitly at all. However, all educated to some degree at the universities, and all versed in formal pedagogical material as well as the Aristotelian tradition, their view of what constituted an *ars* could not but have been inflected by the concept. These authors, as shall become increasingly apparent as this thesis goes on, were exceedingly comfortable speculating about what practicing geography and

cartography meant for one's character; while they differed locally in their interpretations, they were unanimous that geographical language, and even maps themselves, were expressive of an inner aptitude connected with approaches to the world's *varietas*. To illustrate this point, I will conclude this introduction with a reading of two works closer to the universities than those considered later: Jean Bodin's textbook on historiography, and John Milton's youthful *Prolusions*. Neither of these authors read geography as a self-contained discipline, in which the only goal to be sought was the closest possible representation of territory. Rather, they implicitly read geography as containing a *habitus*: a certain disposition and competence, which involved a prudent management of the vicissitudes of worldly affairs, and an erudite 'dignity' which both conditioned one's mind and bodied it forth for the world to see.

V—Milton and Bodin: 'As if in a Map'

Jean Bodin's (1530-96) *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566, rev. 1572), or 'Method for the Easy Comprehension of History', was one of the better-known textbooks on historiography during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[118] The French jurist prescribed a gradual process by which a student could get to grips with historical material, proceeding—in a fashion which, we have seen, was popular for such teachers as Keckermann—from the general to the particular, in such a fashion as the student's attention would never be overtaxed or underworked: 'in a steady methodical and chronological manner the student would acquire knowledge of the succession of nations and empires until he arrived at the present. At all times Bodin recommends the pursuit of the general before the

[118] For summary accounts of its influence, see Leonard F. Dean, 'Bodin's *Methodus* in England before 1625', *Studies in Philology* 39.2 (1942): 160-66; Sara Miglietti, 'Reading from the Margins: Some Insights into the Early Reception of Bodin's *Methodus*', in *The Reception of Bodin*, ed. Howell A. Lloyd, Brill, 2013, 193-217; Anthony Grafton, *What Was History?: The Art of History in Early Modern Europe*, Harvard UP, 2007, 189-254. On history-teaching more broadly (and Bodin's place therein), see Feingold, 'The Humanities', 327-57 (note discussion of maps on 342). On Bodin and geography, see Ann Blair, *The Theatre of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science*, Chicago UP, 1997, 153-80; Lestringant, *Écrire la Monde.*

particular and, therefore, the reading of a short epitome as an introduction to a more detailed book'.[119] The familiarity of this style of teaching thus explains the very early appearance of a metaphor which we can by now recognise as a commonplace: 'what, then, is more sweet than to gaze upon the deeds of our elders in a history, laid out and set down as if in a map? What is more delightful than to see their deeds, riches, and battle-lines cohering amongst themselves? What a certain pleasure it is, such that it alone remedies the ills of body and mind.'[120] The priorities here are known to us: a *tabula* is a particular source of educative pleasure, a panacea for mental lassitude of all kinds, a tool for making various and overwhelming events or objects 'cohere'. Bodin's language here, like Vives's before him, is ambiguous—his most recent English translator has 'picture' for *tabula* in this case. However, as Bodin's initially ambiguous metaphor develops, the specific disciplinary language of geography infringes upon his thought: whether or not this first use of *tabula* specifically alluded to a map, the virtues of the *tabula* would soon be given a concrete discipline as their background.

What is most striking in Bodin's *Methodus*, as it was in Vives above, is how imperceptible the oscillation between figurative and literal uses of the map is, and hence how what was first an ambiguity is given retrospective clarification. In a later passage on the order necessary to read one's way into history, Bodin expatiates at length on Cosmography's analogy to history:

> these things which I have said concerning the order of histories, may easily be understood by comparison to Cosmography. For this discipline has such a proximity to and affinity with history, that the one seems to be part of the other. And indeed we gather and copy histories of the Scythians, Indians, Ethiopians and Americans from the geographers. And besides, historians use geographical descriptions, and historians always describe regions of lands, so

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119 Feingold, 'The Humanities', 332.

120 Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, Paris: Martinus Iuvenis, 1572, 5-6: 'quid autem suavius quam in historia velut in proposita subiectaque tabula res intueri maiorum? quid iucundius quam eorum opes, copias, ipsasque acies inter se concurrentes cernere? Quae certe voluptas est eiusmodi, ut omnibus interdum corporis & animi morbis sola medeatur'. I have substantially modified the translation in Bodin, trans. Beatrice Reynolds, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, New York: Octagon, 1945.

> that if any art were necessary to the historian, no doubt geography seems most necessary.[121]

This is a common-sense view of geography as the 'eye of history', a useful tool for the historian to be adept in if they were to become competent. But Bodin goes on to set up an elaborate analogy: he describes the whole process of learning cosmography, in which first 'it is necessary to bring an image of the whole world, figured in a small map, under one's view'.[122] Three further pages are spent explaining the subsequent process of 'division', where this small map is bulked out with individual continents, countries, and territories, the waters and the earth divided, and ever more detail acquired by a *via plana*. It is only at the very end that Bodin clinches the analogy:

> In this way they are mistaken who gaze upon [*intuentur*] maps of regions, before they accurately learn the arrangement [*rationem*] of the whole world and the individual parts in themselves and in relation to the whole: just so, they err no less who think themselves able to understand individual histories, before they consider the order and sequence of every age of universal history, set forth as if in a map.[123]

Here, it is clear that the *tabula* is a map, though it circulates in this passage as both a metaphor and as a real tool for the historian. To learn history correctly, one must learn cosmography in its ideal form—by beginning with a 'universal map', and progressively opening up one's attention to *varietas*. But on the other hand, this was just like the right way to learn *history*—one must metaphorically 'gaze upon' the whole sweep of historical time before the events of individual ages could be properly situated. The interrelation of various disciplines—which, we have seen, was one feature which early modern *habitus*

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[121] Bodin, *Methodus*, 36: 'Haec autem quae a nobis de ordine historiarum dicta sunt, Cosmographiae similitudine facillime intelliguntur. Huius enim tanta est cum historia cognatio & affinitas, ut altera alterius pars esse videatur. & vero Scytharum, Indorum, Aethiopum, Americorum historias, a geographis duntaxat hausimus & expressimus. praeter haec historici geographicis descriptionibus utuntur, & historici terrarum regiones semper describunt, ut si ars ulla historico necessaria sit, profecto geographia summe necessaria videatur.'

[122] Bodin, *Methodus*, 26: 'necesse est mundi totius imagine*m* brevi tabula comprehensam sub aspectu*m* collocare'.

[123] Bodin, *Methodus,* 29: 'quemadmodum falluntur qui regionum tabulas prius intuentur, quam totius universi orbis partiumque singularum inter se & cum toto rationem accurate didicerint: ita non minus errant, qui singulas historias prius intelligere se posse putant, quam universae historiae omniumque temporum ordinem ac seriem velut in tabula proposita iudicarint.'

addressed—is gently gestured at by Bodin's mention of the 'whole world's' *ratio*. This was a word sufficiently ambiguous to suggest a territorial arrangement, an underlying *logos* in the world's order, a rationale for proceeding in any action, and a disposition of mind. In thinking about maps, students were encouraged to look deep into their *rationes*. As such, Bodin closes the chapter with a meditation on the right mental orientation for learning to read and write history: 'it will at last be of use that we put all sayings and deeds worthy of memorising in certain common places of memory, as if in a treasure-chest, and dig out from among them whatever seems needful in our judgement. But that cannot be accomplished more conveniently than if we set out to ourselves the partition of human actions to gaze upon [*ad intuendum*]'.[124] In order to organise the data of history according to the *ars memorativa*, the student must rely upon their 'gaze', their *intuitus*, a watchword of Bodin's geographical lexicon. Once again, the particular virtue of mapping appears to be not only its capacity for accurate territorial representation, but also its cognitive convenience: its ability to imprint upon the mind with wondrous ease the vicissitudes of world-history and its geography, and to prepare the student for 'all sorts of disciplines'.

This introduction has suggested that Bodin's thought on this matter was not *sui generis*. In fact, it was a pervasive style of thinking open to later creative use, as the ensuing chapters will show. But a piece much closer to the world of university education than those considered later, John Milton's *Prolusion 3*, is indicative of how such language and thought as Bodin's was readily adapted by students even in the earliest stages of their literary careers. Milton's early exercise in prose-composition shows a similar equivocation between metaphorical and literal uses of cartography to Bodin, and situates this

[124] Bodin, *Methodus*, 30: 'Postremum erit, ut omnia dicta factaque memoratu digna in communes quosdam memoriae locos, velut in thesaurum reponamus, & ex iis quantuncunque iudico nostro videbitur eruamus. id autem commodius fieri nequit quam si humanarum actionum partitionem nobis ad intuendum proponamus'.

familiar line of thought within a lively and satirical attack on the contemporary state of learning, a precariously balanced mocking of his academic superiors in the name of educational reform.[125] Milton's *Prolusions*—academic exercises delivered between 1627 and 1632, and intended to be read aloud among his peers at Christ's College, Cambridge, and in the University's Public Schools—were written to ruffle feathers. They burlesque themes and techniques of the disputative intellectual culture prevalent in the universities—writing on topics such as 'that day is better than night', or 'the music of the spheres'—as well as mocking outright a grotesque pastiche of the curriculum.[126]

Nowhere is this more evident than in *Prolusion 3*, delivered in the Public Schools, whose theme was 'An Attack on the Scholastic Philosophy' (*Contra philosophiam scholasticam*).[127] Milton begins with a typically humanist appeal to the traditional virtues of all good educational material, that it should delight and instruct:

> I have been deeply occupied of late, gentlemen, in seeking, and indeed one of my chief anxieties has been to find, what device of rhetoric [*apparatu verborum*] would best enable me to engage my hearers' attention [...] the fundamental duties of an orator are first to instruct, secondly to delight, and thirdly to persuade. And so I have made it my chief object to fulfil as nearly as possible this threefold function of a speaker.[128]

This opening *exordium*, which goes on to divide and further elaborate the three *officia* of rhetoric as Milton's prolusion shall fulfil them, also functions negatively as his first substantial point of objection

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[125] The fullest treatment of the *Prolusions* is John K. Hale, *Milton's Cambridge Latin: Performing in the Genres, 1625-32*, Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005. For a later view, see Sarah Knight, 'Milton's Forced Themes', *Milton Quarterly* 45.3 (2011): 145-60; cf. further William Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, Harvard UP, 2017, 25-55. On the *Prolusions* as a form of logical burlesque, see Ettenhuber, *Logical Renaissance*, 69-96.

[126] The prolusions are translated and edited in full in Milton, ed. Don M. Wolfe, *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton: Volume 1, 1624-42*, Yale UP, 1953, 215-306 (*YPW1*). I have used this translation, referring where necessary to the Latin of the first printing, Milton, *Ioannis Miltonii Angli, epistolarum familiarum liber unus*, London: for Brabazon Aylmer, 1674.

[127] The original of this prolusion is found in Milton, *Epistolae familiares*, 88-95.

[128] Milton, *YPW*, 240.

to scholasticism, particularly that of the Scotist *species*.[129] For it is on the grounds of pleasure, instruction, and persuasion that the scholastics failed: 'these pretty disputations of sour old men, which reek [...] of the monkish cells in which they were written, exude the gloomy severity of their writers, bear the traces of their authors' wrinkles, and in spite of their condensed style [*succinctam brevitatem*] produce by their excessive tediousness only boredom and distaste'.[130] It is a distinctly undelightful prose style which is at issue in this opening broadside, and accordingly, Milton flamboyantly rails against the atrophying effect of this style on the reader's eye and mind:

> Many a time, when the duty of tracing out these petty subtleties for a while has been laid upon me, when my mind has been dulled and my sight blurred by continued reading [*retusam diutina lectione & animi & oculorum aciem*]—many a time, I say, I have paused to take breath, and have sought some slight relief from my boredom in looking to see how much yet remained of my task.[131]

We begin to hear the old tune of academic complaint here, the plaintive notes of Hobbes with which this introduction opened. As with Hobbes, it would be unwise to take this burlesque as an accurate impression of university teaching at the time (though, as William Poole has suggested, there is no smoke without fire).[132] Milton does, however, seem to have remained committed to the priorities on show in this passage throughout his career. As Sarah Knight has argued, Milton's later *Of Education* (1644) takes the basic position 'that contemporary educational provision in England is inadequate: it does not form correct *habits of mind* and is both hidebound and unsophisticated'.[133] How serious Milton was in his critique is not to be disputed here; what is revealing, though, is that the mind's reform

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[129] On Duns Scotus as a particular target of this prolusion, see *YPW*, 241, 2, nn. 2, 5.

[130] Milton, *YPW*, 241.

[131] Milton, *YPW*, 241.

[132] Poole, *Milton,* 31: 'dons do not like to be told that they are bad teachers, and several passages in the *prolusiones* imply that Milton annoyed at least some of his fellow students.' Cf., for contrast, Nicholas McDowell, *Poet of Revolution: The Making of John Milton*, Princeton UP, 2020, 98-9: 'Milton's attack on scholastic method in his Prolusions is [...] less likely to reflect the main focus of the curriculum at the time as to be invoking conventional and crowd-pleasing tropes of anti-scholastic rhetoric, commonplace in humanist educational theory'.

[133] Knight, 'Forced Themes', 156. My emphasis.

appears as a major theme in creative treatments of student life over the century, and further, that the mind's decay is a feature of bad education's style and content alike. And as *Prolusion 3* goes on, a conflation of reformed education with one discipline whose style and content was balm to the mind lacerated by haecceities and quiddities begins to emerge.

In moving on to the 'dull and feeble subject-matter' of scholastic work, Milton writes that 'it seems to me as if I were forcing my way through rough and rocky wastes, desolate wildernesses, and precipitous mountain gorges'.[134] The immediate remedy to this compounded lassitude is 'divine poetry', which functions as an ejector-seat for the soul (Cheyne's words once again echo distantly, as Burton's later will): 'by that power with which it is by heavenly grace indued, [poetry] raises aloft the soul smothered by the dust of the earth and sets it among the mansions of heaven [*inter cœli templa*]'.[135] He sets the stage for the emergence of geography with this territorial scene. And so, after a further set of complaints and recommended remedies, Milton embarks upon a final peroration, introduced by a return to the question of style: 'there are [...] two things which most enrich and adorn our country: eloquent speech and noble action. But this contentious duel of words has no power either to teach eloquence or to inculcate wisdom or to incite to noble acts. Then away with these ingenious praters [*argutatores versuti*], with all their forms and phrases'.[136] After this force-gathering return to his central preoccupation, Milton opens a closing analogy which falls on our ears, at this point, with a thud of inevitability:

> But how much better were it, gentlemen, and how much more consonant with your dignity, now to let your eyes wander as it were over all the lands depicted on a map [*descriptas chartula terras universas quasi oculis perambulare*], and to behold the places trodden by the heroes of old, to range over the regions made famous by wars, by triumphs, and even by the tales of poets of renown, now to climb

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[134] Milton, *YPW*, 243.
[135] Milton, *YPW*, 243.
[136] Milton, *YPW*, 246.

> the stormy Adriatic, now to climb unharmed the slopes of fiery Etna, then to spy out the customs of mankind and those states which are well ordered…[137]

The image goes on interminably. A scene of an unconfined, erudite, and recreative mental pleasure emerges, of the type which Ullrich Langer has traced in post-Aristotelian literary aesthetics of this period and which Burton and Aubrey will exhibit in its cartographic mode with exceptional vigour.[138] Milton turns his imagined *chartula* to take in 'the nature of all living creatures' and 'the secret virtues of stones and herbs'; we are to go, like Hobbes, 'close upon the sun in all his journeys' [*solem peregrinantem sequamini comites*]; the goal is to end up at 'the summit of all human wisdom', along with 'those holy minds and intelligences whose company [the soul] must hereafter join'.[139] The disciplines taken in are by no means conventionally 'geographical', or 'spatial': instead, Milton analogises geography with a 'dignified' disposition of mind which conduces to the correct learning of 'all sorts of disciplines'; he appeals to *habitus*.[140]

Work on this prolusion has long noticed the variety of disciplines invoked here; the Yale editors count 'geography, history, political science, natural science, astronomy, and meteorology' among them.[141] But the critical emphasis has been on how this invocation is 'trendily Baconian', or how it shows 'Milton's advocacy of the replacement of the old curriculum by a new one, one based on real knowledge and experimental science'.[142] In light of the material considered in this introduction, though, the governing metaphor of this clinching passage would in fact appear to be much older than

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137 Milton, *YPW*, 246.

138 Langer, 'Pleasure as Unconstrained Movement in Renaissance Literary Aesthetics', *French Studies* 64.1 (2010): 13-25.

139 Milton, *YPW*, 246-7.

140 On Milton's conception of 'universal learning' beyond the disciplines in the *Prolusions*, see Claire Jowitt and Diane Watt, 'Introduction', in *The Arts of 17th-Century Science: Representations of the Natural World in European and North American Culture*, Routledge, 2002, 1-11.

141 Milton, *YPW*, 247, n. 17. For Milton's later views on geography, see his preface to *A Brief History of Moscovia* (1682) in Milton, ed. G.B. Parks, *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton: Volume 8, 1662-82*, Yale UP, 1982.

142 Poole, *Milton*, 31; *YPW*, 247 n. 17.

these treatments let on. Milton, in comparing his universal survey of the disciplines to looking at a map, sounds quite like Bodin (whom we know he had read in detail), and thence like the whole background of humanist and late-humanist geography.[143] The familiar themes are visited: map-reading is analogous to a style and form of communication which refreshes the mind through its pleasurable and useful effect, and does not allow it to become bogged down in technical sophistry; it allows one to survey the *varietas* of the world at both human and non-human levels; it imparts an element of moral 'dignity'. We have seen how these were the constituent parts of the geographical *habitus*. None of this is surprising, given the sheer weight of material which lay behind such language; it is significant, however, in its dissent from the impression of practical geography as a vaguely 'modern' tool, situated in a miasmic climate of 'experimentation'. In the chapters that follow, I will show how authors educated in similar situations to Milton, for all their interest in new forms of knowledge and individual styles of expression, reached back to this long-lasting conception of geography and cartography, which—because of its sheer adaptability, its capacity to traverse the disciplines and cast new light on each of them—figured largely in the concerns they expressed in prose.

[143] Fletcher, *Intellectual Development*, vol. 2, 323, suggests that Milton would have first read Bodin at university. For Milton's possession of a rare manuscript of some of Bodin's more controversial work, see Louis I. Bredvold, 'Milton and Bodin's *Heptaplomeres*', *Studies in Philology* 21.2 (1924): 399-402.

Chapter I: 'In Tabellis Mentis': Plotting the Future in Francis Bacon's Cartographic Metaphors

'I see (as in a map) the end of all…'
- *Richard III*, II.iv.54

I — Introduction

In *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), his ground-laying vernacular proposal for the improvement of knowledge in all its channels, Francis Bacon offers a historical view of the sciences' relation to one rhetorical figure:

> in the Infancie of Learning, and in rude times, when those Conceits, which are now triuiall, were then newe; the World was full of *Parables* and *Similitudes*; for else would men either haue passed ouer without Marke, or else reiected for Paradoxes, that which was offered; before they had vnderstoode or iudged […] *For it is a Rule, That whatsoeuer Science is not consonant to presuppositions, must pray in ayde of Similitudes.*
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> (*Adv.*, 125)[1]

Here Bacon rehearses the arguments of Cicero, Quintilian, and other rhetoricians who saw metaphor—in its most basic, etymological sense, the 'carrying over' (Gk. μετα-φορά) of a term from its original usage to a new context—as a vehicle for civilization and knowledge's development.[2] While 'Learning' was not yet mature, it needed to be coaxed by the use of language with a recognisable background of signification; it required the use of 'Similitudes' and metaphors as 'Helps for the

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[1] Bacon, ed. Michael Kiernan, *The Oxford Francis Bacon IV: The Advancement of Learning*, Oxford UP, 2000. Emphasis my own. All further citations of this work will appear in the main text. Since the Clarendon edition of Bacon is not yet completed, wherever one of Bacon's works is not published in the Clarendon series, I will use the text from the standard edition of *The Works of Francis Bacon,* eds. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, Douglas Denon Heath, 15 vols., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1857-79 (*SEH*).

[2] For a summary of this classical position, as well as a stimulating reading of its possible sociological implications, see Patricia Parker, 'Metaphor and Catachresis', in *The Ends of Rhetoric: History, Theory, Practice*, eds. John Bender and David E. Wellbery, Stanford UP, 1990, 60-73. Parker argues that Early Modern metaphor was a socially troubled figure precisely because of this aetiology, in which metaphor always presupposes an original, 'primitive' *catachresis* (the use of an improper or inappropriate term as a metaphorical figure for a given concept). For a re-reading of Parker's work and the texts she studies, see Judith E. Anderson, *Translating Investments: Metaphor and the Dynamic of Cultural Change in Tudor-Stuart England*, Fordham UP, 2005, esp. Chapter 7: 'Catachresis and Metaphor: "Be bold, Be bold, Be Not Too Bold" in the Latin Rhetorical Tradition and its Renaissance Adaptors', 129-165.

Intellectual Powers' (the title of a letter on educational reform that Bacon wrote to Henry Savile at around the same time).[3] Any species of knowledge which was unexpected or novel ('not consonant to presuppositions') would need to take figurative form in the language of its promoters, if it were to elicit public assent. It is the contention of this chapter that one particularly important 'similitude' for Bacon, whose literary reputation rests on his portrayal of seventeenth-century learning as in its own 'Infancie', was the conception of geography which I outlined in the introduction. We have seen how easily textbooks of humanist and late-humanist education moved between their advocacy of cartography as a metaphorical figure for learning done well, and their descriptions of it as a discipline in its own right. Here, I suggest that Bacon, in all his focus on how the mind might be correctly oriented to useful knowledge, and what future shape this knowledge might take, drew repeatedly on the geographical *habitus*—a prudential disposition of mind which was responsive to variety and individual circumstance without becoming overwhelmed by it—as a defining image for his often-obscurely-imagined intellectual aids.

In each of the works which this chapter surveys—the *Advancement*, the *Novum organum,* and the early drafts towards the *Instauratio magna*—Bacon was gesturing at a future reform of learning which was advertised for its unfamiliarity and magnitude; the prevailing language of greatness and novelty in his titles was the ground note to be sounded in the metaphors used to describe his project. In what follows, I will show not only that geographical imagery was one particularly prominent aspect of his advertisement; I will also suggest that because of the pedagogical conception of mapping's usefulness which Bacon and others inherited, metaphor itself came to resemble the use of maps in both form and function. Both the ever-advancing 'science' of geography and this most 'primitive' of rhetorical tropes, in their need to put matters 'before the eyes'; to elicit emotional and rational assent to this

[3] *SEH*, vol. 7, 93-104. The editors date this letter to 1596-1604.

imagined form from their audiences; and to display the speaker-cartographer's habitual intelligence and 'liberality', shared a common purpose.

II—Bacon and Mapping; Bacon and Metaphor

Until recently, Bacon has not been seen in any depth as a particularly 'cartographic' thinker. None of the most influential of the works which have connected Bacon's thought to various *artes*—whether Lisa Jardine's reading of Bacon's work in the context of contemporary dialectic-teaching; Antonio Pérez-Ramos's connection of Bacon to a 'maker's knowledge tradition', or Paolo Rossi's outline of Bacon's reliance on and eventual turn away from magical, alchemical technique to a new 'scientific' mode of investigation—have given any major place to geography as it was taught or communicated during his lifetime.[4] The reasons for this have been outlined by Patrick J. Murray, who has recently attempted to re-read Bacon as an author who did think in a specific fashion about geography and cartography:

> despite occupying prominent positions in both the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts, spheres populated with such avid map-readers as William Cecil, Francis Walsingham and the Sidneys, Henry and Philip, Bacon's engagement with cartography appears, by comparison, slight. He never (as far as we know) drew or commissioned any maps himself.[5]

Though this final statement is, as we shall see, factually incorrect, it is right in its recognition that Bacon himself sits somehow athwart the administrative 'map-consciousness' which occupied court politics at this time, and has exercised historians of cartography to influential effect.[6] Murray's work

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[4] Lisa Jardine, *Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse*: Cambridge UP, 1974; Antonio Pérez-Ramos*, Francis Bacon's Idea of Science and the Maker's Knowledge Tradition*, Oxford UP, 1988; Paolo Rossi, *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science*, Routledge, 1968, repr. 2009.

[5] Murray, *Intellectual and Imaginative Cartographies in Early Modern England*, Routledge, 2023, 134.

[6] For the most influential account of this court culture, with particular emphasis on the Cecils, see Peter Barber, 'England II: Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps, 1550-1625', in *The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Governance in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret, Chicago UP, 1992, 57-98

is a valuable account of Bacon's interest in geography as an absent presence in his work; and more importantly, he recognises that his thought is influenced by a distinct strand of humanist pedagogy.

Murray's treatment of Bacon is situated within a broader discussion of the vernacular tradition of geography-manuals generally produced not in university contexts, but more often for grammar schools, private academies, and aristocratic households.[7] This tradition, according to Murray, was marked by its twin emphases on theory and practice as doubled educational aims:

> among contemporary educational treatises […] there is a continual emphasis on the need for the presence of cartographic equipment in the classroom and study. This reflected the inherent practicality of the discipline. By many pedagogists, cartographic objects were seen not only as things to delight and imaginatively transport – but they were also understood as vital devices for learning about geography and its related disciplines. Furthermore, the theory/practice nexus at the heart of geographical science was emblematic of the more profound humanist educational paradigm that stressed both theoretical book learning and functional experimentation.[8]

Bacon is connected to this tradition through his own concern with the combination of theory and practice in his proposed reforms to learning. In a short survey of some of Bacon's works, Murray argues that John Cabot, the navigator whose exploits are detailed in the *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* (1622), emblematises the union of practical navigation and mathematical theory in cartography; he argues that the *Advancement*'s calling 'cosmography' an 'operative' pursuit shows that a practical mindset is uppermost even in the most rarefied, large-scale geographical discipline; he sees the list of 'instruments' at the end of the *New Atlantis*—a work from which maps entirely disappear after the first page—as related in an unclear fashion to an apparently 'geographical' focus on the necessity for instrumentation in science.

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[7] See Murray, "'There is None so Good Lernynge': Cartography and Cartographic Instruments in Early Modern English Educational Treatises', in *Imaginative Cartographies*, 102-32.
[8] Murray, *Imaginative Cartographies*, 110.

The result is that geography became an exemplary form of Bacon's whole view of 'science': 'If Cabot was a proto-Baconian scientist; and the "mathematical house" [in the *New Atlantis*] with its geographically inflected activities evoked the necessitous application of both theory and practice with instruments of Baconian science; then geography, more generally, with its obligation for instrumentation, a combination of learning and experimentation, was a proto-Baconian science'.[9] Despite the intuitively plausible thrust of this argument, Murray's argument falters due to its needlessly restricted pool of examples. By confining himself to passages of Bacon's work which are explicitly 'about' geography and cosmography—that is, those which discuss the progress of those disciplines, and the need for 'instrumentation' as a (not always strictly geographical) desideratum for science—Murray ignores the place where geography emerges most often in Bacon; that is, in his metaphors. The most marked presence of maps in Bacon's writing is in the half-disavowed 'not only' of Murray's passage quoted above: 'cartographic objects were not only seen as things to delight and imaginatively transport'. It is in their capacity to 'transport' (μετα-φορά) that we see Bacon's situation within the climate of both vernacular and Latinate geographical education emerge in its clearest light. This metaphorical prominence is, as we shall see, on some occasions to the confirmation of Murray's theory-practice/contemplation-experimentation emphasis; more often, however, it appears that Bacon used cartographic metaphor to give a future-oriented, projective sense of a particular stage in his proposed form of enquiry. As much as he saw geography as a discipline defined by precepts and practice, he also saw it as a species of communication, and it was this analogy and its amenability to metaphor which found its way most often into his prose.[10]

[9] Murray, *Imaginative Cartographies*, 147.

[10] Murray does recognise that the institutional situation of geography meant that it was often allied to other disciplines, defining it as 'an area proliferated by multimedia and multidisciplinary texts' (109), but this argument is not applied prominently to Bacon.

On the other side of the critical terrain, Bacon's relationship to metaphor has been puzzled over in much greater detail than his relationship to cartography. Brian Vickers, in his classic treatment of Bacon's style, argued that images were 'often the imaginative centre of his argument, around which other supporting points revolve', observing further that Bacon's 'ability to think in images does not involve a rigid development of one vehicle, but a fluid movement which is always responsive to variations in the thought'.[11] Bacon's capacity to think outward from a metaphor's vehicle is Vickers's major illustration; an example of this outgrowth which he does not cite but which will be crucial to this chapter appears early in *The Advancement*'s second book, in one of his many attempts to define this early piece:

> I will now attempt to make a generall and faithfull perambulation of learning, with an inquiry what parts therof lye fresh and wast, and not improued & conuerted by the Industrie of man; to the end that such a plotte made and recorded to memorie, may both minister light to anie publique designation: and also serue to excite voluntary endeuours; wherin neuerthelesse my purpose is at this time, to note onely omissions and deficiences […] For it is one thing to set forth what ground lyeth vnmanured; and another thing to correct ill husbandry in that which is manured.
>
> (*Adv.*, 61)

Bacon begins by calling his work a 'perambulation', a clear reference to the vernacular chorographies which had been popular at least since William Lambarde's *A Perambulation of Kent* (1570).[12] He then specifies the metaphor, arguing that the result of his 'perambulation' will be a 'plot'—a small-scale, practical map of a defined area, often an insufficiently productive estate, or a field of military operation: the former sense applies most clearly to Bacon's observation that such a 'plot' would

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[11] Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose*, Cambridge UP, 1968, 159, 184. Other major discussions of Bacon's style and his attitudes thereto include Karl Wallace, *Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric*, UNC Press, 1943; J.L Harrison, 'Bacon's view of Rhetoric, Poetry and the Imagination', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 20 (1957): 107-125; Jardine, *Francis Bacon*; James Stephens, *Francis Bacon and the Style of Science*, Chicago UP, 1975. For a more recent commentary, see Giuliano Mori, *Le tracce della verità: Metodo scientifico e retorica digressiva nell'età di Francis Bacon*, Il Mulino, 2017, in which Bacon's 'elliptical' rhetorical style is (occasionally tendentiously) compared to Johannes Kepler's newly-proposed elliptical movements of the planets.

[12] Cf. Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plow: the Representation of Agrarian England, 1500-1660*, Cambridge UP, 1996, 231-62.

'minister light to anie publique designation'.[13] Finally, in suggesting that his 'plot' would 'set forth what ground lyeth vnmanured', Bacon locates his image firmly in that of progressive 'improvement' of unproductive land (carried out most often through a cartographic survey of its constituent parts), a theme which would find further literal and metaphorical expression with Bacon's later followers, especially in the circle of Samuel Hartlib.[14] The quoted metaphor, in its use of a specific form of cartography to metaphorically suggest an ambiguous future for research, will soon appear typical in Bacon's thought on geography. Here, however, we must note this passage's consonance with Vickers's reading, in the developing vehicle's gradually accumulating specificity and variation; its sense of Bacon's argument emerging naturally from the well-chosen image; and the construction of the image from a central ground (the 'plot') and its 'supporting images' (the division of 'vnmanured' and 'manured' land). This cartographic metaphor thus seems characteristically 'Baconian' in one influential critic's sense of the word.

It is all the more surprising, then, that treatments of Bacon's metaphors seem to leave little room for such a discipline as cartography. Vickers gives six material categories into which Bacon's metaphors broadly fall—imagery of light, of rivers, of 'digestion' and alimentation, of architecture, of travel, and of botany and plant-life—and argues that 'these images are all rooted in the simple but eternal needs or experiences of man—light, water, food, a dwelling; going on a journey, cultivating nature; this gives them their universality'.[15] Cartography does not fit easily into any of these categories: the technical pursuit of architecture was often metaphorically paired with cartography by Bacon, but

[13] For the literary-cartographic resonances of 'plot', see Lorna Hutson , 'Fortunate Travellers: Reading for the Plot in Sixteenth-Century England', *Representations* 41 (1993): 83-103; Nandini Das, 'Romance Re-Charted: The "Ground-Plots" of Sidney's Arcadia', *Yearbook of English Studies* 41.1 (2011): 51-67.

[14] Cf. The post-Baconian agrarian Utopia once attributed to Hartlib in Gabriel Plattes, *A Description of the Famous Kingdom of Macaria*, London: for Samuel Constable, 1641.

[15] Vickers, *Renaissance Prose*, 200.

by Vickers' formulation there is no 'universal' desire attached to cartography as 'dwelling' is to architecture. 'Travel' comes close, but as we shall see, Bacon's sense of geography, like that of the authors of the textbooks considered in the introduction, was not straightforwardly or inevitably allied to travel.

Vickers's emphasis on metaphor's 'universality' recalls Karl Wallace's early treatment of Bacon's style, in which it is argued that metaphor and similitude are 'perhaps the most natural and elemental method[s] to aid understanding', in a conscious reanimation of the classical rhetoricians' historical thesis with which this chapter began.[16] This conception of metaphor as 'natural', 'universal', and 'elemental' is one reason for cartography's uneasy situation in many taxonomies of Bacon's metaphors. James Stephens, arguing for a 'scientific style' in Bacon's work, writes that 'a truly philosophical style [*sc.* a style faithful to the demands of natural philosophy] will imitate nature […] in all its disarray, and will avoid producing in the minds of others the fancies and dreams of both common logical demonstrations and rhetorical artifice': the 'artificial', in all its connected senses, is banished as misleading.[17] As such, Stephens' extended list of the metaphors most conducive to Bacon's 'scientific style' does not mention geography once in thirteen pages of discussion, and only pauses to state, impenetrably, that 'all Bacon's analogies […] [are] pure and inclusive'.[18] Metaphor's consonance with the mind was apparently founded on its taking only the most basic categories of experience (or 'practice', we might say with De Certeau) for its repertoire of images; even such eminently technical disciplines as architecture must fall back on a mystified 'dwelling'.[19] In accepting

[16] Wallace, *Communication and Rhetoric*, 23.
[17] Stephens, *Style of Science,* 8.
[18] Stephens, *Style of Science*, 123-135, here 131.
[19] On De Certeau and others' false exclusion of cartography from this domain of 'practice', see above, 10.

this characterisation of Bacon's metaphors at face value, it is often the case that cartographic metaphor occupies a marginal position in accounts of his imagery.[20]

On one side, then, geography and cartography have been seen as relevant in Bacon's work only when mentioned in 'real', non-figurative terms, as examples of a simultaneously theoretical and practical educational culture; on the other, metaphor's very nature has appeared in such a critical light as to make it difficult for mapping to appear without constraint. Bacon's cartographic metaphors, which these pages will expose in detail, have been lost in the gap between the two positions. In what follows, I will resituate cartographic metaphor as a formative element in Bacon's attitude towards his project and the 'plotting' of future works, developing the introduction's sense of how the educational climate of early modern England encouraged this disciplinary coalescence. After a sketch of Bacon's early encounters with maps and their later relevance for his work, this chapter will illustrate the functional proximity of metaphor to the educative rôle often ascribed by 'practitioners' and teachers to maps, and suggest how this shared didactic effect informed Bacon and some of his contemporaries: the 'metaphorisation' of practical geography allowed authors to reappropriate the craft of mapping in order to imagine their own writerly craft and its desired effects, and as such is part of this thesis's intellectual bedrock. Then, I examine *The Advancement of Learning* as an early repository of cartographic metaphor in the Baconian corpus, showing how Bacon there used the many forms of early modern cartography both to analogise his prospective division of knowledge, and to put this division 'before the eyes' of both his monarch and his audience. I go on to show how the prospective, future-facing use of cartographic language came to its zenith in the early drafts towards Bacon's *Instauratio magna*,

[20] A partial exception to this trend can be found in Steven J. Harris, 'Long-Distance Corporations, Big Sciences, and the Geography of Knowledge', *Configurations* 6.2 (1998): 369-304, in which Bacon constitutes the central figure in an early modern conception of knowledge as metaphorically 'geographical'—that is, global, networked, and colonial. However, Harris' focus on Bacon's metaphors and style is secondary to his broader historical argument.

where the ambiguities of neo-Latin terms for mapping were used to suggest obliquely how the *varietas* of natural-philosophical experience might be organised into workable form, without prescribing this form's lineaments beyond the initial metaphor. As we have seen, the inculcation of the ability to respond prudentially to life's various and hazardous course was one goal of humanist and late-humanist geographical pedagogy; Bacon adapted this tradition to his own investigative ends.

III—'The Accomplishments of a Gentleman': Cartography in Bacon's Education

Bacon's earliest recorded encounter with cartography comes from his residence at Trinity College, Cambridge in the early 1570s, under the tutorship of John Whitgift, master of Trinity and later Archbishop of Canterbury. Whitgift's accounts of purchases made for Bacon and his brother record that a sum of twelve pence was paid for 'two mappes', though no other detail is given about their content. The appearance of the maps in Whitgift's accounts does, however, imply an aspect of the role of cartography in sixteenth and seventeenth-century English education which the introduction to this thesis illustrated. Whitgift's accounts, in general, present a doubled scene of aristocratic domesticity and classical learning. In the same section in which the purchase of the maps is recorded, Whitgift enters (among other items) the acquisition of works by Hermogenes, a Latin bible, and 'a desk in mr fraunces studie'. The maps appear as part of a cluster of entries apparently related to this 'studie', including a chair, painted cloth, and 'certaine bords'.[21] Juxtaposed locally with these domestic objects, yet linked more distantly with the literary items, it is unclear whether the maps were purchased simply as a gentlemanly addition to the study's furniture, or as part of the course of academic study through which Whitgift led Bacon.

[21] S.R Maitland, 'Archbishop Whitgift's College Pupils', *The British Magazine* 33 (1848): 444-63, here 447.

This collapsed distinction between 'gentlemanly' leisure and pedagogical rigour was a crucial feature of cartography's educational rôle in the period, and particularly prevalent in university settings. One of the most-cited remarks used in literary histories of cartography is that of the polymath and occultist Dr. John Dee, whose passage recounting the popular taste for maps stretches grammar to its outer limits in listing the varieties of cartographic preference:

> while some, to beautifie their Halls, Parlers, Chambers, Galeries, Studies, or Libraries with: other some for thinges past, as battels fought, earthquakes, heauenly fyringes, & such occurentes, in histories mentioned: therby liuely, as it were, to vewe the place, the region adioyning, the distance from vs: and such other circumstances. Some other, presently to vewe the large dominion of the Turke: the wide Empire of the Moschouite: and the litle morsell of ground, where Christendome (by profession) is certainly knowen. Litle, I say, in respecte of the rest. &c. Some, either for their owne iorneyes directing into farre landes: or to vnderstand of other mens trauaile. To conclude, some, for one purpose: and some, for another, liketh, loueth, getteth, and vse Mappes, Chartes, & Geographicall Globes.[22]

Dee's extended description takes in both the domestically beautifying use of maps—think of Cheyne's view of their superiority to tapestries and wall-hangings—and their capacity to teach history ('thinges past'), international politics ('Turke', 'Moschouite', 'Christendome'), and imperial exploration ('farre landes'). As we saw throughout the introduction, cartography was allied to a learned but still status-based personal ethic, or *habitus* of behaviour. In the seventeenth century, the same doubled reputation appears in a letter from Richard Holdsworth, President of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, to the tutor William Sancroft (another future Archbishop of Canterbury), commending a pupil to Sancroft and giving the following instructions as to his course of study: 'he is [his father's] eldest, and his hope is, not that he will be a perfect scholar, but only to get his Latin tongue, and some skill in the accomplishments of a gentleman, as in the globes, &c.'[23] Mapping and literacy in Latin, for

[22] Dee, 'Mathematicall Preface', in *The Elements of geometrie of the most auncient philosopher Euclide of Megara*, London: for John Day, 1570, sig. A4r. See, e.g., Murray, *Imaginative Cartographies*, 5.

[23] 'Dr Holdsworth [to Dr Sancroft]' in Henry Cary (ed.), *Memorials of the Great Civil War in England from 1646 to 1652*, London, 1842, vol. 1., 14. A brief discussion of Holdsworth's and Sancroft's careers in the context of mathematical

Holdsworth, were paired emblems of a 'gentlemanly' education, intended to show social prestige just as much as genuine learning. We have seen the 'geographical' inculcation of 'liberality' and 'ingenuity', as against a 'stupidity' and money-grubbing low-mindedness, advertised as part of the *habitus* inculcated by geography in Cheyne and others' works. As Lesley Cormack has observed, during the period it was pedagogical consensus 'that some ability to understand and interpret maps was necessary for the public life of the gentleman or aristocrat'.[24] But in addition to this, as Holdsworth's letter shows, geographical literacy was often grouped with a broader form of eloquence, as collaborating accomplishments in the *studia humanitatis*: it is under this connection that the closeness of mapping and metaphor will emerge.

University education was not the only place where the young Bacon encountered maps. Having left Cambridge at fourteen in December 1575, he became involved in continental affairs and international embassy, shadowing Sir Amyas Paulet, one of Elizabeth I's ambassadors to the French crown, until his hasty return following his father's death in 1579. The evidence for how cartography entered this period of Bacon's education comes ostensibly from Thomas Bodley, though there are major doubts as to its authenticity. A letter printed in the *Reliquiae Bodleianae* claims to be from Bodley to Bacon, dating from Bacon's time on the continent with Paulet.[25] In the letter, 'Bodley' advises

education is given in Mordechai Feingold, *The Mathematician's Apprenticeship: Science, Universities and Society in England 1560-1640*, Cambridge UP, 1984, 64.

[24] Cormack, 'Maps as Educational Tools in the Renaissance', in *HOC3*, 622-636, 628. For a comprehensive study of geography in English university education see also Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580-1620*, UP, 1997.

[25] The letter is reprinted in Thomas Hearne (ed.), *Reliquiae Bodleianae: or Some Genuine Remaines of Sir Thomas Bodley*, London: for John Hartley, 1703, 364-9. For a summary of the issues relating to this letter's authorship, see Brian Vickers, 'The Authenticity of Bacon's Earliest Writings', *Studies in Philology* 94 (1997): 248-96; the letter is reproduced as authentic in Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon, 1561-1626*, Victor Gollancz, 1998, 50. Jardine and Stewart's note to the letter gives a brief summary of the history of its attribution; however, it is argued (somewhat unsatisfactorily) that the authorship confusion boils down to the 'widespread nature of this kind of intelligence-gathering by young men of Bacon's rank' (50n).

'Bacon' on how he might edify himself while travelling through France, as Paulet frantically pursued the turbulent movements of the court:

> turn your studies and observations from the impostures of the debased age, to more real grounds of wisdom, gathered out of the story of times past, and out of the government of the present state. Your guide to this, is the knowledge of the country and the people among whom you live: for the country, though you cannot see all places, yet if, as you pass along, you enquire carefully, and further help yourself sufficiently with books that are written of the cosmography of those parts, you shall sufficiently gather the strength, riches, traffic, havens, shipping, commodities, vent, and the wants and disadvantages of places.[26]

Bodley's emphasis on the 'real grounds of wisdom', accessed through the 'sufficient' help of cosmography (a term which in this context of local geography is used rather loosely), carries prescient echoes of the metaphorical geography which Bacon would later present in his 'survey' of learning. This point is made explicitly by Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, who argue that 'the information-gathering techniques described by Bodley were to become an integral part of Bacon's intellectual working practice in years to come'; it is the task of this chapter to show at how precise a linguistic level this statement is true.[27] Even if the letter were to be inauthentic, Bacon would unknowingly recapitulate its advice later in the 1625 version of the *Essayes*, in 'Of Travaile': 'If you will have a Young Man, to put his *Travaile*, into a little Roome, and in a short time, to gather much, this you must do. [...] [H]e must have a such a Servant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country. Let him carry with him also some Card [*sc.* 'Map'] or Booke describing the Country, where he travelleth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry' (*Ess.*, 56).[28] The entirety of 'Of Travaile' echoes the wisdom of Bodley's letter, and the 'Card' seen here as a needful aid to the traveller's enquiry, and a similar technology of information to a 'Booke', mirrors its role in the less practical educational theory of its time: to be a primary,

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[26] *Reliquiae Bodleianae,* 366.

[27] Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*, 50.

[28] Bacon, ed. Michael Kiernan, *The Oxford Francis Bacon XV: The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall*, Oxford UP, 2006. All further citations will appear in the main text.

propaedeutic point of entry into more comprehensive knowledge, and a primer for the more demanding investigation to come. Aptly, Bacon's phrase 'Key to his Enquiry' distantly recalls his praise of the method exposed in the *Novum organum* (1620), 'quae ipsa clavis est interpretationis' ('which is the very key to interpretation') (*NO*, II.x).[29]

We can thus trace a line of cartographic influence in Bacon's career, from his time at Trinity, through the advice for a young traveller in Paulet's entourage, into Bacon's later dispensation of practical advice, both to the young gentlemen who were in his erstwhile position, and to the prospective student of nature. This influence presented mapping as a key to future study, a visually striking way of presenting new ideas to a sluggish student and stimulating them for more difficult work, and a doubled index of both scholarly intent and a gentlemanly, learned *habitus*. All three of these related aspects see mapping as a practice of *display*: a map's primary function was to *show* something; not just geographical territory but concepts, social positions, and possible modes of inquiry. Indeed, for Bacon and others a map was an exemplary form of 'showing', allowing an author to think self-consciously about the nature and purpose of demonstration and description. It is in this respect that cartography first came to be related to specifically metaphorical language in Bacon's writing, and in the broader educational climate.

IV—Map and Card: Cartography, Metaphor and Enargeia

One of Bacon's most prominent and detailed cartographic metaphors, which intricately illustrates the link between mapping, education, and figurative language, all under the heading of a

[29] Bacon, ed. and trans. Graham Rees and Maria Wakeley, *The Oxford Francis Bacon XI: The Instauratio Magna Part II: Novum Organum and Associated Texts*. Oxford UP, 2004, 216-17. All further citations of the *Novum Organum* will be given in the text, in the form (Book Number, Aphorism Number).

conventional dictum of moral philosophy, appears in the second book of *The Advancement of Learning*, as Bacon elaborates on the value of different types of moral precepts:

> but men if they be in their own power & doe beare & sustaine themselues, and bee not caryed awaye with a whirle winde or tempest of ambition: oughte in the pursute of their owne fortune, to set before their eies, not only that general Map of the world. *That al things are vanity & vexation of spirit*, but many other more particular Cards & direction*s*, cheefly that, That Being, without wel being: is a curse.
>
> (*Adv.*, 177-8)

The panegyrics of the geography textbooks are here turned on their head: where the textbooks said that learning to read maps was an exercise in learning to behave well, Bacon's passage shows that learning to behave well is like reading two types of maps. By setting metaphorical maps 'before the eyes' (the significance of the phrase will soon become clear) the student could learn both general and particular types of ethical behaviour. Again, Bacon's metaphor here relies not on 'universal experience', but on a relatively technical and practical sense of the distinction between a 'general [*sc.* 'world'] Map', and a 'card', or a smaller-scale chart, often used by sailors in navigational practice to gauge tides and assess coastlines. The persistent Baconian distinction between wide-ranging theory and applied practice is given an analogue in two separate forms of cartography: Murray's view of mapping as an emblem of collaboration between practical activity and speculative thought applies well here. However, this phrase—'map or card'—has a rich early modern background, against which Bacon's creative understanding of the paired cartographic forms, and the rôle of his use of them as specifically metaphorical devices, becomes clear.

According to the *OED*, this disjunction is at least as old as the term 'map' in the English vernacular. The first citation given to 'map' is from 1527, though the text itself is a printing from 1582 (*OED*, 'Map', n. 1a). Printed in Richard Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages Touching the Discouerie of America* is a

report to an English ambassador from Robert Thorne, a Bristol merchant involved in voyages to the New World, in which some newly-discovered islands are described and drawn: 'I have caused that your Lordshippe shall receyue herewith a little Mappe or Carde of the worlde'.[30] Here, the terms seem synonymous, and Thorne's promised gift is a tautology. Both 'map' and 'card' come directly from the Latin, and both refer to the writing surface on which they were produced—*mappa* referred to a piece of cloth, and *carta* to some form of paper.[31] When they were used together in the period, they were rarely intended to convey any notion of separation, and the entire phrase 'map or card' was more or less a doublet, covering mapping in general as its referent. This situation—in which the disjunction did not signify any primary difference in meaning—remained in use fairly persistently throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite the apparent emergence of the use of 'card' as a term to describe a different form of mapping in 1555 (*OED*, 'Card', n. 4).[32] William Bourne's *Booke Called the Treasure for Traveilers* (1582) promises to 'shew[…] vnto you how you may make a carde or mappe for any countrie', drawing no distinction between the technical protocols required to produce them.[33] On a more distantly metaphorical level, Robert Horne's sermon collection *Life and Death* (1613), in a passage on the visions of the prophets, argues that '*Moses saw the land of Canaan* in a very short [sc. 'small-scale'] Map or Card, a farre off', adding the cartographic detail to a paraphrase of Deuteronomy 34:1-4.[34] There are less clear-cut cases, such as when Robert Burton (the subject of the next chapter) writes that 'I never travelled but in Mappe or Card, in which mine unconfined thoughts have freely

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[30] Robert Thorne, in Hakluyt, *Diverse Voyages*, London: For Thomas Woodcocke, 1582, sig. B4^{v}.

[31] See *OED* s.v. 'map' and 'card'.

[32] The first example here is also from Thorne's report, but the second—from Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades of a New World* (1555)—clearly refers to a sea-chart as opposed to a more general map.

[33] Bourne, *A booke called the treasure for traueilers deuided into fiue bookes or partes, contayning very necessary matters, for all sortes of trauailers, eyther by sea or by lande*, London: for Thomas Woodcocke, f. 30^{r}.

[34] Robert Horne, *Life and Death. FOVRE SERMONS. THE FIRST TWO, OF Our Preparation To DEATH; and Expectation OF DEATH. THE LAST TWO, OF PEACE, and the Iudgement AFTER DEATH,* London: For John Pindley and John Beale, 1613, 183. The passage of Deuteronomy which Horne cites would become central to later intersections of Biblical scholarship and cartography: in the passage, Moses climbs Mount Pisgah to receive his vision; Thomas Fuller's later collection of Biblical maps took this scene for its title, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650). This collection will be discussed in Chapter 3.

expatiated', leaving it unclear if he understood a distinction in the disjunction.[35] Bacon, however, is cited as the first metaphorically to correlate the different orders of scale in the maps with epistemological ones: a 'map' showed a generalising, syncretic way of thinking, whereas a 'card' carried more applied, granular and practical information.[36]

A final, extremely instructive example of the disjunction, which further suggests how Bacon creatively adapted its specifically metaphoric and didactic potential, is found in the diplomat Sir Thomas Smith's *De republica Anglorum* (1584).[37] Concluding his dialogic description of the current state of the English commonwealth, Smith writes:

> I have declared summarily as it were in a *chart or mappe*, or as Aristotle termeth it ως εν τυπω [*sic*], the forme and manner of governement of Englande and the policie thereof, and sette before your eies the principall pointes wherein it doth differ from the policie or gouernement at this time used in Fraunce, Italie, Spaine, Germanie and all other Countries [...] So that whether I writ true or not, it is easie to be seene with eies (as a man would say) and felt with handes.[38]

Smith's metaphor of the 'chart or mappe', applied here to his description of English political structures, is one of the more overtly figurative uses of the disjunction before Bacon. The passage is self-consciously abundant in figuration; Smith's faux-humble peroration is constantly showing the analogues to his book 'as it were', 'as man would say', placing metaphorical relationships and their

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[35] Burton, eds. Nicholas Kiessling, Thomas C. Faulkner, Rhonda L. Blair, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 5 vols, Clarendon, 1989, vol. 1, 4.

[36] Another possible corollary for Bacon's metaphor is a popular metaphor in devotional literature, which used the figure of the 'map' to describe the vanity of human efforts. See, *inter alia*, John Moore, *A MAPPE OF MANS MORTALITIE. Clearely manifesting the originall of DEATH, with the Nature, Fruits, and Effects thereof*, London: for George Edwards, 1617; Edmund Layfield, *THE MAPPE OF MANS MORTALITY AND VANITY. A Sermon preached at the Solemne Funerall of Abraham Iacob Esquire*, London: for Nicholas Bourne, 1630; Patrick Ker, *The map of man's misery: or, The poor man's pocket-book being a perpetual almanack of spiritual meditations*, London: for John Lawrence, 1690.

[37] Smith and Bacon may well have known one another: Smith had been tutor to William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley, and remained his friend until a disagreement in the 1580s over preferment; Cecil had become Sir Nicholas Bacon's (Francis's father's) brother-in-law in 1553.

[38] Smith, *De republica Anglorum*, London: for Gregorie Seton, 1584, 184. Emphasis original.

verbal scaffolding at the centre of his argument. Further, the passage's claim to paraphrase Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (V.1129a.12), and the vagaries of its polyglot cartographic terminology, are illustrative of how a collection of words to do with metaphor and communication came to be associated with cartography. Aristotle's Greek term τύπος did not conventionally denote a map, and was usually translated as 'general basis', though it could also refer to 'archetypes' and 'models'.[39] It is this latter semantic range which Smith seems to draw on in his paraphrase, conceiving of the 'chart or mappe' as a structural model rendering the contours of his argument intelligible. Such cartographic material as Abraham Ortelius' *Typus orbis terrarum* (1570) perhaps also shaped Smith's language, causing him to read the Latin *typus* back into the Greek. (The Greek *typos* was also the root of *hypotyposis*, or 'vivid description', whose rough Latin equivalent *descriptio* was often used to refer to maps).[40] It is likely that all of these influences played their part in Smith's use of the metaphor. What is most important to notice, though, is the correspondence of this passage's language to Bacon's, not only in the metaphor itself but also in its promise that the figurative 'map or card' would 'sette before your eies' the nature of government.

The 1610 Latin translation of Smith's work used the single word *tabula*, rather than *typus* or *carta sive mappa*, to translate 'chart or mappe', reinforcing the impression of the disjunction as a

[39] The Greek word could signify, *inter alia*, a mark, a pattern, an outline, an archetype, or a model. In the *Nichomachean Ethics*, David Ross' translation reads: 'Let us too, then, lay this down as a general basis [ως εν τυπω]', Aristotle, trans. David Ross, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, Oxford UP, 1998, 106. Harris Rackham's alternative translation is rather more loose: 'let us assume this definition to start with as broadly correct', in *Nicomachean Ethics* [1926], Harvard UP, 2014, 252. For an investigation of the Greek term's resonance in rhetorical theory and English poetry, see Kathryn Murphy, 'Greville's Scantlings: Architecture, Measure, and the Defence of Modular Poesy', in *Fulke Greville and the Culture of the English Renaissance*, eds. Russ Leo, Katrin Röder, Freya Sierhuis, Oxford UP, 2018, 47-61, esp. 55-6.

[40] See entry for *descriptio* in the 'Glossary of Greek and Latin Rhetorical Terms', in Michael J. MacDonald (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*, Oxford UP, 2017, 779. Maps attached to these terms include Frederik De Wit's *Nova orbis tabula in lucem edita* (Amsterdam, c. 1670); Nicholas Van Geelkercken's *Orbis terrarum descriptio duobis planis hemisphaeriis comprehensa* (Amsterdam, c. 1610); Arnold Colom, *Nova delineatio totius orbis terrarum* (Amsterdam, 1665).

tautology—Smith's translator did not see a meaningful distinction in the terms.[41] But Smith's reading of 'chart or mappe' as participating in the semantic field of *typos*, and his subsequent elaboration of this metaphor, also shows how the educative rôle which we have seen attributed to cartography became especially apparent in conjunction with metaphorical language. Smith writes that with the aid of his metaphorical map, his political ideas are 'easie to be seene with eies [...] and felt with handes', and alongside the conventional announcement of metaphor, 'as man would say', he embosses the suasory virtues of this self-consciously figurative passage. The combination of the visual and manual modes of knowing in Smith's analogy stresses cartography's merits as a metaphor—it combined connotations of aesthetically pleasing visual display with the hands-on utility of a practical craft, all the while giving the impression of communicative economy lionised in contemporary educational practice. And when we compare this elaboration of cartographic metaphor with contemporary treatments of metaphor in general, the correspondence in language is striking.

The sensory immediacy which Smith attributes to his own figure of speech, and which shaped educational theories of mapping, was also one of the central points of praise used in rhetorical works on metaphor.[42] Mapping and metaphor, for both classical and contemporary educators, were intended to provoke the visual Imagination. Aristotle provided the earliest example, stating that one of the essential aspects of metaphor was its capacity to 'bring [a matter] before the eyes' (*pro ommatos poein*).[43]

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[41] *De republica et administratione Anglorum libri tres: olim Thomæ Smithi, jureconsulti, equitis aurati, divae quin etiam Elizabethæ Reginæ ab epistolis & sanctiorib. consiliis, opera confecti*, [Marburg]: pro officina Nortoniana Londini, 164. For an analysis of the relation of Smith's *Republica* to the tradition of 'corporate' thought, in which Bacon is also implicated, see Henry S. Turner, *The Corporate Commonwealth: Pluralism and Political Fictions in England, 1516-1651*, Oxford UP, 2016, Chapter 3: 'The Political Economy of Sir Thomas Smith', 33-58.

[42] For treatments of the early modern reception of classical theories of metaphor, see footnote 2 above.

[43] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1410b34. On this 'bringing-before-the-eyes' and its relevance for contemporary theories of metaphor, see Sara Newman, 'Aristotle's Notion of "Bringing-Before-the-Eyes": Its Contributions to Aristotelian and Contemporary Conceptualizations of Metaphor, Style, and Audience', *Rhetorica* 20.1 (2002): 1-23. See also Richard Moran, 'Artifice and

Sustaining this emphasis, the treatment of metaphor (Latinised as *translatio*) in the first century B.C. pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* stated first among its uses of metaphor that 'it is used for the sake of putting a mater before the eyes' [*ea sumitur rei ante oculus ponendae causa*].[44] Likewise, Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (95 A.D.) proposed that 'metaphor is designed generally to affect the emotions, put a clear mark on things, and place them before our eyes' [*permovendis animis plerumque et signandis rebus ac sub oculos subiciendis reperta est*].[45] This aspect of metaphor was singled out once again in the humanist appeal to classical eloquence. Erasmus' *Parabolae* (1514), itself a collection of particularly pertinent or effective metaphors ('*parabolae*') gleaned from ancient authors, was especially fulsome in its praise and emphasis of metaphor's sensory appeal, and recapitulated many of the sentiments above:[46]

> Do you wish to delight? Nothing has more sparkle [*plus festivitatis*]. Are you concerned to teach? Nothing else makes your point so convincingly, so clearly [*efficatius, vel apertius*]. Do you intend to persuade? Nothing gives you greater penetration [*acrimoniae*]. Are you trying for *copia*? Nowhere is material readier to your hand [*supellex locupletior*]. [...] Do you want to achieve *enargeia* and illumination [*lucem*]? Nothing else brings something before the eyes better [*nulla melius rem ob oculos ponit*].[47]

Erasmus' double claim of metaphor's 'readiness to hand' (*supellex* translates literally as 'apparatus' or 'utensils'), alongside its focusing of the eye's gaze, is strikingly similar to Smith's elaboration of his own cartographic metaphor—both the eye and the hand are engaged. Indeed, Erasmus' praise of

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Persuasion: The Work of Metaphor in the *Rhetoric*', in *Essays on Aristotle's Rhetoric*, ed. Amélie O. Rorty, California UP, 1996, 385-398, here 392

[44] Harry Caplan (ed..), *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Harvard UP, IV.34, 342-43. I have changed Caplan's translation to a more literal one.

[45] Quintilian, trans. Donald A. Russell, *The Orator's Education*, Harvard UP, §8.6.19.

[46] Bacon's *Advancement* also contained praise of 'parabolicall' writing, though he understood the term more as a feature of the sustained metaphorical correspondences of allegory and myth, than as a localised, stylistic concept of metaphor. See *Adv.,* 74-5.

[47] Erasmus, *Parabolae*, text and trans. in Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380-1620*, Oxford UP, 2013, 89. The *Parabolae* was among the most popular of sixteenth-century works on metaphor, with fifty separate editions (by Mack's count) printed during the century.

metaphor's ocular effect mirrors the Latin version of Smith's description of his 'charte or mappe', 'quod in oculos pene omnium incurrit'.[48] Authors in the English vernacular followed Erasmus' lead: George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) placed metaphor first amongst the 'figures which we call Sensable, because they alter and affect the minde by alteration of sence'; William Scott's *Model of Poesy* (1599) took the visual and mental power of metaphor and applied it to poetics in general, developing an entire theory of composition fashioned through analogy to contemporary Italian techniques of painting.[49] In Smith's passage, we see the convergence of two elements—one material and one stylistic—both of which served the purpose of bringing texts and concepts into the readily graspable realm of the senses.

Erasmus' word *enargeia* is the crucial term in this connection: often translated as 'vividness', *enargeia* was an effect of rhetoric summarised by Quintilian as 'a quality which makes us seem not so much to be talking about something as exhibiting it'—that is, in the rhetoricians' words, to be bringing something 'before the eyes'.[50] As such, it invited ready comparison with the visual arts and visual objects, especially in early modern adaptors of the Horatian trope, 'ut pictura poesis'.[51] It is in this respect that *enargeia* comes to be a connector between metaphor and cartography. We have seen in the introduction how Juan Luis Vives noticed pedagogical virtue in the maps 'on which peoples, mountains, and rivers are placed before the eyes'; Bartholomäus Keckermann knowingly recounted Erasmus always having maps 'before his eyes in his study' in a more literal application of the metaphor;

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[48] *De Republica,* 1610, 165.

[49] Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie Contriued into Three Bookes*, London: by Richard Field, 1589, 149. For William Scott's *Model* and its Italian sources, see Sarah Howe, '"Our Speaking Picture": William Scott's *Model of Poesy* and the Visual Imagination', *Sidney Journal* 33.1 (2015): 16-38; Scott, ed. Gavin Alexander, *The Model of Poesy*, Cambridge UP, 2013, Introduction.

[50] Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 6.2.32.

[51] See Heinrich F. Plett, 'Ut Pictura Poesis', in *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity and the Early Modern Age: The Aesthetics of Evidence*, Brill, 2012, 89-117.

even Hobbes's poem showed maps placing '*formas oculis*', the tantalisingly ambiguous word *forma* applying to so much in his thought: as such, mapping and metaphor seem to converge once again in their production of *enargeia,* and this convergence is repeatedly registered in works of humanist education.[52] The physical map which lay beneath Smith's metaphor was said to bring matters 'before the eyes' just as much as the metaphor itself.[53] Both Smith's more simple metaphor, and Bacon's complex and technical elaboration of it, responded to this conventional background. One of the goals of the geographical *habitus* was to maintain the ability to 'hold before the eyes' distant places and situations, in order to respond prudentially to changes in worldly circumstance. The role of metaphor in oratory, as we have just seen, was similarly concerned with bringing the far-flung and the absent under the auditor's imagined 'gaze', in the service of persuading them to desirable action.

The other virtue which we have seen attributed to cartography—that it was a spur for future action or study—was also present everywhere in metaphorical theory and concepts of *enargeia.* As Heinrich Plett notes, the production of *enargeia* in probabilistic judicial rhetoric (noteworthy in this connection is Smith's apparent disregard of 'whether I spoke true or not'), gave it a distinctly temporal inflection in its summoning of crimes gone by: '*enargeia* […] brings about a time shift, in that something from the past or future is made present and, as it were, visibly exhibited'.[54] In conjunction with this bringing the future or past into the present, metaphor and *enargeia* could instil a disposition towards future action in its hearers: Richard Moran observes that 'it is part of what Aristotle says he means

[52] See above 28.

[53] For a cognitive-linguistic argument that metaphor itself is characterised by the 'mapping' of one mental 'domain' onto another, see George Lakoff, 'The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor', in *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. Andrew Ortony, Cambridge UP, 1993, 202-51. An application of this theory to Aristotelian metaphor is provided in John T. Kirby, 'Aristotle on Metaphor', *The American Journal of Philology* 118.4 (1997): 517-54.

[54] Plett, *Enargeia*, 8.

when he speaks of something "set before the eyes" that the mind of the hearer is provoked, set into motion, and engaged imaginatively with the metaphor'—here the echoes of Vives's comments on mapping's propaedeutic ability to engage a pupil in further thought are resounding.[55] In Smith's case, the capacity to bring the past or the future 'before the eyes', and to provoke an audience to forward-looking 'emplotment', is not readily apparent. But as we shall shortly see, it was this capacity, applicable to both metaphor and mapping, which Bacon used in his 'plotting' of future projects.

When Bacon plotted the points of his moral compass along the cartographic lines of the 'map' and the 'card', he thus appealed to a literary trope which was emergent in the preceding decades, and was conventionally used to emphasise the communicative, ostensive aspects of one's work.[56] It was a trope which brought together two figures—the metaphor and the map—each of which could bring concepts or territories 'before the eyes', and as such produced by their combination a rhetorical overplus of *enargeia*. We have seen, however, that Bacon modulated this trope to incorporate the specific differences in cartographic styles which it implied, and to correlate these styles with different habits of thought. While preserving the capacity of cartographic metaphor to imply communicative richness, Bacon also saw in mapping a rich set of analogies for structuring thought. For Bacon, the *enargeia* of the map—its capacity to stimulate future investigation as well as to communicate vividly—provided a means of alluding to a provisional, almost taxonomic form to projects to come. It is to this aspect of Bacon's cartographic metaphor—its capacity to put the future form of works 'before the eyes' of his reader, guiding them habitually to action without explicitly describing this action or

[55] Moran, 'Artifice and Persuasion', 395-6.

[56] For an extended treatment of Bacon's location within both the Classical and Elizabethan rhetorical traditions, see Wallace, *Communication and Rhetoric*, 168-218.

the forms it would take beyond the metaphor—that I now turn: first in *The Advancement*, and then in the early drafts towards the *Instauratio magna*.

V—Longitude and Latitude: Putting The Advancement of Learning *'Before the Eyes'*

The Advancement of Learning is the richest source of allusion to mapping in the Baconian corpus. As one of the longest vernacular works, it avoids many of the complications involved with the unusually multivalent Latin terms used to describe cartography (though I will later suggest that this terminological ambiguity is an operative feature of Bacon's cartographic imagination).[57] An extended passage of the *Advancement* illustrates both the specificity and creativity with which Bacon manipulated images of mapping, as well as the tendency for cartographic vocabulary to assert itself in Bacon's lexicon when certain epistemological questions arose:

> euerie Knowledge may bee fitly sayd, besides the *Profunditie* (which is the truth and substance of it, that makes it *solide*) to haue a *Longitude*, and a *Latitude*: accounting the latitude towardes other Sciences: and the Longitude towards Action: that is, from the greatest Generalitie, to the most particular Precept: The one giueth Rule howe farre one knowledge ought to intermeddle within the Prouince of another, which is the Rule they call καθαυτο. The other giueth Rule, vnto what degree of particularitie, a knowledge should descend: which latter I finde passed ouer in silence; being in my Iudgement, the more materiall. [...] wee see remote and superficiall Generalities, doe but offer Knowledge, to scorne of practicall men: and are no more ayding to practise, than an *Ortelius* vniuersall Mappe, is to direct the way betweene *London* and *Yorke*.
>
> (*Adv.*, 126)

Alluding to the law of *metabasis*, or Aristotle's prohibition of movement between *genera* of the sciences during a demonstration (for example, one must not use geometrical proofs when attempting an

[57] On ambiguous terminology in Bacon's Neo-Latin, see Brian Vickers, 'Francis Bacon and the Progress of Knowledge', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53.3 (1992): 495-518, esp. 502; Rhodri Lewis, 'Francis Bacon and Ingenuity', *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014), 113-63, esp. 113-16.

arithmetical demonstration), Bacon here contrasts a type of wide-ranging knowledge which traverses disciplines, with the individual works or practices which each discipline is able to carry out. This is another passage which Murray does not cite, though it partially supports his argument. 'Latitude' is an important term in the *Advancement*, and one which often had little to do with cartography. In general, Bacon used it to convey the wider sense of 'extent, range, scope' (*OED*, n. 2a). Thus Bacon wrote of 'that Latitude, which is agreable, and familiar vnto diuine Prophecies' (71-2); he referred to 'the true NATVRALL MAGICKE, which is that great libertie and Latitude of operation' (90); he axiomatically declared that 'the vse notwithstanding of Reason in spirituall things, and the latitude thereof is very great and generall' (183). 'Latitude' was applied in a variety of contexts when Bacon wished to emphasise a certain freedom and permissiveness in thought, communication, and investigation.

It is only in the specific context of Bacon's discussion of divisions and distinctions in types of knowledge—between a permissive 'latitude' and a more intense, precise style of thought—that the corresponding cartographic term, 'longitude', emerges. The more general sense of 'latitude' which Bacon's previous statements employed is given concrete form in conjunction with 'longitude', with the cartographic metaphor putting the divisions of the 'province' of knowledge 'before the eyes'. As often with Bacon's metaphors, the vehicle takes over the thought, and instead of giving a directly related opposite to the Greek καθαυτο, Bacon chooses to progress his argument through images.[58] After this skeletal division of knowledge along the basic mathematical components of cartographic structure, Bacon gives further precision to the image by referencing a specific map. The broad, 'intermeddling' style of knowledge is disparagingly compared with a map by Abraham Ortelius, most

[58] For this tendency of images to 'take over the argument' in Bacon's writing, see Vickers, 'Image and Argument', in *Renaissance Prose*, 141-73. Bacon's term καθαυτο refers to the Aristotelian distinction between *kath'hauto* (something understood or perceived in relation to itself), and *pros ti* (something understood or perceived in relation to something else). See Gail Fine, '*kath'hauto* and *pros ti*', in *On Ideas: Aristotle's Criticism of Plato's Theory of Forms*, Oxford UP, 1995, 171-182.

likely his *Typus orbis terrarum*, and opposed to an unspecified, smaller-scale and navigational mode of knowledge, with a possible glance at the strip-maps used to depict routes by road between English cities; a form which would be given its own Ortelius in John Ogilby later in the century, whose influence Chapter 4 will consider in detail.[59] Twice, then, cartographic metaphor asserts itself in the *Advancement* at the moment in which Bacon compares 'remote and superficiall generalities' with the domain of 'practice': once in the limited context of moral education and popular moralising literature,[60] and again in a much broader passage on types of knowledge. Just as the 'card or booke' could help Bacon's 'travailer' as a 'key to his enquiry', the local geography invoked here provides an 'ayd to practise'. It appears that mapping, for Bacon, represented not only a particularly efficient mode of communication, but also a provisional model for how the information to be communicated should be categorised and divided to produce true knowledge, a prompt for thought about the form which this division might take, and a suggestion that such knowledge was scalable: that is, that knowledge, like a territory, could be better understood by capturing it at various scalar moments, both in its capacious, encompassing form, and in its application to the most minute problems of thought. This, for Bacon, was a metaphorical approach to the management of *varietas*.

This last comparison between Ortelius-style 'universal maps' and local English geography was a favourite of Bacon's, and its appearance in the *Advancement* is not the only time he made it. The other version, from an unascertained point in Bacon's career, further illustrates how Bacon's division of knowledge was profoundly related to his views on education, and how this connection was made

[59] See John Ogilby, *Britannia, volume the first: or, an illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales; by a geographical and historical description of the principal Roads thereof*. London: Printed by the Author, 1675. For a recent study of Ogilby and the relation of his maps to the broader cartographic tradition and to British politics, see Alan Ereira, *The Nine Lives of John Ogilby: Britain's Master Map Maker and his Secrets*, Duckworth, 2019.

[60] See note 34 above.

through the image of mapping. Another letter claiming to be from Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, to his cousin Fulke Greville, though widely seen to be 'so very Baconian' that it could only have been composed by Bacon while in Essex's employ, takes the form of advice to a student, not unlike the potentially spurious letter from Bodley to Bacon during the latter's time on the continent.[61] The occasion for the letter is Greville's going up to Cambridge, where he intends to employ a 'scholler to [his] likeinge', who would 'gather for [him]' and collate the necessary material for his study from various academic resources.[62] Bacon/Essex accordingly advises caution on the overuse of 'Epitome and abridgement' in learning, especially in the reading of compendious works by Petrus Ramus, Justus Lipsius, and Machiavelli, using a familiar image:

> the readinge of the best of these, (and these be the best we haue) will no more make a man a good Civilian, Common lawyer, logician, naturallist, politician, nor soldier; then the seeinge of the names of London, Bristowe, Yorke, Lincoln, and some fewe other plac*es* of note in Mercators generall Mapp will make a straunger vnderstand the Cosmography of England.[63]

Again, the 'superficial generality' of epitomes is seen as unfit for the purposes of the 'man of practice', here given concrete identity in a range of disciplines. This use of the metaphor (modulated through its reference to Gerardus Mercator instead of Ortelius) again contrasts two forms of mapping, one named and the other implied. The urge towards Greville's right comprehension of the (figurative) 'Cosmography of England', available in such local chorographies as I have already mentioned, and soon to be shown with Ortelian ambition in John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611),

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[61] Alan Stewart (ed.), *The Oxford Francis Bacon: Volume 1, The Early Writings, 1584-96*, Oxford UP, 2012, 207-11, here 207. For a summary of the authorship issues, see Vickers, 'The Authenticity'; Alan Stewart, 'Letter of advice to Fulke Greville: Introduction', in *Early Writings,* 199-205. Curiously, the copy of the letter originally identified by Spedding was found in the papers of Archbishop William Sancroft, with Sancroft's annotations: above, we briefly saw Sancroft's own rôle in the climate of seventeenth-century cartographic education.

[62] 'Letter of advice to Fulke Greville', in Stewart (ed.), *Early Writings*, 207-211, here 207.

[63] 'Letter of Advice', 207. Bacon's latter focus here appears to be on toponyms, rather than navigational imagery. For a brief discussion of Bacon in the context of conversations around toponymy and eponymy, see Jonathan Sawday, '"They Shall No More Be Remembered By Their Names": Cartography, Anatomy, and the Renaissance Eponym', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 48.1 (2018): 11-40, esp. 14.

echoes the earlier advice of 'Bodley' and its recapitulation in 'Of Travaile'; but the structure of the metaphor, and its consequent allusion to Bacon's division of knowledge, calls upon the later theories of *The Advancement*. Though still inchoate, the invocation of the 'Cosmography of England' and its possible cartographic analogues shows Bacon's curious tendency to use cartographic metaphor to offer a provisional form for future study—in this case, Greville's youthful study at Cambridge, though later the stakes were considerably higher. Whether Bacon reworked this particular thought on 'epitome and abridgment' into the general framework of *The Advancement*, or whether he took the broader example and adapted it for Greville's use, is difficult to ascertain in light of the problems in dating the letter.[64] What is certain, however, is that the repetition of the metaphor signals a strong correlation between Bacon's thought on practical education and his theory of knowledge, and that this correlation was figuratively embodied in the many renderings of territory, and the concomitant implications of rational form and educative richness, offered by cartography (at least if the correct scale of map were used). Bacon's cartographic metaphors are not a quirk of style, rather they are an index of continuity between the different spheres of his activity.[65] In forming the young Greville in his own version of the learned *habitus*, Bacon used a metaphor which applied equally to his most rarefied speculations on epistemology: the continuity between behavioural theories of education and one of the most influential texts in early 'science' is indicative of the wide reach of geographical education which this thesis attempts to outline.

[64] Stewart, 'Introduction', gives a summary of the debates surrounding the letter's date. Some critics have argued for as late a date as 1610, attributing the letter to the circle of Robert Devereux *filius*, 3rd Earl of Essex. However, no copy of the letter gives Essex's ordinal number, leaving it attributable to either the second or third Earl. Stewart also gives recent, persuasive evidence for a much earlier date, in around 1589. This would demonstrate a remarkable continuity and longevity in Bacon's use of the cartographic metaphor.

[65] More evidence for Bacon's authorial process as one which repurposed and recycled stores of earlier material is given in Angus Vine, 'Francis Bacon's Composition Books', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 14.1 (2008): 1-31.

Bacon's tendency to adapt cartographic imagery from the writings of his non-philosophical career reappears elsewhere in *The Advancement*. In its concluding sections, Bacon summarises his efforts with a characteristic image, which I first mentioned in the introduction:

> Thus haue I made as it were a small Globe of the Intellectuall world, as truly and faithfully as I coulde discouer, with a note and description of those parts which seeme to mee, not constantly occupate, or not well conuerted by the labour of Man.
>
> (*Adv.*, 192)

The 'intellectual globe' was a familiar image in Bacon's philosophical work: its two most prominent appearances are in the title of his *Descriptio globi intellectualis* (c. 1612), and on the frontispiece to his *Sylva sylvarum* (1627), in which a globe labelled 'Mundus Intellectualis' is partially illumined by divine light emanating from the tetragrammaton (Fig. 1).[66] The image is conventionally read as symptomatic of Bacon's notion of a causal relationship between recent geographical and colonial discoveries, and learning's growth.[67] The image in *The Advancement*, however, in which Bacon outlines how he has crafted his 'globe' from the experientially various 'world', recalls a passage from a near-contemporary, occasional piece of political writing. In June 1607, Bacon was commissioned to produce a report of a speech made by the Earl of Salisbury concerning the 'abolition of grievances' with Spain, and to deliver this report to Parliament.[68] In the preamble to the report, Bacon writes that the Earl 'did use a speech that contained a world of matter, but how I shall be able to make a globe of that world, therein I fear

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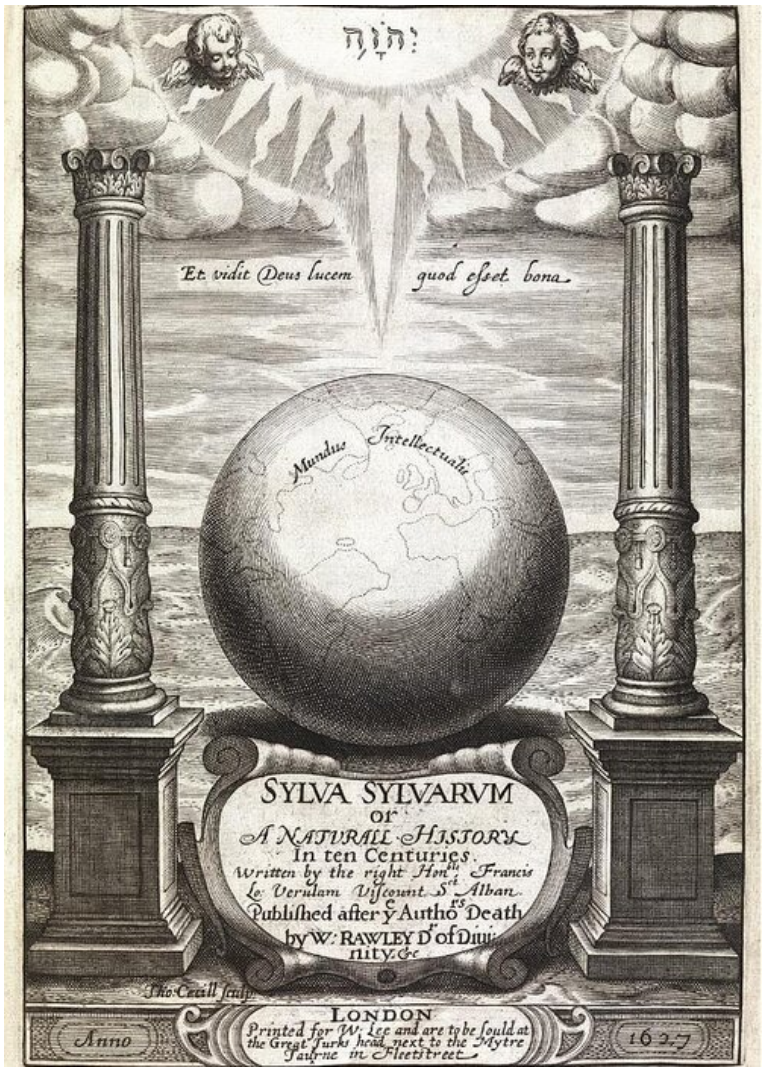
[66] Bacon, ed. William Rawley, *Sylva sylvarum, or a Natural History in Ten Centuries*, London: for W. Lee, 1627. The *Sylva* was posthumously published, but Bacon's proximity to its editor, William Rawley (his chaplain), suggests he was not far from the frontispiece's genesis. The image would suppy Gilbert Wats, the translator of Bacon's *De augmentis scientiarum*, with his frontispiece in 1640, where the *mundus intellectualis* is paired with a clearly outlined, well-mapped *mundus visibilis*.

[67] See, for example, *NO*, I.84, I.93; *Adv.*, 70. For a reading of Bacon's 'geography of knowledge' in relation to contemporary colonial enterprise, see Steven J. Harris, 'Long-Distance Corporations, Big Sciences, and the Geography of Knowledge', *Configurations* 6.2 (1998): 369-304. For detailed studies of Bacon's relationship to colonialism, see Denise Albanese, The *New Atlantis* and the Uses of Utopia', *English Literary History* 57 (1990): 503-28; *New Science, New World*, Duke UP, 1996. The over-hasty critical linkage of Bacon's 'empire of knowledge' isomorphically with projects of global imperialism is challenged in Vera Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest, 1575-1725*, Cambridge UP, 2015, 135-8, 157-63, citing *NO*, I.129.

[68] The speech is reprinted in full in SEH, *Letters and Life,* vol. 3, 347-61

mine own strength'.[69] The 'globe' and the 'world' are thus set in opposition to one another: the 'world' was the disorganised mass of matter which a nobleman's speech or the whole of human learning



(Fig. 1. Frontispiece to the *Sylva sylvarum* (1627))

represented; the challenge for the author was to reduce this matter to a comprehensible 'globe', while remaining 'faithful' to the world's local diversity. On the frontispiece to the *Sylva*, the 'mundus intellectualis' is close to the 'world' of Salisbury's speech: its outlines of continents resembling those

[69] *Letters and Life,* vol. 3, 347.

on the terrestrial globe are unclear; it has no longitudes or latitudes; it is partly shadowed. It is worth remembering here that at this time the challenge of the recalcitrant 'world', whose overwhelming variety challenged geography's students in their ability to exercise prudence, was a literal problem, as Dennis Cosgrove has suggested:

> the expanding volume of materials returned from "new worlds," […] challenged European cosmographers with the increasingly impossible task of reconciling their synoptic glance with the globe's promiscuous diversity and exotic otherness.[70]

Bacon's globe in the *Advancement* is an ideal one—it comprehends both the generality of learning and the particular observation of pseudo-colonial 'occupate' and 'conuerted' land; it marries the viewpoint of 'remote and superficial generalities' to the smaller-scale 'ayds to practise'.[71] But in the example of Salisbury's speech, the metaphor also provides, in a broader sense, a means of formalising Bacon's work of abridgement before it has commenced. There, the 'globe' provides an allusion to educative, communicable form in the opening of Bacon's report, before the instantiation of that form has arrived in the report itself. By apparent contrast, Bacon's use of the metaphor in the *Advancement* works in the opposite direction: the 'globe' is offered as part of an elaborate dedication to James VI and I, and concludes the second and final book of the *Advancement*. It would seem from the comment's position that Bacon's globe was complete, and that its division of knowledge was final and authoritative. However, the surrounding comments suggest that even here, the form of Bacon's work is only provisional. After the 'globe' metaphor, Bacon writes that 'I could not bee true and constant

[70] Cosgrove, 'Images of Renaissance Cosmography, 1450-1650', in *HOC3*, 55-98, here 69.

[71] Bacon's 'Practise' in this case is redolently colonial — Bacon became a member of the Virginia Company's counsel between its first charter in 1606 and its second (on which he is named) in 1609, and his essay 'Of Plantation' treats at a level both agricultural and military the protocols for colonising 'unoccupate' and 'unmanured' land. See *Ess.*, 106-8.

to the argument I handle, if I were not willing to goe beyond others, but yet not more willing, then to haue others goe beyond mee againe' (*Adv.,* 192). In another passage keenly aware of its metaphorical force, Bacon even more emphatically stresses *The Advancement's* provisional status: 'This writing seemeth to me (*Si nunquam fallit imago*) […] not much better then that noise or sound which Musitia*n*s make while they are in tuning their Instrume*n*ts, which is nothing pleasa*n*t to hear, but yet is a cause why the Musique is sweeter afterwarde' (*Adv.,* 181). As his work draws to a close, it is clear that the globe which Bacon has made is one which is to induce a disposition to future action on the part of his reader, much like the maps and metaphors considered in this chapter and the introduction.

The 'globe' (itself another '*imago'* of the work) as presented to James, for all its micro- and macro-scopic detail, was still an unfinished, provisional spur to further action and investigation, just as in the textbooks' vision of the map's educative use, and Aristotle's view of metaphor's cognitively provocative potential. *The Advancement* itself was conceived and published during Bacon's suing for royal patronage by his enthusiastic participation in the promotion of the union of the Scottish and English crowns, and did not promise its own completeness or comprehensiveness as a treatise—its immense Latin expansion in *De augmentis scientiarum* is material evidence that *The Advancement* was not Bacon's last word on the matter.[72] As the metaphors above indicate, it was, rather, an advertisement for future enterprise (ideally with royal sponsorship). This enterprise would be partly fulfilled in the larger work of the *Instauratio magna*, part of which Bacon first committed to print with the *Novum organum* in 1620, shortly before his fall from royal favour and brief imprisonment.[73] But Bacon was

[72] Bacon was appointed a member of the King's learned counsel in August 1604. For an account of this period, as well as Bacon's occasional works and letters pertaining to the union, see Spedding, *Letters and Life*, vol. 3, 78-246.

[73] A succinct account of this episode, in which Bacon was prosecuted for bribery, is given in Markku Peltonen, 'Francis Bacon', *ODNB,* in § 'Impeachment'.

working towards this project in drafts earlier in the century, and it is in these drafts that we see Bacon's use of cartographic metaphor as a pre-formation of his investigative methods come to its most elaborate use. The image of the 'globe' in *The Advancement*, then, does not merely show, as Vickers suggests, how 'the image of the "plot" (or map) becomes three-dimensional as he sums up his work', nor is it simply an aggrandising analogy of *The Advancement*'s well-organised epistemological hierarchies.[74] Rather, it is an early example of how Bacon used the image of cartography to suggest a formal coherence for his project to reform learning, a project which had not yet been fully established. Bacon made it clear that maps were both powerful metaphors, in their capacity to analogise different types of knowledge, and that they were powerful in the same way as metaphors, in their ability to capture readers' minds and spur them to future works. As we shall see in the next section, this promise of future form in the shape of the map was a major aspect of Bacon's later rhetorical figuration of scientific ambition.

VI— 'A Cartographer of Futurity': The Formal Promise of the Map in the Early Instauratio magna

One of the most striking recent metaphors used to describe Bacon's work has come from Graham Rees, when introducing the *Novum organum*:

> Bacon was, like St Augustine, a cartographer of futurity, and perhaps much more of one than Hegel or Marx would be. Bacon often said that truth was the daughter of time, and his truth—the complex, brilliant, and imperious child whom he lugged out of time's entrails—was, as she matured, taken up […] and variously by a divided but entranced posterity.[75]

Rees's turbulently metaphorical passage simultaneously takes a long view of Bacon's reception—'taken up' as he was by Puritans in the mid-century, the Royal Society in the Restoration, the

[74] Vickers, *Renaissance Prose*, 56.

[75] Rees, 'Introduction', in Bacon, ed. and trans. Graham Rees and Maria Wakeley, *The Oxford Francis Bacon XI: The Instauratio Magna Part II: Novum Organum and Associated Texts*, Oxford UP, 2004, xlvi.

Encyclopaedists of the French Enlightenment, and praised and derided in equal measure by the Victorians—and points to a more local feature of the 1620 edition of the *Novum Organum*, and the other texts included in the volume.[76] Bacon promised both the fulfilment by future generations of his greater project, of which the *Instauratio magna* was just the opening gambit, and, more immediately, the future publication of the missing parts of the *Instauratio* which would complement the *Novum organum*.[77] In relation to this latter objective, Rees's metaphor of Bacon as a cartographer is especially suggestive. For we have seen that when Bacon proleptically outlined the form of works to come, his language often took a decidedly map-minded turn.

A passage from the Preliminaries to the *Instauratio magna*, published in 1620 with the *Novum organum*, is particularly illustrative. In the *Distributio operis*, which sets out in brief each of the projected parts of the *Instauratio* (of which the *Novum organum* is the second), Bacon turns to his fourth part: this part would come after the quixotically ambitious, compendious task of assembling the 'natural history' of all conceivable phenomena in Part III, and would involve examples of how the method of the *Novum organum* would be enacted upon this mass of material. Distinguishing the work of the fourth part from the techniques of exemplification used in the *Novum organum*, Bacon used a strikingly ambiguous metaphor:

> And here I am not speaking of examples adduced to illustrate particular teachings or rules (for I have given plenty of those in part two of the work), rather I mean *types or models* [*typos et plasmata*] which set before our eyes the whole process the mind goes through, and the seamless fabric and order of investigation in specific subjects both various and remarkable. For I recall that when you have a machine[78] to hand [*astante machina*] a demonstration in

[76] For concise but detailed summaries of the history of Bacon's reception by these groups, see Perez-Ramos, *Francis Bacon's Maker's Knowledge*, 32-41; 'Bacon's Legacy', in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis Bacon*, ed. Markku Peltonen, Cambridge UP, 1996, 311-34.

[77] Rees provides a chart of both the extant and projected parts of the *Instauratio,* suggesting a shape for the great unfinished work, in 'Introduction', xx-xxi.

[78] Bacon's deliberately ambiguous term *machina*, in classical and post-classical Latin, could refer to a machine, an engine, a structure, a stratagem, or an 'ingenious procedure'. Cf. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v. 'machina'.

> mathematics is easy and transparent, but that without one everything seems obscure and more subtle than it actually is.
>
> (*DO* 43)[79]

Here we find the familiar tag of metaphor and *enargeia*, 'before our eyes', alongside two terms which could have several meanings. We have seen that *typi* were very often associated in contemporary translations with mapping. *Plasmata* is a transliteration of the Greek πλάσματα, loosely signifying forms, creations, or images. But in Gilbert Wats' 1640 English translation of Bacon's *De augmentis Scientiarum*, which also included a translation of the *Distributio*, a distinctly cartographic inflection is given to the term: 'we mean directly the Types and Platformes which may present as it were, to the eye, the whole Procedure of the mind, and the continued Fabrick and order of Invention, in certain selected subjects; and they various and of remarke'.[80] Like 'type', and like the rhetorical term *hypotyposis*, a 'platforme' could signify a ground-plan, a plot, a chart, or a map (*OED*, n. 12). Bacon promised fully worked examples of how the data of natural history could be manipulated in order to reveal new, experimental knowledge, and further promised to lay these examples in plat-form—in the form of a plot, or plat—'before the eyes' in *typi et plasmata* of mental processes.

What is most significant in Bacon's passage, and Wats's later translation, is that a provisional, metaphorical shape is given to an as-yet-unwritten part of the *Instauratio*, which had no concrete form ascribed to it in advance. The description of the fourth part occupies a single paragraph in the *Distributio*, in which the metaphors of *typi*, *plasmata*, and the 'ready to hand' machine (itself an unclear allusion to one of many early modern 'mathematicall instruments'), take almost all of the illustrative burden. It is not until the end of the *Novum organum*'s first book that we are given further indications of what form the fourth part of the *Instauratio* might take: 'the most effective way of inspiring hope

[79] Bacon, ed. Rees, 'Distributio operis', in *Novum Organum and Associated Texts*, 26-47. All further citations will appear in the main text.
[80] Bacon, *Of the Advancement and Proficience of Learning*, 36.

would be to bring men to particulars, and especially to ones digested and laid out in my tables of discovery (which belong partly to the second but much more to the fourth part of my *Instauration*)' (*NO*, I.92). Bacon's rhetorical point here is very similar to that which he made when attempting to 'digest' Salisbury's speech into a 'globe'. The cluttered natural history of the 'world' presented in Part III would then be brought to a certain form, initially explained only through metaphor, and later related to the 'tables of discovery'. Ultimately, the *typi et plasmata* of the *Distributio* come to be correlated with the 'tables of discovery' which Bacon saw as key to his taxonomy and organisation of natural history. *Tabula*, as the Latin translation of Thomas Smith's *De republica Anglorum* showed us, was itself a popular Latin rendering of English vernacular terms to do with mapping. But the direction of travel in Bacon's language is striking: it has been suggested that the *Distributio* was written long before the *Novum organum* was begun; if this is true, then Bacon initially conceptualised Part IV as a set of *typi et plasmata*, and only later gave these forms concrete instantiation *in tabulis*.[81]

In the light of these examples, Rees' metaphorical statement that Bacon was a 'cartographer of futurity' turns out to be surprisingly literal. When attempting to establish a form for his investigations in advance, Bacon used language which was latently cartographic. It is a persistent feature of Bacon's language that when promising to fulfil unwritten parts of the *Instauratio*, he used Latin terminology associated with mapping. Earlier in the *Distributio*, when describing Part I of the *Instauratio* (the survey of learning which the *De augmentis* would come to fulfil in 1623) he claimed that it would 'display the sum or universal description [*Summam, siue Descriptionem vniuersalem*] of the knowledge or learning which the human race at present possesses' (*DO*, 26-7). *Descriptio universalis*, and variations of that phrase, appear almost exclusively in the period as the title of geographical works

[81] Rees, 'Introduction', xlvii-xlix, suggests that a version of the *Distributio* was composed in 1612 or earlier, as a preface to Bacon's work *Descriptio globi intellectualis* (1612): another work whose title promised cartographic imaginings (though the text itself does not mention mapping).

which most often contained maps: one map in Richard Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* was itself entitled '*Septentrio*[*nis*] *orbis vniuersalis descriptio*' ('a universal description of the northern world').[82] Once again, the cartographic metaphor dictates the language that ensues. Bacon, perhaps recalling Hakluyt, then promises that 'I shall therefore not forget to set a course along the coasts [*ad oras legere*] of the received sciences and arts, and to import certain useful things into them en route' (*DO*, 26-7). He concludes by imagining the colonial results of his cartography: 'I will undertake not only to survey these territories in my mind [*regiones metiri animo*] as seers do when consulting the omens, but enter them as generals do when bent on annexing them' (*DO*, 28-9).

The connection which I have been arguing for—between mapping, metaphor and *enargeia*, and the plotting of future works—crystallises in Bacon's use of *descriptio*. The cartographic sense does not diminish or eclipse the rhetorical sense; rather, both participate in a group of communicative terms used to suggest the provocation to further thought, without giving the content of this thought definite form beyond the metaphor. Though Bacon here had a greater idea of the form which the *De augmentis* would take, derived as it was from *The Advancement*, still we have a suggestion that Bacon's future work will somehow formally resemble the work of cartographers, without any prior indication of how this resemblance might take shape. Crucial to observe, too, is that these metaphors are all in service of the parts preceding the fifth and sixth parts of the *Instauratio*: the former of these would present Bacon's own preliminary 'discoveries', found without strict adherence to his proposed method; the latter would be the 'active science' where knowledge of the underlying structure of nature was to be sought by the 'whole human race' (*DO*, 45). No substantial work towards either of these

[82] The USTC offers the following selection of titles relating to '*descriptio universalis*': Martin Waldseemuller, *Cosmographiae introductio … Insuper quatuor Americi Vespucii, nauigationes universalis Chosmographiae descriptio*, Lyon, 1517 (USTC 154985); Oronce Finé, *Descriptio partium, et succinta utilitatum elucidatio quadrantis cujusdam universalis,* Paris, 1527 (USTC 181058); Matthias Quad, *Evropae totius orbis terrarum partis praestantissimae, universalis et particularis descriptio*, Köln, 1594 (USTC 654892).

parts was ever produced by Bacon, and no form for them was alluded to in advance.[83] It appears that the *typi et plasmata* would eventually be cast aside for real knowledge of nature's structure, once they had offered the insight of their provisional organisation; however, the nature of this knowledge and the form it would take was as yet undetermined.

A final instructive example from the 1620 volume appears in another prefatory section of the *Instauratio*: the *Parasceve ad historiam naturalem* (Preparative to a Natural History). The *Parasceve*'s own preface succinctly termed the work 'a description and delineation [*descriptio et delineatio*] of a natural and experimental history which may serve for the building up of philosophy, and embrace material tested, abundant, and properly arranged [*apte digestam*] for the work of interpretation' (*PHN*, 450-451).[84] The *Parasceve* itself survives as a prefatory piece to the immense and collaborative task of a complete natural history. But as the preface unfolds, Bacon further expands upon the reasons for his persistently pre-emptive language:

> In the first place, then, I shall give general instructions for compiling a history of this kind; then I shall set its particular shape before men's eyes [*particularem eius Figuram hominibus sub oculos ponemus*], with occasional remarks no less on the *Purpose* to which the investigation is fashioned and referred, than on *What* ought to be looked into, so that once the scope of this business has been properly grasped and foreseen [*praevisus*], it may call to other minds other things which I may perhaps have overlooked.
>
> (*PHN*, 453)

Alongside the familiar diagrammatic language and the summoning of *enargeia*, Bacon tentatively outlines a rationale for his mapping out of future works. His aim is to 'foresee' the plan of his work so that he does not miss any opportunity for comprehensiveness. It is only by pre-emptively ascribing a (somewhat vague) form to his publications that what is 'overlooked' becomes clear, and can be

[83] Rees suggests that the *Prodromi sive anticipationes philosophiae secundae* (c. 1621) stands as a preface to Part V.

[84] *Parasceve, ad historiam naturalem, et experimentalem*', in Rees (ed.), *Novum Organum and Associated Texts*, 448-73. All further citations will appear in the main text.

compensated for before the labour has begun. We can see the plotting of futurity in the bibliographical structure of the 1620 volume itself: it includes a plan of the whole *Instauratio*, of which only the *Novum organum* had been written (and even that was published unfinished), a 'preparative' to a natural history which had not been commenced, and a 'catalogue of particular histories', the detailed versions of which never appeared. As such, much of the *Instauratio* survives only through Bacon's proleptic description of it—a description which was very often carried out through cartographic metaphor.

This paradoxical process—of 'formalising' thought before it is given concrete form—has been noticed in its non-cartographic modes by Vera Keller, in the phenomenon of the desiderata list. This was a form particularly prominent in scientific discourses of the seventeenth century, in which inventions, books, and experiments that had not yet been performed were listed and published in order to encourage future, collective enterprise. 'Lists', Keller writes, 'need not only catalogue that which exists; they might also simulate existence. By enumerating that which does not exist, they can appear to grant it a reality. By simulating reality, they can fashion legendary objects into epistemic ones'.[85] The desiderata list, like Bacon's cartographic metaphors, was a means of formalising investigation in advance. A provisional, however vague, 'reality' would simultaneously spur interest and provoke critique in the domain of scientific investigation. Likewise, Keller's emphasis on the list's power to 'simulate reality' resembles the function of metaphor and similitude to call absent acts and objects into presence—it only lacks, apparently, the visual power of *enargeia* to put these objects 'before the eyes'.

[85] Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest, 1575-1725*, Cambridge UP, 2015, 151.

In its capacity to make the immaterial material, cartographic metaphor could give form to the future.[86] Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, Keller also describes Bacon's use of the desiderata list with a metaphor of mapping: 'even in the absence of any public, or state-sponsored, research program, the list could entice individuals to voluntarily join in and contribute to filling in some such blank space on the map'.[87] Keller's image of the cartographic 'blank space' is not simply a fortuitous critical turn. In his early work *Valerius Terminus, of the Interpretation of Nature* (c. 1603), often seen as a first attempt at the work undertaken in the *Novum organum* and the *Instauratio*, Bacon himself uses a similar image when summarising the various *aporiai* in contemporary knowledge of ancient thought: 'for I would not willingly imitate the manner of those that describe maps, which when they come to some far countries whereof they have no knowledge, set down how there be great wastes and deserts there' (*VT*, 225).[88] Negatively, Bacon gestures towards an ideal map which contains conspicuous 'blank space', and refrains from ascribing definite content (though itself 'empty' in its own way) to unknown parts of the world—the image is akin to the shadowed globe on the front of the *Sylva sylvarum*.[89] For Bacon, mapping correctly practiced should, like a desiderata list, call attention to what is not known just as much as what is. In putting the 'particular figure' of his natural history 'before the eyes' of the reader and potential collaborator, it is these blank spaces which would, notionally, become clear.[90]

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[86] For a theological reading of Bacon's attitude towards the future, see A.P. Langman, 'The Future Now: Chance, Time, and Natural Divination in the Thought of Francis Bacon', in *The Uses of the Future in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Andrea Brady and Emily Butterworth, Routledge, 2010, 142-58. Langman argues that a major aspect to Bacon's imagining of the future was his attempt to eliminate chance through 'natural divination', after the idea of chance had re-entered his thought following a move away from Calvinist providential theology.

[87] Keller, *Knowledge and the Public Interest*, 131.

[88] Bacon, 'Valerius Terminus', in *SEH*, vol. 3, 215-52. For an account of the role of *Valerius Terminus* in the development of the *Instauratio*, and Bacon's thought in general, see Richard Serjeantson, 'Francis Bacon's *Valerius Terminus* and the Voyage to the "Great Instauration"', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 78.3 (2017): 341-368.

[89] For a provocative reading of the 'blank space' concept in early modern cartography and beyond, see Lucile Haguet, 'Specifying Ignorance in Eighteenth-Century Cartography, a Powerful Way to Promote the Geographer's Work: the Example of Jean-Baptiste D'Anville', in *The Dark Side of Knowledge: Histories of Ignorance, 1400-1800*, Brill, 2016, 358-81.

[90] The most famous example of an early modern map with 'blank space', though it is not marked as such, is Ortelius' *Typus orbis terrarum*, in which the non-coastal northerly regions of North America are entirely without detail, and filled with the outsize label of 'Nova India', and information surrounding Columbus' discovery. Likewise, the base of the image is dominated by 'Terra Australis Incognita', an enormous continent comprehending both Antarctica and Australasia.

The desiderata list thus comes to resemble mapping in its role within what Henry Turner has called the 'projective intelligence': that is,

> a way of 'thinking forward' about human action through models and artificial inventions; [...] a plan whose parameters have been already determined in part by the circumstances at hand but which, in execution, will adjust or reshape the very parameters that have made it possible.[91]

Turner explicitly relates this 'projective' mode of thought to 'mathematicall artes' such as mapping, through their emphasis on the immanent mutability of current working practices and forms of knowledge, and their consequent ability to change their normative practices with relative speed. As I have repeatedly argued, this prudential *habitus* was a central part of geographical education, and Bacon's use of cartographic metaphors and analogies for future work is his creative development of this pedagogical background. We have seen that Bacon used 'models' and 'artificial inventions' as primarily metaphorical vehicles for his 'projective' thought, and their numerical prevalence in the *Instauratio magna*'s various prefaces only serves to reinforce their role within Bacon's scheme as a 'projective' instrument. Likewise, his emphasis of the ability of what is *praevisus* to suggest what has been 'overlooked' in a natural history recalls the power of the 'projective' to change operational and compositional procedures before they had begun. Bacon himself saw a fundamental resemblance between *desiderata* and colonial geography: in the *De augmentis*, he included a list of invented books listing the deficiencies in learning, entitled '*Nova orbis scientiarum, sive Desiderata*' (The New World of Sciences, or Desiderata).[92] Like many maps of the North American continent of the period, this '*Nova orbis*' would no doubt show its blank spaces with exceptional clarity.

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[91] Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts 1580-1630*, Oxford UP, 2006, 217-18.

[92] Bacon, *Opera Francisci Baronis de Verulamio, Vice-comitis Sancti Albani: Tomus primus: qui continet De dignitate & augmentis scientiarum, libros IX,* London, 1623, 491.

The vernacular educational material in geography, which Murray has surveyed in light of Bacon's works, also frequently aimed to engender a *habitus* of thinking and looking in its pupils which was implicitly both cartographic and projective: that is, it aimed to teach students the practice of 'mapping' a problem or situation before tackling it; the senses of a 'projection' both as a future plan and as the mathematical translation of an unseeable globe onto a comprehensible surface apply equally. For example, Sir Humphrey Gilbert's manuscript plan for an 'Achademy', presented to Elizabeth I in around 1570, suggested that 'there shall be one who shall teache to draw Mappes, Sea Chartes, &c. and to take by view of eye the platte of any thing, and shall reade the grownde & rules of proportion and necessarie perspective and mensuration belonging to the same, and shalbe yearly allowed 40*li*'.[93] In all its vagueness, Gilbert's injunction to be able to make 'the platte of any thing' suggests a cartographic mode of thought which went beyond skill in draughtsmanship; just as telling is the necessity for the student to 'take by eye' this roughly sketched 'platte'. We will further see the pedagogical virtue of making maps 'by eye' in this thesis's final chapter. For now, more generally, we must note that this educational element encouraged what Peter Barber has called 'map consciousness', or 'the ability to think cartographically and to prepare sketch maps as a means of illuminating problems'.[94] Mapping was correlated with the general monitory injunction to be watchful and pragmatic, and the attendant virtue of prudence—that is, with the geographical *habitus* set out in the introduction.[95] Henry Peacham, in his popular manual of aristocratic education, and in a passage

[93] BL Landsdowne MS 98, ff. 1r-7v. Reprinted in Gilbert, 'Queene Elizabeth's Achademy', in *Queene Elizabeth's Achademy, A Book of Precedence, &c.*, ed. F.J Furnivall, Early English Text Society, 1-13, here 5. The plan is given the precise date of 1573 in John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England*, Oxford UP, 2019, 14, though no source for this dating is cited.

[94] Barber, 'England II', 58. Barber traces the development of English 'map-consciousness' as far back as the 1530s, with the appearance of Thomas Elyot's *Boke, named the Governour,* London, 1531.

[95] For the relation of cartography, literature, and prudence, see Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage*, esp. 50, where Turner derives this collocation from the thought of Aristotle, whose 'work suggested overlaps between rhetoric, prudence, and the productive arts, in both objects and methods of inquiry, that encouraged students to collapse these distinctions, to

reminiscent of Bacon's abovementioned rationale for establishing the 'foreseen' (*praevisi*) gaps in knowledge via metaphorically 'cartographic' techniques, shored up this correlation with a classical anecdote, in the same fashion which we have seen used in the university textbooks:

> Alexander, therefore taking any enterprise in hand, would first cause an exact mappe of the country to bee drawne in collours, to consider where were the safest entrance, where he might passe this Riuer, how to auoide that Rocke, and in what place most commodiously giue his enemie battaile.[96]

A military example (like that which we saw in Melanchthon's anecdote of Charles V) illustrates the general need of the gentleman to understand and reproduce future contingencies and blind spots.[97] Peacham positions himself as a disciple of Alexander's method, claiming that he himself, like Gilbert's ideal pupil, could make a 'mappe of any towne according to Geometricall Proportion, as I did of Cambridge when I was of Trinitie Colledge, and a Iunior Sophister'.[98] Cartography in education, then, was not only a means of raising the sluggish student's attention with the enticements of the visual; it was also a cultivated practice by which actions and problems could be modelled in advance, and then anticipated, corrected, or compensated for in the practice of everyday life. It was these two aspects—the *habitus* of a general readiness-for-thought and responsiveness to *varietas*, and the *facultas* of being able to produce maps and plots at a moment's notice—at which so much geographical education aimed. Of the Shakespearian line 'I see (as in a map) the end of all' which forms this chapter's epigraph, John Gillies observes that:

> whether one thinks of a plot as a model of space or as a model of an action yet to unfold in time, one is thinking of a schematic arrangement (whether of

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compare the deliberative methods of one field with another, and even to extend these methods to fields Aristotle had not considered', with one of these 'fields' being cartography.

[96] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman, fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable qualities*…, London: for Francis Constable, 1622, 57. A brief discussion of Peacham in the context of geographical education is given in Patrick J. Murray, 'Cartography in Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622)', *Notes and Queries* 60.4 (2013): 516-18.

[97] On the genre of military history as a particularly rich source for this kind of future-facing 'plotting', see Hutson, 'Reading for the Plot', 90: 'these texts [of classical military history] […] offered conceptual tools for the emplotment of fictions of private life in that they rendered the habits of mind necessary to the exercise of prudential virtue in terms that were graphically intelligible.'

[98] Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 107.

> images or words) whereby some object or process is seized and outlined from the vantage of a particular *telos* or purpose or end.[99]

For Gillies as for Bacon, plotting, mapping and projecting are mutually implicative—they each involve the visualisation, in a mental operation strikingly similar to that of metaphor, of arrangements and actions which had not yet been fulfilled.

VII — Cartae *and* Tabulae: *The* Inquisitio legitima

A particularly puzzling document from the Baconian archive exhibits this kind of 'plotting' in both literal and figurative fashions, and with striking frequency. Known as the *Commentarius solutus* after the note on its first page, it is a notebook in Bacon's hand recording a diversity of information relating to household management, future projects, and various 'form[ulae]', or particularly pungent phrases and *sententiae*, all of which was apparently assembled around 1608.[100] Throughout the *Commentarius*, Bacon notes down the need for a number of estate-maps of the family home at Gorhambury: 'Plott to be made of my poole; and the waulk through Pray wood and ye stand thear on the hill for prospect'; 'give directions of a plott to be made to turn ye pond yard into a place of pleasure, and to speak of them to my L. of Salsbury', are just two of a number of laconic plans for the small-scale domestic cartography produced by land-surveying.[101] These signal little more than the necessity for cartographic proficiency in the early modern landowning gentleman (or, as here, in one of his agents); however, among the miscellaneous and polyglot contents of the *Commentarius*, Bacon's calls for 'plots' suggest inviting juxtaposition with notes relating to his more philosophical endeavours.

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[99] Gillies, 'Introduction', in *Playing the Globe: Genre and Geography in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. Gillies and Virginia Mason Vaughan, Associated University Presses, 1998, 19-45, here 27.

[100] BL, MS Add. 27278. The notebook is reprinted in Spedding, *Letters and Life,* vol. 4, 38-95. For excellent recent readings of the *Commentarius* and its probable uses, see Angus Vine, 'Francis Bacon's Composition Books', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 14.1 (2008), 1-31; 'Bacon's Filing', in *Miscellaneous Order*, Oxford UP, 2019, 191-222. Bacon records the date of entry at the beginning of each section of the manuscript.

[101] *Commentarius solutus*, f. 6^{v}, f. 24^{v}; *Letters and Life*, vol. 4, 52, 76.

Two days before Bacon entered the second reminder regarding his 'pond yard', he also set out a structure for what he termed '*Inquisitio legitima*' (Legitimate Enquiry).[102] This *Inquisitio* was structured as a set of numbered stages in an oblique process of 'enquiry', of which the below is a short sample:

1. Carta electionis et praeoptionis
2. Sylva sive carta Mater
3. Meta posita sive carta terminans
4. Loci sive carta Articulorum
5. Vena exterior sive carta divisionis primae
6. Carta assignationis vel collocationis

[1. The *card* of election and preoption
2. The wood, or the mother *card*
3. The fixed goal, or the bounding *card*
4. The places, or the *card* of Articles
5. The exterior vein, or the *card* of first division
6. The *card* of assignation or collocation][103]

Nine further '*cartae*' follow, each relating to a stage in the opaque *Inquisitio legitima*. We get no indication at all of what such *cartae* will constitute, whether lists of instances like the *tabulae* of the final *Novum organum*, protocols for experimentation or information gathering, or some other stage of investigation: like the *typi et plasmata* of the *Distrobutio operis*, these are metaphorical placeholders for concrete inquisitional form. At the conclusion of this list, Bacon adds another note, which only serves to complicate matters more:

> Nota Interpretationem legitimam non fieri, ne clavem Interpretationis adoperari, usque ad reordinationes et cartas novellas finitas, ut duae sint machine[104] [*sic*] Intellectus, una Inferior quam descripsimus, altera Superior quae est novellarum.
>
> [Note that a legitimate interpretation is not to be made, nor is the key of interpretation to be employed, until the reordering and the finishing of the new

[102] *Commentarius solutus* f. 16v, *L&L* 67. Bacon dates this entry to the 26th of July 1608; the 'pond yard' note was entered on the 28th.
[103] *Commentarius solutus* f. 16v, *L&L* 67. I have adapted the loose translation given in Sophie Weeks, 'Appendix II: *Inquisitio Legitima* in *Comentarius Solutus*', in 'Francis Bacon's Science of Magic', PhD Thesis: University of Leeds, 2007, 326-28. My emphasis.
[104] On *machina*, see n. 78 above.

> cards: for there are two machines of the intellect, one the inferior which we have described, the other the superior which is that of the new [cards].][105]

The origins of Bacon's *Inquisitio legitima*, and his intentions for its function within his wider project, have been attributed to various disciplines.[106] But the development of this structure in the *Commentarius* and elsewhere suggests a definite location in the *Instauratio* for Bacon's *cartae*. Following the skeletal *Inquisitio*, Bacon wrote down the sketch of an '*Inquisitio legitima de motu*', which applied five of the above six *cartae* to the topic of motion in an elliptical, sketchy fashion.[107] And in 1653, Isaac Gruter published a fragment of Bacon's entitled *Filum labyrinthi, sive inquisitio legitima de motu*, in which, once again, Bacon organised a laconic investigation of the nature of motion using the various *cartae* (here in the later spelling *chartae*), collectively entitled '*Machina intellectus inferior: seu sequela chartarum ad apparentiam primam*' (The inferior machine of the intellect: or the result of the *cards* with respect to first appearances).[108]

Within the plan of the *Instauratio*, it appears that this brief method, in which the production of *cartae* is the basic operation of investigation, is a model for what the *typi et plasmata* which Bacon had promised in the *Novum organum* would look like. Curiously, Rees groups neither the *Inquisitio* of the *Commentarius* or of Gruter's volume in his list of possible works towards part IV of the *Instauratio* (in which the method of part II would be enacted on the data of part III), though other works entitled *Inquisitio* do appear among this notional grouping.[109] However, the Spedding, Ellis, and Heath edition

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[105] *Commentarius solutus,* f. 17r, *L&L,* 67-8; Weeks, 'Science of Magic', 328.

[106] For attempts to find sources for '*Inquisitio*' and '*Interpretatio*', see Weeks, *Science of Magic*, *passim*; Richard Serjeantson, 'Francis Bacon and the "Interpretation of Nature" in the Late Renaissance', *Isis* 105.4 (2014): 681-705. The former locates the origins of *Interpretatio* in discourses of natural magic, while the latter does so in contemporary theories of civil law.

[107] The missing *carta* is the 'sylva sive carta mater', which is correlated with the work of natural history which would precede the *inquisitio*, and would require the work of more hands than Bacon's.

[108] *Francisci Baconi de Verulamio scripta in naturali et universali philosophia*…, Amsterdam, 1653. This second *Inquisitio* is reprinted, alongside its counterpart in the *Comentarius*, in *SEH*, vol. 7, 162-70. cf. Bacon's above cited metaphor of the '*machina*' used alongside the *typi et plasmata* image.

[109] Rees, 'Introduction', suggests *Historia de animato & inanimato* (c. 1622-3) *Inquisitio de magnete* (1625), and *Topica inquisitionis de luce* (1625) as the extant works corresponding to part IV of the *Instauratio*.

of Bacon's works situates both versions of the *Inquisitio* as fulfilments of a claim at the end of the *Cogitata et visa* to provide 'Tables of Discovery, or Formulae of Legitimate Investigation [*legitimas investigationis formulas*]'.[110] As we have seen, Bacon promised in the Preliminaries to the *Instauratio* that part IV would be the special place of these *tabulae*. As such, we can both situate the *Inquisitio* within the compass of the *Instauratio*'s fourth section—which would enact the method of the *Novum Organum* upon the material amassed in the *Historia naturalis*—and more densely plot the progress of the metaphors which Bacon used to conceptualise this section. In 1607, in the *Cogitata et visa*, Bacon promised *tabulae* and *formulae* which would display a form of *inquisitio legitima*. Then, in 1608 (and some time around that year in the undated manuscript published by Gruter), Bacon conceptualised this *inquisitio* as a succession of *cartae*, each of which provided a different avenue of approach to the material of the *sylva, sive carta mater*. Finally, in the intervening years, Bacon wrote the *Distributio operis*, which conceptualised part IV as a group of *typi et plasmata*.

What emerges from this metaphorical ferment is a profusion of imagery which was connected to cartography. *Carta*, and its later medieval spelling *charta*, were often used to denote maps in general, and as the various forms of cartography began to be filiated, to specifically name navigational sea-charts. 'Charta' also had a significance in medieval law, denoting various forms of legal writ including the monarchical grant of territories, or liberties: Richard Serjeantson has associated the *Inquisitio legitima* with the language of law, and Bacon's formal training in the law would have left this definition uppermost in his mind.[111] However, when correlated with *tabula*, the word has coherence with a trend we have seen throughout Bacon's Latin and vernacular works. In *The Advancement,* Bacon used the English cognate of *charta*, 'card', as a metaphor for an applied, prudential mode of ethical behaviour,

[110] *SEH*, vol. 7, 147.
[111] Cf. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v. 'charta', Serjeantson, 'Interpretation'.

describing the 'more particular Cards & directions' in opposition to the 'maps' of universal precepts. Here in the two *Inquisitiones*, we may see a similar relationship, in an inchoate form, between the *cartae* and the *tabulae*. Later in the *Novum Organum*, Bacon would rework the *tabulae* to be structured around logics of exclusion and *differentia*: he gave them a more fully-realised form, where the *tabulae* were, concretely, lists of instances where a property (e.g., heat) was either notably present, notably absent, or exhibited in various types of situation, gathered in order to isolate the underlying metaphysical causes of that property.[112] But in these early attempts it would appear that a Baconian *tabula* was a fully worked implementation of the 'cards and directions' provided by the scheme of the *Inquisitio*. Many of Bacon's later remarks on *tabulae* recall contemporary thought on mapping's cognitive virtues, preserving the function of Bacon's use of cartographic imagery, though without any obvious reference to cartography. In the closing stages of the *Novum Organum*'s first book, Bacon addresses the necessity for *tabulae* in dealing with the heap of particulars amassed in natural history:

> as the army of particulars is so vast and so scattered and dispersed that it dissipates and confounds the intellect, we should have no good hopes for the latter's cursory sorties and ineffectual flights, unless the particulars relating to the subject under investigation be marshalled and drilled by appropriate tables of discovery, well drawn up and ready, so to speak, for action [*tanquam vivas*], and unless the mind buckle down to the organised assistance made ready by these tables.
>
> (*NO*, I.102)

Rees' translation of the Latin *vivas* as 'ready for action' is loose—the term is usually rendered as 'lively' or 'ardent'.[113] But the translation neatly captures the path by which Bacon's early conceptualisations of his *tabulae* made their way into his later thought. *Cartae* and *tabulae*, as distinct forms of cartography, were intended to be simultaneously 'lively' and 'ready for action', in the peculiar cognitive sense which

[112] See *NO*, II.11-21: the three foundational *tabulae* are those which notice 'Presence', 'Absence', and 'Degrees' of a property's manifestation.
[113] See Lewis and Short, s.v. 'vivus', sense II.

we have seen in the language of 'plotting'. Metaphors and mapping put matters 'before the eyes', and encouraged the reader and viewer to think or act further: *enargeia* ('liveliness') and *energeia* ('activity') were only a vowel apart.

Bacon's followers and interpreters later in the century took the linguistic connection between tables and maps even further. In July of 1678, John Aubrey (the subject of Chapter 4 of this thesis) wrote to his fellow member of the Royal Society, the naturalist John Ray, on the topic of the latter's contribution to John Wilkins' *Essay Towards a Real Character* (1668). Aubrey wrote that he had been informed of:

> some Tables that might be made according to those of yours in the *Bishop's* [*sc.* Wilkins'] *Essay*, and fitted to be hung up in Garden-Houses in the Manner of Maps, [...] they might become a fine Ornament in Summer-Houses, and very useful for those who delight in that kind of Knowledge. [...] The same may also be put into a little Pocket-Book, which may be of Use where the larger Tables cannot be had.[114]

Ray's work on Wilkins' *Essay* had involved advice on the taxonomy of plants, and this taxonomy's organisation into Baconian 'tables' of data, according to Wilkins' classificatory scheme. Aubrey's suggested next step was to produce large scale 'tables' which would resemble the 'maps' which adorned the walls of both scholarly and aristocratic studies and drawing-rooms. Just as in Bacon's early conceptions of *Inquisitio legitima*, later understandings of *tabulae* could not escape cartographic language, and its attendant implications of 'projective' utility. Once again, we see cartography's projective role, in which a tentative form is given to an as-yet-unpractised method, so that it might set the reader about a further, productive task.

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[114] Aubrey to Ray, 9 July 1678, in Ray, ed. W. Derham, *Philosophical Letters Between the Late Learned Mr. Ray and Several of his Ingenious Correspondents…*, London, 1718, 144-5. Emphasis original. The letter is placed in its full Baconian context in Richard Yeo, 'Between Memory and Paperbooks: Baconianism and Natural History in Seventeenth-Century England', *History of Science* 45 (2007): 1-46, 21-22.

This recursive, self-corrective, and 'projective' aspect to Bacon's early conceptions of *Inquisitio* has been called 'cybernetic' by Sophie Weeks, in her treatment of Bacon's double debt to traditions of natural magic and natural philosophy. Deriving from the Greek κυβερνήτης, meaning 'pilot', 'steersman', or 'governor', the 'cybernetic' in Bacon's *Inquisitio* is characterised by a process of 'feedback', whereby 'Baconian inquiry is guided by dependable markers or guidelines that offer continual assurances that the inquirer is on the right path. If such markers cease, one has strayed from the path.'[115] In this way, Bacon's *Inquisitio* moves by 'recursive governance', which 'not only exposes error but utilises it as a positive governing procedure'.[116] We have seen how Bacon's strategy for ascribing form to his method in advance of its actual operation was intended to reveal what was 'overlooked', and thus to be able to correct or acknowledge the 'blank spaces on the map'. As such, what is 'cybernetic' in these early drafts of the Baconian method is also cartographic, and both converge in the metaphorical implication of geographical enterprise. Weeks' nautical 'markers or guidelines' may be closely related to Bacon's *cartae*, both alluding to the practical navigational documents of maritime life. The educationally-inflected practice of mapping a problem in advance, training the mind to respond prudentially to the variety of natural-philosophical *experientia*, was transported into Bacon's metaphors. This produced a metaphorical concept of *tabulae* which were composed of more local, applied *cartae*, each of which could be corrected or updated to put the whole more clearly and accurately 'before the eyes'. In the *Novum organum* and the ferment of documents which preceded its emergence, the right orientation of the mind in order to organise natural philosophy was uppermost in Bacon's concerns: that he reached for a metaphor whose educational background shared the psychological concerns of this project is a vivid example of the creative adaptation of geographical pedagogy which will appear throughout this thesis.

[115] Weeks, 'Science of Magic', 96.
[116] Weeks, 'Science of Magic', 95.

VIII — Conclusion

The metaphors of mapping which Bacon used in *The Advancement of Learning* and many of his shorter, more occasional vernacular writings appear in the ever-evolving Latin works of the *Instauratio magna* as a covert presence, used to shape his theory of knowledge and the mind's correct orientation, by emphasising the 'projective', prudential, and mentally beneficial virtues which we have seen attached everywhere to contemporary geographical education. The theories of knowledge and the correct mode of inquiry which emerged from these later works have been used by countless scholars of both literature and intellectual history to mark the beginning of a trajectory in seventeenth-century attitudes to learning; Bacon's 'great instauration' has been taken at its word to have commenced a new phase in the mind of the 'moderns'.[117] We have seen, in the example of Aubrey's letter to Ray, that the metaphorical connections discussed here—between a half-imagined tabular organisation of natural-historical data and the language of geography—were readily adopted by those who allied themselves to Bacon's legacy later in the century.[118] As Lorraine Daston has observed, the tables produced at the end of the seventeenth century by members of the Royal Society indicate that 'the ambition to see "at one view" dominated several early modern projects to visualise heaps of data and, above all, to discern the relationships among them'.[119] The appeal of seeing the hordes of various data 'at one view' (*uno intuitu*) will appear in the next chapter and throughout this thesis in connection with cartography; the apparatus of imagery which linked mapping and table-making was made obvious in Bacon's writing, and lasted over the century (and still further).[120]

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[117] The classic work in this vein in intellectual history remains Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626-1660*, Duckworth, 1975. One influential history of seventeenth-century prose which also takes Bacon as its starting point is Stanley Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: the Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature*, California UP, 1973.

[118] On the tradition of *tabulae* more broadly and throughout Europe, with much reference to cartography, see Steffen Siegel, *Tabula: Figuren der Ordnung um 1600*, Akademie Verlag, 2009, esp. 91-132. See also Ashley Gornik, 'Structuring Information: Printed Tables as Organizing Tools in Early Modern Europe', PhD Thesis: Harvard University, 2024.

[119] Daston, 'Super-Vision: Weather Watching and Table Reading in the Early Modern Royal Society and Académie Royale des Sciences', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 78.2 (2015): 187-215, here 189.

[120] Cf. Daston, 'Super-Vision', 205: 'the tables were to be surveyed, like a landscape viewed from a hilltop, so that regularities invisible at valley level (or buried in single rows and columns) would snap into focus.'

But Bacon's legacy, as all recent intellectual history has acknowledged, was far from straightforward. For as much as later thinkers invoked him as their intellectual progenitor, the knowledge they sought was not of the Lord Chancellor's desired type. Antonio Pérez-Ramos has summarised the problem: 'Bacon […] still belonged to the age in which human *scientia* was perceived as inseparable from the old requirement of demonstrative certainty. Yet the Baconian tradition is perhaps the first proponent […] of a probabilistic and fallibilist criterion of knowledge'.[121] What Bacon sought via his *tabulae*, as I have suggested, was the eventual irrelevance of the *tabulae* when enough data was collected to inductively and certainly understand metaphysical 'forms'. Bacon's philosophy remained speculative in its imagined goals; those who came after him took the tabular method without the metaphysical *telos*.[122] Aubrey saw his map-like tables as 'Ornaments' that were 'useful for those who delight in that kind of Knowledge'; nowhere here is there a sense that the internal, ontological structures of botanical material will be infallibly discovered with enough *instantiae* amassed. Aubrey's language reveals instead the rather different priorities which preoccupied authors and scholars later in the century. The categories with which Aubrey supports his view of desirable knowledge—the ornamental and the delightful—are those which, I contend, dominate the view of cartography which Bacon inherited from the pedagogical tradition, and which were later taken up by Burton, Fuller, and Aubrey himself.

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[121] Pérez-Ramos, 'Bacon's Legacy', 318-9.

[122] For views of Bacon's metaphysical thought, see Graham Rees, 'Bacon's Speculative Philosophy', in *Cambridge Companion*, 121-45, esp 121: 'In its first guise Bacon's philosophy shows itself as a set of methodological recommendations together with a bold analysis of their implications for existing attitudes to knowledge and the institutions of knowledge. […] In its second manifestation Bacon's philosophy comprehends a complete but provisional system of speculative science'. See also Murphy, '*aves quaedam Macedonicae*', 41-82. A causal explanation of the turn away from Bacon's metaphysics and epistemology by the avowed followers of his methodology is given in Henry G. Van Leeuwen, *The Problem of Certainty in English Thought, 1630-1690*, Martinus Nijhoff, 1970.

The ability of a delightsome arrangement of *varietas* to strike the mind to exceptional effect, of the type which this conception of geography's rôle emphasised, was of limited use to Bacon. Like the other authors in this thesis, he adapted the language which figured mapping as an intellectually stimulating management of variety, one which would move the mind to prudential action and adapt it to worldly circumstance. But this type of knowledge was only part of a larger system in Bacon's thought. What he intermittently called his *machina*—his apparatus, scheme, or engine for thought—would in its ideal form serve only as an intermediary, paving the way to the re-discovery of nature's hidden structure. It would eventually be cast aside when 'real' thought began, in his case on an exceedingly strange pneumatological metaphysics.[123] But those who wrote and thought in his wake were less tied to natural-philosophical teleology: it is for this reason that their treatments of mapping were far less tentative than Bacon's, and their willingness to dwell on its ability to train the mind to respond prudentially to *varietas* was far greater. In what follows, mapping will appear of particular and constant importance to those who were wedded rather more to the mental pleasures and personal benefits of recreative uncertainty, than to the instauration and mastery of infallible knowledge. For Bacon, *tabulae* and *cartae* could only ever be intermediate; for the other authors considered here, there was no hint of a desire to move beyond the various to the delimited truths of metaphysics. In their thought, intermediacy was the point.[124]

[123] See Rees, 'Speculative Philosophy', §§III-VII.
[124] On the turn away from metaphysics in the seventeenth century, see Dmitri Levitin, *The Kingdom of Darkness: Newton, Bayle, and the Emancipation of the European Mind from Philosophy*, Cambridge UP, 2022.

Chapter II: Cartography, Curiosity, and Cure in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*

I: Introduction

Unlike many of the authors considered in this thesis, Robert Burton's interest in cartography and geography has been well documented.[1] Following Burton's statement that 'I never travelled but in Mappe or Card, in which mine unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated', critics have long noticed and commented upon the important place which cartography evidently held in Burton's immensely various learned interests (*Anatomy*, I:4). E. Patricia Vicari has noted that 'maps seem never to have been long out of Burton's mind', and his vast library of cartographic material as well as the numerous authorities on geography which are cited throughout *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621-51) attest to this persistent preoccupation.[2] Even the casual reader could hardly fail to see this: on the frontispiece to *The Anatomy*'s third edition (1628), surrounding the famous engraved portrait of Burton, there are images of an armillary sphere and a cross-staff, two emblems of celestial and terrestrial cartography (Fig. 1).[3] The purpose of this chapter, then, will be corrective and clarifying rather than recuperative.

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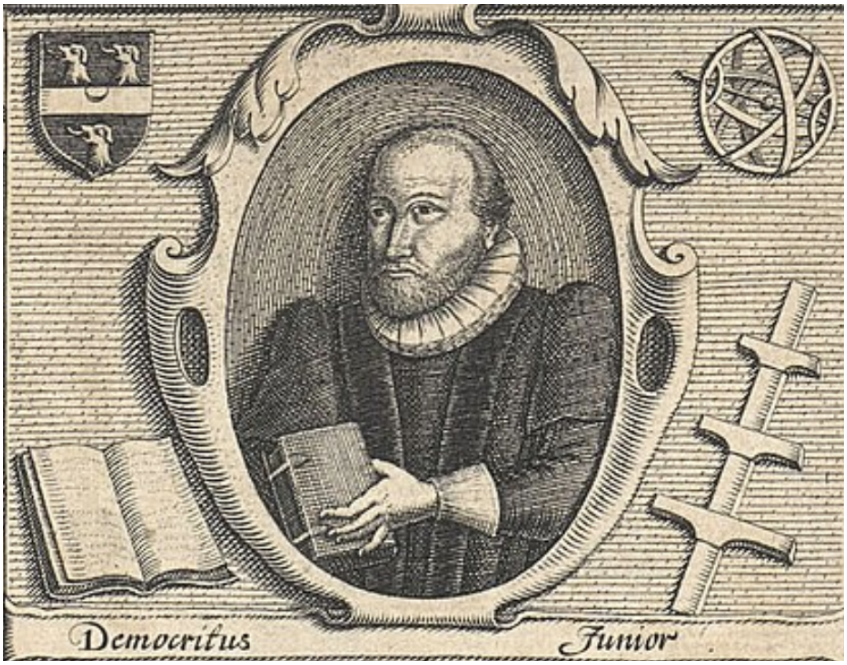
[1] A number of recent editions of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* have appeared, of varying usefulness. I will here use the standard Clarendon edition, eds. Nicholas Kiessling, Thomas C. Faulkner, Rhonda L. Blair. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. 6 vols. Clarendon Press, 1989-2000, cited in the format (volume:page number), whose text is a composite of all editions published in Burton's lifetime, based in its 'accidentals' on the 1632 edition. I have, however, made ample use of the text, easy-handling, and commentary of Angus Gowland's more recent single-volume edition, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Penguin, 2021, which while also a *Mischtext*, is based on the sixth edition of 1651. Passages where the text is unique to a particular edition either modern or seventeenth-century will be noted *en passant*.

[2] Vicari, *The View from Minerva's Tower: Learning and Imagination in the Anatomy of Melancholy*, Toronto: Toronto UP, 1989, 3. Vicari also provides a helpful index of geographical material both owned and cited by Burton, see 'Appendix 1: Burton's Geographical Authorities', in *Minerva's Tower*, 197-203. This list builds on the section on 'Geography and Cities' given in Nicolas Kiessling, *The Library of Robert Burton*, The Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1988, 374ff. A more recent cataloguing of Burton's geographical thought, which is useful for identifying the precise geographical quandaries he considered, can be found in Nicolas Kiessling, 'A List of Fifty Toponyms in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*', *Notes and Queries* 68.2 (2021), 172-8.

[3] On the frontispiece, see William R. Mueller, 'Robert Burton's Frontispiece', *PMLA* 64.5 (1949): 1074-1088. A recent Russian study is Daniil A. Zelenin, 'Emblematics and a Cure for Melancholy in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*', *Studia litterarum* 6.1 (2021): 104-29.



(Fig. 1. Section of the 1628 *Anatomy*'s Frontispiece)

By resituating Burton's work within the cluster of 'cartographic' ideas emergent in Bacon's thought and the introduction—rhetorical and visual communication, variously incomplete organisational schemata, and educational and psychological reform—Burton will appear within a tradition which understood mapping in a labile and capacious sense, as part of a connected group of communicative and heuristic disciplines, the protocols of each of which could inform the others productively. But in *The Anatomy* informative departures from what Bacon understood as the communicative role of cartography and geography will emerge. For while Bacon placed his metaphorically 'cartographic' emplotments of natural-historical data on a hierarchy of investigative stages, eventually to be jettisoned for an eclectic and odd metaphysics, mapping for Burton and those who will occupy the following chapters was to be cultivated for its own ability to manage and preserve *varietas*, not a stage preceding a final form of knowledge. The *habitus* induced by Baconian *tabulae* always looked forward to finality and certain knowledge, the *tabulae* themselves becoming pseudo-visual stepping-stones to metaphysical thought; the concern of the remainder of this thesis will be authors who saw the various

doubts, *aporiai*, and tentative pictures of the world given by the period's maps as themselves something to be aimed at. For Burton, a 'cartographic' *habitus* and its mental conditioning could form part of a cure for melancholy: the function of this chapter is to define this *habitus* more precisely, and to begin to examine an attitude to cartography emergent as the century proceeded which emphasised a conception of cartography's uses rather different to Bacon's.

II: Locating the Map in The Anatomy of Melancholy

It is necessary to traverse the landscape of critical responses to Burton's geographical predilection, though the contexts in which it has been treated are extremely varied. In the spirit of this thesis as a whole, I will take the explicit meditations on geography in criticism alongside the often-invisible critical metaphor of 'mapping' and 'mapping onto' as two facets of a body of thought on Burton's use of cartography. It will appear that in the history of Burton studies, the metaphors of scholars both respond to and circumscribe what is observable of *The Anatomy*'s sense of geography. The earliest critic to treat Burton's geographical interests in detail, as has been mentioned, was E. Patricia Vicari: in listing and classifying Burton's citational interaction with current geographical problems and debates, Vicari came to the conclusion that, 'wide as was Burton's reading in geography, it was not exhaustive or systematic. Caprice, the interest of the moment, sometimes mere accident, seem to have guided his choice as well as a serious desire to inform himself'.[4] Consequent on this apparently unsystematic habit of reading is geography's situation, according to Vicari, in a general Burtonian injunction to 'study' or learning as a cure for melancholy: 'geographical learning—indeed, any knowledge of the natural world—is not pursued for its own sake but for its usefulness in curing melancholy'.[5] In other words, Vicari does not ascribe any *unique* function to geography in Burton's

[4] Vicari, *Minerva's Tower*, 37.
[5] Vicari, *Minerva's Tower*, 31.

thought other than its role in a general programme of study; in terms of function, mapping was equivalent to astronomy, natural philosophy, or any other learned practice. This assumption was revised by Anne S. Chapple, who argued that Burton did in fact read one type of cartography in particular detail: the anthropomorphic maps which, following pseudo-Strabonic comparisons of the Greek peninsula to the head and neck of the world, depicted various regions or the entirety of the globe as various body-parts.[6] Beyond this sub-form's obvious appeal in micro- and macro-cosmic analogies, Chapple upheld a particular example of cartography as especially important for Burton, in the c. 1590 'foolscap map', an allegorical recasting of Ortelius's world map within the head of a royal fool (and on a sheet of foolscap-size paper), its blank spaces filled in with markedly Burtonish pieces of Latin— '*o caput dignum helleboro*' ['O head worthy of hellebore'], '*vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas*' ['vanity of vanities, and all is vanity', cf. Ecclesiastes 1:2]. Chapple extrapolates from Burton's mention of the foolscap map in an early section of 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', seeing not only the foolscap map, but mapping in general, as indicative of a certain form of detached authorial subjectivity: 'maps provided Burton with a convenient overview of the world, a vantage point from which to view the world at a comfortable remove, from a height, as it were, as an aloof and superior observer'; she accordingly concludes that 'the foolscap map can stand as a compelling and highly appropriate symbol for the whole of the Preface'.[7] Though a useful pursuit of one of Burton's many references to maps, Chapple significantly overstates the case for the global perspective as Burton's favoured 'cartographic' effect, let alone as a feature of cartography in general. In suggesting a triangular relation between cartography *tout court*, 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', and a supposedly universalising, 'global' view from nowhere, Chapple belies both the representational diversity of cartographic material of which

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[6] Chapple, 'Robert Burton's Geography of Melancholy'. *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 33.1 (1993). 99-130.
[7] Chapple, 'Geography of Melancholy', 104.

Burton makes use, and his commitment throughout *The Anatomy* to epistemological variety and incommensurable modes of viewing the world.[8]

After Chapple, sustained treatments of Burton's geographical thought have been few and far between. Burton is frequently gestured at in standard histories of 'literary geographies' or 'cartography and literature', though much the same assumption— that Burton read maps to inevitably engender an 'aloof and superior', or totalising perspective—is generally repeated.[9] However, 'mapping' as a concept in Burton studies has persisted in parallel to explicitly geographical work, as a half-acknowledged presence in both Burton's thought and the critical language used to describe it. David Renaker, analysing the synoptic diagrams which preface each partition of *The Anatomy*, concludes that they are 'a map of the book', in opposition to the 'cellular'—that is, unintegrated and *bricolés*—contents of *The Anatomy*'s sections.[10] Christopher Tilmouth, commenting on Burton's desire to 'confine' the symptoms of melancholy 'into method' (I:408), writes that 'the conviction implicit in Burton's verb "confine" is that the very practice of mapping melancholy (in all its particularities) on the abstract level will also circumscribe the disease in reality'; yet as it turns out, 'the more Burton pursues his goal (the more copiously he opens up areas of analysis), the more mapping he discovers is still to be done'.[11] Christopher Johnson, again writing of the relationship between diagrams and language in *The Anatomy*,

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[8] The most effective rebuttal of the 'view from nowhere' reading of *The Anatomy* is given in Kathryn Murphy, 'Robert Burton and the Problems of Polymathy', *Renaissance Studies* 28.2 (2014): 279-97.

[9] See, e.g., Henry Turner, 'Literature and Mapping in Early Modern England, 1520-1688', *HOC3,* 412-426, here 421; Patrick J. Murray, *Intellectual and Imaginative Cartographies in Early Modern England*, Routledge, 2022, 24-5, both of which cite Chapple uncritically.

[10] Renaker, 'Robert Burton and Ramist Method', *Renaissance Quarterly* 24.2 (1971): 210–20, here 212, 220.

[11] Tilmouth, 'Robert Burton's Turning Picture: Argument and Anxiety in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*', *Review of English Studies* 56 (2005): 524–49, here 541, 542.

writes of Burton's struggle in his text 'to map discursively these forking paths [*sc.* of the diagrams], to give, that is, some order and limits to the ubiquitous "&c." that fuels the tables and his prose'.[12]

In these critical metaphors, though they are often used apparently loosely, we can nevertheless discern a distinct conception of the role of 'mapping' in Burton's thought that is not dissimilar to the thesis advanced by Chapple and endorsed by historians of the early modern literary-cartographic connection. 'Mapping', in these latter metaphors, was a means to set due limits upon curiosity, to curtail the possibly endless accumulation of instances of melancholy, and to present a coherent 'view' of melancholy's symptoms and cures in a synoptic fashion. Citing Burton's assertion that 'Me thinkes it would well please any man to look upon a Geographical Map [...] and never to goe forth of the limits of his study' (II:86), Kathryn Murphy suggests that 'the possibility of a comprehensive perspective is continually threatened by disintegration into the "*incredibilis rerum varietas*"—the unbelievable variety of things—that a map or synopsis *should* encompass'.[13] A deontic sense of what a map 'should' do emerges when discussing Burton's attempt to structure his work, and this is worth weighing against the evidence of map-use in *The Anatomy* itself, beyond the pseudo-Ramist *synopses*, the foolscap map, or any other unique place in *The Anatomy* where 'the map' is seen to operate. Indeed, Tilmouth invoked cartography in connection with Burton's verb 'confine', estranging us from Burton's own early comment: 'I never travelled but in Mappe or Card, in which mine *unconfined* thoughts have freely expatiated'.[14] We have seen that geographical textbooks advanced the idea that

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[12] Johnson, 'Diagram and Discourse in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*', *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 7 (2022), 44-116, here 112.

[13] Murphy, 'Problems of Polymathy', 289. My emphasis. See also Murphy, '*Aves quaedam macedonicae*: Misreading Aristotle in Francis Bacon, Robert Burton, Thomas Browne, and Thomas Traherne', DPhil Thesis: University of Oxford, 2009, 140: 'Burton supplies a map, but rather than distracting the reader from experience of the local landscape, it only serves to highlight how the abridgements and abstractions of cartography fail to capture that experience'.

[14] These metaphors all rehearse, intentionally or not, the Hegelian cartographic metaphor of the 'Survey', or *Übersicht*, which denoted an illegitimately totalising, external view of an object, as opposed to the inward, attentive, and self-moving dialectical cognition involved in Hegel's 'Science/*Wissenschaft*'. See G.W.F. Hegel, trans. A.V. Miller, *The Phenomenology*

learning to read maps was a training in the student's response to *iucundissimam rerum varietatem* (Cheyne's phrase, which, we shall see, Burton adapted nearly wholesale from a different cartographic source): very little of this responsive disposition, for Burton, had to do with confining or eliding it.

By taking a similarly 'unconfined' approach to Burton's conception of mapping, this chapter will, however, find itself in cautious sympathy with the metaphorics of another scholar. Susan Wells, writing of the much-controverted question of *The Anatomy*'s genre, has attempted to resituate the book as participating, through its capacious understanding of the function of epideictic rhetoric, in a range of genres, not confined to a single mode such as a sermon, medical treatise, or any other familiar form. In doing so, she calls for a turn in critical metaphor: 'I propose an alternate framework more hospitable to multigenre texts such as *The Anatomy*: the use of spatial metaphors. Burton's fluid movement among genres and the deftness with which he uses them as vehicles for textual exchange call for such alternative metaphors'.[15] Following this proposition, Wells gives rather a different sense of a 'cartographic' view of *The Anatomy*: 'different possibilities emerge if we read the Anatomy in this way, as a multiplied or laminated genre, occupying different positions on the overlaid genre maps of early modern rhetoric and poetics'.[16] I shall suggest that seeing the generic rhetoric of Burton's book as reflective of a set of non-totalising, semi-compatible 'genre maps' (though not necessarily 'spatial' ones), each of which could be visited or abandoned at will, comes far closer to Burton's actual use of cartography than the usual vocabulary of 'mapping' and 'mapping out'. Wells' word 'laminated'—that is, constructed by layer upon layer of material—will, as we see, speak closely to Burton's conception

of Spirit, Oxford UP, 1977, §53: 'Instead of entering the immanent content of the thing, it is forever surveying [*übersieht er immer*] the whole and standing above the particular instance of which it is speaking, i.e., it does not see it at all. [...] Absorbed in its object, scientific cognition forgets about the general survey [*Übersicht*].'

[15] Wells, *Robert Burton's Rhetoric: An Anatomy of Early Modern Knowledge*, Penn State UP, 2019, 28.

[16] Wells, *Rhetoric*, 41.

of the different perspectives offered by cartography. Wells's thesis echoes an impression briefly offered by Vicari in the earliest treatment of *The Anatomy*'s map-mindedness: 'Burton made whatever use of geography the decorum of a particular passage demanded'.[17] Vicari's comment, though vague, does justice to the *incredibilem tabularum varietatem* in Burton's book. This chapter seeks to show that the adaptability of cartography in Burton's thought was part of the *habitus* it sought to induce, and that it possessed a distinct role beyond mere undifferentiated 'study' in his programme of cure.

In what follows, I will thus return to the original variety of geographic material catalogued by Vicari and Kiessling, while suggesting what a specifically cartographic sense of variety and disunity accomplishes in *The Anatomy*. First, I will revisit 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', Burton's extended preface, which was claimed by Chapple as the principal site of Burton's *arx Minervae*, the catascopic viewpoint from which the melancholy globe could be surveyed in an 'aloof and superior' fashion. More recent scholarship has emphasised the tensions in the preface between an all-encompassing, totalising perspective and the unassimilable variety of its particular parts: I will ask if geography and cartography as broader disciplines had a role to play in the latter perspectival moment as well as the former. The following part of this chapter will then export a problematised sense of 'the' cartographic viewpoint in *The Anatomy* into the partitioned sections themselves, illustrating that when Burton promised to 'descend to particulars', eschewing the panoptic survey for comparative itemisation of individual instances, he reached with striking regularity for cartographic material. It would seem that Burton used maps as documents for the production of equivocation and doubt, as well as for the circumscription of the world. Finally, I will show how this revised vision of the role of cartography—as an epistemological tool for acknowledging the minute variety in unity, of leaving parts to subsist

[17] Vicari, *Minerva's Tower*, 41.

within a whole—became part of Burton's vision of a cure for melancholy. For melancholy was a disease which afflicted the Imagination and its pseudo-visual productions—that part of the mind's geography which, we have seen, was often viewed as cartography's principal site of effect. It will appear that cartography, for Burton, was a means of producing 'Imagination rectified', of holding within the mind a precariously assembled but revitalising set of perspectives on the world, which together produced a creative but focussed *habitus* to countervail the chaotic prodigality of the melancholy Imagination. In this light, I will offer a new reading of one of the most controverted passages of *The Anatomy*, Burton's Utopia. Seeing the Utopia as a form of doubtful yet productive geographical recreation will offer a new conception of early modern cartography's effect on its students, which in turn will appear in surprising lights in the following chapters.

The evidential foundation for this chapter is a close reconsideration of the specific cartographic objects which Burton cited, owned, and demonstrably interacted with. However, in all of what follows, I will treat Burton's use of written geographies, standalone maps, and combinations of the two in map-books as part of a cartographic continuum, attending to the migrations of the types of information typical to each of these forms from one to the other. For all the virtues of filiating and separating the various cartographic 'modes' as Lesley Cormack and others have done when organising the work of map-makers, in Burton's case as a map-consumer any rigid division between mathematical cartography, descriptive geography and chorography is artificial.[18] As Burton's citations show, the books of geography and cartography that he referred to most often combined two or more of these modes in tandem: an implicit methodological aim of this chapter, and of this thesis as a whole, is to

[18] See Lesley Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography and the English Universities, 1580-1620*, Chicago UP, 1997; Cormack, '"Good Fences Make Good Neighbors": Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England', *Isis* 82.4 (1991): 639-61; an influential (and helpfully reflexive) instance of this 'modal' turn in readings of cartography's disciplinary arrangement is given in the decidedly un-whiggish Matthew Edney, 'Cartography without "Progress": Reinterpreting the Nature and Historical Development of Mapmaking', *Cartographica* 30.2-3 (1993): 54-68.

show what can be gained from considering the influence of maps as part of bibliographical units, which combined various styles of communication between their covers.[19] As we have seen, the grouping of geography under a general ethic of prudential learning, consisting of eloquence as well as cartographic competence, was a major educational goal of the time.

III: Arces Melancoliae*: The Viewpoints of 'Democritus Junior to the Reader'*

The passage which struck Chapple and other exponents of the argument outlined above, which occurs early in 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', is one of its more pessimistically moralising episodes, as Burton uses the pastoral Epistles of St Cyprian of Carthage to pronounce on the state of the world:

> Of the necessitie and generalitie of this which I have said, if any man doubt, I shall desire him to make a briefe survey of the world, as Cyprian adviseth Donat, *supposing himselfe to bee transported to the top of some high Mountaine, and thence to behold the tumults & chances of this wavering woorld, he cannot chuse but either laugh at, or pitty it*. S. Hierome out of a strong imagination, being in the Wildernesse, conceived with himselfe, that he then saw them dauncing in Rome, and if thou shalt either conceive, or clime to see, thou shalt soone perceive that all the world is mad, that it is melancholy, dotes: that it is (which Epichthonius Cosmopolites expressed not many yeeres since in a Map) made like a Fooles head (with that Motto *Caput Helleboro dignum*) a crased head, *cavea stultorum*, a Fooles paradise, or as Apollonius, a common prison of Gulles, Cheaters, Flatterers, &c. & needs to be reformed.
>
> (*Anatomy*, I:24)

This is an example of Burton's homiletic tendencies which run throughout *The Anatomy*, forming part of a general habit of holistic denouncement, where the world *in toto* is condemned as a fool's paradise.[20] It is this sentiment, by no means tonally dominant in Burton's book, which leads to his citation of the

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[19] I owe this methodological point to the theoretical reflections in Jordana Dym and Carla Lois, 'Bound Images: Maps, Books, and Reading in Material and Digital Contexts', *Word and Image* 37.2 (2021): 119-41.

[20] On *The Anatomy*'s relation to homiletics, see Vicari, 'Melancholy and the Order of Grace', *Minerva's Tower*, 80-148. For a thoughtful reading of Burton's totalising assertion that 'all are one' in the context of *The Anatomy*'s imagined reader and the prospect of cure, see Mary Ann Lund, *Melancholy, Medicine, and Religion in Early Modern England: Reading* The Anatomy of Melancholy, Cambridge UP, 2010, esp. 33-45.

foolscap map of 'Epichthonius Cosmopolites'.[21] The map and its various 'Mottos' are a visual and literary continuation of Cyprian's supposed transportation of Donatus to a toweringly high 'Mountaine' from which the world may be viewed at once and in detail, in order to be condemned as hopelessly corrupted. But the citation of Cyprian's letter begins to expose a subtle irony in Burton's passage. For the situation Cyprian conjures is self-consciously impossible, as his preceding sentences make clear: 'But in order that the characteristics of the divine may shine more brightly by the development of the truth, I will give you light to apprehend it, the obscurity caused by sin being wiped away. I will draw away the veil from the darkness of this hidden world'.[22] The saint's almost-hubristic conceit is of a worldview entirely purged of sin, and all attendant epistemological obscurity. In the light of this ambiguous passage, Burton's brisk counterfactual, 'if thou shalt conceive, or clime to see, thou shalt soone perceive…' begins to seem less self-evidently achievable than it makes out. The sense of this view being extraneous and eccentric to normal, and indeed healthy human perception is increased in the example of Saint Jerome which bridges Cyprian's advice and the foolscap map. Jerome is said to have been 'transported' by a 'strong imagination', bred out of his isolation in the 'wilderness'—he 'supposes' himself falsely to possess a similar panoptic viewpoint to Cyprian's. The conjunction of 'imagination' with solitariness to produce otherworldly visions should sound the alarm for any reader of *The Anatomy*: in his later 'Anatomy of the Soule', Burton writes of the Imagination that 'In Melancholy men this faculty is most Powerfull and strong, and often hurts, producing many monstrous and prodigious things, especially if it be stirred up by some terrible object, presented to it from common sense, or memory' (I:152). He goes on in a digressive subsection on the force of

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[21] Chapple interestingly speculates that this 'Epichthonius' may in fact be a misreading of Erichthonius, an Athenian King associated with healing and the power of resurrection, see 'Geography of Melancholy', 112-15.

[22] Cyprian, 'Epistle I. To Donatus', trans. in *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* ed. Alexander Roberts et. al., T. & T. Clark, 1885, 10 vols., vol. 5, 275-6. Burton further quotes this conceit of Cyprian in a later note on the wish '*secreta cordium penetrare,* as Cyprian desires': '*O si posses in specula sublimi constitutus, &c.*' [O if you could, while stood on a tall watch-tower, &c.]. In both of these instances, Burton cites Cyprian's letter as Ep[istula] 2, Lib[rum] 2.

Imagination, which catalogues the prodigies and terrors conceived by Popes, Patriarchs, and other historical luminaries, to assert that 'most especially it [*sc.* Imagination] rageth in melancholy persons, in keeping the species of objects so long, mistaking, amplifying them by continuall and strong meditation, untill at length it produceth in some parties reall effects, causeth this and many other maladies' (I:250).[23] If a 'strong imagination' could provide an 'aloof and superior' viewpoint embodied in the foolscap map, Burton also alluded in the same place to the dangers and presumptions of lingering too long at such a rarefied level—the specifically religious dimension of this solitary contemplation is expounded at large in Burton's final section on Religious Melancholy.[24]

This hidden caution in what has been read as an escapist, straightforwardly neo-Stoic passage, can further ramify a later concession made by Burton: turning the trope of a global melancholy to face himself while quoting the Epistle of James 3:15 ('*The wisdome of this world is foolishnesse with God*'), Burton locates true panopsis in the Bible: 'In this sense we are all as Fooles, and the Scripture alone is *Arx Minervae*, wee and our writings are shallow and unperfect' (I.30). The Bible was the only work with a valid claim to panopsis; all human activity and writing were subsumed under its gaze—indeed, as we shall see in the next chapter, the scripturally-derived metaphor used more commonly for a pseudo-cartographic 'viewpoint' taken by any individual writer was the 'Pisgah-sight', connoting a much more partial view. In this pious statement, Burton upends one of his earliest self-reflective ruminations:

> I have litle, I want nothing: all my Treasure is in Minerva's Towre. [...] I live still a Collegiat Student, as Democritus in his Garden, and lead a Monastique

[23] On imagination in Burton's view of melancholy, see Claire Crignon-de Oliveira, "Is there a melancholic gaze? From visual distemper to visionary fancy", in *Journal of European Studies: Special Issue 'Culture and Melancholy'* 33.130-1 (2003), 227-36; Jennifer Radden, *Melancholic Habits: Burton's* Anatomy *and the Mind Sciences*, Oxford UP, 2016, esp. 49-81. Radden is keen to downplay the role of visual perception in Burton's view of the imagination, see 51-2, 57-8.

[24] There was a rich literary tradition of the ascetic Church Fathers having to battle the 'noon-day demon', or the melancholic, slothful condition of *acedia* (ἀκηδία), provoked specifically by their solitariness. For the patristic history of this condition, see David Scott Macnab, 'The Many Faces of the Noonday Demon', *Journal of Early Christian History* 8.1 (2018): 22-42; for Burton and *acedia*, see Angus Gowland, 'The Solitary Mind in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*', *Critical Quarterly* 65.2 (2023): 5-24, esp. nn. 33-4.

> life, *ipse mihi Theatrum*, sequestred from those tumults and trobles of the world, But *tanquam in specula* [*sc.* watch-tower] *positus* (as he said) in some high place above you all, like Stoicus Sapiens, *omnia saecula, praeterita presentiaque videns, uno velut intuitu* [*sc.* seeing all ages, past and present, as if in one glance]
>
> (Anatomy, I:4)[25]

The manifest tension between these two poles of argument—between the espousal of the comprehending, judging view taken from 'Minerva's Tower' *uno intuitu* (a phrase to which the final chapter of this thesis will return), and the humble, pious recognition that the *arx Minervae* is a hubristic, impossible, and perhaps melancholy fiction—opens up a polarity between the type of view on offer in 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', and one which has been seen as characteristic of Burton's contradictory self-exposition. As Murphy has observed, 'Burton oscillates between moments of synoptic vision and images of the confusions of illimitable variety of texts and sources of information'.[26] The question for this chapter is whether, as scholars have assumed, the domain of the cartographic is firmly located within that of 'synopsis', or whether Burton also exhibited his map-mindedness in illustrating questions of *varietas* and unconfined, more chaotic ways of encountering the melancholy globe. I will suggest that Burton's use of cartography was very often sympathetic to these latter questions; as such, a revised consideration of the maps and map-books which Burton used offers a material way into current readings of *The Anatomy*—a book which, it will appear, was composed of a collection of textual 'viewpoints', in a manner which Burton quite consciously saw as analogous to the process of mapmaking and geographical research.

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[25] For the difference between the view *uno intuitu* (in one glance) and *primo intuitu* (at first glance), see Aubrey chapter below, 212, 243ff. See, for a connection between the view *uno intuitu*, Ramist methodical arrangement, and pseudo-anatomical discourse, Otho Casmanus [Otto Casmann], *Rami Dialecticae & Melanchthoniae Collatio*, Hanover, 1594, 307: 'Ὁρισικὴ definitionis Methodus est, cum praecipuas artis cuiusdam partes ac definitiones quae aut Resolutione apertae, aut compositione traditae sunt, quasi sub uno intuitu memoriae causa comprehendimus. Nova methodus Philippi potius est quae monstrat certam ration*em* tractandi & explicandi membru*m* aliquod integri corporis'. On Casmann and anatomy in the milieu of Melanchthon and other dialecticians, see Davide Cellamare, 'Anatomy and the Body in Renaissance Protestant Psychology', *Early Science and Medicine* 19.4 (2014): 341-64.

[26] Murphy, 'Problems of Polymathy', 289.

In this connection, another more complex use of the *arx* image is informative. Later in 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', Burton waxes political, taking a tour of the doting world. He proceeds by a method of 'descent', moving from statements about the whole world to discussing kingdoms and their territories, the 'princes' of these kingdoms themselves, lawyers, and then the individual human members of 'bodies politique'. He then attempts to summarise these efforts:

> I could repeat many such particular grievances, which much disturbe a bodie politique; to shut up all in briefe, where good government is, prudent and wise Princes, there all things thrive and prosper, peace and happinesse is in that Land, where it is otherwise, all things are ugly to behold, incult [*sc.* unpolished, unartistic], barbarous, uncivill, a Paradise is turned to a wildernesse.
>
> (*Anatomy*, I:74)

But in characteristic fashion, Burton's 'otherwise' here triggers a further superabundance of detail, an etceterative continuation of what he promised to sum up in a sentence. He goes on to weigh the relative merits and demerits of various locales, beginning with the Low Countries and continuing on to Britain:

> I may not deny but that this Nation of ours, doth *bene audire apud exteros* [*sc.* have a good reputation with foreigners], is a most noble, a most flourishing kingdome, by common consent of all Geographers, Historians, Politicians, 'tis *unica velut arx* [*sc.* like a solitary citadel/fortress/watchtower], and which *Quintius* in *Livy* said of the inhabitants of Pelleponesus, may be well applied to us, wee are *testudines testa sua inclusi* like so many Tortises in our shells, safely defended by an angry Sea, as a wall on all sides…
>
> (*Anatomy*, I:75)

The image of the *arx* is put to rather different use here: rather than signifying an ambiguous, encompassing space of panopsis, Britain is refigured as a defensive, self-enclosed 'watchtower', both 'safely defended' and testudineously defensive.[27] Citing the politician and occasional geographer Giovanni Botero (c. 1544-1617) as a guiding example, Burton embarks upon a comparative political

[27] For the contradictions, confusions, and ideological elisions involved in England's false self-conception as a nation enclosed and defended by the sea, and the various cartographic manifestations of this view, see Lorna Hutson, *England's Insular Imaginings: The Elizabethan Erasure of Scotland*, Cambridge UP, 2023.

geography of (mostly) European nations, seeking reasons for the dereliction of once flourishing states.[28] After a customary panegyric of England's virtues in navigation and politics, gleaned from the maps and written geographies of Camden, Ortelius, Mercator, and Keckermann (here we find another witness to his influence on geographical matters at the English Universities), Burton returns to gloomy form, detailing the 'boils of the commonwealth' (I.76).

The tone of the following pages is anything but totalising. Instead Burton laments the variety of achievement in geographically similar countries: 'Our land is fertile we may not deny, full of all good things, and why doth it not then abound with cities, as well as *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, the Low countries?' (I:76). What follows this question is one of the clearest instances in 'Democritus Junior to the Reader' of proliferative variety as authorial technique, in a passage of numerical chorography where cartography is used to decidedly un-panoptic ends:

> I finde 46 Cities & walled Townes in Alsatia, a small Province in *Germany*, 50. Castles, an infinite number of Villages, no ground idle, no not rocky places, or tops of hilles are untilled, as Munster informeth us. In *Greichgea* a small territory on the Necker, 24 Italian miles over, I read of 20 walled townes, innumerable villages, each one containing 150 houses most part, besides Castles, and Noblemens Pallaces. I observe in *Turinge* in *Dutchland* (twelve miles over by their scale) 12 Counties, and in them 144 Citties, 2000 villages, 144 townes, 250 Castles. In *Bavaria* 34 citties, 46 townes, &c. *Portugallia interamnis,* a small plot of ground hath 1460 Parishes, 130 Monasteries, 200 Bridges. *Malta* a barren Island yeelds, 20000 Inhabitants. But of all the rest I admire Luis Guicciardines Relations of the Low-countries. *Holland* hath 26 Citties; 400 great villages. *Zeland* 10 Citties, 102 parishes. *Brabant* 26 Citties, 102 parishes. *Flanders* 28 Citties, 90 Townes, 1154 villages, besides Abbies, Castles, &c.
>
> (*Anatomy*, I:76)

Rhetorically, this passage is an example of *paradeigma*: a continuous list of examples all of which move towards a single idea, in this case the want of the 'industry' in England which would produce more

[28] On Botero's situation within the geographical tradition, see John M. Headley, 'Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilizing Process', *Renaissance Quarterly* 53.4 (2000): 1119-1155. The phrase *unica velut arx* is cited as Botero's in Burton's note h.: '*Tota Britannia unica velut arx.*'

flourishing cities. But as ever in Burton's attempts to abridge his lists via the punctuative '&c.', this attempt at unity is faced with instances of incongruence, which hinder easy comparisons from being made.[29] In this passage, this spectre of differing scales of comprehension plays out at the literal level of scale: Burton's citation of the German reformer David Chytraeus's oration on 'Greichegea' (Kraichgau) is measured in Italian miles, each of which was considerably shorter than the German miles which the Italian cartographer Giovanni Magini used to describe Thuringia.[30] The calculations of scale required to accurately understand Burton's wonder at the relative urban density of German cities becomes almost impossible in the thicket of numerals, though the very inclusion of the detail precludes any casual dismissal of these cities as 'all one'.[31] Burton's use of geography here—besides Chytraeus and Magini Burton cites Botero, Ortelius, Camden, and Munster—evinces a different epistemological style to that apparently suggested by the foolscap map. The paratactic passage, interpolated with the (arguably incommensurable) verbs of encounter 'I finde [...] I read [...] I observe', creates the sense of a group of individual acts of observation, taken from a set of cartographic viewpoints which are not strictly comparable, but nevertheless comparatively assessed while only half-assembled into a coherent moral proposition. It is not certain that Burton's concluding sentence and its avowal of an exclusive cause for the melancholy city does justice to the detail which has preceded it: 'Industry is a Load-stone to draw all good things, that alone makes Countries flourish, Cities populous' (I:77).

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[29] See Murphy, 'Problems of Polymathy', 289: 'The compulsive conclusion of lists with "&c", or of subsections with phrases such as "examples are infinite", brings synopsis up against inexhaustible copiousness'.

[30] Gowland cites Fynes Morison's *Itinerary* on these incompatible scales: an Italian mile was 1,000 paces in length, while an English mile was 1,500; a German mile, according to Morison, was 'more than three English, or five Italian miles'. See Gowland (ed.), *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1098, nn. 244, 245.

[31] On Burton's use of numerals, and the many inaccuracies attendant on this use, see David Renaker, 'Robert Burton's Tricks of Memory', *PMLA* 87.3 (1972): 391-6.

The *arx* with which this passage of 'Democritus Junior to the Reader' begins, then, is of a different order to the *arx Minervae*. England is treated as *unicam velut arcem*, but with the aim of contrasting it to other *arces* of differing sizes, measured in different fashions and at different levels of detail. Shortly after this passage, Burton goes so far as to admit that England itself is not so much an *arx* as a *collatio arcium*, a collection of citadels, an uneven milieu beleaguered by the unjust prominence of London: 'Amongst our Townes there is only London that bears the face of a Citty, *Epitome Britanniae*, a famous Emporium, second to none beyond Seas, a noble Mart: But *sola crescit, decrescentibus aliis* [it alone grows, while the others wane]; and yet in my slender judgement, defective in many things' (I:80). Even as Burton's panegyric takes flight, it is subject to bathos; London is transformed, across the dividing colon, from an epitome into a poorly used synecdoche. As such, the avowed intention of 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', 'to make a briefe survey of the world', and the cartographic counterpart to this proposition, are rebuffed by a rhetoric no less influenced by cartography, but which multiplies detail to the extent that the planned survey certainly cannot be 'brief', and arguably cannot be coherent.

It is worth noticing here that the cartographer to whom Burton most explicitly allies himself in 'Democritus Junior to the Reader' was also known for an aesthetic of variety rather than concision. While heading off objections to a divine writing a treatise on medicine, Burton invokes two particular polymathic models for his disciplinary transgression, quoting from his brother the chorographer William's *Description of Leicestershire* (1622):

> Howsoever in undertaking this taske, I hope I shall commit no great errour or indecorum, if all be considered aright, I can vindicate my selfe with *Georgius Braunus*, and *Hieronymus Hemingius*, those two learned Divines; who (to borrow a line or two of mine Elder Brother) drawne by a *naturall love, the one of Pictures and Mappes, Prospectives and Corographicall delights, writ that ample Theater of Cities; the other to the study of Genealogies, penned Theatrum Genealogicum.*
>
> (*Anatomy*, I:22)

Georg Braun (1541-1622), the German geographer, was famous for the crowning achievement of the early modern 'city-book', the *Civitates orbis terrarum* (6 vols., 1572–1617), composed primarily with Frans Hogenberg (1530-95), but assembled from the contributions of hundreds of European cartographers: the *Civitates*, and its many imitators, were books filled with local maps of various cities or towns, all drawn in whatever style the specific contributor chose, bridged by text but with the maps only lightly standardised.[32] They were teeming objects, known for iconographic variety: Petruța Năiduț has noted that Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates* was 'conceived as an open work that could be amended and enlarged, as new city views and details emerged'.[33] The *Civitates*, as the extraordinarily long period during which new volumes were published indicates, was potentially inexhaustible in the details it could provide. Burton's epithet for the book, 'ample', suggests this view, as a contemporary dictionary, defining the French 'ample' from which the English was a loanword, indicates in its range of meanings: 'Full, ample, wide, large, scopefull, spacious, of great compasse; also, copious, abundant; sumptuous; huge'.[34] This was the maker of 'Pictures and Mappes, Prospectives and Corographicall delights' who Burton marshalled to 'vindicate' his authorial self: neither Braun in the *Civitates*, nor Burton in 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', were content to present a comprehensive, coherent 'survey' or vision of the world. Rather, they were textual and cartographic collectors: claims to holism were less important than the assembly and arrangement of intersecting parts, or viewpoints. While the view from a *specula* was ever appealing, Burton, Braun and Hogenberg's work showed cartography taking the legs from under this view.

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[32] On the city-book in general, with particular focus on Braun and Hogenberg, see Hilary Ballon and David Friedman, 'Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning', in *HOC3*, 680–704. For Burton and the city-book in particular, see Flynn Allott, 'Material Metaphors for Literary Form: Robert Burton's 'Perused' Copy of *Theatrum urbium Italicarum* (1599)', *Renaissance Studies* 38.2 (2024): 185-205.

[33] Năiduț, 'A Book of Cities: Mapping Urban Space in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572–1617)', *Journal of British, American and Canadian Studies 34.1* (2020): 8–25, here 11.

[34] 'Ample', in Randall Cotgrave, *A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues*, London, 1611.

In 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', then, we find a much more varied view of the type of knowledge which mapping could create to that which I have outlined in Bacon's work, or many other critics have noticed in Burton. Bacon situated the 'map' at a defined rhetorical and epistemological point in his staged process of investigation. The production of Bacon's pseudo-visually striking *typi, plasmata,* and *cartae* would come after a rigorous collection of *instantiae*, and provide the ground-plot of profitable reasoning to come. As we have seen, Burton had a much more 'unconfined' view of what cartographic material could provide—it could, on the same page, gesture at a conceptual totality in the uniformly melancholy globe, and directly after this gesture use the information on a set of maps to create a semi-coherent jumble of conflicting viewpoints. Part of the reason for this view was Burton's habitually voracious habits of consumption—he simply can be demonstrated to have read much more cartographic material than Bacon. But as we shall shortly see, Burton's technical knowledge of mapmaking meant that he could read an aesthetic of *varietas* and incommensurability into individual maps, as well as the discipline of cartography writ large.

This emphasis on the slapdash heaping of perspectives is reflective of Burton's method at large: when making a customary gesture elsewhere in the preface at the uniformity of melancholy, he exhibits a rare attention to formal logical terminology:

> Proceed now *a partibus ad totum*, or from the whole to parts [*sic*], and you shall finde no other issue, the parts shall be sufficiently dilated in this following Preface. The whole must needs followe by a *Sorites* or induction. Every multitude is mad, *bellua multorum capitum*, precipitate and rash [...]
>
> (*Anatomy*, I.65)

In mediaeval and early modern logic, '*sorites*' named both a process of inductive reasoning and a paradox. As the former, it indicated the 'heap' of particulars collected in order to prove or bear witness

to a proposition or concept.[35] As the latter, it was an ancient logical paradox concerning the impossibility of definition: a 'heap' was a collection of, say, grains of sand; but two grains of sand could not be called a heap, nor could three, four, five, and so on. What, then, was the lower bound of grains needed to constitute a 'heap'? And what was a 'heap' at all? Such a terminological equivocation in Burton's preface between the image of (at least partial) logical coherence between particular and general, and that of the formal impossibility of generalisation, is yet another example of Burton's always self-limiting gestures at generality.[36] Even here, as he urges his readers to perform the twofold methodical manoeuvre of ascent to the whole and descent to particulars, assuring them that in doing so they will find that his ascription of melancholy to 'all men' is sound, his language betrays the promise.[37] The *sorites* does not appear in Bacon's work, its equivocality potentially damaging to the iron-clad leap from 'literate experience' to *typos et plasmata*, and thence to the discovery of metaphysical forms. The proposed comprehensiveness of Bacon's method precluded a trope of logic whose sense at least partially implied a not knowing when to stop. Burton, however, lived with the ambiguity in such a fashion as has exercised critics ever since. The assembled quality of Burton's book as a 'rhapsody of rags', a 'mosaic', and a 'dunghill' all speak to the presence of a quite properly multivalent

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[35] For Burton and the *sorites*, see Murphy, '*aves quaedam macedonicae*', 269-70. This was a transferred sense from the more strict logical terminology, in which *sorites* denoted a form in which a set of propositions assembled in a 'chain', with the predicate of each proposition forming the subject of the next, and so on until the final predicate was connected with the first subject: e.g., Socrates is a man, all men are mortal, all mortals are subject to change, all things subject to change are not to be trusted, Socrates is not to be trusted. For the terminological shift from the 'chain' to the 'heap', see Thomas Wilson, *The Rule of Reason Conteinyng the Arte of Logique*, London, 1553, sig. Ki^{v}: '*Sorites, vel coaceruatio*, is a heapyng together of causes, one, vpon an other. A kynd of Argument when the last rehersed worde of the first Proposition, is repeted in the firste parte of the seconde Proposition, necessarily agreyng there vnto, and so goyng stil forth in like maner, til at the length the last rehersed worde be added vnto the first woorde, called Subiectum of the first Proposition.'

[36] On the *sorites* in its orthodox form as at least potentially dubious, see Lisa Jardine, 'Humanism and the Teaching of Logic', in *The Cambridge History of Later Mediaeval Philosophy*, eds. Norman Kretzman, Anthony Kenny, Jan Pinborg, Cambridge UP, 1982, 797-807, here 799.

[37] See for an explicit acknowledgment of this dynamic in the preface, among many other instances, *Anatomy*, I:106: 'To insist in all particulars, were an Herculean taske, to reckon up *insanas substructiones, insanos labores, insanum luxum*. [...] it would aske an expert Vesalius to anatomize every member. Shall I say?', and Burton's note *e* to this passage: '*Mille puellarum & puerorum mille furores* [a thousand passions for a thousand boys and girls]'.

(that is, composed of many equipollent truth-claims) textual collection of viewpoints.[38] In demonstrating that his use of cartography was fully in line with this multivalence, I will open up a new line of argument, in which the basic role of cartography in Bacon and the educational background—to stir the mind to action, to create a cartographic *habitus* of investigative enthusiasm, and to present various information in striking fashions—was taken up by Burton and later authors, but used to wholly different creative ends.

IV— 'Severall Sea Cardes': Geography, Curiosity, and Exempla

As we have seen above, the primary site of cartography and geography for critics of the main, partitioned sections of *The Anatomy* has been the branching diagrams which preface each section.[39] There is at least some early modern precedent for this type of equivalence between diagram and map: the diagrams, seen in earlier criticism as Burton's derivation from the dialectical pedagogy of Petrus Ramus (1515-72), but more recently recognised as appearing in *The Anatomy* downstream of more proximate sources, were widely stereotyped in educational literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[40] In one instance, the Cambridge play *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* (c. 1598-1601) presents the drunken would-be poet Madido, who is attempting to navigate the early stages of the trivium: 'Hence

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[38] On the 'rhapsody' and 'mosaic' metaphors in *The Anatomy*, see Drew Daniel, 'Chapter 5: Rhapsodies of Rags', in *The Melancholy Assemblage: Affect and Epistemology in the English Renaissance*, Fordham UP, 2013; Eric M. Macphail, 'Rhapsody in Prose' and 'The Mosaic of Speech', in *Dancing Around the Well: The Circulation of Commonplaces in Renaissance Humanism*, Brill, 2014, 75-115; Stuart Farley, 'Opus Musivum, Opus Variegatum: The Mosaic Form in Early Modern Culture', *Renaissance Studies* 31.1 (2017): 107-124.

[39] See Renaker, 'Ramist Method', Tilmouth, 'Turning Picture', Johnson, 'Diagram and Discourse'. On the medieval tradition of these diagrams, see Ayelet Even-Ezra, *Lines of Thought: Branching Diagrams and the Medieval Mind*, Chicago UP, 2021.

[40] The literature on Ramus's influence is copious: for a recent study, see Katrin Ettenhuber, *The Logical Renaissance: Literature, Cognition, and Argument, 1479-1630*, Oxford UP, 2023, 56-64. See also Mordechai Feingold, Joseph S. Freedman and Wolfgang Rother (eds.), *The Influence of Petrus Ramus: Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Philosophy and Sciences*, Schwabe, 2001; Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543-1630*, Oxford UP, 2007. The foundational but now widely disputed account is Walter J. Ong, S.J., *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason*, Harvard UP, 1953. Tilmouth, 'Turning Picture' argues that Johann Jakob Wecker's *Medicae syntaxes* (1562) is a more proximate source for the diagrams.

did I set up my unluckie feete in this ile Dialectica, where I can see nothinge but idees and phantasmes; as soone as I came hither I began to reade Ramus his mapp'.[41] The slip in sense between method and diagram here is clear: Ramus's general abbreviating mode of pedagogy is like a map, just as the diagrams for which he was notorious are also 'maps'. Nevertheless, despite this partial licence for the map-diagram equivalence, this section temporarily suspends the metaphorical heritage extending from *Parnassus* to the present, in order to examine more closely the use of cartographic and geographic material in the three main sections of *The Anatomy*. Returning to Vicari's assessment of the fundamentally variable use to which Burton put geography, we will find a number of instances in which the decorum of the passages where Burton reached for his cartographic collections disrupts the Ramist-synoptic view of 'mapping'.

One particular appeal to geography appears in the first partition of *The Anatomy*, in Burton's extended discussion of poor diet as a cause of melancholy. Occupying a full 'member' of Burton's discourse—the third level of quadripartite division employed in the partitions—'diet', as one of the six 'non-natural' causes of melancholy, is given extensive treatment. Throughout this discourse, Burton marshals geographic and cartographic sources to exemplify his assertions, as in this passage on the dangers of drinking from stagnant water:

> as Geographers relate, the water of *Astracan* breeds wormes in such as drinke it. *Axius*, or as now called *Verduri*, the fairest river in Macedonia, makes all Cattle blacke that taste of it. *Aleacman* now *Peleca*, another streame in Thessaly, turnes Cattle most part white, *si potui ducas*. *J. Aubanus Bohemus* referres that *Struma*, or poke of the *Bavarians* and *Styrians* to the nature of their waters, as *Munster* doth that of the *Valesians* in the *Alpes*, and *Bodine* supposeth the stutting of some families in *Aquitania* about *Labden*, to proceed from the same cause, that the filth is derived from the water to their bodies.
>
> (*Anatomy*, I.219)

[41] W. D. Macray (ed.), *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus with the Two Parts of the Return from Parnassus: Three Comedies Performed in St. John's College, Cambridge, A.D MDXCVII-MDCI*, Clarendon Press, 1886, 8-9. The *Parnassus* plays are generally contemptuous of Ramus, in line with the debates on the latter's value in late-century Cambridge, with his greatest disciple being named 'Stupido': see Ettenhuber, *The Logical Renaissance*, 56.

With the same philological nicety concerning toponyms which we saw in Burton's disquisition on cities above, he here takes us, moving from east to west, from Astracan at the mouth of the Volga river, over central Europe in Thessaly and Bavaria, ending at Aquitaine.[42] Ortelius, Munster, Jean Bodin, and Johannes Bohemus are corralled together as witnesses to a single phenomenon: stagnant water is equally deleterious from the Volga to the Bay of Biscay. While it is for the reader to decide whether Burton's *sorites* here is entirely convincing, the tendency here appears to be the smoothing of difference in the name of good exemplification: Bohemus writes 'as Munster doth', and Bodin 'supposeth' in a similar fashion. Though there is minor toponymic quibbling, there is nothing like the disrupting confusion of numerals and scalar problems here.

In a passage soon following this, however, the decorum to which geography adapts itself is of a different order. After an intervening subsection on 'Quantity of Diet', Burton turns to 'Custom of Diet, Delight, Appetite, Necessity, how they cause or hinder'. The opening of this subsection is wholly alien to the 'all are one' trope which we have seen emphasised above:

> No rule is so generall which admits not some exeption [*sic*]: to this therefore which hath beene hitherto said, (for I shall otherwise put most men out of commons) and those inconveniences which proceede from the substance of meats, an intemperate or unseasonable use of them, custome somewhat detracts, and qualifies [...]
>
> (*Anatomy*, I.225)

If this passage's decorum were to be identified, it would be an example of what Renaker has identified as Burton's 'palinodes': his retractions of previous statements in obsequy to his imagined audience.[43] Burton is forced to list 'exeptions' to the foregoing prescriptions, so as not to exclude men from their

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[42] Kiessling identifies Ortelius as a possible source for Burton's knowledge of Astracan, see 'Fifty Toponyms', 174.

[43] Renaker, 'Robert Burton's Palinodes', *Studies in Philology* 76.2 (1976): 162-81. Renaker does not include this passage in his table of Palinodes provided at the end of the article (181); however, he does include the passage on the relative productivities of various lands, especially Holland and England, which was discussed above.

'commons', that is, their daily meal at a college's dining hall (*OED*, 'commons', n. II.5.c). What follows, then, is the fullest employment of geographical sources which we have yet encountered in *The Anatomy*, continuing for several pages and capable only of being excerpted here:

> custome doth alter nature it selfe, and to such as are used to them it makes bad meats wholsome, and unseasonable times to cause no disorder [...] In Wales, *lacticiniis vescuntur*, as Humfry Lluyd confesseth, a *Cambro-Brittaine* himselfe in his elegant Epistle to *Abraham Ortelius*. They live most on whit-meats, in *Holland* on Fish, Roots, Butter: and so at this day in Greece, as *Bellonius* observes they had much rather feed on Fish then Flesh [...] Wee drinke beere, they wine; they [*sc.* Southern Europeans] use oyle, we butter: wee in the North are great eaters, they most sparing in those hotter countries: and yet they and wee following our owne customes, are well pleased [...] In *America* in many places their bread is roots, their meat Palmitos, Pinas, Potatos, &c. and such fruits. There be of them too that familiarly drink salt Sea-water, all their lives, eate raw meat, grasse, and that with delight.
>
> (*Anatomy*, I:225-7)

In these examples, Burton uses some of the most ambitious geographical projects of his age to supply a rhetoric of curiosity: Humphrey Lhuyd's letter to Ortelius which prefaced the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* is used as a witness to the Welsh diet of milk-based foods; Joannes de Laet's *Novus orbis seu descriptio Indiae occidentalis* (1633), which contained maps that dictated the cartography of the new world for decades afterwards, supplies the gobbet that the Native Americans drank sea water.[44] These objects, each comprehensive in scope and ambition to some extent, are pitted against one another and against information from other authorities, re-confirming the variety of custom as the only governing principle at play. Their use becomes restricted, in the relentless syntactic parallelism of 'they…we', to example and counterexample. None of this is to say that Burton misused his maps; rather, it is to re-emphasise that geography of the type which Burton used was necessarily teeming, various, and pillageable for curios. As bibliographical collections which contained elements of descriptive

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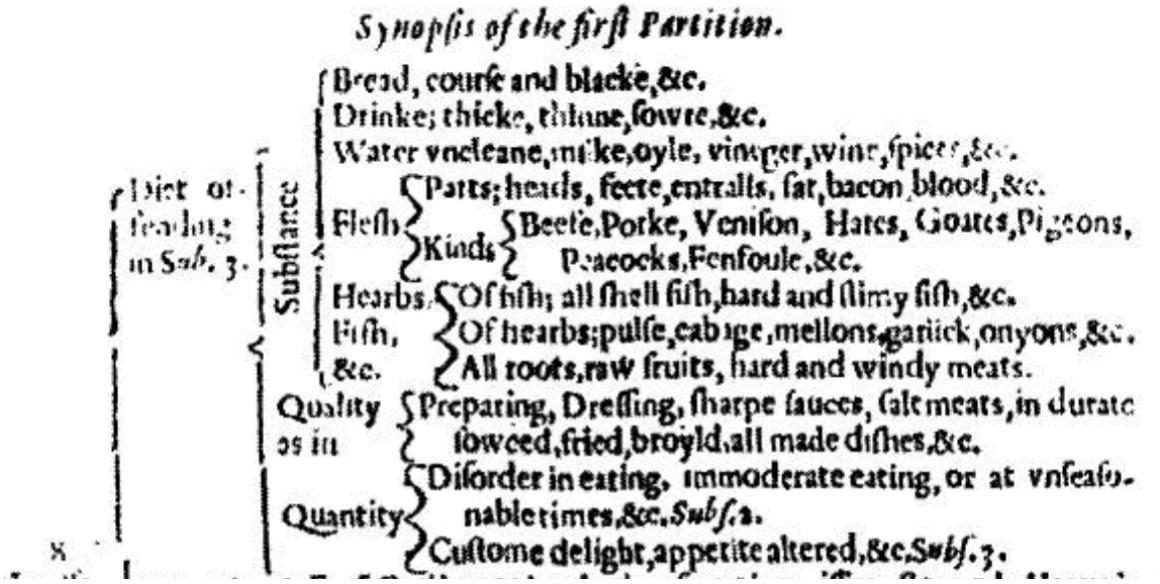
[44] For Llwyd's letter, see Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, Antwerp, 1570, sigs. ai^{r}-aiii^{v}. On de Laet's influence, see Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., 'Johannes de Laet', *ODNB*, and further Bremmer, G. Hoftijzer (eds.), 'Johannes de Laet (1581-1649): a Leiden Polymath', Special Issue of *Lias: Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources 25.2* (1998): 135-229.

geography, chorography, and mathematical cartography, Burton's library of geographic and cartographic material offered many scales of encounter and points of view even at the level of the book. Burton simply took what was on offer.

Comparing this use of cartographic material to the metaphorical 'maps' which preface each partition of *The Anatomy* provides a striking contrast. The section of the synoptic diagram under which 'Diet' is anatomised is typically disproportionate to its content (Fig. 2). While the main section on



(Fig. 2. 'Synopsis of the First Partition', *Anatomy*, I:119)[45]

Diet's 'Substance' is itemised in full, its contents promised with the listed particular examples, the passage on 'Custom' is afforded four words and the characteristic '&c.'. It is grouped under the third

[45] This version of the synopsis is taken from the Clarendon edition, and reprints an error: the leftmost text reads 'Diet offending, in *Sub[section]. 3*'. Later editions corrected this to read 'in *Sub.* 1', preserving the sequence of the diagram.

Aristotelian category of 'Quantity' along with the previous subsection, though as we have seen, its contents give examples pertaining to quality, substance, and still other of the ten categories.[46] Burton ruthlessly abbreviates this section's conspectus despite all its rich cultural and geographical speculation, leaving the domain of the 'exeption' to describe itself. The rhetoric of the exception which governs this subsection's decorum is not dissoluble in the logic of the synopses: if the diagrams are a 'map', then they are not of the same cartographic order as the information contained on the maps which Burton used in the subsection itself. The much-lauded, expensive and innovative maps which were consumed by Burton and his peers would, most often, come circumscribed by the type of unverifiable, anecdotal, and curiously exceptional information which could not be accommodated to the 'mapping-out' function of the synoptic diagrams. Read in parallel to one another, these objects could dually provide illusions of panopsis and reminders of plurality, opening up the limits of the knowable world by their inclusive and copious design.

Burton's use of cartographic material in the 'Custom' section answers to what Vicari has called his 'preference for human geography—political, urban, moral—and for what we should now call anthropology.'[47] Vicari is correct, in that Burton used geography and cartography, as he did with almost every other discipline, to look at the idiosyncrasy and curiosity of human life. But in expressing this preference in terms of genre, Vicari gives the misleading impression that 'human geography' and 'anthropology' were generically separate from the 'mathematical geography' by which 'mapping' in the strict sense has been defined.[48] As I hope to have suggested, even the era-defining, large-scale maps

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[46] The diagram, in Ramist fashion, organises these subsections by the first three of Aristotle's categories: substance, quantity, and quality. See, for the most succinct statement of all the categories, Aristotle, ed. Jonathan Barnes, *Categories*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, Oxford UP, 1991, §1b25-2a4.

[47] Vicari, *Minerva's Tower*, 34.

[48] For the division between mathematical geography, descriptive geography, and chorography in its institutional context see Cormack, *Charting an Empire.*

which Burton often used were hedged around with 'anthropological' and minutely detailed observation that steadfastly resisted synopsis.

Nor is this a straightforward matter of the distinction between pictorial map and written text, where the latter provided the detail which could not be assimilated to the former. The images of local dress and military armour in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates* could provide exactly the kind of 'ample', 'anthropological' material in which Burton was interested, alongside, rather than opposed to, the accompanying texts. And strikingly, we can see a sense of epistemological variety, and even incommensurability, in the work of Burton's own cartographic metaphors. Later in the first partition, in an encompassing section on 'Discontents, Cares, Miseries', in which the rejectamenta from other sections are collected under a purposively vague heading, Burton again returns to the theme of melancholy polities:

> Our townes and citties are but so many dwellings of humane misery, In which griefe and sorrow (as he right well observes out of Solon) innumerable troubles, labours of mortall men, and all manner of vices, are included as in so many pennes. Our villages are like mole-hills, and men as so many Emots, busie, busie still, going to and fro, in and out, and crossing one anothers projects, as the lines of severall Sea-cardes cut each other in a Globe or Map.
> (*Anatomy*, I:274)

The remarkable metaphorical trajectory here, from village to 'mole-hill' to map, is of a higher complexity than Burton's (or indeed Bacon's) other uses of cartographic language, both at the level of the vehicle and the tenor. The animating tension is between the village considered as an epistemological unit, and the actual set of ideals or 'purposes' at work in that unit: this is expressed by the contrast between two types of cartography, though seen on a single object. The 'lines of severall Sea-cardes' were the rhumb-lines representing sailing directions as seen on smaller-scale charts,

initially depicting the Mediterranean and subsequently used in Atlantic and Pacific cartography.[49] These lines would emanate from several points on the charts, travelling outwards in each compass direction, thus intersecting with one another in the criss-cross fashion described by Burton. But these sailing directions were often imported into larger-scale world maps, as relics of practical considerations abiding in more display-oriented objects. This is the origin of the image, expressing a difference in scale with a different emphasis to Bacon's 'map' and 'card' distinction, in Burton's passage: the rhumb-lines had previously been associated with nautical cartography depicting small regions of the world; as the turn of the seventeenth century approached, cartographers began to use them on maps which took in the whole terrestrial globe, while the association with sailing, and hence the regional charts which had until then been used onboard, remained. Edward Wright's 1599 'World Chart', for example, claimed on its cartouche to depict 'as much of the worlde as has beene discovered', and was laced with the ant-trail-like rhumb-lines giving sailing directions between countless sites of significance, the number of points from which the lines emanated being greatly increased (Fig. 3).[50] The question of this map's use has been debated, but it is clear that this is the type of object with which Burton is analogising the melancholy village, whose inhabitants cannot help but 'cross' each other.[51]

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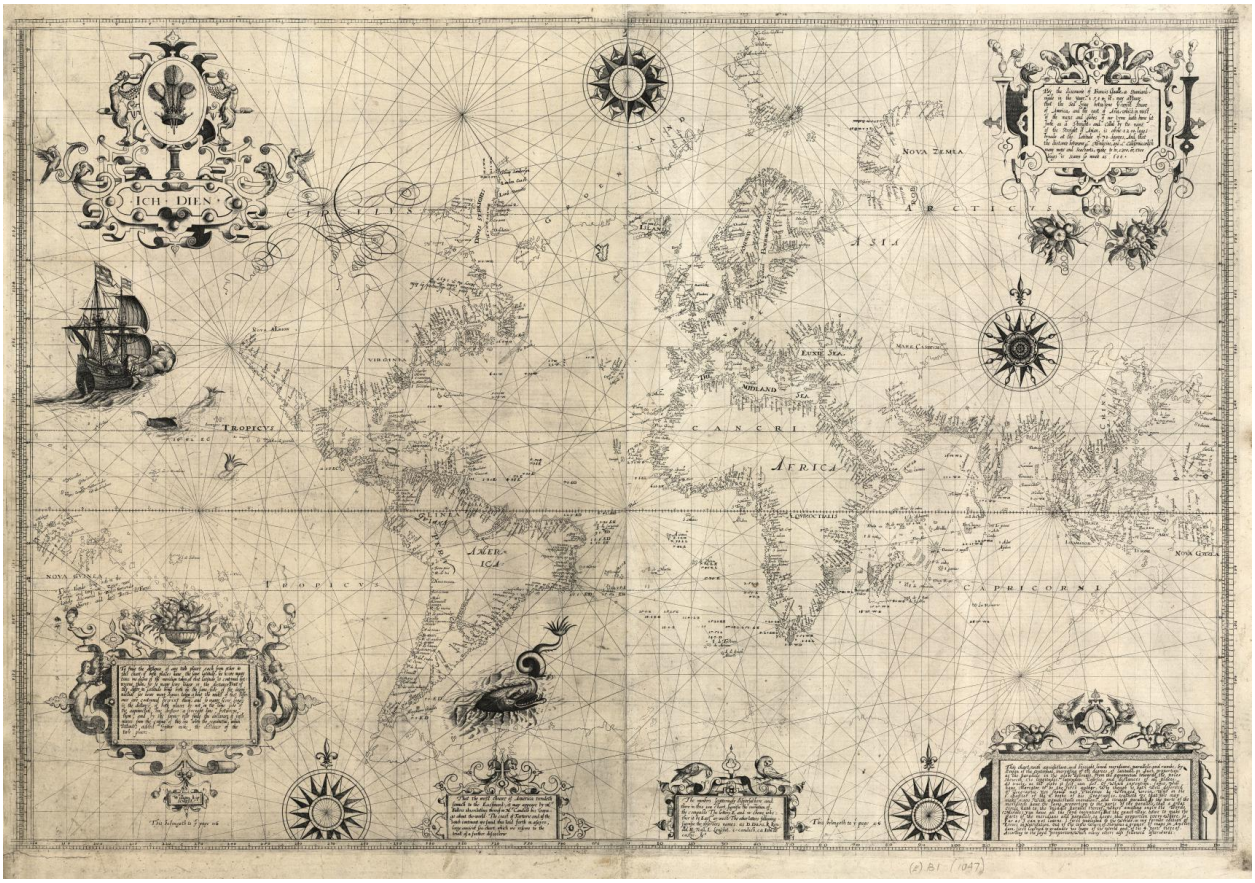
[49] On the fate of charting in the period before this thesis's remit, see the comprehensive treatment in Corradino Astengo, 'The Renaissance Chart Tradition in the Mediterranean', in *HOC3,* 174-262.

[50] For Wright's map, see Garry D. Gitzen, 'Edward Wright's World Chart of 1599', *Terrae Incognitae* 46.1 (2013): 3-15. Wright's chart was first printed in 1599, unattributed, in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, and republished with more detail in 1610 in Wright's *Certaine Errors in Navigation*. On the development of chart-making in England, culminating in Wright's chart, see E.G.R Taylor, 'Early Charts and the Origin of the Compass Rose', *Journal of Navigation* 4.4 (1951): 51-56.

[51] For the debates, see Gitzen, 'World Chart', 5-9.



(Fig. 3. Wright's 'World Chart', with Rhumb Lines, in *Certaine Errors in Navigation*, London, 1610)

There is striking attention to cartography as process here—as a collection of semi-discrete activities, comprehending the production, distribution, and consumption of maps, an art in which the singular 'map' was only one stage of the process.[52] Indeed, the metaphor would not be possible without Burton's acknowledgement that maps could always at least implicitly be broken into their constituent parts: these are not 'the lines [...] in a Globe or Map', they are 'the lines *of severall Sea cardes*'. Cartographers gleaned information for their 'universal' maps from smaller-scale, often nautically focussed maps: in this sense, Wright's map and those like it were assembled from discrete perspectives, none of which necessarily had the same representational priorities. It is characteristic of Burton, who as we have seen was deeply invested in the multiplicity of 'viewpoints' which mapping could offer, to

[52] On mapping as process, see Introduction, 12-14.

read this very literal example of the many viewpoints on a map as emblematic of the insoluble variety he saw in the melancholy world. Previous stages of the cartographic process are never buried in its later instantiations, and thus, even at the level of the standalone, pictorial world map, the question of epistemological variety could enter. In the previous section, we saw Burton comparing different maps of incompatible scalar (and therefore epistemological) orders; here we see Burton reading the same variety into a single object. Burton read world maps with rhumb lines as, to borrow again Wells's terminology, 'laminated' objects—as single artefacts which contained visible layers of internally differing, semi-coherent cartographic material under their surfaces.

Burton elsewhere exhibits full awareness of this 'processual' aspect to cartographic culture, in the extended 'Digression of the Ayre' which occupies a central place in *The Anatomy*'s second partition. There, he presents a dizzying succession of geographical *cruces*, among which is a more subtle acknowledgment of the cartographic process. In an assault of parataxis, he turns to the New World and the various geographical speculations of explorers and colonists:

> Whether *Hudsons* discovery be true of a new-found Ocean, any likelyhood of *Buttons bay* in 50 degrees, *Hubberdes hope* in 60, that of *ut ultra* neare Sir *Thomas Roes* welcome in Northwest *Fox*, being that the sea ebbs and flowes constantly there 15 foot in 12 houres, as our new Cardes informe us, that *California* is not a Cape but an Iland, and the west windes make the Nepe tides equall to the Spring, or that there be any probability to passe by the Straights of *Anian* to *China* by the Promontory of *Tabin*.
>
> (*Anatomy*, II:34)

The pointillism of this sentence, a full period without a main verb, tethered only to an inaugural 'I would finde out' occurring pages earlier, mimics Burton's structureless dipping into the available geographical material: Thomas Roe, Luke Fox, and Henry Hudson are barely held together by the manic clause-structure, as Burton attempts to take in problems on both coasts of the Northern American continent. The sentence is also indicative of Burton's additive method, itself initially inserted

in 1628, with other notes and clauses contributed in 1632 and 1638—the syntax follows the sporadic quality of Burton's reading and writing.[53] But central in the passage is the striking and incorrect assertion that 'new Cardes informe us, that *California* is not a Cape but an Iland'. This particular assertion is accompanied by a note sourcing it in 'M. *Brigs* his Map, and Northwest Fox'. The 'Brigs' in question is Henry Briggs, the Savilian professor of Geometry at Merton College from 1620.[54] Briggs had published in 1622 his *Tract on the Northwest Passage*, which had first made the case that California was detached from the mainland, but Burton's note suggests that he had encountered the discovery in Briggs's map of the continent, first included in 1625 in Samuel Purchas's *Hakluyt Postumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (Fig. 4).[55] A cartouche on Briggs's map, however, gives a fuller account of how the 'discovery' came about: 'California sometimes supposed to be a part of ye westerne continent but scince by a Spanish charte taken by ye Hollanders it is founde to be a goodly Islande'. Burton's text in fact registers this expanded genealogy of transmission: he refers in the note to '*Brigs* his Map', but gestures in the body of text to what 'our new Cardes' inform us, acknowledging that Briggs took his information from a smaller-scale chart, which itself had to be snatched from across the (metaphorical) Tiber by the Dutch. Burton was conscious at a precise, even metaphorical level of the difference between map and card; this brief clause again reveals his attention to cartography as a process. He was aware at every point of the presence in large-scale maps of separate acts of closer attention, extractable

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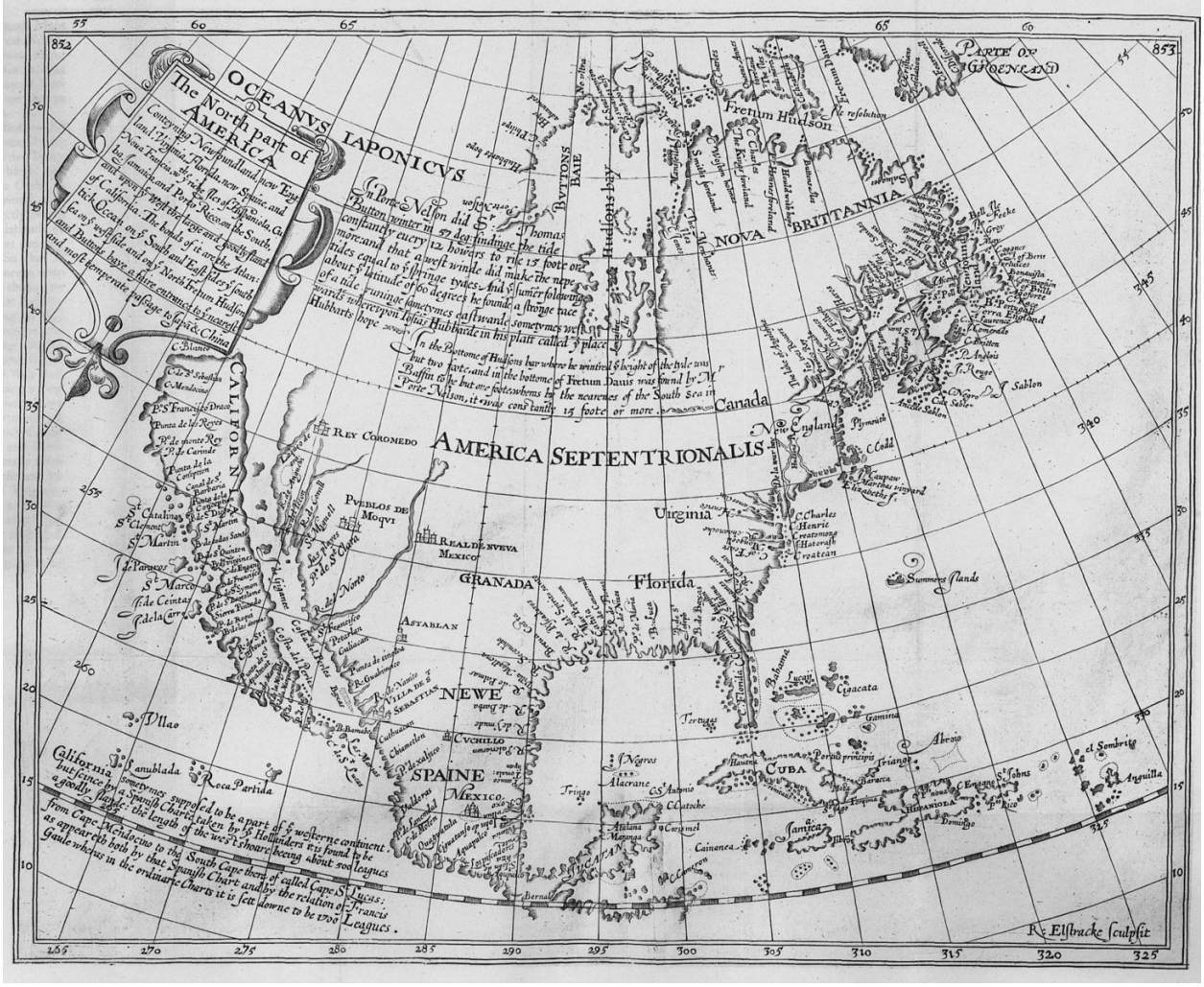
53 See, for a detailed account of the changes made and the geographical problems considered, the notes to this passage in Kiessling, Bamborough, Blair (eds.), *The Anatomy*, II:34nn.

54 On Burton's biographical connection to the Savilian Professors, see Daniel Fried, 'Robert Burton, Lucretius, and the Savilian Professors', *Notes and Queries* 67.3 (2020), 361-5.

55 Edward Waterhouse, *A declaration of the state of the colony and affairs in Virginia [...] a treatise annexed, written by that learned mathematician Mr. Henry Briggs, of the northwest passage...,* London: for Robert Mylbourne, 1622; Purchas, *Pvrchas his Pilgrimes in Five Bookes...*, London: for Henry Featherstone, 1625. On Briggs's role in imperial expansion and cartography, see Katherine Neal, 'Mathematics and Empire, Navigation and Exploration: Henry Briggs and the Northwest Passage Voyages of 1631', *Isis* 93.3 (2002): 435-53. Briggs was a patron of the explorer Luke Fox, whose discoveries in *North-west Fox,* London, 1635, are also cited by Burton in this passage.

for the sake of curiosity, and as the later upending of this particular 'discovery' witnesses, not always assimilable into the project of 'universal' mapping.



(Fig. 4. Briggs's Map of North America, in *Pvrchas his Pilgrimes*, London, 1625)

Closer attention to the geographical and cartographic sources which Burton marshalled in the partitioned sections of *The Anatomy* thus reveals an evidential poverty in ascribing 'mapping' as an epistemology merely to the totalising, abridging, and unjustly synoptic prefatory tables. The course of this chapter so far has shown Burton at work with geographical material, using it to extract small gobbets of information, moments of curiosity, and surprising metaphorical analogues, revealing in the

process the formal and epistemological diversity of cartographic sources available to the learned early modern reader. Vicari's intuition, that variety was the governing principle of Burton's map-reading, is thus confirmed and extended by a close consideration of the use to which he put this various material. With this new sense of Burton's idea of mapping occupying several 'viewpoints' taken by *The Anatomy*, none of which took precedence as the privileged locus of 'the map', we are in a position to ask how mapping played a role in the more programmatic, purposive aspect of Burton's book: the function of cure. The examples I have presented up to now have been broadly part of a diagnostic section of *The Anatomy*; other than the passage from the 'Digression of Ayre', they have been taken from the preface and the first partition, whose role was to present a detailed account of the melancholy world. In the following section, I will show how cartography plays a specific role in the second half of Burton's book: in using maps as both figurative devices and practical tools for the cure of Melancholy, Burton raised further questions of mapping's mental and behavioural effect which will echo and recur throughout this thesis.

V— 'What more?...': Burton's Cartographic Cures

The 'Digression of the Ayre' is the great set piece of *The Anatomy*'s second partition. It opens with Burton's famous image of mental flight:

> As a long-winged Hawke when hee is first whistled off the fist, mounts aloft, and for his pleasure fetcheth many a circuit in the Ayre, still soaring higher and higher, till hee bee come to his full pitch; and in the end when the game is sprung, comes downe amaine, and stoopes upon a sudden: so will I, having now come at last into these ample fields of Ayre, wherein I may freely expatiate and exercise my selfe, for my recreation a while rove, wander round about the world, mount aloft to those æthereall orbes and celestiall spheres, and so descend to my former elements againe.
>
> (*Anatomy*, II:33)

Burton's following phrase, 'I will first see whether', is the main verb which governs the pages of parataxis to follow, in which conflicting and curious information is marshalled in sinuous periods where any assertion is always made in the subjunctive. I have argued that the use of cartographic sources to produce this effect of equivocal minuteness is wholly characteristic of Burton's attitude to geography. But what is also important to note is that, as the above passage suggests, the 'Digression' is a performance: Stephanie Shirilan has noted that in the 'Digression', 'Burton performs himself as a mind recreating itself'.[56] In the 'Digression', Burton's pattern of enquiry is offered as a model of cure, of 'recreation' which diverts both reader and author from melancholic inclinations. Equally important is this section's deep imbrication in geographical discourses, not merely at the level of material included but in its whole conception. Burton writes that he 'may freely expatiate and exercise' himself in the 'Digression'; we have seen that early in the preface he tells us that it is in cartography that 'mine unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated'. The conceit of mental flight, too, has an important analogue in contemporary geographical debate. The 1610 edition of Edward Wright's *Certaine Errors in Navigation* (whose 'World Chart' we have seen above) opens in its dedication to Prince Henry with an analogous passage to Burton's, as Wright looks to the stars to take on the problem of longitude: 'But now leaving this little magneticall earth a while, let us in our thoughts ascend to heaven, and there consider of those divine helpes which God from thence afoordeth us for Navigation'.[57] The image of ascent and descent, the whimsical desire to remain 'a while', and the gaze up to heaven were all present in Wright's dedication before Burton wrote his digression—a possible personal link through Henry

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[56] Shirilan, 'The Pleasures of Mimetic Sympathy in Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy*', PhD Thesis: Brandeis University, 2009, 156. See also Shirilan, *Robert Burton and the Transformative Powers of Melancholy*, Routledge, 2019.

[57] Wright, *Certaine Errors in Navigation, arising either of the ordinarie erroneous making or using of the sea chart*, London: by Valentine Sims, 1599, sig., *6^{v}. Wright's goal is explicitly cartographic: he argues that without 'rectification', 'the Charts, Maps, and Globes [...] cannot be freed from many intricate absurdities, where with now they must needes in many parts be pestered' (sig. ¶4^{r})

Briggs makes the comparison all the more tempting.[58] Distantly, too, we can hear Cheyne's description of geography being 'lifted up on high' to the 'citadels and atria' of nobility—here the flight was an index of geography's potential to reform the minds of the nobility. In performing his cure for melancholy, Burton offered cartography as a means of cure, basing his performance in pseudo-geographic language which also promised psychological therapy.

Cure and curiosity are thus closely linked in the 'Digression' and surrounding sections, and geography and cartography appear as helpmeets to them both. In what follows, I will recollect the scattered recommendations of maps for curative purposes in *The Anatomy*'s later sections, again with renewed attention to the specific contexts of these examples: in this case, however, it will be the vocabulary of 'pleasure', 'diversion', and 'fancy' which appears of crucial importance. We saw in the foregoing chapters, and will continue to see in this thesis, that these were key words in the rhetoric of practical geography—for Bacon, this quality of pleasurable 'strikingness' was what distinguished both his metaphorical language and the *tabulae* with which he would organise the data of experience, these paired techniques alike addressing the Imagination and preparing it for inductive judgement. In Burton, as we shall see, the diversion offered by cartography was also intended to work on the Imagination, but to a different end. Imagination was both a cause and cure of melancholy; cartography offered a means of its right direction.

[58] On Wright's importance for the navigational debates of the early century, see Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, 214, 220; Neal, 'Mathematics and Empire'. Neal (443ff.) also outlines a number of collaborations between Briggs and Wright in an Oxford-centred milieu of mathematical practitioners.

Much of the 'Digression' is occupied with geographical debates, though most instances rehearse the dynamic described above: persistently hedged by 'woulds' and 'coulds', famous geographical problems such as the height of the peak of Tenerife (II:36), the mapping of hell and purgatory (II:40), and the possibility of mapping the moon (II:52-3) are offered and retracted, as temporary means of exercising the mind, a 'gnostic feast' of speculation.[59] The status of these problems and their solutions as hypothetical reemphasises the point I made earlier: that for Burton panopsis was an inviting hubris, and the epistemological ramifications of this view are made abundantly clear at the 'Digression's' end:

> I leave the contemplation of these things, to stronger wits, that have better ability, and happier leasure to wade into such Philosophicall mysteries: for put case I were as able as willing, yet what can one man doe? I will conclude with *Scaliger, nequaquam nos homines sumus, sed partes hominis, ex omnibus aliquid fieri potest, idque non magnum; ex singulis ferè nihil.* [*We are by no means men, but parts of man, from us all together something may come about, though even then nothing great; from individuals next to nothing*]
>
> (*Anatomy*, II:57)

Like the lines of 'severall Sea-cardes' on a 'Globe or Map', the view of individuals, even those as prodigiously learned as Burton, could only be that of 'parts' of a conceptual 'man[kind]', that is, a version of 'man' who could see everything.[60]

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[59] The phrase is Shirilans, see 'Mimetic Sympathy', 156. Shirilan's aim is to suggest that the 'Digression' is a departure from the main work of *The Anatomy*, a 'digression within a digression, [...] the much hinted at "flight of fancy" from the labour of writing the *Anatomy'* (158). In terms of its geographical content, however, the 'Digression' operates in much the same fashion, if more explicitly, than preceding sections.

[60] The Clarendon editors translate Scaliger's phrase as 'parts of men', and Gowland follows this translation, but I have taken the third-declension genitive singular *hominis* as referring to the conceptual totality of 'mankind', as opposed to the singular *vir*.

Moving away from the diverting consideration of minute geographical *cruces*, the following member of *The Anatomy*'s second partition is where explicit recommendations for using maps as curative tools are made. 'Exercise Rectified', nominally concerning the treatment of melancholy via the 'non-natural' of bodily exercise, expands to include exercise of the mental as well as physical form, and is the centre of Burton's famous injunction to 'study' which Vicari saw as programmatic in *The Anatomy*.[61] There, countless recommendations are made for means of the type of 'recreation' on show in the 'Digression of Ayre', among which, unsurprisingly, is the use of cartography. The most extensive of these recommendations is worth full quotation, for the language used both reflects the essentially various quality to Burton's map-use which I have been emphasising, as well as introducing vocabulary we encountered in the previous chapters, concerning cartography's effect on the mind:

> Me thinkes it would well please any man to look upon a Geographicall Map, *suavi animum delectatione allicere, ob incredibilem rerum varietatem & jucunditatem, & ad pleniorem sui cognitionem excitare* [*to assuage the mind with sweet delight, on account of the incredible variety and pleasantness of things, and to incite it to better cognition of its object*], Chorographicall, Topographicall delineations, to behold, as it were, all the remote Provinces, Townes, Cities of the World, and never to goe forth of the limits of his study, to measure by the Scale and Compasse, their extent, distance, examine their site. *Charles* the great as *Platina* writes, had three faire silver tables, in one of which superficies was a large map of *Constantinople*, in the second *Rome* neatly engraved, in the third an exquisite description of the whole world, and much delight he tooke in them. What greater pleasure can there now bee, then to view those elaborate Maps, of *Ortelius*, *Mercator, Hondius*, &c. To peruse those bookes of Cities, put out by *Braunus*, and *Hogenbergius*. To read those exquisite descriptions of *Maginus, Munster, Herrera, Laet, Merula, Boterus, Leander Albertus, Camden,* [...]
>
> (*Anatomy*, II:86-7)

We have seen above that the *incredibilis rerum varietas* has been viewed as alien to the 'mapping' function of *The Anatomy*; the quotation from Jodocus Hondius's preface to his edition of Mercator's *Atlas* confirms the impression that it is in fact an avowed function of the period's major cartographic

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[61] 'Exercise Rectified' and its relation to 'study' are given full treatment in Murphy, '*aves quaedam Macedonicae*', 148-59.

productions to present this curious variety to the reader.[62] But what is also notable is Burton's simultaneous emphasis on the pleasure, strikingness, and delight provoked by cartography: we have seen these terms as the connecting point between metaphor and mapping in Bacon's work; in Chapter 4 we will see how John Aubrey brought this vocabulary to a provocative concentration. The educational background is also resounding here: compare Cheyne's observation, cited in the introduction, that 'these maps leave in the minds of their observers the most delightful variety of objects, imprinted by liberal and free cognition of the provinces of the earth'. Burton's language is notably rooted in the textbook tradition. But the cartographic connection here, in its Burtonian modulation, is firmly between a fundamental and vertiginous plurality, and the curative 'sweet delectation' of immersing oneself in this various content. The connection is brought out in Burton's Janus-faced adjective 'exquisite': contemporary understandings of the word pivoted between connotations of abstruseness, difficulty, or complexity (*OED*, adj. 1, 2), and those of skill, delight, and perfection (adj. 5); from the latin *exquirire*, 'to search out', the sense was transferred from the recondite to the pleasurable.[63] The 'perusal' of this material provoked both scholarly quibbling and unalloyed pleasure.[64]

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62 Burton's reference is to the 1621 Arnheim edition of Mercator's *Atlas*, see *Atlas Minor Gerhardi Mercatoris*, Arnheim: apud Johannem Jansonium, 1621, sig. (***)ii^{r}: 'Geographiae siquide*m* in est mirifica quaedam doctrina, incredibili rerum varietate a [*sic*] jucunditate distincta, quae Lectoris & Spectatoris animum suavi quadam delectatione allicere & ad pleniorem sui cognitionem excitare solet'. Hondius goes on to emphasise the presence on maps of curious *res memorabiles* as a token virtue of cartography: 'Verum etiam singularum Regionum res memorabiles, præclarè ac fortiter, tum domi, tum militiae gestas, tam graphicè depingit, ut communi calculo nihil sit ad civilem sapientam utilius ac pr*æ*stantius existimandum'. This passage, in light of the educational material surveyed in the introduction, seems yet another example of the conventional themes. On Hondius's contribution to Mercator's Atlas, see J. Keuning, 'The History of an Atlas. Mercator—Hondius', *Imago Mundi* 4 (1947): 37-62.

63 See, for a contemporary witness to this double-edged quality, Robert Cawdrey, *A table alphabeticall conteyning and teaching the true writing, and vnderstanding of hard vsuall English wordes*, London: for Edmund Weaver, 1604, sig. B8^{v}, 'exquisite: perfect, fine, singular, curious'.

64 I have examined the implications of the verb 'peruse' elsewhere: see Allott, 'Material Metaphors', *passim.*

Hence Burton recommends, in 'Exercise Rectified' and elsewhere, the prolonged consideration of cartographic material and technique as an exemplary technique of productive diversion, or in his own words, 'playing labour' (I:7). The words recur: 'what so full of content, as to read, walke and see Mappes, Pictures, Statues, Jewels, marbles, which some so much magnifie, as those that *Phidias* made of old, so exquisite and pleasing to be beheld' (II:84); exquisiteness, alongside a further pun on the double sense of 'content' as pleasure and *materia*, is the bedfellow of pleasingness. The question, 'what more pleasing studies can there be then the Mathematicks, Theoricke, or Practicke parts? As to survay land, make mappes, modells, dials, &c. with which I was ever much delighted my selfe' (II:87) adds an autobiographical witness to the recommendation. If parataxis is the syntactic trope which governs the *minutiae* of the 'Digression of Ayre', then the anaphoric question 'What more?' is the presiding form of the cartographic recommendations of 'Exercise Rectified': pleasure's distinct (though not unique) connection with mapping is the *ultima Thule* of consolatory study. Variants on the word 'please' appear no less than 59 times in 'Exercise Rectified', or just over twice per page.

The question arises, however, of what it was beyond undifferentiated 'pleasure' that drew Burton specifically to cartography as a proposed cure. Here, it is necessary to recall the work of the foregoing chapter. Rhetoric for Bacon, as we have seen, was connected to cartography through metaphor and its appeal to the visual Imagination.[65] Imagination (or 'Phantasy') was a faculty, as seen in the introduction and in Bacon's work, which panegyrists of mapping very often extolled, with cartography offering 'striking' image to present historical and geographical data to the student's mind, on which prudential judgement could then operate. And it will appear in what follows that a

[65] For rhetoric and the visual Imagination, see J. L. Harrison, 'Bacon's view of Rhetoric, Poetry and the Imagination', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 20 (1957): 107-125; Sarah Howe, '"Our Speaking Picture": William Scott's *Model of Poesy* and the Visual Imagination', *Sidney Journal* 33.1 (2015): 16-38.

connection between cartography, Imagination and cure can be educed in *The Anatomy*, through the paired appeals to the various and the visual, and their coming together in Burton's geographical passages. The implicit aim of Burton's recommendations of cartographic material, and his performances of a geographical 'playing labour', is 'Imagination Rectified': through sustained attention the copious artefacts of early-seventeenth-century cartography, the melancholy reader of *The Anatomy* would both focus and divert their Imagination, using maps as a prophylactic against untethered and over-fantastic cognition.

The generalised injunction to 'study' in 'Exercise Rectified' is explicitly aimed at those whose Imaginations are corrupt: 'Study is onely prescribed to those that are otherwise idle, troubled in minde, or carried headlong with vaine thoughts and imaginations, to distract their cogitations (although variety of study, or some serious subject would doe the former [*sc.* 'inamoratoes' who read only romantic literature] no harme) and divert their continuall meditations another way' (II:90). Imagination, as we have seen above in the context of St. Jerome's imaginary prospect of Rome, is a persistent concern of Burton's, in both its positive and negative aspects. In the first partition of *The Anatomy*, the 'force of Imagination' is given its own subsection, in which the visual effects of the Imagination are figured as especially potent: 'it rageth in melancholy persons, in keeping the species of objects so long, mistaking, amplifying them by continuall and strong meditation, untill at length it produceth in some parties reall effects, causeth this and many other maladies (I:250). Imagination produces 'species', that is, visible forms of objects to the mind even when they are absent, and overlong attention to these species produces melancholy.

Burton goes on, however, to add an interesting disciplinary corollary to this proposition, which suggests a link with his geographical predilections: after showing that Imaginary 'species' have a particularly strong effect on sleepers, he turns to those who are awake: 'The like effects almost are to bee seene in such as are awake: How many Chimeras, Anticks, golden mountaines and Castles in the Aire doe they build unto themselves? I appeale to Painters, Mechanicians, Mathematicians' (I:251). Burton here reproduces the Thomist-Avicennan trope of the 'golden mountain' as an archetypal production of the Imagination, in which various visual impressions were recombined into a *collatio* of images, in a 'striking' form.[66] But he goes on to allege as exemplary instances of Imaginary productions the work of 'Painters, Mechanicians, Mathematicians'—all members of the 'practical spatial arts' under which cartography has been grouped, and to which a 'processual' approach to mapmaking should pay attention.[67] Something about these disciplines as epistemologically alike reflects the 'golden mountains' of the Imaginary re-combination of images, though it is not elaborated upon here. There is a striking reluctance from Burton to put a positive or negative value on the work of these disciplines: he immediately moves on to a new proposition, 'Some ascribe all vices to a false and corrupt imagination' (I:251). This is indicative, in the context of *The Anatomy* at large, of a marked ambivalence towards the visual productions of the Imagination, except in limit cases of clear distemper. Just before the above example, in his treatment of Idleness as a cause of melancholy, Burton captures this ambivalence with the same phrase, when writing of those who are idle and solitary by choice: 'A most

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[66] Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* ed. Thomas Gilby, *Summa Theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation, Introductions, Appendices and Glossary*, 61 vols., London: Blackfriars, 1964-81, FP.Q78.A4: 'Avicenna, however, assigns between the estimative and the imaginative, a fifth power, which combines and divides imaginary forms: as when from the imaginary form of gold, and imaginary form of a mountain, we compose the one form of a golden mountain, which we have never seen.'

[67] See Henry Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts, 1580-1630*, Oxford UP, 2006. For a stimulating case study of 'cross-pollination' between these disciplines in early modern cartographic productions, see Šima Krtalić, 'Cartographers, Craftsmen and Artists: Collaboration and Cross-pollination in the Creation of Nautical Charts', lecture delivered at *The Oxford Seminars in Cartography*, 1st Dec 2022, available online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yw2JACi9ouU>, accessed 11th Dec 2023.

incomparable delight, it is so to melancholize, to build castles in the ayre, to goe smiling to themselves, acting an infinite variety of parts, which they suppose, and strongly imagine they represent, or that they see acted or done' (I:243).[68] The transition from this type of pleasurable melancholy to the destructive type is almost imperceptible, and it is through discussion of the visual Imagination that the dividing line is blurred.

The question of 'rectifying' the Imagination, then, falls not upon preventing its function *tout court*; it is rather, again in Shirilan's terms, a matter of 'cultivation and management rather than cure'.[69] We have seen Burton recommending cartography as a curative form of mental 'exercise'; we have also seen him 'witness' its disciplinary bedfellows as exemplars of 'Chimeras' and 'castles in the ayre'. For Burton, 'right use' of the Imagination is paramount, though 'use' here does not imply a similarity to the goal-oriented, judgement-focussed 'use' of the Imagination emphasised by Bacon. Karl Wallace (rather overzealously) makes this aspect of Bacon's thought abundantly clear in the specific context of imagistic rhetoric:

> Rhetoric legitimately seeks to secure the reign of reason. It employs the imagination only to make "things future and remote appear as present". Consequently, the image-making faculty that serves rhetoric cannot conjure up ideas willy-nilly, nor join ideas at pleasure. The creative imagination, highly emotional and uncontrollable, has no place in rhetorical endeavour.[70]

I have suggested that Bacon jettisoned his pseudo-visual, metaphorical *tabulae* at a defined point in his plan of inquisition. But this apparently intermediary, provisional joining of ideas 'at pleasure', as we have seen, is Burton's inheritance from the Thomist tradition, and is fundamental to his definition of

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[68] Extended treatments of the pleasures of melancholy in *The Anatomy* are given in Shirilan, 'Mimetic Sympathy'; Shirilan, *Robert Burton and the Transformative Powers of Melancholy*, London: Routledge, 2015.

[69] Shirilan, *Transformative Powers of Melancholy*, 1.

[70] Wallace, *Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric*, Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 1943, 39.

the Imagination in both its curative and harmful aspects. As such, his recommendations are directed towards a gentle moderating effect on the 'willy-nilly' prodigies of the Imagination. Shortly after 'Exercise Rectified', he gives a practical solution to those suffering nightmares: 'the best remedy is to eat a light supper, and of such meats as are easie of digestion, no Hare, Venison, Beefe, &c, not to lie on his backe, not to meditate or thinke in the day time of any terrible objects, or especially talke of them before hee goes to bed.' (II:98). The implied solution to too much meditation on 'terrible objects' is the 'variety of objects' offered in the previous subsection—sleep is the site of the visual Imagination's most powerful operation; the best one can do is supply it with the pleasurable variety which we have so often seen as the fundamental virtue in Burton's view of mapping.

'A good prospect will ease melancholy', writes Burton, alleging that 'the Cittizens of *Barcino* [...] otherwise penned in, melancholy and stirring little abroad, are much delighted with that pleasant prospect their Citty hath into the Sea, which like that of old *Athens* besides *Ægina, Salamina*, and many pleasant Islands, had all the variety of delicious objects' (II:66-7). As we shall see in Chapter 4, the 'prospect' very often invoked a specific form of mapping, and was used by John Aubrey to produce a similar 'delight' in his reader to Burton. Here, though, the 'variety' of territory guides the mind towards its ease, maintaining the attention but not constricting it. The principle of this type of 'recreation' is made most clear in a general form by Burton in a later section on the ability of friends to give productive comfort to the melancholiac:

> we watch a sorrowfull person, least hee abuse his solitarinesse, and so should we doe a melancholy man, set him about some businesse, exercise or recreation, which may divert his thoughts, and still keepe him otherwise intent, for his phantasie is so restlesse, operative and quicke, that if it be not in perpetuall action, ever employed, it will worke upon it selfe, melancholize, and be carried away instantly, with some feare, jealousie, discontent, suspition, some vaine conceipt or other.

(*Anatomy*, II:107)

Thus, the 'playing labour' which represents the performative work of Burton's book becomes one with the practical recommendations he makes in the second partition. The mind must simultaneously be 'diverted' while remaining 'otherwise intent'; it must 'freely expatiate', but its 'objects' must be provided for it from without. Moderation is the cardinal virtue here, as we shall see in an altogether more political dress in the following chapter. Burton aims to offer 'species' to the Imagination which occupy it with 'variety', while preventing it from lingering too long on any thorny question which could bring the onset of melancholy. It is in this rôle, I suggest, that Burton situates mapping.

Claire Crignon-de Oliveira has written very clearly on the role of the visual Imagination in *The Anatomy*: arguing for a 'melancholic gaze' as a tropic feature of Burton's book, she suggests that 'the melancholic is in constant fear because he sees things as it were through some optic glass, and this produces a distorted and monstrous vision of reality'.[71] This is explicitly a fault of the Imagination, which represents objects in a warped form; it is likewise through the Imagination that this fault can be homeopathically corrected:

> Without any learning, the melancholic gaze can only be seen as a pathological symptom. But if the melancholic learns to look into himself without being afraid of what he discovers, and if he tries to practise a control upon his imagination and the monstrous images that it produces, he may reach a kind of superior wisdom and knowledge.[72]

I agree with Crignon-de Oliveira on the points of symptom and practical therapy: the primacy of the visual Imagination as a cause of melancholy, and the curative aspects to the right direction of the Imagination by a 'control' of its images are the two poles of what I have been suggesting in this latter

[71] Crignon-de Oliveira, 'Melancholic Gaze', 231.
[72] Crignon-de Oliveira, 'Melancholic Gaze', 234.

half of the chapter. However, in the final section of this chapter I will argue for a more modest curative purpose to one part of *The Anatomy* than the goal of 'superior wisdom and knowledge'. Burton's Utopia, from the later half of 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', is one of *The Anatomy*'s most discussed passages.[73] Crignon-de Oliveira argues that the purpose of the Utopia is to forge a 'visionary image' of the world, a witness to the power of the Imagination which, though self-consciously fictional, revitalises the diseased Imagination by reminding it of its capabilities: 'The aim of his utopia is not to propose a reform of the world [...] Its aim is only to furnish an imaginary remedy. [...] The remedy lies in the possibility of this representation of the world, and not in the realisation of this pure fiction.' The result is that the melancholic 'may then reach a superior kind of knowledge by becoming aware of the limits and powers of his own faculties', but the way this dialectical movement comes about is rather unclear.[74] In what follows, I will suggest that by recalling the fundamentally geographical enterprise of the Utopia—'geographical' taken here in the specifically Burtonian sense I have been outlining, of a practice producing Imaginatively striking images of curious variety—its function as 'playing labour' becomes clearer. As such, a range of concerns both about the curative properties of Burton's writing and about the mental effect of the period's cartography will arise, both of which offer a new way of reading the geographic thought of the later century as it was expressed in prose.

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[73] See Winfried Schleiner, *Melancholy, Genius and Utopia in the Renaissance*, Harrassowitz, 1991; Robert Appelbaum, *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*, Cambridge UP, 2002, 81-87; Claire Crignon-de Oliveira, 'Mercantilism and Utopia in the 'Preface' of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* of Robert Burton', *Revue d Métaphysique et de Morale* 3 (2003): 345-63; Angus Gowland, 'Utopia, Consolation and Withdrawal', in *Worlds of Renaissance Melancholy: Robert Burton in Context*, Cambridge UP, 2006, 246-94; Elizabeth McCutcheon, 'Reimagining Life after the Fall: Three Dystopian/Utopian Narratives in Jacobean England', *Moreana* 51.201-2 (2015): 171-99.

[74] Crignon-de Oliveira, 'Melancholic Gaze', 234-5.

VI—Utopia and the Cartographic habitus

The introduction to Burton's Utopia is directly consequent on his widespread condemnation of the melancholy habits of the world on show in 'Democritus Junior to the Reader':

> let them be barbarous as they are, let them tyrannize, Epicurize, oppresse, luxuriate, consume themselves with factions, superstitions, law-suits, wars and contentions [...] I will yet to satisfie & please my selfe, make an Utopia of mine owne, a new Atlantis, a poeticall commonwealth of mine owne, in which I will freely domineere, build Citties, make Lawes, Statutes, as I list my selfe. And why may I not?
>
> (*Anatomy*, I:85)

Angus Gowland has situated Burton's Utopia within a late-humanist tradition of political retreat in the face of disaffection at atrophied networks of patronage and real-world influence granted to scholars, such that 'what gave birth to the utopian imagination was a political form of melancholy'.[75] This political dimension of Burton's Utopia has been its most discussed feature, though as Crignon-de Oliveira's above arguments indicate, its curative aspect has not been entirely neglected.[76] What has generally been overlooked, perhaps being seen as generic to the Utopian form, is the explicitly cartographic framing and content of the section. Burton opens with a tentative appointment of his Utopia's proposed geographical location:

> For the site, if you will needs urge me to it, I am not fully resolved, it may be in *Terra Australis Incognita*, there is roome enough [...] But I will chuse a site, whose latitude shall be 45 degrees (I respect not minutes) in the midst of the temperate Zone, or perhaps under the Equator, that Paradise of the world, *ubi semper virens laurus, &c.* where is a perpetuall Spring: the longitude for some reasons I will conceale.
>
> (*Anatomy*, I:86)

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75 Gowland, *Renaissance Melancholy*, 249.

76 Political readings can be found especially in Appelbaum, *Utopian Politics*; Crignon-de Oliveira, 'Mercantilism and Utopia'. The consensus here concerns Burton's *Realpolitik*, or his resignation to a fundamentally corrupt human nature which cannot be accommodated to Utopian arrangements. See Gowland, *Renaissance Melancholy*, 263, emphasising its 'realism following the down-to-earth Platonic reforms of the *Laws* rather than the idealism of the *Republic*, and manifested in self-consciously pragmatic compromises made on account of the corruption of the world.

Likewise, the conclusion of the Utopia suggests that the whole enterprise resembles one great exercise of mapmaking: 'To prosecute the rest would require a volume. *Manum de tabella*, I have beene over tedious in this subject, I could have here willingly ranged, but these straights [*sic*] wherein I am included, will not permit' (I:97). Both Gowland and the Clarendon editors translate the phrase '*manum de tabella*' as 'hands off the page', citing Cicero as a source, but as I argued in the previous chapter, and as the explicitly geographical metaphor of the 'straights' suggests, *tabellae* and *tabulae* were very often translated as 'maps'. I choose here to see Burton playfully misreading Cicero in service of his geographical enterprise: 'hands off the map'.[77]

But what distinguishes Burton in these examples, and in the central content of the Utopia, is the fact that his use of geographical material is entirely consistent with the use he makes of it elsewhere in *The Anatomy*. The opening passage, despite asserting that it will 'chuse' a site for the Utopia, in fact marshals several possible sites taken from Pliny, José Acosta, and Johannes de Laet. Burton accumulates possible sites as *loci* of curiosity, like the mythical equatorial zone of 'perpetuall Spring'. The refusal to settle on a definite location is characteristic of Burton's multiplicative method, and this type of geographical equivocation will be examined at length in a new context in the following chapter. Here, the perpetually additive mode of Burton's Utopian construction becomes clearer when examining the sections of the Utopia not to do with political arrangements, but with topographical makeup. The opening of the Utopia is a sustained attempt to give a rational topographical arrangement to Burton's imagined commonwealth:

> It shall be divided into 12. or 13. Provinces, and those by hills, rivers, rodewaies, or some more eminent limits exactly bounded. Each Province shall have a Metropolis, which shall be so placed as a Center almost in a circumference, and the rest at equall distances, some 12 Italian miles asunder, or thereabout [...] no market townes, markets or faires, for they doe but beggar

[77] Burton is already misquoting Cicero's noun: see *Epistulae ad familiares,* 7.25.1: 'sed heus tu, manum de tabula!'

> Cities (no village shall stand above six, seven, or eight miles from a City) except those Emporiums which are by the Sea side, generall Staples, Marts, as *Antwerpe, Venice, Bergen* of old, *London*, &c. Cities most part, shall be situate upon navigable rivers or lakes, creekes, havens, and for their forme, regular, round, square, or long square, with faire broad, and streight streets, houses uniforme, built of bricke and stone, like *Bruges, Bruxels, Rhegium Lepidli, Berna* in *Switzerland, Millan, Mantua, Grema, Gambalu* in *Tartary* described by *M. Polus*, or that *Venetian Palma*. I will admit very few or no suburbs, and those of baser building, walls only to keepe out man and horse, except it be in some frontier townes, or by the Sea side [...]
>
> (*Anatomy*, I:86-7)

Much like the examples of geographical meditation that I have supplied from elsewhere in *The Anatomy*, Burton's rhetoric here pulls in two different directions. Almost every Utopian prescription 'admits of some exception', or qualification: his method of dividing provinces gestures at 'some more eminent limits'; the distance of satellite towns to each 'Metropolis' ends with an equivocating 'thereabout'; Burton added the extra clauses 'six, seven, or' in 1624 to the initial definitiveness of 1621's 'eight' being the furthest distance a village could be from a city. These additive qualifications are strictly redundant: they don't solve any particular problem raised by the Utopian form, they merely hedge it with a general sense of non-definitiveness.

At the expense of exact configuration, Burton infuses his Utopia with an overplus of possibility. This is not merely a case of rhetoric, and is equally evident in the *exempla* which Burton cites as models for his ideal state. I have elsewhere gone into detail on Burton's source for the effusion of toponyms taking in '*Bruges, Bruxels, Rhegium Lepidli*', and further models for the cities' topography.[78] Burton took the Italian cities in this list from Pietro Bertelli's *Theatrum urbium Italicarum* (1599), a 'city-book' along the lines of Braun and Hogenberg's, which he owned and survives in the Bodleian.[79] Most strikingly, however, the maps of the cities which Burton included in the above list are missing from

[78] See Allott, 'Material Metaphors'.

[79] See Kiessling, *Library of Robert Burton*, §144. Burton's copy of the book is in the Bodleian, shelfmark 4° M 4 Art.

his copy of the *Theatrum*, along with many others which have been roughly cut out of the book. It is impossible to prove that Burton made these cuts, but it is a tantalising possibility.[80] There, I suggested that Burton's citation practice here is a helpful analogue for his treatment of texts in *The Anatomy* as a whole, assembled as it was from 'cut-up' sections from countless books; Burton's copy of the *Theatrum* is a strikingly literal example of this practice in action. But what is relevant to the discussion here is the fundamental 'variety of objects' to which this technique was witness: of the maps used from the *Theatrum*, Mantua and Crema were depicted from an isometric or oblique view, Palma was an orthogonal plan taken from a ninety-degree angle, and the others were odd combinations of the two.[81] The shapes of the cities are unique, and none of them subsumable to the 'regular, round, square, or long square' initially prescribed by Burton.[82] As with his passages of cartographic speculation elsewhere, the temptation to curious and various geographical information worked against any singular prescriptive or definitive impulse, inscribing at the level of citation and of rhetoric the fundamental 'variety of objects' which, as we have seen, was both a characteristic feature of Burton's (and geographical education's) valorisation of cartography, and a major part of his programme of cure.

Generically, the Utopia is in one sense a curative form, at least in Burton's version of the *topos*. Gowland, providing a contextualist reading of Burton's Utopia, groups it with several other late-humanist genres, one of which was the *consolatio*. Humanists such as Thomas More, Girolamo Cardano, and (latterly) Michel de Montaigne took a *topos* found in Cicero, Seneca and Plutarch, and

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[80] On the early modern culture of cutting up books, see Adam Smyth, 'Chapter 1: Prune and Lop Away', in *Material Texts in Early Modern England*, Cambridge UP, 2017, 17-54; Juliet Fleming, 'The Renaissance Collage: Signcutting and Signsewing', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45.3 (2015): 443-456. On Burton's relationship to this tradition, see Allott, 'Material Metaphors', 195-6

[81] See Bertelli, *Theatrum Urbium Italicarum*, Venice, 1599, fols. 2^{v}, 33^{v}, 55^{v}, 68^{v}.

[82] On the process of production which made books such as the *Theatrum* so various in their cartographic styles, see Allott, 'Material Metaphors', 188-96

adapted it to their own intellectual milieux of political disenchantment and scholarly retreat. Both Utopia and *consolatio* aimed to mitigate worldly disappointment through scholarly practice. One feature, however, which was characteristic of the late humanists' own version of *consolatio*, as Gowland describes, was 'diversion'. This was the use of distraction induced by the suggestion of a new topic or image for the sufferer's meditation, rather than philosophical argument, to alleviate grief or melancholy:

> Deflecting the imagination of the sufferer elsewhere was incompatible with conventional Stoic consolation, as it did not uproot the problem at source (according to the 'argument from excess' all passions tended to become ungovernable: since all were products of the same kinds of false judgement, to permit the presence of one passion was potentially to admit them all). Diversion had therefore usually been excluded from the category of truly efficacious remedies by classical writers.[83]

We have seen that this process of 'deflection' from 'continuall meditation' on unsafe 'objects' was a vital aspect of Burton's cure, and strongly linked with his conception of the role of cartography. Burton's Utopia, too, seems to be framed by a rhetoric of diversion, or of 'playing labour': his question 'Why may I not?' is followed by the Horatian tag of '*Pictoribus atque Poëtis, &c.*', invoking the *locus classicus* of poetic licence (and recalling Burton's invocation of the disciplines in which the Imagination worked most prodigiously, as mentioned above) (I:86).[84] The liberty of composition offered to painters and poets could produce whatever image was necessary to a given cause: as a 'diversion', Burton's Utopia may be read as an 'object' for thought intended as part of his cure.

Indeed, diversion as a late-humanist trope has been read in a fashion which recalls the aspects of geography which I have suggested as Burton's concern: the production of mental images, the right direction of the Imagination, and 'various' distraction as a therapeutic technique can all be seen as part

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[83] Gowland, *Renaissance Melancholy*, 252.

[84] See Horace, *Ars Poetica,* ll. 9-10: 'Pictoribus atque poetis / quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas'

of diversion as well as cartography's repertoire of effects. Emiliano Ferrari, writing of Montaigne's 'On Diversion' (which Gowland identifies as the crucial example of the trope), suggests that Montaigne used diversion as a tool which particularly addressed the visual Imagination: 'building on Quintilian's rhetorical affect, and using it to provide evidence for the power of diversion, Montaigne conceives what we may call "fictional emotions," aroused by the type of imagining which is active in fiction, mental representation, and make-believe'.[85] Ferrari goes on to emphasise the visual Imagination in Montaigne's account of daydreaming, where Montaigne himself invoked the trope of 'castles in the air': 'when, during the day, he lets his imagination run free, whether this process is voluntary or not, his mind is controlled and excited by fancies'.[86]

It is here where 'diversion' and the aspects of Burton's text where cartography most often comes up are united. Ferrari's phrase, 'controlled and excited', captures exactly a *habitus* which I have been trying to outline in Burton's performance of geographical 'playing labour', and which is closely related to the more general geographical *habitus* outlined in the introduction. 'Controlled and excited', that is, diverted by a 'variety of objects', and yet somehow focussed on a given goal, is the *habitus* which Burton attempts to both demonstrate and induce in *The Anatomy*'s great set pieces: the 'Digression of Air', 'Exercise Rectified', 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', and contained within this latter, the Utopia. It is also, as I have attempted to suggest, the epistemological foundation to Burton's conception of geography and cartography. We have seen that the geographical textbooks figured the prudential and Imaginative response to *varietas* as a cardinal virtue of their discipline; Burton took this

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[85] Ferrari, 'Montaigne on Fictional Emotions: From Rhetoric to Knowledge', in *Montaigne, Affect, Emotion*, Special Issue of *Montaigne Studies: An Interdisciplinary Forum* 30 (2018): 83-96, 90.

[86] Ferrari, 'Fictional Emotions', 92. For the passage of Montaigne in question, see *The Complete Essays*, trans. M.A. Screech, Penguin, 1987, 945: 'When I throw myself into building castles in the air my imagination forges me pleasure and comforts which give *real* delight and joy to my soul'. The phrase translated as 'castles in the air' is in fact 'chasteaux en Espaigne', or 'castles in Spain'.

varietas and located it as the active agent in his proposed cure. This is no more than he promised in 'Democritus Junior to the Reader':

> And if thou vouchsafe to read this Treatise, it shall seeme no otherwise to thee, then the way to an ordinary Traveller, sometimes faire, sometimes foule; here champion, there inclosed; barren in one place, better soyle in another: by Woods, Groves, Hills, Dales, Plaines, &c. I shall lead thee *per ardua montium, & lubrica vallium, & roscida cespitum, & glebosa camporum*, through variety of objects [...][87]
> (*Anatomy*, I:16)

Geographical language occurs with striking regularity when Burton emphasises the potential curative properties of 'variety'—this is because, as I have argued, Burton saw the activity of reading maps and the books in which they were contained as a basically various, curious, and 'playing' practice. The status of his text as a 'rhapsody', a *cento*-like assembly of intersecting but not equivalent viewpoints, was both exhibited at small-scale in Burton's geographical passages, and was analogised with cartographic objects at the level of his broad metaphors for textual organisation. Indeed, Eric Macphail's gloss of the crucial term 'rhapsody' and its Greek resonances contains pseudo-cartographic language which Burton would have easily recognised: 'to judge by classical usage, the verb ῥάπτω has a semantic range comparable to ὑφαίνω, which means to weave, to plot, or even to compose a text'.[88] 'Plotting' and 'composing' were related in Burton's imagination, but as I hope to have demonstrated, Burton's sense of the cartographic 'plot' was more rhapsodic than definitive.

Burton did not use maps to find solutions to geographical problems, or as a preliminary type of argumentative tool, to eventually be left aside for the type of 'philosophical argument' from which

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87 See, for discussion of the implications of this statement for reading *The Anatomy*, Lund, *Melancholy, Medicine, and Religion*, 40: 'the reader cannot select the 'faire landscape' and neglect the 'foule' [...] Instead of inviting readers to choose from the text in order to satisfy their diverse tastes, he implants this notion of diversity within the text itself and encourages the reader to experience all of it'. I have attempted to complicate this assertion in Allott, 'Material Metaphors', 201

88 Macphail, *Dancing Around the Well*, 75. *The Anatomy* is treated as a generically typical *cento* in Angus Gowland, 'Rhetorical Structure and Function in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*', *Rhetorica* 19.1 (2001): 1-48; Gowland, *Renaissance Melancholy*. However, Murphy, '*aves quaedam Macedonicae*', 5-6, cautions against the smoothing of differences and deviations from generic norms attendant on the Cantabridgian contextualism out of which Gowland's work grew.

'diversion' was excluded. He lingered in the doubt and equivocation produced by the consumption of the torrent of information presented on maps and the texts surrounding them, and made what he could of this material to produce a therapeutic text. It is these epistemological tropes of productive uncertainty which often emerge when taking a more capacious view of early modern cartography and its consumers, and which were those that authors writing in Bacon's wake exhibited, distinguishing themselves from Bacon's faith in a metaphysical *telos* for thought. For Thomas Fuller and John Aubrey, the subjects of the next two chapters, mapping was not a tool for making definitive, supralinguistic, or even single claims: it was, rather, a visual tool of 'striking' communication, which could induce a *habitus* of doubtful and yet productive enquiry, a 'playing labour' which harmonised with, rather than counteracted, the work of their prose.

Chapter III: 'Anagrams hapning': Moderate Geography in Thomas Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*

I: Introduction

Thomas Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1650) was, for its first readers, a literary placeholder. In his address to the reader, Fuller openly called his illustrated geography of the Holy Land a 'changeling', appearing as it did in lieu of his later *Church-History of Britain* (1655), for which 'many have long patiently waited', receiving instead this 'Book of a far different Nature' (*PS*, I.sig. A4^{r}).[1] Despite this modesty, the 'nature' of Fuller's book was impressive—it was a large, expensive folio volume of biblical geography, with twenty-seven double-page engravings, most of which were maps of the loosely defined biblical territory of Canaan, organised around the domains of the twelve tribes of Israel as described in the book of Judges, with each tribe affording a long description in prose.[2] But Fuller explained that the *Church-history* could not be published due to the febrile political circumstances, exhibiting a tendency which many scholars have observed in his life and work: 'if you be pleased to peruse my promise, you will finde the same conditionall, and not obligatory, except (besides other requisites there expressed) Peace be first setled amongst us. And indeed the subject challengeth the same, seeing *Truth* cannot be matched to *Safety* in such Relations, till *Peace* shall first contract them' (I.sig. A4^{r}).[3] On show here is what many of Fuller's readers have called his 'moderation'—a commitment to tolerance and peace which was at odds with the zeal of the parliamentary cause to

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[1] Thomas Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine and the Confines Thereof with the Old and New Testament Acted thereon*, London: for John Williams, 1650. The *Pisgah-sight* (*PS*), though divided into five books, is paginated as two bibliographical units, with the break occurring between books III and IV. Citations will thus appear in the form (Unit, Page number), in the main text.

[2] The most comprehensive account of the bibliographical and biographical genesis of the *Pisgah-sight* remains that provided in J.E. Bailey, *The Life of Thomas Fuller, D.D*, Basil Pickering Montagu, 1874, 470-508.

[3] For a contemporary *agon* surrounding the word 'safety' and its Latin cognate *salus*, in which one side of the debate read the word as a term associated with irenicism, moderation, and tolerance, see Kathryn Murphy, 'The Physician's Religion and *salus populi*: The Manuscript Circulation and Print Publication of *Religio Medici*', *Studies in Philology* 111.4 (2014): 845-74, esp. 859ff.

which he, a royalist as well as a 'moderate', found himself reluctantly opposed.[4] The *Church-history*, touching as it did on controversial topics of Protestant ecclesiology and the legacy of the Reformation, would not further the cause of 'moderation' during such febrile times as those in which Fuller wrote this address.[5] Instead, Fuller decided to publish a more ambiguously ideological work, in which the 'history' was far more distant than that of the English church. The very title, '*Pisgah-sight*' referring to the mountain from which Moses beheld the Holy Land immediately before his death at the close of Deuteronomy, and thus a byword for a partial or unsatisfying view, sang the ground-note of diffidence.[6] He was predictably coy about his intentions in publishing the *Pisgah-sight*: 'What I have herein performed, I had rather the Reader should tell me at the end, than I tell him at the beginning of the Book' (I.sig. A4^{r}).

Fuller's all-visiting 'moderation' has been described by Florence Sandler, in one of the few pieces of scholarship dedicated to the *Pisgah-sight*, where she attempts to recover the political commitments in Fuller's apparently non-political book:

> Like his political views, Fuller's prose is an expression of moderation. In a time of diverse and hostile opinions, it is calculated to appeal to the common ground, to find a formula for truth wide enough to accommodate various partial truths, to make distinctions without giving gratuitous offence, and to disarm ill-will by reasonableness and particularly by humour.[7]

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[4] Fuller had property sequestered by Parliament in the 1640s, and though he petitioned the committee for compounding in 1646, he still had property in Dorset sequestered in 1647. He also had served as a chaplain in Sir Ralph Hopton's royalist army, and preached before the king at Oxford on a number of occasions between 1643-4. For a paradigmatic assertion that 'Fuller's sympathies were always in favour of moderation' see Leslie Stephen, 'Fuller, Thomas, 1608-1661', in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols., London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885-1900, vol. 20, 315-20. Stephen's account is revised and rebutted, in W.B. Patterson, 'Thomas Fuller', *ODNB*; see also Patterson, *Thomas Fuller: Discovering England's Religious Past*, Oxford UP, 2018.

[5] For an account of the polemical strife eventually caused by the publication of the *Church-history*, as well as this conflict's historiographical importance, see Robert Mayer, 'The Rhetoric of Historical Truth: Heylyn *contra* Fuller on *The Church History of Britain*', *Prose Studies* 20.3 (1997), 1-20.

[6] Cf. Robert Horne's comments in Chapter 1 above, note 34.

[7] Sandler, 'Thomas Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* as a Comment on the Politics of its Time', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 41.4 (1978): 317-343, 318

'Moderation', here read as the pursuit of a 'formula for truth' which did not cause 'gratuitous offence', was evidently a feature of literary style as well as politics. But beyond this remark, Sandler does not further pursue the connection between Fuller's prose and his irenic allowance of 'partial truth' in the *Pisgah-sight*. In this chapter, I will argue that the 'moderation' of Fuller's prose can only be fully explained by considering its situation alongside the maps of the *Pisgah-sight*; moreover, I will suggest that our conception of his 'moderation' is substantially changed by reading Fuller's cartographic and prose composition as part of a single 'stylistic' and scholarly project, by which he projected an idiosyncratic *habitus* of a scholarly and political middle-man. Fuller's prose refers constantly to the accompanying maps for its own justification and reinforcement, while the maps can only be properly read as products of a doubtful, equivocal form of writing. As such, we can reconnect his stylistic and political 'moderation' with adjacent concepts found in the scholarly and geographical milieux out of which the cartographic component of his work emerged, and see how Fuller imagined through his work an ideally 'moderate' response to *varietas*, effected by a literary personality present in both written and cartographic forms.

The use of maps to project an authorial 'style' which responds with a sceptical, moderate prudence to an uncertain body of information, as well as casting us back to the humanist emphasis on cartography's mentally and socially conditioning powers, looks forward to the social and epistemological tropes of the early Royal Society, in which equivocation and conjecture were used to allow 'dissent without disaster'.[8] This later set, and its various attitudes to mapping, will be considered in the following chapter. The form of conjectural discourse that has become paradigmatic in scholarship on Boyle, Hooke, and their contemporaries has not, however, been conventionally applied

[8] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England*, Chicago UP, 1995, 103.

to the history of cartography: as in Bacon's metaphors, and Burton's use of cartography to cure melancholy by guiding the attention with *varietas*, the figure of the map is shown by Fuller to be a much more provisional, tentative form than is often assumed. But from a broader perspective, it will become clear that in contrast to the final, metaphysical end that Bacon envisioned for the knowledge initially organised in *typi et plasmata*, Fuller (like Burton) saw the preservation of doubt and the 'moderate' use of conjecture in his maps and texts as something to be cultivated and preserved, itself a 'settled', that is irenic and tempered, form of expression. Placing true certainty to one side, the politically and confessionally fraught nature of his subject-matter was given an outlet in a thoroughly personal 'moderacy'.

II: The Pisgah-sight *in Cartographic and Literary History*

When Fuller opened his work with an apology for its not being the *Church-history*, he entered it within a series of promises, retractions, and ongoing projects which would characterise his literary career. A brief survey of the different priorities and emphases of this career helps to illuminate what he wanted the *Pisgah-sight* to accomplish, and casts light on later critical readings of Fuller's book. The *Pisgah-sight* was the first book published by Fuller after he had been presented in 1648 by James Hay, 2nd Earl of Carlisle (a member of the royalist army) to the curacy of Waltham Abbey in Essex, following a period of war-driven itinerancy.[9] His curacy at Waltham gave material impetus to the completion of the *Pisgah-sight*'s cartographic element, since Fuller there encountered Robert Vaughan, who engraved a plurality of its maps.[10] It was by far the most ambitious of Fuller's works to date,

[9] Fuller's period of wandering was occupied by association with figures on both sides of the war, including the future regicide Sir John Danvers. See Patterson, 'Thomas Fuller', § 'Pastor and Historian, 1646-58'.

[10] For Fuller and Vaughan's relationship, see Bailey, *Life of Fuller*, 474.

following on from a published œuvre of sermons, shorter histories, and personal meditations.[11] It was prefigured in theme and content, however, by his 1639 work, *A Historie of the Holy Warre*, whose narrative began in the immediate aftermath of the events of the New Testament, and recounts the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD, and the events of the ensuing millennium. It is in the *Holy Warre* that Fuller's first engagement with Biblical cartography emerges. The book contained a single map engraved by William Marshall (who later contributed to the *Pisgah-sight*) of roughly the same region depicted in Fuller's later work. On this map, at the bottom of a large cartouche containing 'A Table shewing ye variety of Places names [*sic*] in Palestine' between the texts of the Old Testament, the New Testament, Jerome's exegesis, and the present day, there was added a summary of research carried out for the map's composition:

> Of thirty mapps and Descriptions of the Holy Land, which I have perused, I never met with two in all considerables alike. Some sink valleyes where others raise mountains; yea, end rivers where others begin them; and sometimes with a wanton dash of their pen create, a Stream in Land, a Creek in Sea, more then nature ever owned. In these differences wee have followed the Scripture as an unpartiall umpire. The Longitudes and Latitudes (wherein there bee also unreconcileable discords) I have omitted, being advised that it will not quit cost in a mappe of so small extent.[12]

Though it cannot be conclusively said that these words were Fuller's, they exhibit a marked correspondence with his later writing on sacred geography: a puzzlement over what to do with conflicting source-material; an awareness of competing orders of scale between the work of the engraver's burin and the territory itself; a playful willingness to use the resources of language to blur the boundaries between the cartographer's product and their subject; and an appeal to Scripture as an 'unpartiall' witness (that is, one unburdened by confessional or philological trimming), though not

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[11] For a full bibliography of Fuller's works, including those of single, joint, and doubtful authorship, see Bailey, *Life of Fuller*, 713-63.

[12] Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre,* Cambridge: for John Williams, 1639. The map is tipped in after sig. Nn5^{v} in the 1639 edition.

necessarily a clear one.[13] All of these germinal elements on the *Holy warre*'s map would become operative features of Fuller's later exegetical and cartographic practice. The *Holy warre*'s readers recognised these elements in Fuller's work too. The commendatory verse by the Cheshire antiquary John Booth elaborates a semantic lability between territory and text which aptly prefigures the elements of the *Pisgah-sight* to be discussed in the next section: 'Here mounts (me thinks) like Olivet, brave sense; / There flows a Jordan of pure eloquence: / A Temple rich in ornament I find / Presented here to my admiring mind'.[14] As we shall shortly see, this metaphorical conversion of geographical features to the elements of rhetoric was Fuller's primary strategy for 'moderating' the more contentious parts of his subject matter.

Just as it had an ancestor in the *Holy Warre*, the works published after the *Pisgah-sight* contain traces of its intellectual influence. The *Church-history*, as we have seen, was viewed by Fuller as a more contentious counterpart to the *Pisgah-sight*, a more combative piece of ecclesiastical scholarship rather than a self-consciously irenic work of Biblical exegesis. But the later work of Fuller's which bears arguably the greatest methodological similarity to the *Pisgah-sight* is his *History of the Worthies of England*, a project which occupied much of Fuller's working life and was posthumously published in 1662 with a preface by his son John.[15] *The Worthies* was a chorographic survey of the 'Eminent Commodities, which every County doth produce, with the Persons of Quality bred therein, and some other observables coincident with the same subject', containing a wealth of both historical and natural

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[13] 'Unpartiall' is an uncommon locution. For the cultural currency of its more popular counterpart, 'impartial', see the essays collected in Kathryn Murphy, Anita Traninger (eds.), *The Emergence of Impartiality*, Brill, 2013.

[14] Fuller, *Holy Warre*, sig. A2^{r}

[15] Fuller, *The history of the worthies of England who for parts and learning have been eminent in the several counties*, London: for Thomas Williams, 1662. The best survey of the preparation of the *Worthies* remains that provided in Bailey, *Life of Fuller*, 697-713, supplemented by the scattered accounts of his research in the anonymous *Life of that reverend divine, and learned historian, Dr. Thomas Fuller*, London, 1661.

remarks on England and its people.[16] It was organised, much like the *Pisgah-sight*, around single, defined regions, in this case the counties of England (with a final section on Wales). *The Worthies*, again like the *Pisgah-sight*, was also a project conspicuously concerned with its own compositional style. Early in the work Fuller issued an 'Apology for Qualificatives Used, and Blanks in the History', excusing his vocabulary of equivocation with an epigram, 'Almost and very nigh,/ Have saved many a Lie'; and citing passages of scripture which used the same terminology as an expression of the 'Spirit of Truth'.[17] The *OED* cites this instance as the first to use the substantive 'Qualificatives', meaning 'a qualifying word, phrase, or statement', but Fuller had in fact used it earlier, in the *Church-history*, as a polemical weapon against a book by Edward Knott, provincial of the Jesuits in England:

> Before we come to the particular Examination of this his Accusation, it is observable how many *Qualificatives*, Correctives, and Restrictives (*Perhaps, as I have been informed, As I have also understood, peradventure*) he inserteth in this his Relation. Indeed such Qualifications are better than Equivocations, yet, what some may impute to Modesty, is his Policy, if well considered.[18]

Fuller led with a stylistic view of Knott's book, and was keenly aware that minute words of equivocation—even if desirable in themselves—left their authors open to accusations of the type which Fuller would later face. Knott, rather than verbally hedging his bets in the name of a high-minded truth, was enacting a Jesuitical strategy of plausible deniability; Fuller's opponents would later make exactly this claim about him.

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[16] Fuller, *Worthies,* 1.

[17] Fuller, *Worthies*, 60. A similar passage is found in one of the more renowned texts of Early Modern scientific thought, Robert Boyle's 1669 collection of *Certain Physiological Essays*. There, Boyle excuses his use of '*Perhaps, It seems, 'Tis not improbable*, and such other expressions as argue a diffidence of the truth of the Opinions I incline to', as indicating phenomena 'no one probable cause' can be assigned to. Boyle, 'Proemial Essay', in *Certain Physiological Essays,* London, 1669, 17-18.

[18] Fuller, *Church-history*, II.66

He later wrote an even more spirited defence against 'Some General Exceptions against the Style and Matter of the AUTHOR', filling *The Worthies* with an almost neurotic awareness of its stylistic oddity.[19] Fuller's anonymous biographer further noted that the book's late appearance was partly due to his revisions of its style in light of political change:

> he therefore hastned his Book with all Expedition, and whereas he had inte*n*ded to continue it but till 1659 and had therefore writ it in such language as those times of *Usurpation* (during the most part of which it was compiled) would suffer such a subject & concerning Matter to be drest in; he now reviewed it over, giving Truth, and his own most excellent Phansie their proper becoming Ornaments, *Scope* and *Clearness*.[20]

Fuller's degree of stylistic licence was in step with the upheavals of the Interregnum; the moderation (and later loosening) of his prose and person were advertised as historically sensitive. Even the research undertaken for *The Worthies* appears to have been presided over by the taxonomies of contemporary prose-style. Discussing Fuller's gathering of anecdotes from older members of certain parishes, his biographer wrote that 'in these inquests he would stay and attend those *circular* rambles till they came to a *poynt*; so resolute was he bent to the sifting out of abstruse Antiquity'.[21] In listening to the rambling accounts of old parishioners, Fuller apparently digested their stories in terms of the two poles of the debates concerning prose style in the seventeenth century: 'circular' style was of the syntactically complex, ornate, and 'oratorical' type favoured by the then-outmoded imitators of Cicero; 'point' was the effect of pithiness, concision, and aphoristic wit which Seneca, the stylistic *doyen* of the seventeenth century, exemplified.[22] The ramblings of the old were acidly compared to an out-of-

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[19] Fuller, *Worthies*, 73.

[20] *Life of that reverend divine,* 51-3.

[21] *Life of that reverend divine*, 28-9. Cf. *PS*, I.192 for Fuller's awareness of these terms in the theory of prose, and their use to explain a geographical problem: 'the Levites uttered no long continued orations, but short speeches severally distinguished, with the full periods of the peoples *Amen*, which gave fair notice to their neighbours on the next mountain, when to begin, and end their attention; and sentences so plainly pointed, are more easily understood at greater distance.'

[22] For the contemporary debates concerning 'circular' periods and 'pointed' style, the classic works remain the essays of Morris W. Croll collected in *Style, Rhetoric, Rhythm: Essays by Morris W. Croll*, eds. J. Max Patrick and Robert O. Evans, Princeton UP, 1966, esp, 'Juste Lipse et le Mouvement Anticicéronien à la Fin du XVIe et au Début du XVIIe Siècle', 7-44;

fashion and over-mannered prose style, whose long-delayed cadences the patient and likeable Fuller was willing to await. It was only a personality as accommodating as Fuller's, the biographer thought, that could find a valuably current 'poynt' in the thickets of the superseded style. The various methodological implications of statements like these—concerning the stylistic consideration of historical evidence; the connection between epistemological doubt and certain forms of language; and the use of prose-style as a vehicle for political moderation—will all be developed as this chapter proceeds. For now, it is most important to note that in Fuller's works, the claims of language and style continually asserted themselves in his writing as essential elements of geographical and para-geographical scholarship.

This preoccupation with literary style has never been extensively discussed in criticism of the *Pisgah-sight*. Fuller's book has, rather, been used as witness to a range of intellectual preoccupations of the later seventeenth century, rather than seen to be worth consideration as a literary artefact in itself. The *Pisgah-sight*, depending on the disciplinary lens through which it is read, has been situated at significantly different points on a number of trajectories in the histories of religion, literature, and science. We have seen how Fuller himself pitched the book as, at worst, a paltry substitute for the *Church-history*, and at best, a ground-laying pre-history for later historical work: he asks, rhetorically, 'should I plead with *Laban* the Custome of the Countrey, that it is not fashionable *to give the younger before the first-born;* should I alledge for my self that this Book, containing matter of more ancient date, ought to precede the other [...] ?' (I.sig. A4^{r}).[23] This interpretation of the *Pisgah-sight* as a part of a larger historical (and political) project is affirmed by Sandler, who sees the culminating passages of the *Pisgah-*

'"Attic Prose" in the Seventeenth Century', 51-102; 'Attic Prose: Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon', 167-202. Also highly influential is George Williamson, *The Senecan Amble: A Study in Prose Form from Bacon to Collier*, Faber & Faber, 1951. For the implications of these debates for this thesis, see the Conclusion.

[23] Fuller's allusion is to Genesis 29:26 (incorrectly cited as 19:26), where Jacob is wedded to Leah by her father Laban, and when Jacob complains (he desired to marry her sister Rachel), Laban makes the cited customary excuse.

sight—in which Fuller recommends steps towards the readmission of the Jews to England with a view to their eventual conversion—as the key to Fuller's broader goals of irenicism and the moderate reform of the English church.[24]

Contrary to readings of the *Pisgah-sight* as a future-facing 'projection' of socioreligious futures, less politically focussed interpretations have turned it firmly to face the past, reading it either as an almost nostalgic reanimation of familiar scholarly themes, or as part of an antiquarianism committed to reading the historical past as a culturally and materially independent field. Zur Shalev, placing the *Pisgah-sight* in the long history of 'sacred geography', sees it as a late appearance at a time when 'the field was almost exhausted': 'profiting from the best in the tradition of *geographia sacra* without much research of his own, Fuller, with much talent, reinvented or appropriated the genre to appeal to the taste of patrons and readers'.[25] This 'taste' was, perhaps unsurprisingly, one for 'moderation': 'Fuller wrote [...] for a general reading public. It was a public which already read and enjoyed his sermon collections, character books, and moderate consolations for England's civil war'.[26] Fuller seems to Shalev to have been a skilful and attractive adaptor of more hard-edged material: this is much the same as the discriminating Samuel Hartlib thought, who in his private praise of the *Pisgah-sight's* 'curious cutts' (an apt phrase, as shall become clear), recommended that Fuller collaborate with the more tough-minded Cambridge Hebraist John Lightfoot, for Fuller 'is no Antiquary but of a

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[24] Cf. Sandler, '*Pisgah-sight*', 326: 'Fuller [...] is committed in this life to an imperfect church, which must constantly strive for reform but can never claim to have achieved, or even to be about to achieve, perfection'. See also, on Fuller's concept of 'moderate' church-reformation, Sandler, "The Temple of Zerubbabel: A Pattern for Reformation in Thomas Fuller's *Pisgah-Sight* and *Church-History of Britain* ," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 10.2 (1977): 29-42.

[25] Shalev, *Sacred Words and Sacred Worlds: Geography, Religion and Scholarship, 1550-1700*, Leiden: Brill, 2011, 21, 264. Shalev's assessment is at least partially justified: Fuller did rely on a deep engagement with secondary source-material, and went so far as to import without modification an engraving of the Tabernacle by Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598), a sacred geographer and principal contributor to the Antwerp Polyglot bible (*PS*, II.60-65). On Montano see Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 23-72, esp. 23n2 for a full bibliography.

[26] Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 260.

stupendous witt and memory'.[27] The force of Fuller's literary personality and of his well-formed mental faculties—as this chapter shall show with a different emphasis—was for many his major contribution.

Less willing to downplay the *Pisgah-sight*'s novelty, but equally firm on its status as a past-oriented work, is Kevin Killeen's consideration of Fuller within the tradition of antiquarian exegesis, in which the Bible served as a hoard of discrete units of historical information, or *curiosa*:

> Fuller [...] constructs a detailed gazetteer, a political geography of the biblical lands at various stages of scriptural history. [...] Such a study is a far cry from the aims of typology [...] These writings were concerned to depict biblical society as wholly distant and distinct from early-modern experience, an ancient society whose motives and behavioural norms needed to be reconstructed.[28]

In Killeen's history, Fuller and his contemporaries' concern was not with any prospect of future religious conciliation, but the open field of 'things indifferent', or the contents of scripture and religious practice not explicitly governed by church authority, which were hence open to free historical interpretation.[29]

While offering informative avenues into the periodisation and contextualisation of the *Pisgah-sight*, none of these works have paid sustained attention to the intricacies of Fuller's literary and cartographic styles, or the methodological claims which Fuller makes for either of them (let alone for them as paired endeavours). They seem concerned, instead, to stake a disciplinary claim for Fuller as,

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[27] Hartlib, *Ephemerides* (1650), in *The Hartlib Papers*, ed. M. Greengrass et. al., University of Sheffield: Digital Humanities Institute, 2013, 28/1/52A.

[28] Killeen, *Biblical Scholarship, Science and Politics in Early Modern England: Thomas Browne and the Thorny Place of Knowledge*, Ashgate, 2009, 48-50. See also Killeen, '"Three Pounds and fifteen shillings; the inconsiderable salary of Judas": seventeenth-century exegesis, cultural historiography and Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*', *Renaissance Studies* 20.4 (2006): 502-19.

[29] For a reading of the discourse of 'things indifferent' in relation to 'moderation', with altogether more troubling findings than these, see Ethan Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England*, Cambridge UP, 2011, 73-111.

variously, a historian, a theologian, a scholar and a politician. This is in spite of Fuller's own early declaration of what he accurately saw as the *Pisgah-sight*'s major innovation:

> Wherefore although we cannot with *Columbus*, finde out another world, and bring the first tydings of an unknown Continent or Island, by us discovered, yet our labours ought not to be condemned as unprofitable, if setting forth an old subject in a new edition enlarged and amended. This I dare say, though many have written discourses without Mappes, and more Mappes without discourses, and some both, (yet so that three tribes are joined in one Mappe) none have formerly in any tongue (much lesse in English) presented us with Distinct Mappes and descriptions together.
>
> (*PS*, I.2)

Fuller distances his own project here from previous works of sacred geography: these had consisted of individual maps, of text-based geographies, and of combined maps and texts; Fuller's book, however, was the first to present both maps and texts organised around each of the twelve tribes, giving minute individual attention in 'Distinct Mappes' to each region, rather than 'joining' tribes together in single maps. The closest that any sacred geographer had come to this organisation was in the *Theatrum terrae sanctae* (1590) of the Dutch Catholic Christian Adrichem, where some maps of individual tribes were presented, though others combined the smaller tribes ('three tribes are joined in one Mappe').[30] Below, we will see how Fuller took much of Adrichem's methodology, and brought it to an extreme point of accentuated 'moderation' and conjecture. But as I shall argue, Fuller's novelty was not simply in the bibliographic history of biblical geography. It was also an innovation in the type of information that could be communicated by the operation of maps and prose-writing more profoundly 'together', as a single enterprise of personal ethics and aesthetics, which borrowed eclectically from all of Fuller's self-professed vocations, as well as some he did not actively espouse.[31]

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[30] Christianus Adrichomius [Christian Adrichem], *Theatrum terrae sanctae et biblicarum historiarum cum tabulis geographicis aere expressis*, Cologne, 1590. On Adrichem and his relation to the broad tradition, see Shalev, *Sacred Words*, *ad indicem*.

[31] In at least one case, Fuller's maps were extracted from his book. William Wynne's late-seventeenth-century collection of maps, gathered while he was studying at Wadham College, Oxford, includes Fuller's 'general map' of all Canaan, though unattributed in the table of maps Wynne wrote at the collection's beginning: see Bodleian MS Arch.Antiq. V.III.23, fol. 43 (fol. 1^{v} for the table). My thanks to Dr. William Poole for pointing me to this collection.

In what follows, I will show that Fuller designed his book so that neither the maps nor the text could be read without one another, and that he used this iron-clad relationship to project a general *habitus* of moderation. In the course of the chapter, it will become clear that 'moderation' was a uniquely capacious concept in Fuller's imagination, which took on elements from other connected disciplines outside of the realm of politics and religion, amassing 'scientific', antiquarian, and legal concepts into what resembled a general and eclectic practice of literary, scholarly and personal 'style'. Discipline-crossing, we have seen, was one aspect of *habitus*'s polemical force in geographical education; the habitual formation of geography lent it to the aid of 'all sorts of disciplines': Fuller's work shows with exceptional clarity the disciplinary voraciousness of a geography whose goal was to be 'moderate' in the face of *varietas*. In the following section, I will pursue at length Fuller's uniquely linguistic attitude to cartographic practice, taking literally his description of 'the language of the severall Characters of the places used in our Map, which speak much in little, and are very usefull for the clearing of the history' (I.47). Despite his disingenuous espousal of 'plain style' (I.6), Fuller used the full resources of language, from the broad techniques of rhetoric to the minutiae of grammar and alphabets, to galvanise the link between the visual representation of biblical territory and his witty, quibbling and 'moderately' doubtful prose and psychology, whose power was most famously praised by Coleridge: 'Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect'.[32] The structure of Fuller's cartographic 'language' forces the reader to remain uncertain as to whether points on the maps are indeed representative of the true territorial situation, or whether they are non-representational, 'linguistic' indicators of Fuller's doubt—Fuller then manipulated this uncertainty on the part of the

[32] S.T. Coleridge, ed. Henry Nelson Coleridge, *The Literary Remains of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 2 vols., London: William Pickering, 1836-9, vol. 2, 390. For Coleridge as a reader of the *Pisgah-sight*, see Barbara Hardy, 'Coleridge's Marginalia in Fuller's *Pisgah-sight of Palestine*', *Modern Language Review* 40.2 (1952): 203-8.

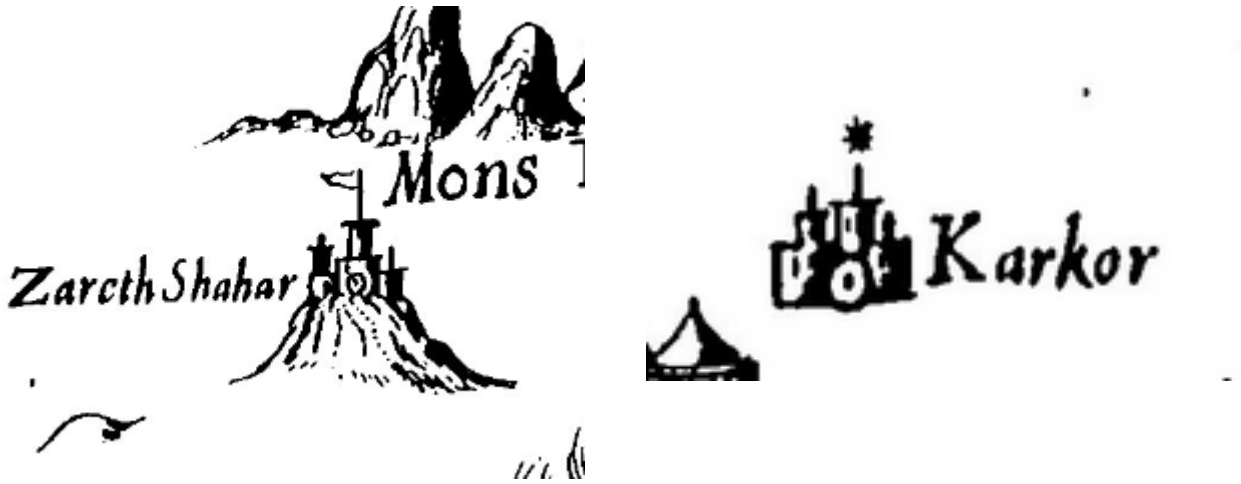
reader to explain the land of Canaan, in his written sections, as if it was itself a poorly preserved, ever-mutable ancient text. In Section IV, I will show how this textualisation of territory was further accomplished using specific argumentative resources from a realm seemingly outside Biblical geography's remit: that of legal rhetoric. Reading Fuller's scattered discussions of 'matters of fact', 'topics' and 'places' in his source material as inflected by the concept of evidential status, I will draw the *Pisgah-sight* into ongoing debates in 'scientific' and antiquarian circles concerning the concept of 'fact' and its relation to literary and rhetorical desiderata. Fuller will be seen to re-import this legal-rhetorical conception of 'facts' and 'places' into his reading of chorography as a specifically geographical discipline. Once again, Fuller emerges from these discourses as especially concerned to communicate the conflicts in his evidence moderately, even if this meant abandoning 'facts' altogether as his literary or cartographic domain.

In the final full section, I will focus on the *Pisgah-sight*'s fullest defence of its compositional principles: the concluding, 'objections refuted' section. This section is constructed as an extended dialogue between 'Philologus', a pedantic yet sloppy fictional reader of Fuller's work, and 'Aletheius', an avatar for Fuller himself. Critics have wholly ignored this dialogue's formal qualities, as well as Fuller's figuring of his opponent as a 'Philologist' opposed to the embodiment of *aletheia* (truth). I argue that these fictive personalities allow us to more accurately grasp Fuller's self-conception as an author-cartographer in relation to the philological tradition with which he has generally been unproblematically associated. It will emerge that Fuller's idea of his project instead drew on the methodological and epistemological variety advocated by philosophical eclecticism, and the ongoing debates both in favour of and against this metaphilosophical position. Fuller's characteristic 'moderation' allowed him to occupy a far more ambiguous disciplinary position between literary and intellectual circles, traversing questions of scholarship and personal 'style' with a *habitus* of moderation,

a performed (and popular) character accommodated to political turmoil. Cartography's habitual sympathy with 'all sorts of disciplines' was used by Fuller in his attempt to redeem the times.

III: Substantive Vines: Language, Territory, and the Grammar of the Map

When Fuller wrote, as mentioned above, that his maps had a 'language', he was not being merely figurative. He follows his promise of a cartographic 'language' with an elaborate semaphore of flags and other markings, which were meant to demarcate levels of certainty and conjecture in his placement of various biblical cities. Here is Fuller's description of his 'conjecturall flags': 'All Cities having banners or flags placed upon them, shew the conjecturall position thereof, when we have no assurance of their exact situation. One side of which flags humbly confesseth our want of certainty, the other as earnestly craveth better information' (I.47). These flags are all over the maps of the *Pisgah-sight*, hiding in plain sight: taking the maps without the key, they are a decorative but naturalistic feature of the intricately engraved cities; it is only by referring to Fuller's relatively brief description that what they 'confess' becomes intelligible as a so-called 'language' (Fig. 1). But beyond the flags, Fuller's 'language' becomes less typically cartographic, moving from the quasi-naturalistic flags to entirely non-pictorial insertions: 'places which have both flags and Asterisks upon them, are as I may say doublehatcht with uncertainty, not onely their position being doubtfull, but it is questionable whether they be proper names or not' (I.47, Fig. 2). These 'asterisks', indicating a conjecturally named city, and not even making any pretence to represent the physical features of the cities, are Fuller's attempt to import a 'language' of doubt concerning geographically problematic loci into the graphic fixity of the maps. His cartographic 'language' becomes less definitive and more significant of a subjunctive mood as his 'double-hatchd' doubt increases.



(Figs. 1 & 2: from the maps of Reuben and Mannaseh, one city with a 'conjecturall flag' and another with an 'asterisk')

The interaction between Fuller's markings as non-pictorial, 'linguistic' indicators of doubt, and as representations of territorial features becomes more obvious on the maps themselves, in the 'double circles' which surround many cities. These concentric circles indicate that the city was a province of the scattered Levites, the itinerant priests who were descended from Levi and dispersed by Jacob's curse in Genesis 49:1-10, and who occupied territory in the lands of all twelve tribes.[33] But despite 'confessing' the cities' possession by the Levites, it is only later in the *Pisgah-sight*, outside of the exposition of his 'language', that Fuller hints at a representational reason for these apparently arbitrary 'double circles'. In his discussion of the city of Kedemoth, which belonged to the Levites, he mentions the extent of the priests'

> glebe land, extending two thousand Cubits from their suburbs on every side, improved for pasture, tillage and vineyards. For thus the survey of the *Levites* lands, *Numb.* 35. 4, 5. (though the difficult place is capable of severall senses) is expounded by learned *Rabbi Maimonie,* and we in our Maps have described

[33] Gen. 49:5, 7: 'Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.[...] Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.'

> them accordingly. Now though herein we have given the *Levites* lands the largest and most favourable bounds (seeing I am unable to endow them, they shall lose nothing by my restrictive measuring thereof) yet know that narrower limits are assigned them by *Tremellius,* as shall hereafter be presented in a Diagram we have prepared for that purpose.
>
> (*PS*, I.56-7)

Fuller here attempts to reconcile the account of two Hebraists, the first of Moses Maimonides (1138-1204), the Sephardic Jewish scholar and Rabbi who served as an invaluable source of Jewish history and theology for later generations, the second of Immanuel Tremellius (1510-1580), a convert from Judaism to Christianity whose translation and annotation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew was a vital scholarly resource in the seventeenth century.[34] It hence becomes apparent that the 'double circles' may have this further significance: they indicate both Maimonides's 'generous' extramural territory allotted to the Levites, and Tremellius's more straitened assessment of their extent, refusing to decide on which is of greater historical merit (Fig. 3). Fuller's dutiful accommodation of two disagreeing sources was the central characteristic of his 'moderate' historiographical method, and a technique open to challenge, which led the Laudian divine Peter Heylyn (himself also a geographer) to spitefully term him the 'Moderator', in a scholarly conflict over the writing of history which will be discussed below.[35] Fuller himself gave a passing definition of 'moderation' as this form of 'agreeing' opposites a few pages after this passage, in a description of a fountain composed of hot and cold streams, wishing 'that nature would lesson us, that moderation, wherein extremities agree, is the best cure for all distempers' (I.59).[36]

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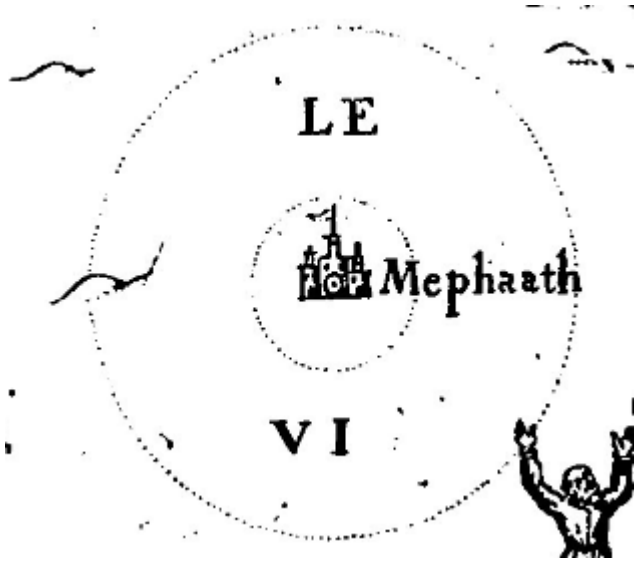
[34] Fuller wrote a brief biography of Tremellius, alongside a poetic tribute, in his *Abel Redevivus* (1651). See Fuller, *Abel Redevivus, or, The dead yet speaking. The lives and deaths of the moderne divines*, London: for John Stafford, 1651, 346.

[35] Heylyn, *Examen Historicum, or, A discovery and examination of the mistakes, falsities and defects in some modern histories occasioned by the partiality and inadvertencies of their severall authours,* London: for Henry Seile and Richard Royston, 1659. This conflict is given a full account and discussion in Mayer, 'Heylyn *contra* Fuller'.

[36] Cf. a similar passage from Fuller's early epyllion, *David's hainous sinne, Heartie repentance, Heavie punishment*, London: for John Bellamie, 1631, sig. C3^{r}, in which Nathan is described as follows: 'His meanes were in the meane, and that's the best. / High hills are parch'd with heate, or hid with snow, / And humble dales, soone drown'd, that lie too low, / Whilst happie graine, on hanging hills doth grow'.



(Fig. 3. A city of the Levites, marked with a 'double circle' and 'conjecturall flag', from the map of Reuben)

But the other significance of these 'doubled circles' in relation to Fuller's 'language' is in their anamorphic aspect, by which the map-reader is deliberately made uncertain over whether they are non-pictorial signs of a philological problem, or whether they indicate an actually existing feature of the territory. For the link between the circles and this comment on an exegetical problem is not made readily apparent by Fuller. The first mention of the circles in Fuller's pseudo-lexicon refers the reader forward: 'All Cities surrounded with double circles (the reason whereof hereafter) belong to the Tribe of *Levi*' (I.47). This non-explicitly alludes to the above passage, which itself refers the reader to a 'diagram', noted in the margin to be included 'in our answers to the objections on *Reuben*' (I.57). But turning to this section of the fifth book (II.144-6), no such diagram appears.[37] Fuller never explicitly states the iconic connection between his 'moderate' solution to the Maimonides-Tremellius problem and his 'double circles'. The reader is left uncertain as to whether the latter are simply one among many of Fuller's 'severall Characters', or whether they bear a more directly correspondent, 'representational' relation to the territory to be represented.

[37] This apparent error is preserved in the second edition of 1662.

Fuller's use of a 'language' to indicate distinctions in biblical geography was not entirely original, but the extremity of his position within the tradition becomes clear against the work of his predecessors. Christian Adrichem, we have seen, was Fuller's immediate inspiration for dividing his maps by tribe; Adrichem also devised a group of icons to mark out the cities on his maps, in which a limited amount of doubt was permitted.[38] Adrichem's preface detailed an even more elaborate system than Fuller's: pictorial icons indicated the difference between cities ('*urbes*'), camps ('*castrae*') and and villages ('*pagi*'); royal cities ('*regiae civitates*') were indicated by a diadem, episcopal ones by a mitre, those of the Levites by an asterisk, and cities of refuge by a cross; alternative divisions into satrapies and the Decapolis were marked with capital letters.[39] Fuller was not alone in his use of non-pictorial signs. But only once did Adrichem allow doubt into his 'language': by a tiny marker of two concentric circles, the reader was shown the sites 'in which it was uncertain, whether they were cities, camps, or villages'.[40] This definitional ambiguity is far less rhetorically prominent than Fuller's description of the 'conjecturall flags' and his own asterisks' significance: there is nothing to be 'humbly confessed' here, nor to be 'earnestly craved'. Adrichem's system of icons, rather, set the stage for his peroration, whose tone was far more bullish than Fuller's, as shall become clearer as this chapter goes on:

> And so, reader, if having read and understood these [pages], you return to the Holy Books, you will see that many things, which were once hindering, obscure, and impassable, will be most clear to you, and you will be led as if by the hand to the understanding of all those things [*ad cognitionem eorum omnium*]...[41]

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[38] On Adrichem's influence on Fuller, see Shalev, *Sacred Words*, 262.

[39] Adrichem, *Theatrum*, sig. *5^{v}

[40] Adrichem, *Theatrum* sig. *5^{v}: 'de quibus autem incertum est, civitatesne, an pagi, vel castra fuerint, hoc <icon> modo signavi'.

[41] Adrichem, *Theatrum*, sig. *6^{r}: 'Atque ita, Lector optime, si his lectis et intellectis iterum te ad Biblia conferas, videbis multa, impedita antea, obscura, invia, apertissima tibi esse, et quasi manu ad cognitionem eorum omnium deduceris'. Adrichem has, at this point, admitted of some limitation to his argument, claiming he has 'been wary always of assertion, unless I have serious authorities' [*cavi semper ab asseveratione, nisi graves auctores haberem*], cautioning that he has in places

This passage resonates far more with the familiar humanist optimism about cartography's powers of explanation and its easy path of instruction offered to thought (*ad cognitionem*); so too does it correspond to the different quality of assertion attached to the 'language' of Adrichem's maps. Adrichem's signs were usually definitive, even where they were not pictorial; Fuller imported non-representative markers to 'double-hatch' the probable.

The instability in Fuller's 'language' between the non-pictorial marker and the iconic representation of geographical features, and the use of it to signify a radical level of doubt and conjecture, is not, I suggest, a fault of Fuller's cartographic practice. It was, rather, the visual manifestation of a general textualisation of geographical territory, which Fuller undertook as his major exegetical strategy for the 'moderation' of doubtful information. By reading the land itself as a set of 'Characters', which could be supplemented and combined with his own 'language', Fuller could accommodate or explain away various idiosyncrasies and variables in his geography, thereby 'moderating'—through a committed suspension of judgement and the 'agreement between extremes'—exegetical cruces which were often fiercely opposed in both scholarly and confessional worlds.

The interchange of territory and text emerges all over Fuller's writing. Early in his description, Fuller writes that 'we find three severall Editions (as I may call them) of the nations of *Canaan*, whereof the most authentick and common is *Deut. 7.1.*, which we will principally peruse', reading the various divisions of the tribes across the Old Testament as a series of imprints of a central territorial text (*PS*,

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included 'suspicions' [*suspiciones*] and the 'pugnacious or dissenting thoughts of others' [*pugnantes, aut dissidentes aliorum sententias*] (sig. *4^{r}).

I.17). Conversely, some later remarks of Fuller show how his understanding of his own book was often determined with reference to maps. In the second-to-last book of the *Pisgah-sight*, Fuller explains why he chose to continue his work after finishing with the twelve tribes:

> I Conceived my taske finished in describing the land of *Palestine*, when casually casting mine eye on *Speeds* Maps of *England*, and other Countreys, I found their borders, or margins, garnished with the pictures of their inhabitants, garmented, and habited respectively according to their several fashions. Wherefore, not to be defective in any necessary ornament, we have added this discourse of *Jewish* Vestments.
>
> (*PS*, II.97)

If Fuller's map of Canaan was like a book, so too was his book like a map—the 'ornaments' of his discourse were convertible with the engravings surrounding John Speed's cartographic exemplars; Hartlib's observation that the *Pisgah-sight* 'may bee called *Speed's Canaan*' is apt.[42] It was this two-way formulation, with maps and texts coming to mutually resemble one another, which allowed Fuller to excuse, justify, and explain many oddities in his literary and cartographic styles.

This metaphorical background dictates what follows, as Fuller repeatedly makes the case that both the land of Canaan and his own words are subject to change and equivocation. When explaining the periodic flooding of the area surrounding the Jordan, and the internal disagreements between hypotheses, he apologises characteristically:

> Let Naturalists discuss the cause, whence this inundation of *Jordan* proceeds; whether from the violence of winds, then blowing on its stream, and angring it beyond his banks; or from the influence of the Moon, Commandress over moist bodies, and their motions; or from the confluence of Snow dissolved from the mountains. But my discourse like *Jordan* overflowes, it shall return within its banks.
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> (*PS*, I.60)

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[42] *Hartlib Papers*, 28/1/52A.

And if Fuller's own words could become like the overflowing Jordan, the words of others could also be shown to exhibit similarly protean and unpredictable natures. Discussing the spuriousness of some passages of the Book of Tobit, Fuller concludes that 'if *Naphtali* and *Thisbe* pass for reall places, yet not onely doubtfull, but desperate is the case of the City *Naasson,* not being founded on the rock of the Greek text, where no such town appears, but on the quick-sand of the erroneous *Vulgar Latine* translation.' (*PS*, I.117).[43] Without the context of the attendant maps, passages like these would, like many have argued, be simply 'witty', and able to be cast aside as a quirk of Fuller's style. But on scrutinising Fuller's maps and finding them adorned with 'rocks', 'quicksands', and other territorial markers used in his similes, this language appears as a formative background, which makes manifest the act of epistemological and iconographic bridging required to turn the Bible's written geography into engraved images of the land. This is to say that Fuller persistently attempted, throughout the *Pisgah-sight*, to straiten the representational gap between mapmaking and prose-writing.

The metaphorical collocation of the language of the Bible and the Biblical territory was not unique to Fuller, nor did it reach its high point in his writing—even in the case of the discourse-as-river simile. A decade after the *Pisgah-sight*, Robert Boyle published his *Considerations touching the style of the holy scriptures* (1661), whose description of the Pauline epistles is perhaps one of the most elaborate developments of the metaphor:

> [...] as Rivers are said to run to the Sea, though oftentimes the Interposition of hard or rising Grounds, or other Obstacles, force them to such winding *Meanders*, that they seem to retreat from the Ocean they tend to; which nevertheless with encreased Streams they afterwards bend again their intermitted Course to, having water'd and fertiliz'd by their Passage the Grounds through which they seem'd to wander: so our Apostle, though he direct his Course to his Main Scope, m[a]y not onely without Declining it, but

[43] Fuller here refers to the two texts of the Book of Tobit, as they exist in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate. Tobit, an apocryphal text in Protestantism, did not appear in the Masoretic canon. The relevant passage of Tobit in the Vulgate is 1:2, which refers to 'Nepthalim, in superioribus Galilaeae contra Naasson'. There is no mention of 'Naasson' in this passage in the Septuagint.

> in Order to it (for in some Cases the Wisdome of the Proverb will inform us, that the Longest way about is the nearest Way Home) seem for a while to abandon it, by fetching a compass to answer some Obvious, or Anticipate some Tacit Objection, and afterwards more Prosperously resume his former Considerations [...][44]

Boyle's long passage gives an extraordinary detail to the tropic equivalence of territory and text, with his elaborate syntax mimicking a river's meanders, its flowing passages broken by the 'interpositions' of punctuation, and repeated with a new subject ('as…so') across the break made by the colon, illustrating in the syntax, symmetrical across the central divide, the wanderings and interruptions in Paul's epistles. But what distinguishes Fuller's comparatively quibbling imagery from Boyle's stylistic virtuosity is the former's deployment of the metaphor to solve exegetical problems, rather than simply adorn his text. As his image of Tobit's 'quicksand' implies, for Fuller the analogy between language and geography had substantial intellectual content: it was reflective of the inevitably conjectural, equivocal, and tentative task of drawing certain geographical knowledge from the complex network of scriptural texts and glosses through which that subject was exclusively accessible; as such, it was an image which could accommodate his 'moderate' approach to exegetical problems.

One of the most striking examples of Fuller's use of the metaphor to approach an exegetical crux occurs in the context of an anticipated objection to his maps. The *Pisgah-sight* opens with a map of Palestine divided into the twelve post-Joshuan tribes. But in the course of his 'General Description of Judea', Fuller inserts a second map, this time of the land as it was divided between the thirty-one kingdoms, before Joshua's conquest. Anticipating an objection to 'differences betwixt this, and the next Map of the same land' (I.23), not only in political land-division, but in the physical geography of

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[44] Boyle, *Some Considerations Touching the Style of the H. Scriptures*, London: for Henry Herringman, 1661, 55-6.

the territory itself, Fuller initially brandishes the poetic commonplace of the metaphorical 'lineaments' of the human face changing with age, but swiftly rejects this and offers a linguistic analogy:

> even these seeming Standards of nature, are moveable with time and casualty, inundations, tempests, and earthquakes; in the last (being the earths violent cough) sometimes she spits up her own lungs, casting up great hills where never were any before. What the Apostle speaks in an higher sense, is true of the materiall world, and the severall countreys therein, *The fashion of this world passeth away;* so that to the very view of the eye, the shape, form, and garb thereof is metamorphosed. Besides, other Anagrams hapning in the land of *Canaan,* lands afterwards transposed for water, and water for land; one is most remarkable, namely, when the pleasant *vale of Siddim* nigh the banks of *Iordan,* was turned into the salt-sea, or noisome Asphaltite-lake.
>
> (*PS*, I.24)

The metaphors move here from the somatic to the textual—the image of nature 'spitting up her lungs' picks up on the facial 'lineaments' from earlier, but to fully explain the changes in his territory, with the supplementary image of God's laying waste of Sodom and Gommorah in Genesis 19:1-28, Fuller summons the image of potentially infinite (and random) re-combination offered by the 'Anagram'.

Anagrams were culturally and politically significant in Fuller's lifetime. Katherine Hunt has surveyed their use over the century, illustrating the ramifications of the Lucretian metaphor which connected alphabets and anagrams with 'the proposition that the world was made up of a fixed number of units, which could be recombined and reordered in a finite number of ways'.[45] Gerard Passannante has ingeniously traced how, in turn, this metaphor found its way into early modern philological scholarship, which pursued ancient writings and traditions (including Lucretius' own text) through the infinite mutations of textual and historical data, mediated and remediated through the printing press, such that 'the historical rebuilding of the poem from a few fragmented manuscripts

[45] Hunt, 'The Art of Changes: Bell-Ringing, Anagrams, and the Culture of Combination in Seventeenth-Century England', *JMEMS* 48.2 (2018): 387-412, 387. See Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, I.196-8: 'you may more readily believe many bodies to be common to many things, as we see letters to be common to words, than that anything can exist without first-beginnings'. trans. in *De rerum natura*, ed. W.H.D. Rouse, rev. Martin D. Smith, Harvard UP, 1924.

occasioned a deep analogy between a humanist casting his mind into the text and an Epicurean imagining the world of invisible matter'.[46] It is this form of scholarship—'casting his mind into the text'—which Fuller was performing in trying to extract geographical data from Biblical texts; he also 'cast his mind' outwards to the reader, bodying forth philology in his moderate and ingratiating *habitus*. The uncertainty attendant on Fuller's necessarily conjectural enterprise of biblical scholarship produced a cartographic and literary style which read the land itself as something manipulable and mutable, taken as it was from a set of shifting and unconfirmed sources—fortunately, the resource of anagrammatical imagery was readily available to approach the textually-produced territory.[47]

The other connotation to Fuller's image is political: Lois Potter has shown that the anagram was a consolatory linguistic game used by royalists in hiding and exile, employed in order to simultaneously exhibit an aesthetic of secrecy, and to suggest the chaotic, quasi-Lucretian dissolution of public life in post-regicide England.[48] Potter cites a pamphlet of James Howell—another notionally Royalist writer (occasionally on geography) who was often seen as too 'moderate' for full membership to either side[49]—as an example of how anagrams in particular could suggest a chaotic, godless world:

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[46] Passannante, *The Lucretian Renaissance: Philology and the Afterlife of Tradition*, Chicago UP, 2011, 11. Passannante also upholds Bacon as a key figure in the analogy between print-culture and atomism. Bacon, according to Passannante, was fascinated with 'the world of the printing shop, where *elementa* were cast, set, dispersed, and recycled—a closed economy of textual matter in which a limited number of letters was made to gure the matter of "infinite actions and opinions" and ideally nothing was lost', 135-6.

[47] For a use of the Lucretian alphabet-conceit which served to emphasise microscopic certainty and fixity, rather than uncertainty and mutability, see Frédérique Aït-Touati, trans. Susan Emanuel, *Fictions of the Cosmos: Science and Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Chicago UP, 2011. There, it is argued that Robert Hooke, the famous English virtuoso and member of the Royal Society, labelled his diagrams with letters of the alphabet in order to show a 'principle of coherence' in the universe: 'letters indicate a path—a deixis—that guarantees the permanence of information from one domain to another [...] Hooke's letters are a recurrent metaphor and an indication of the structure of the book as well as the structure of Nature' (139, 141).

[48] Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641-1660*, Cambridge UP, 1989, 38-71.

[49] See D.R. Woolf, 'James Howell', *ODNB,* where it is shown that Howell 'was dogged throughout the second half of his life by accusations of time-serving and lukewarmness'. In 1642, Howell published the *Instructions for Forreine Travel* (London: for Humphrey Moseley).

'*England* [...] may be termed now, in comparison of what it was, no other than an *Anagram of a Kingdome*'.[50] The Lucretian cosmos—hugely influential in the sceptical philosophy of such popular figures as Montaigne—was readily adaptable to the seemingly incomprehensible world of the Interregnum.[51] As Potter notes, 'for anyone obsessed by the idea that the world was turned upside down, the anagram was the perfect literary form'.[52]

Any contemporary reference in Fuller's passage is buried, but is perhaps signalled by his immediately preceding citation of 1 Corinthians 7:31: 'for the fashion of this world passeth away.' A popular and quotable passage, and one used by Fuller himself in a gloomy pre-war sermon on 1 John 2:15, 'love not this world', this particular Pauline verse often appeared at moments of political crisis, and frequently during the Interregnum—indeed, it appears prominently as a caution in the 'levelling' writings of George Fox, the religious radical and founder of the Quakers in the 1650s.[53] Though Fuller's image of the 'anagram' first recalls a scholarly commonplace used to express the complexity of philological work, there are suggestions, as everywhere in the *Pisgah-sight*, of an immediate and immoderate political reality; a 'world turned upside down', and subject to impeding anagrammatical re-ordering. As Fuller himself indicated with a deceptively quaint Euphuistic-alliterative rhetoric, in a discussion of the number of chambers in Solomon's temple, it would be foolish for a post-

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[50] Cited in Potter, *Secret Rites*, 51.

[51] On Montaigne and his influence on later Lucretian imagery, see Passannante, *The Lucretian Renaissance*, 104-19.

[52] Potter, *Secret Rites*, 51.

[53] Fuller's sermon was printed as part of *Ioseph's Party-coloured coat* (1640), and is reprinted in *The Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller*, ed. J.E. Bailey, W.E.A. Axon, London, 1891, 185-91, with the Pauline citation on 187. In the sermon, Fuller quotes the Greek text: *παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*. The Greek *σχῆμα* had a range of uses applicable to cartography and territory, including 'form', 'appearance', 'plan', 'outline', and 'diagram'. An EEBO search reveals the frequency of Fox's use of the verse: there are multiple hits for the verse and variants thereon in *JUSTICE AND JUDGEMENT IS TO RULE*, London: for Thomas Simmons, 1656, 4; *The Priests Fruits Made Manifest. AND THE Fashions of the world, AND THE Lust of Ignorance*, London: for Thomas Simmons, 1657, 1 and *passim*; *Thirty Errors of the Priests Published*, London: for Robert Wilson, 1660, 1.

revolutionary reader to expect anything but the provisional either in their own time or in its scholarly products: 'Indeed, in all fickle times (such as we live in) it is folly to fix on any durable design, as inconsistent with the uncertainty of our age, and safest to pitch up *tent-projects*, whose alteration may with less loss, and a clear conscience comply with the change of the times' (*PS*, I.386).

But Fuller's ability to explain differences between two variant versions of the same map using the image of the anagram rests, finally, on a paradoxically literal stance: Fuller's own access to Canaan was through a set of often-complex, often-conflicting textual relics, each needing to be 'moderated' against the other, and accommodated into the supposedly 'single' vision given on a map. As such, for Fuller, territory *was* text, and could be treated as such: the two maps of the same territory at different periods of Biblical history were derived from two different text-groups; these texts were literally comprised of the same alphabetical 'characters', but 'anagrammatised' into differing forms. In stressing this anagrammatical mutability to his readers, Fuller 'moderated' both the force of their anticipated objections, and the conflicts in the evidence itself.

In light of this general need to textualise territory, Fuller's apparently 'witty' remarks on the land appear as part of a larger preoccupation. Describing the extraordinarily abundant vines of Judah, Fuller observes that a traveller, 'having occasion to dismount his Asse, and tye him for a time, vines should offer themselves as most obvious to fasten him unto; and those so great (Adjectives in other Countreys, but Substantives here) that he might safely tye his beast to *them, which* with us are tyed to other trees for their support' (I.10). Concerned here rather with praise of the abundant land than with any moderation of exegetical problems, Fuller still draws on the resources of the first subject in the Trivium, and the daily fare of many English schoolboys, grammar—here, on the difference between 'nouns adjective' (what is called an adjective today) and 'nouns substantive', that is, a noun, or an

adjective which stands in the place of a noun ('the meek shall inherit the earth').[54] Understanding his maps was, for Fuller, always implicitly an act of linguistic comprehension. As such, a more apposite comment on Fuller's 'wit' than Coleridge's can be found in the remark of Fuller's most dutiful reader and nineteenth-century biographer, John Eglington Bailey: describing Fuller's process of drawing the maps himself, Bailey observed that 'the author of the book rather drew up the rough drafts of the maps than engraved them, allowing his fancy to be as uncontrolled as though he were writing prose.'[55] Like Burton's 'unconfined fancy' as he perused his collection of maps, Bailey's adjective 'uncontrolled' here should perhaps be taken as indicative of Fuller using cartography, paradoxically, as a vehicle with which to refuse the choice of a single, dominant viewpoint, or the control of a single scholarly authority; this is one possible interpretation of Fuller's own definition of 'moderation' as the 'agreement between extremes'. Nevertheless, Bailey's basic point hits at the heart of the *Pisgah-sight*: the fact that Fuller saw prose-writing and cartography as mutually constitutive practices, each explaining the other in a permanent retreat from immoderate assertion.

IV: 'Matters of Place': Equivocation, Legal Rhetoric, and Fuller as 'Chorographer'

We have seen how Fuller devised a 'language' for his maps by establishing an elusive 'language', where it was almost impossible to tell whether his cartographic markings were iconic representations of territory, or non-pictorial 'characters' used to signify some uncertainty or doubt in the evidence. In his written sections, Fuller then described the rationale for various choices in his maps by extending this 'language' to include such various micro-linguistic practices as anagrams and grammatical analysis.

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[54] For a popular contemporary account of the difference between a substantive and an adjective, see Charles Hoole, *An Easie Entrance to the Latin Tongue*, London: for Joshua Kirton, 1649, 2, which describes a 'Substantive, which may signifie (or shew what it meaneth) by it self in a Speech, as *Hómo, a Man'*, and an 'Adjective which cannot signifie in a Speech without a Substantive, as, *Bónus, good.'* The classic account of the teaching of grammar in early modern schools, including a list of basic grammar textbooks found on a seventeenth-century curriculum written by Hoole, is Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660, their Curriculum and Practice*, Cambridge UP, 1908, esp. 293-304.

[55] Bailey, *Life of Fuller*, 475.

But Fuller went further in conceiving of the resources of language as useful to elaborate on his cartographic practice, moving from the lower discipline of grammar to the 'higher faculty' of law and legal rhetoric. And as with the 'anagrams' and 'characters', Fuller's employment of the conjectural techniques of legal argument served, once again, to 'moderate' between conflicting sources of evidence and to suggest manners of filling epistemological lacunae, attempting to remain dutiful to the multiple, often conflicting Biblical texts with which he worked.[56] With this disciplinary self-alignment, Fuller furthered his authorial *persona* as a moderate, whose habitual indecision was the most prudent course of action in hard times. We have previously seen the geographical *habitus* as one which appropriated *varietas* to productive ends; Fuller stands apart in this thesis as an author whose favourite gesture was, perhaps even more than Burton, to throw up his hands.

That the study of history in the seventeenth century was deeply invested in the study of law and legal history, and equally, that the techniques and practices of law were deeply influential on the development of the historical methods which Fuller espoused, has been argued at length by many scholars. J.G.A Pocock was among the first to argue that 'modern' historiography emerged as historians and antiquarians debated the nature and existence of England's customary 'ancient constitution' and common law in battles over the royal prerogative.[57] The history of law and legal

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[56] For a meditation on the 'multiplicity' of biblical texts in the period, especially in the context of the publication history of various polyglot bibles, see Theodore Dunkelgrün, *The Multiplicity of Scripture: The Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568-1573)*, PhD Thesis: University of Chicago, 2012, 1-24.

[57] Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge UP, 1957. See also on the study of the law and historiography F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580-1640*, Columbia UP, 1962, esp. 26-32; Julian Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Sixteenth Century Revolution in the Methodology of Law and History*, Columbia UP, 1967; Barbara Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationships Between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law, and Literature*, Princeton UP, 1982, esp. 163-7; Anthony Grafton, *What Was History?: The Art of History in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge UP, 2012, 69-76, and on methodology, 249-50. A counterargument to older accounts of law-inflected changes in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historiography can be found in Andrew Hadfield, 'Sceptical History and the Myth of the Historical Revolution', *Renaissance and Reformation* 29.1 (2005): 25-44.

custom was especially appealing to those who studied Biblical history, and Fuller has been grouped with such other antiquarian luminaries as John Selden, Thomas Browne, and Henry Hammond, each indicative of how 'early modern thought on law and custom became increasingly aware of the shifting meaning of its objects and legal codes over biblical time, and an emergent sense that interpretation of the Bible demanded a historical sensibility'.[58] On the other hand, those who wrote history, Biblical or otherwise, drew amply on the resources of probabilistic rhetoric found once again in the study of law. Barbara Shapiro, tracing the emergent concept of the 'fact' in the seventeenth century and its sources in legal material, has allied law and history as two disciplines where the relation between rhetoric and their respective bodies of 'facts' was most fraught:

> All the discourses of "fact" became suspicious of rhetoric and often voiced this suspicion in connection with announcing their dedication to the norm of impartiality. The disciplines of law and historiography, however, were somewhat ambivalent about rhetoric, decrying its dangers on the one hand and incorporating it on the other.[59]

Here we see something similar to Fuller's disingenuous espousal of 'plain style': the level-headed historian (or lawyer) promises to put facts plainly 'before the eyes' of their audience, but in convincing this audience of the truth of their account, they must resort to techniques and 'languages' of persuasion and probability.

It is thus unsurprising that Fuller's most apparent engagement with legal protocols is in the context of his treatment of 'facts'. In his description of Manasseh beyond Jordan, Fuller is once again concerned to moderate a fierce dispute between exegetes ranging in time from Josephus to the

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[58] Killeen, 'Seventeenth-Century Exegesis', 502. On the often-vexed relationship between antiquarianism and history-writing see also Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950): 285-315; Joseph M. Levine, 'The Antiquarian Enterprise, 1500-1800', in *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern Historiography*, Cornell UP, 1987, 73-107.

[59] Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720*, Cornell UP, 2000, 29. See also Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty*, 164: 'by the mid-sixteenth century, it became difficult to disentangle the techniques, methods and values of historically minded lawyers from those of legally oriented historians.'

Scottish presbyterian divine John Sharp (1572-1647), on whether Jephthah really sacrificed his daughter in Judges 11:34-8, or whether he 'merely' condemned her to a life of virginity. Citing in the margin a collection of both reverend and obscure scholars, Fuller exhibits a different aspect of the 'agreement between extremes', neither choosing the most plausible option, nor a fictitious 'middle ground'; choosing, rather, not to make a choice:[60]

> If any demand my judgment in this difference, I seasonably remember how one being asked in the *Massacre of Paris*, whether he was a *Catholick* or an *Hugonite*, answered that *he was a Physician*. My return must be in this work, I am onely a Chorographer, and the controversie in hand concerns matter of fact, not of place, proper onely to us for this present.
>
> (*PS*, I.95)

Here we find one of Fuller's most forceful statements of his self-conception as an author (though not without its own elusiveness), articulated through the technical vocabulary of evidential theory. In law, a 'matter of fact', from the Latin *factum*, was a fairly precise concept, denoting (in Shapiro's terms) 'a human deed or action which had occurred in the past and which had to be substantiated or proved to the satisfaction of the jurors, who were "judges of the fact"'.[61] As Shapiro goes on to articulate, the very nature of the legal 'fact' implied that it had either happened or not, necessitating a binary judgement: 'a "matter of fact" was an *issue* placed before a jury as to whether a particular person had performed a particular act or set of acts.'[62] The requirement of a simple positive or negative judgement on 'matters of fact' sat uncomfortably with Fuller's desire to moderate between extremes in exegetical

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[60] Fuller's full list on the side of real sacrifice cites Josephus, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Origen, Peter Martyr, Louis Cappel, 'Forbes or Perkins his case', and the '*Theo[logiae] Syst[ema]*' of one 'Brodman'. On the side of enforced virginity (and the concomitant argument that this was a precedent for convent life), he cites Nicholas of Lyra, Tremellius, William Perkins, and Sharp.

[61] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 11. Robert Mayer's study of the relationship between early modern historiography and the early novel takes 'matters of fact' as its operative concept: see Mayer, *History and the Early English Novel: Matters of Fact from Bacon to Defoe*, Cambridge UP, 1997.

[62] Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 11.

matters, and as such he disavowed 'facts', or at least the 'fact' of Jephtha's sacrifice, as his province altogether.[63]

This leaves us with the implied corollary to 'matters of fact' in Fuller's passage, 'matters of [...] place', and its proposed relation to his self-arrogated role as a 'chorographer'. In this deceptively simple opposition between deed and territory, Fuller once again invokes a wide field of implied allusion. 'Matters of place' had simultaneously topographical, exegetical, and legal resonances. A fixed phrase with a defined set of implications, it was occasionally used in ecclesiastical and Biblical scholarship to make a similar demarcation of authorial domain to Fuller's, especially in discussions of 'things indifferent'. In 1590 John Greenwood, the religious separatist and controversialist, wrote a reply to the Puritan minister George Gifford, refuting Gifford's prescription of set forms of prayer, on the grounds that worship should be spontaneous because the Bible had left the manner of prayer an 'indifferent' matter: 'he supposeth there may be lawes ecclesiastical made / of things in themselues indifferent', attempting to exercise control 'where the scripture hath commanded such things to be vsed at our libertie for order / for comelynes / edification and glorye of God / as matters of place / time / and such circumstance'.[64] 'Matter of place' commanded inherent 'libertie' for Greenwood, lying open for individual, non-doctrinal interpretation. Likewise, Serenus [né Hugh] de Cressy, a later-seventeenth century Catholic convert and ecclesiastical historian of Brittany who had read Fuller's work, invokes a similar set of associations when discussing the evidence for and content of Augustine

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[63] See also Shapiro's statement that 'the first, and perhaps most basic, common assumption of historical inquiry was that the stuff of history, both natural and civil, was "matter of fact"' 138. See further Boyle, 'Proemial Essay', 17-18: 'I have often found such Difficulties in searching into the causes and Manner of things: and I am so sensible of my own Disability to surmount those Difficulties, that I dare speak confidently and positively of very few things, except Matters of fact': matters of fact are, for Boyle, precisely those questions which do not need to be treated with 'perhaps', 'maybe', and 'probably'.

[64] Greenwood, *An Aunsvver to George Giffords Pretended Defence of Read Prayers and Devised Litourgies...*, 1590 [In fact printed Amsterdam, 1603], 59. On this controversy see Jesse Hoover, '"They bee full Donatists": the Rhetoric of Donatism in Early Separatist Polemics', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 15.2 (2013): 154-76.

of Canterbury's supposed synod of the Saxons and the Britons: 'Enough hath been sayd concerning circumstantiall matters of place and persons, regarding this *Synod*: in neither of which we can find any full satisfaction.'[65] Dismissing 'matters of place' here as more irrelevant than indifferent, de Cressy gives a different inflection to the sense of this particular concept of 'place'—simply signifying location in these contexts—being immaterial in more fundamental aspects of doctrine and ecclesiology.

But these two examples bring another common term to 'matters of place', one which invokes the legal context again, and returns us to Fuller's simultaneously geographical and linguistic understanding of territory, or in this case, 'place'. Both Greenwood and de Cressy refer to 'matters of place' as 'circumstantial', a term whose connotation was straightforwardly legal-rhetorical throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Lorna Hutson has given the fullest recent definition of what the 'circumstantial' constituted in early modernity:

> whereas we habitually think of 'circumstances' as the objective material particulars or calculable variables specific to an individual or situation, Renaissance writers thought of them primarily as topical aids to the composition of persuasive arguments in the interests of narrative intelligibility and poetic power [...] Both Cicero and Quintilian identified 'accidents' of person and 'circumstances' of the thing (*res*) as the key loci—that is, 'topics' or 'places'—from which to find *argumenta*, or arguments, of proof; indeed they were known as *loci argumentorum*, places of argument.[66]

The 'circumstantial', then, was not just what was immaterial to a given question or topic; it was the collection of features involved in the topic or event most susceptible to and manipulable by persuasive and probabilistic language. It also had a complex verbal relationship with the language of 'place'. For 'circumstances' were not only 'places' of rhetorical *inventio*; they also contained within them a

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[65] de Cressy, *The church-history of Brittany from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman conquest*, Rouen, 1668, 303. de Cressy (disapprovingly) cites Fuller's *Church-history* on 25, 26.

[66] Hutson, *Circumstantial Shakespeare*, Oxford UP, 2015, 2.

subsidiary notion of 'place'. As Hutson notes, citing Quintilian, "circumstances' were the topics that made any human action intelligible and able to be narrated and enquired into: '*causa tempus locus occasio instrumentum modus et cetera*' [...] motive, time, place, opportunity, means, method and the like'.[67] 'Place', then, was itself a 'topic' (Gk. *topos* = 'place') contained within the general scheme of 'places', or 'topics', from which to invent arguments.

This terminological knot argues a double meaning in Fuller, Greenwood, and de Cressy's phrase 'matters of place'. A 'matter of place', in the first instance, connotes the more specific sense of 'place', or *locus*, as one among many 'circumstances'. Greenwood's use of the phrase refers most simply to the 'place' of prayer, whether at church or in private; de Cressy is *prima facie* writing simply about the 'place' where the supposed synod occurred. But contained within these remarks, because of the double meaning of 'place' in rhetorical theory, there is an assertion that these questions are 'matters of place' in a broader sense—that is, that they are open to persuasive or probabilistic argument; that they are 'indifferent' matters and hence receptive to the linguistic arts. Greenwood used this wider sense of linguistic manipulability to assert that the manner of prayer was left to the 'libertie' of free determination; de Cressy could not find 'satisfaction' in these rhetorical matters since his purpose was first to determine the synod's existence (a 'matter of fact'), and second to establish its doctrinal content. We thus find a concept of 'place' suitable for Fuller's simultaneously geographic and linguistic understanding of territory, and one which carried within it a characteristically Fullerian sense of probabilism and equivocation.

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[67] Hutson, *Circumstantial Shakespeare*, 2. Though Hutson here restricts 'circumstance's' field of operation to 'human action', she recognises elsewhere that it is applicable to both persons and 'situations'.

Fuller was the only author of these three who did not refer to 'matters of place' in terms of 'circumstance'. But as often in the *Pisgah-sight*, this metaphorical association may have been buried only to arise later.[68] For later discussions of 'place', for no apparent reason, insistently invoke the rhetorical context. In a much later chapter discussing the Wilderness of Paran, Fuller discusses the Kenites, an obscure people descended from Moses's father-in-law, who offered succour to David during his persecution by Saul in 1 Samuel 30: 'the *Kenites*, though bound to *Saul* for a late favour received from him, yet protected *Davids* innocence from *Sauls* persecution, their *Cities* being one of *Davids Topicks*, or place *where he haunted*, and whither he sent part of the spoile he had taken from the *Amalekites*' (*PS*, II.60). Here, Fuller bypasses the English translation of 1 Samuel 30:31 which had been current at least since Wycliffe's Bible: 'these *places*, in which David dwelled and his men'. Instead Fuller looks to the Septuagint's text, 'εἰς πάντας τοὺς τόπους οὓς διῆλθεν Δαυιδ', transliterating the Greek τόποι as his preferred term for 'places'. In doing so, he presents his conception of 'place' with bludgeoning insistence—'topicks' suggested Aristotle's *Topics*, Cicero's *Topica*, and the countless rhetorical and dialectical manuals which were derived from such sources. In the fashion of a good student of rhetoric, place was, for Fuller, a 'topic': a resource of rhetorical invention, and a device for the kind of probabilistic reasoning used in courts of law. The fact that this allusion comes at a point so innocuous and otherwise unembellished is typical of Fuller, and serves to show how fully he was committed to the equivalence of territory and language. But it is crucial to remember that this association arrives first as a perceived threat to his 'moderate' method. In being faced with a binary

[68] Elsewhere, Fuller does emphasise the legal interpretation of 'circumstance', again in the implied context of 'matters of place'. Discussing an exegetical debate on Joel 3:2, which some readers took to imply that the Last Judgement would take place in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Fuller once again demurs: 'waving curious inquiries about the circumstances belonging onely to the Judge [i.e God] to assigne, let us carefully provide our selves for those Assises, the proper work for us to performe' (*PS*, I.294). Fuller's pious remark alludes to the common judicial practice of assizes, in which visiting judges would preside over court sessions in the counties of one of England's judicial circuits. Fuller is comparing himself and his fellow man to the provincial subjects of the judge's, that is God's, verdict.

question on a 'matter of fact', Fuller is forced to negatively define his role: his domain is 'matters of place', conceived of not only as questions of simple geographical location, but also as those of matters which were particularly susceptible to rhetorical technique—indeed, this latter distinction between territory and rhetoric appears not to have existed for Fuller. Though the 'place', or 'topic', of place/*locus* was most often interpreted in the sense of a location at which a 'matter of fact', or action, had occurred, Fuller makes place a 'matter' in itself—a conjectural, equivocal, and yet entirely central concept.[69]

This, then, was for Fuller the role of the 'chorographer' with which he identified himself. As such, a familiar seventeenth-century discipline is subject to subtle re-definition through Fuller's double meaning, a re-definition which is in line with the general tendency of Fuller's work to modify accounts of what cartography could do in the period. Chorography has been seen, since A.L. Rowse's view of 'the Elizabethan invention of England' was published in 1950, as a characteristic form of English national identity-formation.[70] As such chorography has been prevailingly read, even in its European and Latinate contexts, as consisting of work by a chorographer describing their 'own' nation.[71] This is

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[69] On this standard interpretation of the topics as 'surrounding' an action, see Michael C. Leff, 'The Topics of Argumentative Invention in Latin Rhetorical Theory from Cicero to Boethius', *Rhetorica* 1.1 (1983) 23-44, here 27: 'In a rhetorical *causa*, the issue must concern persons and their actions, for without these elements, there would be no material for dispute. Thus, when rhetorical argument is considered at the broadest, most general level, its subject matter consists of persons and acts'.

[70] Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth: the Structure of Society*, Macmillan, 1950, 31ff.. Foundational studies of chorography include Rowse's; Helgerson's, and McRae's, cited in the introduction. Chorography has also received a more recent flurry of attention, with works including John M. Adrian, *Local Negotiations of English Nationhood, 1570-1680*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011; Andrew McRae, 'Early Modern Chorographies', in *Oxford Handbooks Topics in Literature*, Oxford UP, 2013; Angus Vine, 'Travel and Chorography', in *A Handbook of English Renaissance Literary Studies*, ed. John Lee, Wiley Blackwell, 2017, 411-25; Vine, 'Chorography and Antiquarian Compilation', in *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organisation of Knowledge*, Oxford UP, 2019, 93-124.

[71] McRae, 'Early Modern Chorographies', notes, e.g., that Camden's *Britannia* was written in Latin to show 'his intention to engage with a European readership of intellectuals, situating the nation within a pan-European narrative of civilization', but situates the bulk of his discussion within familiar parameters of localised 'nationhood'. The theoretical foundations of this assumption are outlined in Vine, 'Travel and Chorography', 412, where Henry Lefèbvre's theory of the 'social

clearly not Fuller's main intention in calling himself a 'chorographer', given his extramural subject matter. Nevertheless, Fuller does frequently align himself with more localised chorographic projects, especially Camden's *Britannia*. When he espouses 'plain style', he does so by claiming that Canaan is already too fertile for abundant rhetoric, and that 'lean pens are fittest to describe fat Countries' (I.6); but he also marginally cites Camden's description of County Armagh as a familiar analogue for this extreme territorial fecundity. Likewise, Fuller's index of places appended to the *Pisgah-sight*'s conclusion included—in a column alongside place names in English and transliterated Hebrew, scriptural references, and longitudes and latitudes—names of English towns taken from the *Britannia*: 'to fix the Hebrew names the better in our memory, we have here, and there (as the propriety of our language, and commodities of our Countrey will admit) inserted some English Townes, as *Synonyma's,* and parallel to the Hebrew in signification' (II.[203]). Indeed, Camden is one of Fuller's most-cited contemporary sources, repeatedly providing analogous territorial information to various unfamiliar features of Canaan.[72]

Fuller, then, clearly intended to enrol himself in the same tradition as England's most famous antiquary. But his terms of engagement with Camden and chorography can only be fully seen in light of his work outside of the *Pisgah-sight*. In *The Holy State,* his early, miscellaneous collection of short essayistic pieces on public and private 'holiness', Fuller puzzlingly included a short biography of Camden, in which the terms of praise are revealing of Fuller's own priorities. These priorities, in turn, offer a possible reason for why Fuller correlated the ambiguous phrase 'matters of place' with his role as a 'chorographer'. Fuller's first point of praise is, perhaps predictably, Camden's ability to re-

production of space' is invoked: the assumption is that each individual society creates its 'own space', hence the localist emphasis of chorography.

[72] Camden is cited at I.79, I.86, I.172, I.192, I.323, I.423, II.81, II.164, II.183.

summon missing places from Roman Britain, just as Fuller would try to do for contemporary Palestine. He again couches this praise in legal terms: 'it is most worthy observation [*sic*] with what diligence he inquired after ancient places, making Hue and Crie after many a City which was run away, and by certain marks and tokens pursuing to find it'.[73] That Fuller thinks this partial aspect of Camden's project was 'most worthy' of commendation reflects what would become his own focus of enquiry in the *Pisgah-sight* and the *Worthies*—the recovery of ancient cities and places which had 'run away'. But what Fuller goes on to praise is even more indicative of his view of chorography's virtues in relation to his own project:

> let none tax him for presumption in conjectures where the matter was doubtfull; for many probable conjectures have stricken the fire, out of which Truths candle hath been lighted afterwards. Besides, conjectures, like parcells of unknown ore, are sold but at low rates: If they prove some rich metall, the buyer is a great gainer; if base, no looser, for he payes for it accordingly.[74]

Fuller here praises not only the fact that Camden was willing to make conjectures (a fairly common theme in contemporary historical writing), but also the effect which these conjectures had—that of 'kindling' future aims at accuracy, not necessarily being accurate themselves.[75] This is to say that for Fuller, the correctness of Camden's conjectures was immaterial (or rather, following the metaphor, it didn't matter what kind of material they were); what mattered to him was the rhetorical and epistemological form of conjecture, and its ability to 'moderately' suggest the truth, or provoke truth-bearing enquiry, without fully committing to it. There is a subtle turn here, away from the chorographer as a 'judge of the facts', towards an idea that the chorographer would, in Bacon's words, 'point the way, but not go it'.

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[73] Fuller, 'The Life of M^r^. W. Cambden', in *The Holy State*, Cambridge: for John Williams, 1642, 145-8, here 146. Fuller refers to the 'hue and cry', the ancient common law practice whereby criminals could be apprehended by all available private citizens as they attempted to 'run away'.

[74] Fuller, *Holy State*, 147.

[75] For the role of conjecture in seventeenth-century historical writing, including chorography, see Shapiro, *Probability and Certainty*, 150-1.

This is similar to Fuller's own defence of conjecture in cartography at the very beginning of the *Pisgah-sight*:

> The bowels of the best Mappes are puffed up with the humours of fancy, and a scepticall windinesse, so that a conjecturall Earthquake shakes the foundations of the strongest mountains, in the point of their exact situation. Such are the irreconcileable differences betwixt Geographers in their descriptions. [...] If all conjecturall results should be cast out for weeds, few hearbs would be left in the Gardens of most Arts and Sciences. Saint *Paul* hath a passage, *We know in part, and prophecy in part;* which is a good curb for our curiosity: And the same Apostle hath a precept, *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good;* which is as good a spurre for our diligence.
>
> (*PS*, I.2)

Here, Fuller's textual understanding of territory, his espousal of moderation, and his interest in conjecture as an epistemological style come together. Easy to dismiss as 'wit', the image of the 'conjecturall Earthquake' is an early instance of Fuller's reading natural phenomena as containing within themselves notions of linguistic doubt and equivocation. While the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah resembled an anagram, the direction of the metaphor changes here, as conjecture and scepticism come to resemble wind and earthquakes. Furthermore, Fuller develops his idea of conjecture into a vehicle for the 'agreement between extremes'. The coupled Pauline citations (1 Cor. 13:9; 1 Thes. 5:21) indicate that conjecture could simultaneously limit overweening epistemological ambition and provoke careful, 'diligent' enquiry. The prose itself reflects this balancing of extremes: the quotations from Paul mirror each other's rhythm, each consisting of two clauses surrounding a central caesura; Fuller's short introductions to and glosses of each of these quotations are exactly syntactically parallel—prosodic balance here becomes expressive of the middle way.[76]

[76] For the various ways in which syntactic paralleling could relate ideas and conceptual units to one another, as well as a review of earlier work on the topic, see Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose*, Cambridge UP, 1968, 96-140.

The superabundance of 'scepticall windinesse' in cartographical matters thus meant that as (arguably) sacred geography's central form of enquiry, conjecture was a means of 'moderating' the allure of both overhasty truth-claims and crippling doubt; it was able to suggest many possible valid territorial arrangements but to affirm none of them fully—conjecture was a thus a device for pseudo-sceptical *epoché*.[77] Just as in Fuller's praise of Camden, what matters to him here is the *form* of conjecture; that is, the type of thought that conjecture represents and provokes, rather than its potential truth-content. That Fuller understood this epistemological form of conjecture to inhere in the territory itself allowed him to import a fundamentally provisional quality into his maps, eschewing the '*tabula nova et accuratissima*' paradigm which pervaded much of the period's mapping, and which Adrichem claimed for his *Theatrum*. Fuller read all geographical data as fundamentally ambiguous, and accordingly offered non-metaphorical maps as textual artefacts which attempted to moderate multiple, equally valid images of Canaan.

Fuller, then, developed an understanding of 'chorography' which put special stress on the discipline as a textual enterprise, and on its use of conjecture as a simultaneously rhetorical and epistemological tool for 'moderation'. This understanding of conjecture and the generative potential inherent in a willingness to risk error seems to have impressed itself as characteristically Fullerian—in both a literary and a psychological sense—on even his earliest readers. Fuller's anonymous biographer of 1661, writing on Fuller's 'Books, which we usually call the Issue of the Brain', took care to refigure any errors in Fuller's writings as consisting of profound methodological value, just as in Fuller's own reading of Camden's conjectures:

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[77] *epoché* was a concept in Pyrrhonian skepticism defined by Sextus Empiricus as 'the state of the intellect on account of which we neither deny nor affirm anything'. It would produce, in turn, the state of *ataraxia*, or 'untroubled and tranquil condition of the soul'. See Sextus Empiricus, trans. Benson Mates, *The Skeptic Way: Sextus Empiricus's Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, Oxford University Press, 1996, 89-90. The irenic implications of *ataraxia* would clearly have appealed to Fuller's 'moderate' sympathies, and puts a positive slant on Fuller's image of 'sceptical windinesse'.

> True it is they did not grow up without some errours, like the Tares: nor can the most refined pieces of any of his Antagonists boast of perfection. He that goes an unknown and beaten Track in a Dubious way, though he may have good directions, yet if in the journey he chance to stray, cannot well be blamed; they have perchance plowed with his Heifer, and been beholden to those Authorities (for their Exceptions) which he first gave light to.[78]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the biographer's image for Fuller's willingness to unabashedly rely on conjecture was taken from the agricultural stock conventionally associated with nationally-oriented chorography—it was also a reference to the then-proverbial imagery of Judges 14:18.[79] But what is most revealing in this passage is the calculated ambiguity in the phrase 'Dubious way'. 'Way', suggesting distantly the familiar sense of 'manner', is just vague enough to suggest that dubiety is not merely an affectation of Fuller's prose; rather, it is an 'Issue of the Brain', in a more holistic sense of 'moderate' doubt which inflected every aspect of Fuller's career and literary personality. As I initially suggested, and hope to have partially indicated in this section, 'moderation' and its associated epistemological tropes were a feature of Fuller's literary, cartographic, and biographical 'style' (very like a *habitus*), by which he aligned himself with a broad and eclectic range of disciplines. In the next section, I will more explicitly show how Fuller, in a fashion very different to Bacon and Burton, fashioned his literary *persona* through a moderate understanding of geographical methods and the various disciplinary approaches through which he tackled Canaan, invoking the vocabulary of philosophical eclecticism to do so.

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[78] *Life of that reverend divine,* 73-4.

[79] See Judges 14:18: 'And the men of the city said unto him on the seventh day before the sun went down, What is sweeter than honey? And what is stronger than a lion? and he said unto them, If ye had not plowed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle.'

V— 'Look one way, and work another': Dialogue, Philology, and the Refusal of Decision

I have offered a range of examples showing that Fuller's moderation was, for his contemporaries, variously attributable to his prose style, his political positioning, and his self-constructed amiable character: in short, that his moderation constituted a broad personal 'style', which permeated both his literary and cartographic endeavours.[80] Diarmaid MacCulloch, writing of Richard Hooker (about whom Fuller had written and whom he cautiously admired), notices a similar 'moderation' in Hooker's 'personal style' which is gleaned variously from reports of his behaviour, theological positioning, and his style of prose-writing.[81] 'Style', it seems, was a matter of holistic literary and behavioural conduct, and in this a means of selling oneself to fellow-peacemakers in times of controversy.[82] Much of this thesis's concern has been with the praise of geography as conducive to a generally prudential way of living, and Fuller's 'moderate' geographical thought pushes this view into a new and exceptionally prominent aspect. Here I turn to a section of the *Pisgah-sight* in which Fuller defends his 'style' by combining personal re-description, methodological disquisition, and disciplinary claim-staking, all mediated through a discussion of geographical problems. As his career witnesses, Fuller was most articulate about his methods of dealing with books and men when in agonistic contention with detractors both real and imagined. The final, 'objections answered' section of the *Pisgah-sight*—staged as a dialogue between the antagonist 'Philologus' and 'Aletheius', Fuller's avatar for himself as scholar-cartographer—moves this *agon* into a fictional and disputational world. This dialogue, other than being

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[80] For lionising images of Fuller's 'moderate' literary personality, see Dean Belden Lyman, *The Great Tom Fuller*, California UP, 1935; Jessie Childs, 'The Great Tom Fuller', *History Today* 72.6 (2022), 44.

[81] Fuller gave an account of the debate between Hooker and Walter Travers over the nature of the Roman Church in *Church-history*, II.213-19, and here praised Hooker for his wisdom and peaceability. See MacCulloch, 'Richard Hooker's Reputation', *English Historical Review* 117 (2002): 773-812, here 791: '[Hooker's] moderation was important. That had been part of his literary self-image, and undoubtedly it formed an authentic part of his personal style in life. [...] It was particularly useful for the Laudians to celebrate the moderate style and measured learning of Hooker'.

[82] For more on this personal aspect of prose-style, especially in the context of 'Anglicanism', see Joan Webber, *The Eloquent "I": Style and Self in Seventeenth Century Prose*, Wisconsin UP, 1968.

seen as quintessentially 'Fullerian', has received no sustained attention in criticism until recently.[83] This is despite its unequalled statements of Fuller's principles in application to specific problems of scholarship, in counterpoint with a wealth of abstract and eloquent methodological reflection.

Before the dialogue begins, Fuller delivers a characteristically balanced account of his reasons for its inclusion. Citing an anecdote about Plato's demand to be administered 'Physick' *hos philosophon*—as a philosopher who needs to know why and how he is being cured—Fuller suggests that:

> In like manner it seemeth unreasonable for Map-makers, here to plant a wood, there mount a hill, here to sink a valley, there to run a river in their draughts; and then magisterially obtrude all these on the beliefe of an ingenuous Reader, without giving a particular account how the same are conformable to Nature and true Geography.
>
> (*PS*, II.143)

Contemporary maps were accused of being 'full of affected extravagancies': 'must [the cartographers'] fancies draw up the forms for other mens judgments to subscribe?' (143); they stood in need of justification or removal. But Fuller immediately draws back from this reasoning. As a moderating counterweight to the requirement for explanation, he issues a defence of cartographic liberty: 'on the other side it seems not onely an ungentile harshness, but an unconscionable injustice, strictly to exact a reason for every *Puntillo* in a Map. Gally-slaves would be in a more freer [*sic*] condition then Geographers, if thus dealt with' (143). Playingly defending a supposedly wanton curvature in an imagined map of the river Meander in Phrygia, Fuller distances his project in disciplinary terms from the aristocratic surveys undertaken by sixteenth and seventeenth century gentlemen, as discussed in chapters above: 'let the Stewards of Lords Courts, or rather Bailifes of Gentlemens Manors know

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[83] See Bailey, *Life of Fuller*, 482; Flynn Allott, 'The Fate of Philologus: Learning and Prattle in Early Modern Religious Dialogue', *The Seventeenth Century* (2024, early access), 1-28.

each nook of a wood, corner of a field, reach of a River within so small a compass' ([144]).[84] It is the dialectical and dialogic exchange between these two positions—that a map-maker must justify their choices on the one hand; that a map cannot be expected to be entirely free of 'fanciful' conjecture on the other—that dictates what proceeds, as Fuller attempts to show that his scholarship and cartography is in keeping with 'what the Readers discretion can rationally expect' ([144]).[85]

Philologus is intended to represent the antithesis to Fuller's method in the *Pisgah-sight*, a method which, as we have seen, relied on doubt, 'moderate' conjecture, and the offer of multiple solutions to exegetical cruces. Indeed, this latter method of suggesting various, equally plausible answers to a problem is presented in Anthony Grafton's authoritative biography of Joseph Justus Scaliger as a 'bad habit' which the earliest 'philologists' banished from the discipline.[86] A characteristic example of Fuller's distinction of his own methods from those of Philologus occurs in a particularly thorny discussion of the tribe of Simeon:

> *Phil.* Why call you this Tribe *a jagged remnant,* being as *whole a cloth* as the rest, and (though not so great) as entire as the other Tribes? I am not sensible by this your Map of any notorious *dispersedness* of the *Simeonites* habitations.
>
> *Aleth.* Undoubtedly *Iudah* his portion made many incisures, and lancinations into the Tribe of *Simeon* hindering the entireness thereof. [...] But, wanting certain instructions, how to contrive, and carry on such indented conveyances, and not willing to confine the Reader to our conjecturall fancies, we have left him to his liberty, presenting *Simeon* entire, wherein he may frame such incursions of *Iudah* as comply best with his own opinion.

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[84] Page 144 is incorrectly paginated as 136 in the 1650 edition in all copies I have consulted.

[85] The appeal to what readers can 'rationally expect' seems to allude to the notion of 'moral certainty' with which mid-century English divines solved problems of the certainty of religious belief: 'moral certainty' was commonly figured as the type of certainty which 'any rational man could expect' for a given situation. See, for an account of this problem's importance for post-Baconian intellectual culture, Henry G. Van Leeuwen, *The Problem of Certainty in English Thought, 1630-1690*, Martinus Nijhoff, 1970.

[86] Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Justus Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols., Clarendon Press, 1983-93, vol. 1, 20.

(*PS*, II.164)

Aletheius is given a 'philologist's' appraisal of his map of Simeon. Philologus is concerned that Fuller's map does not reflect the numerous violations of territorial integrity perpetrated in Simeon's demesne by Judah and acknowledged in Fuller's description; Philologus demands a distinctly mapped version of the events apparent in scripture. But Aletheius is not interested in having his name enrolled in a later generation's cartographic *apparatus criticus*. In the absence of absolute locations given for these incursions in the Bible, he is willing to let another reader make Judah's 'lancinations' privately. In leaving the precise situation of these territorial incursions to the informed reader's judgement, Fuller/Aletheius is performing a version of Grafton's 'bad habit'—he refuses to make an authoritative, un-caveated conjecture, and leaves his readers to decide the best option.

This type of anti-'philological' self-justification is everywhere in the dialogue. Even when introducing personal conjecture, Fuller hedges his suggestions so completely as almost to disown them. Discussing his situation of the city Antipatris within the limits of Manasseh, Aletheius is characteristically self-effacing about his personal view: 'if I might interpose mine own opinion, I conceive it many miles nearer unto *Jerusalem* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, rather nigh then on the sea, in the road betwixt *Jerusalem*, and *Cesarea*, some thirty miles from the former; whither I shall remove the same, when my opinion herein shall be countenanced with the approbation of others' (II.160). There is no mention of this opinion in the description of the tribe of Ephraim, nor on the attendant map; Fuller buries it in the self-defensive closing sections of the work. Immediately following his half-suggestion, Fuller is more reflective on his method when pondering whether the city of Rama belonged to the Levites: 'we define nothing positively, much less impose it on the beliefe of others. Clipt money is worth as much as it weighs, though it will not pass for what it was coined, and conjectures, though they will not goe for certain truths, deserve to finde as much acceptance, as they

bring probability with them' (II.161). Fuller used the analogy of money made defunct in a process known as 'clipping'—the shaving of a coin's edge either in the process of counterfeiting new money or officially carried out in order to mark the coin's non-current status—and thus becoming valuable only by metallic weight, as a model for a form of conjecture freed from reputational or external authority.[87] As Fuller's biographer would later observe, the problem was not conjecture *per se*, for conjecture could be very useful, or at least as useful as its evidential probity allowed; the problem was an over-hasty, immoderate demand for certainty in conjecture which some scholars not dissimilar to Philologus took upon themselves.[88]

I have elsewhere traced the fortunes of Philologus as a stock character across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: beginning with Seneca the Younger's archetype of *aliquis philologus*, or a dust-driving scholar who was hopelessly addicted to unedifying *trivia* in his scholarly practice, the name Philologus wavered in its significance between 'the Lover of God's Word' (*philo-logos,* cf. Romans 16:15) and a hopelessly pedantic, arrogant figure which Thomas Lodge translated as both 'him who would know everything' and 'love-prattle' (*philo-logoi*).[89] As the seventeenth century progressed, Philologus came to be associated distinctly with 'philology' as a learned practice, whose use and abuse by heretical scholars (most notoriously Hobbes and Spinoza) gave it a new and uncomfortable aura of atheism.[90] Fuller's Philologus, as a parody of this overweening type of learning which grasps too

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87 On the use of the 'clipping' metaphor and its early modern currency, see Anny Crunelle-Vanrigh, 'Coming to a Head: Ragozine as Pirate Money in Act 4 Scene 3 of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*', *Cahiers Élisabéthains* 81.1 (2016): 83-90.

88 On conjectural emendation as an individual, 'genius'-based activity, which often served to ballast the *emendator*'s reputation, see Grafton, *Joseph Justus Scaliger*, vol. 1, 12-13.

89 Lodge, *The Workes of Lucius Annæus Seneca, both Morrall and Naturall*, London: for William Stansby, 1614, 446. Cf. Allott, 'The Fate of Philologus'. Seneca's 108th Epistle, on different modes of philosophising, is the first instance of the character: see Seneca, *Epistles*, ed. and trans. Richard M. Gummere [1917-25], Harvard UP, 2014, 108.30-32.

90 Cf. Nicholas Hardy, *Criticism and Confession: the Bible in the Seventeenth Century Republic of Letters*, Oxford UP, 2017, 375: 'the various other theological and philosophical heterodoxies which Hobbes and Spinoza articulated created a climate in which previously orthodox scholarly arguments took on a new, irreligious aura'.

hastily at potentially irreligious certainty, leads Fuller occasionally to mock him, raising the character definitively beyond a role as an anonymous vector for expected objections to a more fully realised and semi-comic voice within the *Pisgah-sight*. In the brief section on the tribe of Dan, Philologus offers a remarkably petty objection:

> *Phil.* The faces of the Men which bear the *great bunch of grapes,* are set the wrong way. For being to goe south-east to *Kadesh-barnea,* they look full west to the *Mediterranean sea.*
>
> *Aleth.* You put me in minde of a man, who being sent for to pass his verdict on a *Picture,* (how like it was to the person whom it was to resemble) fell a finding fault with the *frame* thereof (not the *Limners* but the *Ioiners* work) that the same was not handsomely fashioned. In stead of giving your judgment on the Map, (how truely it is drawn to represent the Tribe) you cavill at the *History-properties* therein, the act of the *Graver,* not *Geographer.* Yet know Sir when I checkt the *Graver* for the same, he answered me that it was proper for *Spies,* (like Water-men and Rope-makers) for surety sake *to look one way and work another.*
>
> (*PS*, II.163)

Philologus objects here to a minute feature of Fuller's map—the facial orientation of the spies who collected grapes when Moses sent them to inspect the Holy Land in Numbers 13. But Aletheius's answer is even more disarming to Philologus's line of enquiry than a mere accusation of pedantry. Aletheius accuses Philologus of possessing a poor, even philistinic understanding of the craft of map-making: how could such a learned disputant possibly be ignorant of the different roles played by a map's original sketcher and its engraver? And with a flourish, Fuller conjures a scene of witty badinage with his Waltham friend Robert Vaughan (who is cited as the 'Graver' in the margin), rendering the objection altogether a moot point. Unlike Bacon, who in the *Valerius Terminus* mocked the arbitrary decorations of cartographers who were unsure of their subject,[91] Fuller saw these fantastical ornaments as inherent in his vision of cartographic practice which would allow wittily for some imprecision stemming from a long-sighted focus on one's ultimate ends.

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[91] See above, 91.

Reading Philologus in the *Pisgah-sight*, then, as in part a representative of the absolute pursuit of certainty in a particular scholarly discipline, we begin to notice his peculiar manner of misreading. Through a motley method of deflection, denigration, and witty quibbling, Aletheius rebuffs the objections of Philologus as erring not just in their local content, but in their basic formulation. In its broadest contours, the vision of the *Pisgah-sight* advanced by Fuller/Aletheius is of a book which, ultimately, attempts to defer judgement on questions both crucial and trivial unless absolutely necessary. Fuller shows his working, and is humble in the face of the unsolvable—this is a practice evidently alien to Philologus and the various scholarly resonances his name carried with it. Simeon's ambiguous territory is offered *in toto* for the reader's consideration; a range of views as to the location of Antipatris and Rama are offered, with no undue authority given to any of them; even the embellishing manoeuvres of Vaughan's labour as engraver are left unconcealed. In this respect, 'Aletheius' is just as cratylic a name as 'Philologus'. The Greek *aletheia* derives from a negative form of the root *leth-*, denoting forgetting: *a-leth-* implied an act of non-forgetting.[92] This urge not to forget is an animating thought in Fuller's maximalist vision of Biblical scholarship. Through an irenic commitment to the 'moderate' marshalling of available evidence, Fuller saw one of his primary duties as the preservation of relevant material, and an unwillingness to jettison the valuable contributions of forgoing scholars, even at the expense of personal opinion. For Fuller, the over-hasty attribution of certainty to any crux of interpretation was a disservice to the busy scholarly archive. The records of Fuller's convivial life—his patient attendance on the circular stories of elderly parisioners; his preaching a sermon for the exiled court at Oxford which was so willing to entertain a variety of perspectives that it put him in personal danger with the King's more zealous followers—thus attest

[92] For a detailed analysis of this etymological root and its constellation of associated terms in the context of Homeric poetry, see Gregory Nagy, *Homeric Questions*, Texas UP, 1996, 122-128.

to a 'style', a *habitus* of 'truthful' [*a-letheius*], epistemologically diligent moderation in the face of theologically and confessionally fraught *varietas*.[93] In conclusion, I will offer a philosophical precedent for Fuller's long-popular *habitus*, which he himself positively attributed to his work, and is distinctly mid-century.

VI—Conclusion: The Eclectic habitus

As alluded to above, Fuller's most notorious agonistic dialogue was not a fictional one. Four years after the publication of the *Church-history*, Fuller was chastised at length in print by the irascible divine Peter Heylyn, who took to task almost every line of Fuller's huge book for a supposed set of errors in both historical accuracy and method.[94] The debate was also over moderation. Heylyn, a defender of Laudian principles long after their decline, believed that Fuller was, by all observables, a low-church puritan. He scornfully called Fuller 'the Moderator', accusing him of 'trimming' his views to accommodate the prejudices of the waning commonwealth: 'it seems, that our Author never meant to frame his History by the line of truth, but to attemper it to the palat of the present Government, whatsoever it then was, or should prove to be, which I am sure agrees not with the Laws of History'.[95] As Robert Mayer has suggested, for Heylyn all claims to 'moderation' were a disingenuous screen for various forms of party-pleasing: 'the author of the Church-History was a man in the middle, whereas for Heylyn no middle seems to have existed. This difference between the two men was reflected in their dispute: Fuller sought to conciliate, but Heylyn revelled in controversy'.[96]

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[93] For the latter anecdote (for which the provoking sermon is now lost), in which Fuller was portrayed as a 'Lukewarm Royalist', see *Life of that reverend divine,* 23-4.

[94] Heylyn, *Examen Historicum, or, a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities, and Defects in some Modern Histories*, London: For Henry Seile and Richard Royston, 1659.

[95] Heylyn, *Examen*, sig. B7^{r}.

[96] Mayer, 'Heylyn *contra* Fuller', 5.

Fuller did not let Heylyn's attack go unanswered, publishing in the same year his *Appeal of Iniured Innocence*, a point-by-point refutation of Heylyn's book in which Fuller replied in kind to Heylyn's designation of him as 'the Moderator', renaming Heylyn in a decidedly less barbed fashion as 'the Animadvertor', or the author of the recognisable adversarial genre of 'Animadversions'.[97] As with the dialogue in the *Pisgah-sight*, it is in the *Appeal* that Fuller offers some of his most definitive articulations of his methods and positions. In one place, Fuller figures Heylyn much like Philologus, replying grumpily to one of his more pedantic objections: 'What, not a Plait or a Ruffle more or less but all must be done in Number, Waight, and Measure! according to Historicall criticisme!'[98] But there is another instance in which Fuller, defending himself against accusations of 'Party-pleasing', actively espouses an existing doctrine as fitting for his whole historical enterprise, in a fashion relatively uncommon in his work:

> As for *pleasing* of *Parties,* I never *Designed* or *Endevoured* it. There were a kind of *Philosophers,* called *ELECTICI,* which were of *none,* yet of *all Sects,* and who would not *engage in gross* in the *Opinions* of any *Philosophers,* but did *pick* and *choose* here and there, what they found *Consonant* to *Truth,* either amongst the *Stoicks, Peripateticks, Academicks,* or (misinterpreted *Epicures,*) *receiving* that, and *rejecting* the rest; such my *Project* to *commend* in all *Parties* what I find *praise-worthy,* and *condemne* the *rest*; on which Account, some *Fleer,* some *Frown,* none *Smile* upon me.[99]

These 'Electici'—who were more commonly termed the 'eclectics', from the Greek *ek-legein,* to choose or pick out—were a recently-defined philosophical movement, in whom interest was re-emergent in the seventeenth century after a period of dormancy.[100] Two years before Fuller published the *Appeal*,

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[97] Fuller, *The Appeal of Iniured Innocence, unto the Religious Learned and Ingenuous Reader in a Controversie betwixt the Animadvertor, Dr. Peter Heylyn, and the Author, Thomas Fuller*, London: for John Williams, 1659. On 'Animadversions' as a genre, see Nicholas von Maltzahn, 'Adversarial Marvell', in *The Cambridge Companion to Andrew Marvell*, eds. Derek Hirst and Stephen Zwicker, Cambridge UP, 2011, 174-93.

[98] Fuller, *Appeal*, 36.

[99] Fuller, *Appeal*, 10.

[100] The most comprehensive history of eclecticism remains Michael Albrecht, *Eklektik: eine Begriffsgeschichte mit Hinweisen auf die Philosophie- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Frommann-Holzboog, 1994. Other useful studies include Ulrich Schneider, 'Eclecticism and the History of Philosophy', in Donald R. Kelley (ed.), *History and the Disciplines: The*

Gerardus Vossius had published a second edition of his work *De philosophorum sectis liber* (1657), which compiled various accounts of philosophical sects taken from Diogenes Laertius. This second edition contained a chapter on one 'secta electiva', who 'did not institute new dogmas, but rather took their dogmas from others'; this mysterious sect argued that 'out of all those old wise men, no one man could wholly perceive the truth', which could not be denied if one scrutinised the history of the sects.[101] Vossius's work, as Ulrich Schneider has argued, gave definite philosophical identity to the mysterious 'sect of Alexander' mentioned by Diogenes, and re-invigorated eclecticism as a philosophical option for the later seventeenth century, allowing early modern thinkers to ascribe 'retrospective ubiquity' to eclectic thought in the history of philosophy, even where eclecticism was not actively espoused.[102]

Fuller saw in eclecticism an ideal philosophical formulation for his desire to preserve the findings of past scholarship in his service of 'truth'. By simply choosing 'what was consonant to truth' (not what was in itself 'the truth'), Fuller ensured that all worthwhile thought was retained: we have seen that in the *Pisgah-sight*, Fuller adhered to this principle even when this past thought was ambiguous or even contradictory. Any information 'consonant' not internally, but to a broad external concept of 'truth', was relevant. The distribution of philosophical authority implicit in eclecticism would also have appealed to Fuller: Vossius had observed that 'no one man could perceive the whole truth'. Like Burton and (in a different sense) Bacon, Fuller's model of authority was accumulative, gaining traction

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Reclassification of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe, Rochester UP, 1997, 83-102; idem, 'The Problem of Eclecticism in the History of Philosophy', *Intellectual History Review* 26.1 (2016): 117-29; Donald R. Kelley, 'Eclecticism and the History of Ideas', *Journal for the History of Ideas* 62.4 (2001): 577-92; see esp. on eclecticism as a holistic and lived 'style' William Poole, 'Early Modern Eclecticism', *Critical Quarterly* 52.4 (2010): 12-22. Recent intellectual history has downplayed the breadth of eclectisism's influence: see Dmitri Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science: Histories of Philosophy in England, c. 1640-1700*, Cambridge UP, 2015, 5-6, and 337 n. 44 on the invocation of the eclectics as a (relatively insignificant) 'scholarly commonplace'.

[101] Vossius, *De philosophorum sectis liber* [1657], Leipzig: for Johann Caspar Meyer, 1690, 112-14: 'superest secta ἐκλεκτικὴ, si nova est secta dicenda, quae non condit nova dogmata, sed ex aliis sua excerpit. [...] praestantia huius secta ex eo dilucet, quod tanta sit imperfectio humani Intellectus, ut ex vetustis illis sapientibus, nemo potuerit omne verum perspicere. Quod diffiteri non possumus, si animum per omnes sectas diffundamus'.

[102] Schneider, 'Eclecticism and the History of Philosophy', 88; see also idem, 'Problem of Eclecticism', 118-20.

by its assembly of various opinions, rather than the mediating voice of a single dominant *auctoritas*. Fuller would wait for his own opinion on Antipatris to be countenanced by similar accounts before committing to it.

But eclecticism also had a broader relevance to Fuller's 'style', as I hope has been implicit in this chapter. Fuller's 'project'—a term, like 'style', which can be taken to include non-literary productions and *habitus*—was also eclectic in that it borrowed its methods, not only its findings, from a broad spectrum of disciplinary resources. He moved through the language arts, the language of law, the research methods of chorography, and dense thickets of philological scholarship, taking 'what [he] found praise-worthy', and 'condemn[ing] the rest'. It is this aspect of Fuller's geographical work that I suggest is his major contribution to cartographic and literary history. The discipline of sacred geography, and the ever-attractive *habitus* which Fuller drew out from it, is figured in the *Pisgah*-sight as one which roves over the methods of numerous disciplines, choosing out (*ek-legein*) what worked in the construction of a moderate practice of thinking and living. Fuller, pathetically and disingenuously, lamented that 'none smile upon me' for his eclectic moderation: he used scholarship and geography to construct a *persona*, a way of trammeling the mind into recognisable tracks, which at the time caused its own controversy (no doubt to his dismay), but eventually secured his place in a long-loved pantheon of 'moderates'.

With Fuller, too, the turn towards geography as a tool which worked productively with doubt and *varietas* without attempting to curtail it, and thus the intellectual trajectory away from Bacon which is traced in this thesis, becomes clearer. Fuller's avowed goal was not, at least primarily, the advancement of philological learning; rather, he offered a model for how Biblical scholarship and a uniquely contentious form of mapping could be managed in a fashion less prone to salting unhealed

wounds. His was a politically programmatic appeal to the desirability of variety. In the final chapter, John Aubrey, a figure conventionally and somewhat misleadingly seen as 'Baconian', will be shown to have followed on in this commitment to preserving various knowledge, even if it was apparently of no value, as a matter of principle: what's more, this commitment will appear most prominently in his idiosyncratic cartographic practice, and his theory of education which shared much of its language with his discussions of mapping. Coming back to explicit treatments of pedagogy, this thesis ends with Aubrey's proposed reform to education, conducted via a revised version of the humanist praise of the cartographic *habitus*.

Chapter IV—'*Tanquam tabulata naufragii':* John Aubrey's Prospective Prose

I: Introduction

Twice in his *Nachlass* of muddled and messy manuscripts, John Aubrey (1629-97) inserts these lines from Sir John Suckling's erotic poem 'Against Fruition':

> And as in prospects, wee are there pleased most
> Where something keepes the eie from being lost,
> And leaves us roome to guesse:[1]

Both quotations are found in Aubrey's works concerning the topography, natural history, and 'antiquities' of Wiltshire, Aubrey's home county.[2] Suckling's word 'prospect' refers to a cartographic form which Aubrey knew intimately: a 'prospect' was an (often sketched) view taken of a landscape, structure, or settlement from a certain perspective, most often at an acute angle of elevation (*OED*, 'prospect', n. 5). It was involved in a number of disciplines including architecture, painting, and cartography—it served the latter as a preliminary 'view' of territory from which a cartographer could survey local detail.[3] Aubrey's works are filled with his own prospects drawn both in the field of research and in more detail retrospectively; he even produced a complete manuscript album of extremely skilful prospects, complete with rueful epigrams from Ovid's *Tristia*, of his childhood home (which he was forced to sell in 1670) at Easton-Piercy.[4] In the context of Aubrey's citations of

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[1] Bodleian MS Aubrey 2, fol. 55^{v}; MS Aubrey 3, fol. 10^{r}. Suckling's poem first appeared in the posthumous *Fragmenta aurea: A collection of all the incomparable peeces, written by Sir John Suckling*, London: for Humphrey Moseley, 1646. The text here follows the transcribed version in MS Aubrey 3, for reasons of dating discussed below.

[2] Though Aubrey was never clear on settled titles for his works, the catalogue titles for each work are as follows: MSS Aubrey 1&2: *The Naturall Historie of Wiltshire, 1685*; MS Aubrey 3, *An Essay towards the Description of the North Division of Wiltshire, by me John Aubrey of Easton-Pierse*.

[3] See, e.g., John Speed's *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, London, 1627; or Wenceslaus Hollar's *Prospect of London and Westminster, Taken from Lambeth* (c. 1647), BL, Maps, 1926,0617.10.1-4.

[4] MS Aubrey 17: *Designatio de Easton-Piers in Com: Wilts. Per me (heu!) infortunatum Johannem Awbrey R.S. Socium*, 1669. The manuscript is edited in *Aubrey's villa: an edition of Bodleian MS Aubrey 17 Designatio de Easton-Piers in Com: Wilts,* eds. Kate Bennett, Peter Davidson and Kelsey Jackson Williams, The Old School Press, 2018. Aubrey also produced a prose companion to this album, which has unfortunately been lost. See Adam Fox, 'John Aubrey', *ODNB.*

Suckling, however, the word gathers much epistemological and metaphorical force. In his later *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire* (dated 1685, produced c. 1656-91), the lines are given among Aubrey's list of material to insert in the margin of his description of Sir John Danvers's house at Chelsea: 'You did not enter directly out of the Hall into the Garden: there was a low semicircle^-ular wall^, to hinder the immediate pleasure; and totall view primo intuitu'.[5] Here Aubrey imports Suckling's erotic simile (in praise of sexual 'restraint') into a straightforwardly topographical observation: Danvers's ingenious architecture hides just as much as it conceals.

In the *Essay towards the Description of the North Division of Wiltshire* (primarily c. 1671, but composed c. 1659-94), the context is more complex. It occurs in Aubrey's preface to the *Essay*, when discussing the nature of the historical task before him:

> In former daies the Churches and great houses heere-about did so abound wth monum*en*ts and things remarquable that it would have deterred a dust-driver ^antiquarie^ from undertakeing it. But as Pythagoras did guesse at the vastnesse of Hercules stature by the length of his foote ^by wch were meted the Olympick …..^, so among these ruines are Remaynes enough left for a man to give a guesse what noble Buildings &c: were made by the pitty, charity, & magnanimity of our fore-fathers:
>
> S^{r} J: Suckling | "And as in prospects <….>[6]

Here Aubrey converts the topographical and architectural imagery (braced by the familiar anecdote of classical metrological ingenuity) into a comment on his scholarly technique in general.[7] Paucity of

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[5] MS Aubrey 2, fol. 56^{r}. Aubrey's usual *mise-en-page* gives the main, discursive text on the recto page of an opening, with all additions and notes for the margin given on the facing verso page (with many, many exceptions). I have followed a transcription policy of minimal intervention, to preserve the notational, additive qualities of Aubrey's prose. ^...^ usually indicates a word or phrase inserted directly above the preceding word or words, unless it is clear that the inserted words grammatically precede the lower words. Often, it is unclear whether Aubrey meant the inserted words to replace the words below; as such, I will leave both words *in situ* even in the case of grammatical or syntactical incongruency. Other transcriptional conventions will be stated as they appear.

[6] MS Aubrey 3, fol. 10^{r}. I have not lowered any superscript letters; italicised letters have been supplied from Aubrey's contractions (only in cases where the contraction is not a common one). Aubrey made ample use of square brackets, so editorial insertions are surrounded by <...>

[7] The anecdote, first recounted by Plutarch, is from the very first chapter of Aulus Gellius, trans. J.C. Rolfe, *Attic Nights*, Harvard UP, 1927, I.i.1-2.

evidence, like the partial view of topographical arrangements, served as spurs to make a 'guesse' at a more vivid picture of the matter at hand, and as a proportional fragment of an implied whole. As Aubrey proceeds to explain,

> So here the eie & mind is no lesse affected with these stately ruines, then they would have been when standing ^&^ entire. They breed in generous minds a kind of pittie and sett the thoughts aworke to make out their magnificence, ^as they were^ when in perfection. These remains are *tanquam Tabulata Naufragii*, that after the revolution of so many yeares and governm*en*ts, have escaped the teeth of time, and (wch is more dangerous) the hands of ^mistaken^ Zeale.[8]

That the 'prospect' appears as a central metaphor for the prompting activity of striking (yet incomplete) evidence towards the 'eie & mind' is closely relevant to the various conceptions of cartography which this thesis has attempted to outline, and the praise of geography as inculcating a base-level promptness for future thought which the textbooks of my introduction proposed. Like Fuller's busy cartographic archives of geographical data prompting later scholars to decide on a final territorial arrangement, Aubrey's prospects, both metaphorical and actual, consciously played a generative role, fruitfully playing on the other current senses of prospect: 'a mental picture or vista, esp. of something future or expected', or more simply, a 'forethought' (*OED*, n. 6, 7a). But the insistence on these prospects' strikingness—evident in the usually 'brief' Aubrey's frequent lyrical *excursus* when describing his own drawings—brings us back to Bacon's insistence that his initial pseudo-cartographic arrangements of evidence place material *ante oculos mentis*. It is apt that Aubrey describes his sources as *tanquam tabulata naufragii* ('like the planks of a shipwreck'—though the crosscurrents in the noun *tabula* have been explored in Ch. 1): a phrase which had appeared in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, to describe a science unsystematised by the ancients, arriving to the present day in piecemeal.[9] Prospects, for Aubrey, were epistemologically and aesthetically teasing objects. They

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[8] MS Aubrey 3, fol. 10^{r}.

[9] Cf. Bacon, ed. Michael Kiernan, *The Oxford Francis Bacon IV: The Advancement of Learning*, Oxford UP, 2000, 66.

left their viewers wanting to see and know more, while intersecting with erotic language and a prose-style orienting the mind towards a future desire. In the consciously pedagogical rôle given to their operation by Aubrey, we encounter yet one more view of how mapping as an educational tool worked with a peculiar conception of the mind and its conditioning.

In this chapter, I will indicate how Aubrey's prose—a clipped, notational, and generally pragmatic style which lapses into 'vividness' or lyrical meditation when he intends his reader to be especially mindful of potential future research—is in this sense 'prospective'. In tandem with his cartographic productions, Aubrey wrote to fulfil his role as what Kate Bennett has termed a 'hint-keeper': an archivist of interesting 'hints' at future discoveries or theses, which when Aubrey handled them were 'not yet put "to use", nor [were] they yet written up into a completed work by the more eloquent imaginary young man whom he now and again would blurrily envision as perfecting his work or even translating it into Latin'.[10] Aubrey's self-assumed rôle as a *cos*, or whetstone, for the more consistent researchers of his day, is well known:[11] it is the function of this chapter to illustrate how this element of his life and work was consciously inflected by his mapping-practice, and to show the extent to which the extremely provisional quality of Aubrey's prose style, literary productions, and cartographic style bring the assumptions made by the authors previously considered to a point of great concentration. For Bennett's description of Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, which is relatively light on geographical material, could equally apply both to Aubrey's work on prospects, and to the conception of cartography I have been trying to describe:

> *Brief Lives* is the most fluid of texts, engaged in the process of the making of knowledge through the exchange of 'hints', rather than the presentation of

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[10] Kate Bennett, 'John Aubrey, Hint-Keeper: Life-Writing and the Encouragement of Natural Philosophy in the pre-Newtonian Seventeenth Century', *The Seventeenth Century* 22.2 (2007), 358-80, 376.

[11] See, e.g., Michael Hunter, *John Aubrey and the Realm of Learning*, London: Duckworth, 1975, 63 and *passim*.

> 'principia' or definitive, demonstrated ideas [...] The *Lives* offer [...] the whetstone of 'ingeniose converse'; in particular the kind of converse which was unsuitable for official record, or for print, because it was too fragmentary, too indiscreet, or a 'hint' of a potentially greater idea which had 'darted' into an inventive mind.[12]

'Printed' or not, the notion of mapping taken on by the authors considered in this thesis, and used as a touchstone for their own intellectual biases, was certainly 'fragmentary', by no means 'definitive', and most often intended to produce future writing and thinking. It is my contention in this chapter that Aubrey's copious, minutely fragmented corpus of 'prospective' writings represents a final point of contact between a particular mode of cartography and a distinctive canon of prose-writing.

II: Adding, Editing, Prospecting: Reading Aubrey's Topographies

Surveying Aubrey's geographical works chronologically would be a lost cause. As indicated in the dating above, the production of most of Aubrey's works spanned a near forty-year period of germination, re-transcription, and revision.[13] The preface to the *Essay* dates an initial meeting between 'Gentlemen at ye Devises' in Wiltshire in 1659, during which Aubrey was tasked with part of a projected 'Imitation of M^{r} <William> Dugdale's Illustration of Warwickshire',[14] and the preface itself is dated to 1670,[15] but shortly afterwards we encounter insertions from 1683,[16] and we cannot rule out further additions being made up to (and beyond) Aubrey's deposit of the material in the Ashmolean Museum in the mid-1690s.[17] There is a similar story on show in most, if not all, of Aubrey's other material: a storied mid-century beginning, a concentrated period of activity on the bulk of the field-

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[12] Bennett, 'Hint-Keeper', 367-8.

[13] The most fully documented account of Aubrey's collection and retranscription of his scattered notes for deposit in the Ashmolean Museum is that given in Hunter, *John Aubrey*, esp. 82-93.

[14] MS Aubrey 3, fol. 10^{r}

[15] fol. 11a^{v}. There are also additions to the preface from 1680.

[16] A Letter from Aubrey's brother William from 1683 is inserted at fol. 12^{v}.

[17] The Bodleian's catalogue record for the *Essay* has a *terminus ad quem* of 1694, but there are additions beyond this point.

work involved, followed by gradual and repeated revision reaching through to the 1690s. Aubrey himself eloquently described this method of mixing, adding, and recombining, writing in his 1691 preface to the *Perambulation of Surrey* (c.1673-92) that 'The Papers are like Sibyllae folia: and I now sett things downe tumultuarily as ~~they happen to~~ if tumbled out of a Sack, as the <*sic*> come to my hand, mixing Antiquities and Naturall things together.'[18] Aptly, this phrase is itself cribbed from an earlier letter of 1676 from John Evelyn to Aubrey, inserted a few leaves before this in the *Perambulation*: 'S*i*r, my hasty writing will require y*ou*r pardon, I haue sett things down tumultuarily, as they came into my suddain thoughts'.[19] To proceed sequentially through his works is thus near-impossible, given that at any given moment he could have been at work on multiple different projects, and can often be seen to take material from one and insert it into another, referencing Surrey when discussing Wiltshire, longing for Easton-Piercy when surveying ancient monuments, and always collecting biographical material towards the *Brief Lives*.[20]

However, this is not to say that Aubrey's work is a morass of undifferentiated accumulation; rather, it must be divided instead by preoccupation or predominant concern, a path which most book-length treatments of Aubrey have followed.[21] It is in line with these studies that this chapter will proceed. I will begin with the formal features of Aubrey's prospect-drawings and prospect maps in general, especially those which are self-consciously rough, provisional, or preparatory for the work of later times or persons. The text of most relevance here will be Aubrey's unfinished project, the

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[18] MS Aubrey 4, fol. 31^{r} Aubrey alludes to his practice of retranscription in the note to this passage on fol. 30^{v}: 'I shall not take the paines to digest them in better order: which would require the drudgery of another writing ^transcribing^'.

[19] MS Aubrey 4, fol. 29^{r}. See also Aubrey, ed. Kate Bennett, *Brief Lives*, 2 vols., Clarendon Press, 2015, vol. 1, xxxi, 37.

[20] On this combinational, assembled element to Aubrey's work, see Kate Bennett, 'John Aubrey and the Rhapsodic Book', *Renaissance Studies* 28.2, (2014); 317-332.

[21] Hunter, *John Aubrey*, divides his treatment into a consideration of Aubrey's life, his scientific thought, his antiquarian work, and his attitude towards the past and the future; William Poole, *John Aubrey and the Advancement of Learning*, Bodleian Library, 2010, divides Aubrey into even smaller subdivisions of disciplines in which he worked.

Perambulation of Surrey, which began as a short commission and developed into a full-scale county survey. The *Perambulation*'s reputation has suffered due to its abundant focus on church-monuments and heraldry rather than the 'scientific' work of his natural histories and *Monumenta Britannica*, but its structure and use of 'prospective' language and methods is indicative of the skeletal pattern of work which undergirded Aubrey's fuller literary productions. What will emerge from these working methods, as will be developed in the following section, is Aubrey's intent for the prospect to be a *projection*—that is, something to be scaled-up, passed round, and developed into more detailed, accurate, or productive activity. And as with many of the examples considered in this thesis, this projection was allied to a form of prose-writing which itself was 'prospective', both in the literal sense of its many injunctions to future work, and in the imagined effect which its style would have on the reader's mind.

Alongside this material and methodological discussion, a sense of Aubrey's prose-style will develop: in the *Perambulation* and the Wiltshire manuscripts, we encounter an extremely notational and abbreviated mode of writing, which nevertheless effloresces into more impassioned, striking language when Aubrey treats landscapes. Aubrey's insistence that the prospects he draws are 'fine', 'delicate', or 'romantique', and the correspondingly lavish terms in which he writes about them, are further indicators of the generative effect he wished them to have on his readers. The final substantial section of this chapter will return us to the Baconian concerns which were elaborated at this thesis's outset. In Aubrey's writings, we find a marked overlap in tone and diction between his geographical language and his theses on the correct form of education and instruction to produce valuable knowledge. For Aubrey and his contemporaries believed that to set the mind in motion to future action, the Imagination had to be provoked, by way of a particular mental picture being imprinted on the

Memory. This psychological reading of correct educational practice is, we shall see, what allies Aubrey's attitude to writing with his attitude to mapping.

In the course of this chapter, however, I will also show that while Aubrey, like Bacon, saw mapping as something which placed matters *ante oculos mentis*, he met, to a greater extent than Bacon, some of this line of thought's internal contradictions. For the bibliographical state of Aubrey's works, including his maps—unfinished, unpublishable and (still) relatively inaccessible—indicates the limits of accumulating the vivid at the expense of the organised. In Aubrey's practice, there was no end to an initial stage, where interesting material was presented strikingly, and his reluctance to hastily theorise resulted in a series of abortive projects. Perhaps, though, this was inherent in the Baconian project, and the epistemological concept of cartography contained within it. It was, surprisingly, Alasdair MacIntyre who noticed this element of Baconianism in Aubrey's work. Aubrey, MacIntyre wrote, 'understood [Bacon] to have identified facts as collectors' items', and in this respect 'it was he [...] who was being faithful to the letter of Bacon's inductivism', rather than his more theoretically rigorous scientific contemporaries, in his rôle as a 'kind of magpie'.[22] In the endless gesturing at an undefined elsewhere which is expressed in Aubrey's prospects, it is arguable that we find the logical endpoint to one form of Baconianism.

III: The Prospect as Form and the Perambulation of Surrey*: 'Quaere', Notation, Sketch*

Strikingly little critical attention has been explicitly given to the prospect in the history of cartography, and still less to its pre-Enlightenment forms. Generally, the type of mapping that Aubrey called a 'prospect'—the isometric or oblique view of landscape from a certain vantage point—has been

[22] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue* [1981], London: Bloomsbury, 2011, 93.

subsumed under related cartographic modes such as the city view, or the estate map, and is more generally associated with landscape painting rather than mapping; Aubrey, however, saw prospect-making as a necessary part of cartography.[23] This omission is also partly to do with the terminology used on printed maps. The term 'prospect' was used relatively rarely in the seventeenth century in specifically printed cartography; the term came much more markedly to the fore after 1700, with a particularly popular form being the combined sheet depicting an orthogonal city plan, surrounded by a set of prospects of the city from various directions.[24] This relative neglect is in marked contrast to the voluminous work done on the literary form of the 'prospect'—a detached, often poetic observation of some far off point or points, usually seen from a height. Already in 1936, Robert Arnold Aubin had catalogued around three hundred 'Hill-Poems' in his survey of Early Modern topographical poetry, with the titles of many of these poems being some variation on 'Upon a Prospect From…', and though this form, again, came to predominate after the turn of the century, it nevertheless bore many precursors in Aubrey's lifetime.[25] Indeed, Aubrey's own work calls much attention to this form of writing, especially the *Perambulation of Surrey*. In his notes towards the description of Egham, he writes that 'In this parish west & by north (above Runney-meade), is Cowpers-hill, from whence is a noble prospect, incomparably <*sic*> by ^that sweet Swanne^ S^{r} Jo:

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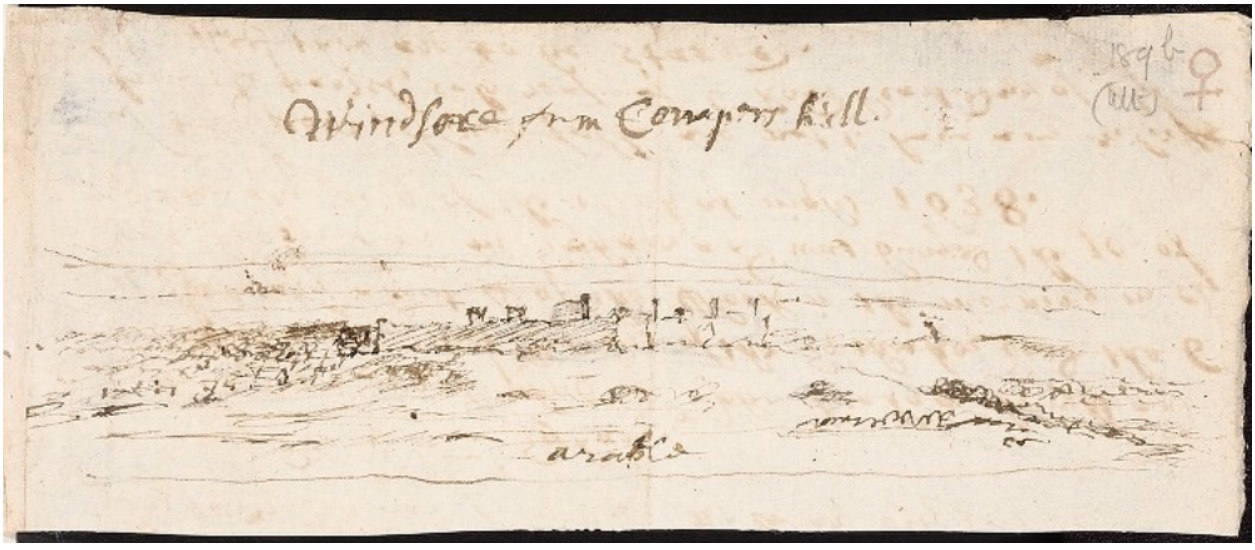
[23] See, e.g., Hilary Ballon and David Friedman, 'Portraying the City in Early Modern Europe: Measurement, Representation, and Planning', in *HOC3*, 680–704; Monique Pelletier, 'Representations of Territory by Painters, Engineers, and Land Surveyors in France during the Renaissance', in *HOC3*, 1522-37. See MS Aubrey 2, fol. 177^{v}, where he gives instructions to a 'surveyor' of Wiltshire 'as to ye Mappe', which include recommendations for where 'prospects' might be taken.

[24] Seventeenth-century exceptions include Hollar's *Prospect of London* (see n. 3 above), and Jonas Moore, *A prospect and map of London, showing the River Thames to Woolwich Reach*, (London, 1662). Some of the more striking eighteenth-century examples of the plan-prospect combination include Johan Homann, *Accurater Prospekt und Grundris der Königl: Gros-Britanisch: Haupt und Residentz Stadt London*, (Nuremberg, 1710); John Basire, *A NEW PLAN OF THE TOWN OF NOTTINGHAM from an Accurate SURVEY by Jn.o Badder & Tho.s Peat.*, (London, 1744), BL Maps K.Top.33.32; Tobias Conrad Lotter, *Castellum Gibraltar in Andalusia situm, cum celebri Freto inter Europam et Africam*, (Augsburg, c. 1770).

[25] Aubin, *Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England*, MLA, 1936, 298-313.

Denham in a Poem [wch peruse]'.[26] Evidently, this self-prompting to 'perusal' was acted upon, given that Aubrey transcribed an extract from the century's pre-eminent prospect poem, John Denham's *Coopers Hill* (1643), and tipped it in at a later date after this note.[27] This insertion is indicative of the recursive self-prompting which Aubrey envisioned in prospects: the prospect itself (that is, the view) prompted Aubrey to remember (and insert) the poem, but the poem itself had already been striking enough to imprint itself upon Aubrey's mind, prompting him to remember it when he was *in situ*. Poetic and 'real' prospects worked together in their provocation of later thought. Aubrey did not, however, stop here, and added in an annotation to his praise of the 'sweet Swanne' that 'Heere is a little draught to this': after the transcribed poem is a small page-stub, its verso crammed with deleted scribblings of notes on Egham, and its recto occupied by an extremely rough prospect-drawing of a landscape with the title 'Windsore from Cowpers-Hill' (Fig. 1).[28]



(Fig. 1. 'Windsore from Cowpers hill', Bodleian MS Aubrey 4, fol. 189b^{r})

[26] MS Aubrey 4, fol. 188^{v}.

[27] MS Aubrey 4., fols. 189a^{r}-a^{v}. The notes on page 188^{v} make no mention of the transcribed poem, which is on a different size and coloured paper to the surrounding sheets.

[28] MS Aubrey 4, fols. 188^{v}; 189b$^{v\text{-}r}$.

These pages capture the form of the Aubreian prospect: Aubrey is struck by a view from a given place in a parish; he meditates on its beauty and calls to mind any associated people or places; and he roughly sketches a small draught of the view, often on the back of what appear to be field-notes.[29] The bibliographical and rhetorical occasionality of these prospects, which most often take this form in the *Perambulation*, is reflective of the persistently notational, provisional, and yet generative dynamic energy in Aubrey's writing, and is worth considering, at the outset, in the broader context of the literary and geographical *agon* in which Aubrey's book first emerged.

In August of 1672, Aubrey wrote to his long-time friend Anthony Wood, during a period of idleness and sickness, with cautious excitement about a new project:

> D^r^ <Christopher> Wren my deare friend, w*i*thout my knowledge contrived an employment for me, wch he referred to me to consider of, & so I shall till Mich*ael*mas Terme. Tis thus: Mr Ogilby is writing the History of all England: the map is mending already. Now the D^r^ told him if that were all, it would be no very great matter, he was pleased to tell him that he could not meet with a fitter man for that turne then [JA]. Now it's true it suits well ^enough^ with my Genius: but he is a cunning Scott & I must deale warily with him with the advice of my friend: It will be Febr: next before I begin & then between that & November following I must curry over all England & Wales.[30]

'Mr Ogilby' was John Ogilby, the Scottish cartographer and translator of Homer who, the year after Aubrey wrote to Wood, would be appointed chief cosmographer to the King, and the year after that, would publish his *Britannia*, the first 'road-atlas', or compendium of the strip-maps showing routes between various important cities in Britain.[31] Aubrey's letter is the relic of both Ogilby's and his own

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[29] Aptly, the portion of notes still legible on the reverse of Aubrey's prospect on fol. 189b^v^ (descenders appear at the top of the stub, indicating that the stub has been cut from a sheet of notes) consists of short pieces of biographical information on Denham. For a letter in which Aubrey is written to about the virtues of making prospects, at the earlier period of the work towards the Surrey collections, see John Hoskins—Aubrey, Aug. 24 1672, MS Aubrey 12, fols. 204r-v: 'Flying prospects are new and instructive for ye maps.'

[30] Bodleian MS Wood F 39, fol. 181^v^.

[31] The most comprehensive intellectual biography of Ogilby, though it contains some historical fabulation, is Alan Ereira, *The Nine Lives of John Ogilby: Britain's Master Mapmaker and his Secrets*, Duckworth, 2016.

grander ambitions for the *Britannia*-project. Aubrey, for a time, believed that Ogilby's work would be a survey of all the 'antiquities' of England and Wales, rather than the more modest collection of route maps which ensued. In September, Aubrey repeated to Wood that 'I am desired to make a survey of all Engl: for Mr Ogilby: wch I shall be well rewarded by him'; and despite 'cautions' from many of his friends that Ogilby was a 'cunning Scott', he persisted in these grandiose plans until the last possible moment.[32] Surrey was to be the first of many counties surveyed, and just before Aubrey was to set out on his perambulation in May 1673, he was still optimistic of a fruitful partnership: 'about a fortnight hence I shall goe on upon Surrey. and when I bring my honey then by that Estimate, my friend & I shall make an agrem*en*t w*i*th Mr Ogilby'.[33] Nevertheless, after he had 'had the pleasantest Pilgrimage that ever any man has had I think since the reformac*io*n' through Surrey in August, with plans to go 'next upon Sussex',[34] in October he sighingly delivered the bad news to Wood:

> I should have told you that on Sunday night M^{r} Og: told me he had altered his mind & he would now make no more use of me, but get w^{t} Scraps he can out of bookes or by hearesay, and will not write above 4 or 5 leaves [at most] of any County. <...> So I have perambulated Surrey to my very great content, and am out of purse besides the 7^{l} I have of him, 4 or 5^{l} at least. God deliver me from such men. Mr Hooke says he will the next Spring bring him about again, but I doe not much care, though I should have been glad to have seene Sussex.[35]

And so, the *Perambulation* had much the same fate as Aubrey's other works; it lay among his papers, occasionally being supplemented with more information and notes, until it was given over to Edward Lhuyd at the Ashmolean.

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[32] MS Wood F 39, fol. 188^{v}; for the various aspersions cast on Ogilby's 'cunning' character, see fols. 181^{v}, 190^{v}, 196^{r}, 206^{v}, 226^{v}, 231^{r-v}.
[33] fol. 210^{r}.
[34] fols. 221^{r-v}.
[35] fol. 231^{r}.

Aubrey was sanguine about Ogilby's reneging on promises made, and justified this with his Surrey research's inherent 'pleasure'. In the context of the connection between prose-style and geographical material, and the conflict between Aubrey and Ogilby's notions of both, 'pleasure' and its associations are not idle consolations. In January of 1673/4, Aubrey's fellow antiquary Silas Taylor wrote to him to form part of the chorus of anti-Ogilby sentiment filling Aubrey's correspondence:

> my project wth Mr Ogilbye is at an end; ^Hee^ beeing unwilling to grant mee the same favour as Mr Camden did to Mr Lambard in the County of Kent; but desir'd mee to Epitomize my collections into 9 or 10 sheets of paper for Herefordshire; & he would put it into what stile of English he though fit: soe I should have the splitted milke for my entertainment & he goe away wth ye Creame & all under his owne name too.[36]

Taylor's problem seems to have been much the same as Aubrey's with regard to the volume of his work towards Herefordshire: Ogilby, always with an eye to swift publication, wanted brevity; this was within neither Aubrey nor Taylor's capacity.[37] But Taylor seems also to have objected to Ogilby's attempted control of his 'stile': in a prose-stylistic as well as a publishing sense, Ogilby did not want the full milk of Taylor's writing.

Turning to Aubrey's written and drawn prospects, we can see how his geographical work was similarly resistant to any distillations of 'stile'. An author who inserted a full leaf of poetry into his manuscript, prompted only by a footnote to his main discussion, could not describe a full county in '4 or 5 leaves', no matter how small the type and how many times the sheets were folded. Following Aubrey's geographical preoccupations throughout the *Perambulation*, we encounter a method of repetition, re-evaluation, and redescription which cannot help but be 'prospective' in the broader sense; that is, moving constantly outwards towards new forms and media. Take, for example, Aubrey's

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[36] MS Aubrey 13, fol. 208^r^.

[37] Taylor's Herefordshire manuscripts survive as BL MS Harley 6726, and are as voluminous as Aubrey's Surrey collections. See David Whitehead, 'Silas Taylor', *ODNB*.

work on Charles Howard's manor near Dorking. In a section of the *Perambulation* most likely dating to 1673,[38] Aubrey pauses to muse on the prospect from the house: 'Near Darking the Hon*oura*ble Charles Howard of Norfolk hath very ingeniously contrived a long Hope (i.e. secundum Virgilium, *deductus valles*), into the most pleasant and delightfull solitude, for House, Gardens, Orchards, Boscages, &c: that I haue seen in England. It deserues a Poeme, and was a Subject worthy of Mr Abraham Cowley's Muse. [the right name of this Hope is Dibden, [quasi Deep Dene] It is within the Parish of Darking'.[39] This passage provides retrospective explanation for the enormous and untitled sketch, two pages earlier, of a complex orthogonal plan of a vineyard and orchard, labelled with this characteristic note: 'from the top of ye Hill and the Vineyard is a prospect over Sussex & to Kent: & Northward to Lethered Boxhill over the fine vallies: & w. ward to Hantshire' (fig. 2).[40] In the plan, despite its complex metrological information, as well as prompts on the plan's verso to ask Howard further about specific features of the orchards' construction,[41] there is nevertheless committed attention to the 'prospect' as a unit of information and locus of attention: again on the verso, Aubrey prompts himself (and later deletes this prompt) to 'take the seate of Howard', that is, to produce a prospect-drawing of the house at Dorking.[42] And it is this aspect of Howard's house that asserts itself even where clearly not relevant later in the *Perambulation*. In another 1673 section entitled 'Surrey: sc. the Naturall History Only', Aubrey writes:

> Darking ^Dorking^. neer it is ~~Dibden~~ a seate of the right Hon^{bl} Charles Howard of Norfolk, who hath most ingeniosely contrived a Long Hope ^deductus Valles^ into the pleasantest Solitude that ever I sawe, for variety of plants; gardens, Boscages, grotts. [cutt parabolically in the land 5 yards high ^36 paces long 4 broad^ and the Hill toward the top pierced through, where

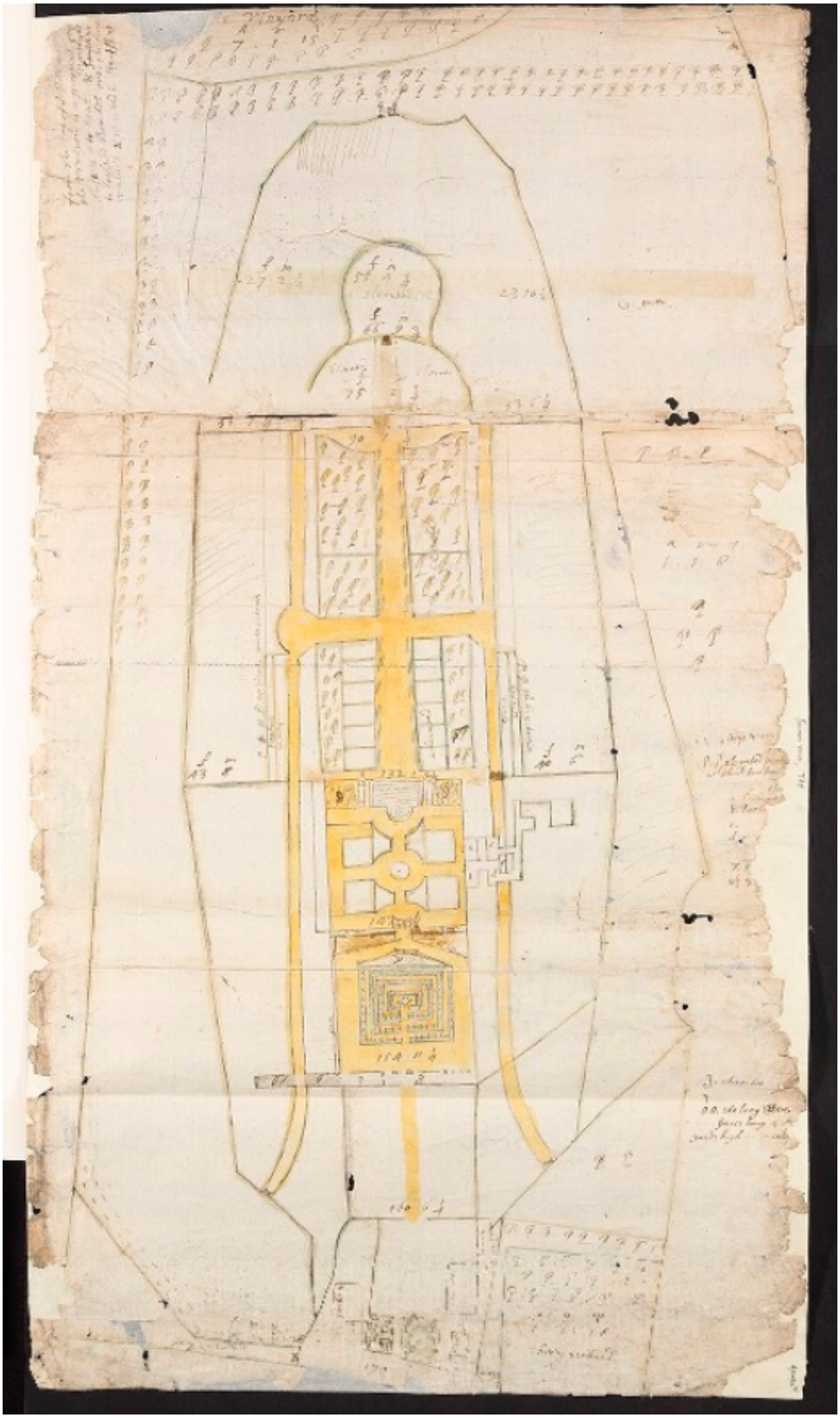
[38] On fol. 48^{r} Aubrey writes 'now [1673]', and the following pages appear to be in the same ink and from the same paper-stock.

[39] fol. 53^{r}. Aubrey's use of square brackets is careless and eccentric, often opening a parenthesis without closing it.

[40] fols. 49^{r} and 50^{r}.

[41] fols. 49^{v} and 50^{v}: 'the first square is a garden of winter greenes dwarft. q*uaere* M^{r} Ch: H: quot'.

[42] fol. 50^{v}.



(Fig. 2. MS Aubrey 4, fols. 49[r] and 50[r]. Aubrey's note on the 'prospect' is at the top left)

> in perspective you looke over the vale of Surrey & so over Sussex to the sea.
> It deserves a Poeme.[43]

In a section designed to be strictly natural-historical, the 'strikingness' of Aubrey's memory of a prospect forces its way into the discussion, just as his appreciation of the 'fine vallies' forced its way onto the carefully measured plan of Howard's orchards. As we shall see, in the prospects which dominate the *Perambulation*, it is this propulsive force of distraction from the strictly defined matter at hand which predominates, and becomes an emblem of the reason for Aubrey and Ogilby's falling out.[44] Like in Burton's vision of cartographic *varietas*, Aubrey saw a virtue in leading the mind partially astray.

The majority of topographical work in the *Perambulation* takes the form of the Coopers-Hill prospect, rather than the plan of Howard's gardens. As I have suggested, the occasional, supplementary quality of these prospects represent a force that persists throughout Aubrey's work, emerging mischievously when not strictly relevant. Occasionally, this could lead Aubrey into an illustrative confusion. When listing the bare facts of the parish of Wotton, such as the quality of its wood, the escutcheons in the parish church's chancel, and a wealth of grave-inscriptions, Aubrey added a rueful note: 'See pag. 48. where is the Prospect of the Mannor-house &c: of Wotton: which I unluckily drew upon the backside of the Prospect of Albery'.[45] Following Aubrey's reference back, we arrive at a sheet with three prospects covering both sides.[46] On the recto, there is the 'prospect of

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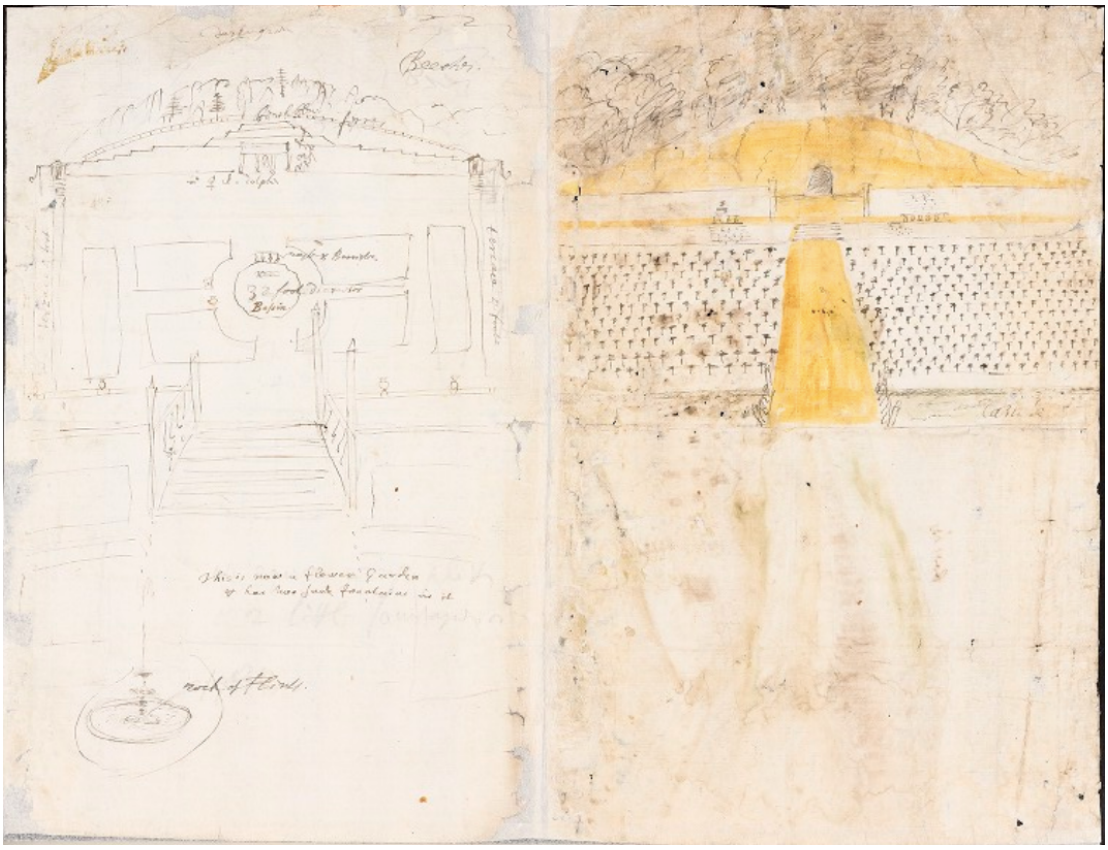
[43] fol. 235^{r}.

[44] Howard's manor also appears on fol. 213^{v}, where Aubrey writes that 'Mr Charles Howard hath a Mappe of the Mannor of Darking, survey'd by Mr William Forster: wch is very artificially drawn: to wch is annexed a Description of the Mannor, by him: out of which I have excerpted these following notes', proceeding, ironically, to write down genuinely natural-historical information.

[45] fol. 120^{v}.

[46] fol. 95.





(Figs. 3 & 4. MS Aubrey 4, fols. 95^{r-v})

Albery', a relatively well-drawn but still rough coloured view of a valley leading to George Evelyn's house; on the verso are two versions of the same prospect of the house at Wotton: the first an annotated, sketched version, the second a coloured, illustrated version of the same.[47] The working practices on show here are clear: Aubrey mentions elsewhere that his prospects for Surrey were taken (at least in their initial sketched forms) 'passant', that is, while he was in the field, though no doubt added to later; as such, it is clear that the sheet which offered itself to hand when he was at Wotton was that on which he had drawn Albury, only five miles away.[48] Aubrey drew prospects with what was ready to hand; this naturally resulted in the inclusion of material not necessarily pertinent to his discussion, or the placement of pertinent material in far flung, odd-seeming corners of the *Perambulation*. The incorporation of these methods into the *Perambulation* as a whole is thus indicative of how disruptive Aubrey's use of prospects was in the comprehension of the work as a continuous bibliographical unit. Angus Vine, writing of the antiquarian ancestors of Aubrey's project, has argued that 'antiquarian and chorographical projects, when successful, relied on both taking note and making notes, on organising those notes (materially as well as conceptually), and on knitting them together into some kind of narrative form.'[49] On this view, the *Perambulation*, fulfilling only the first of these criteria, is a 'failure'. Aubrey's commitment to taking prospects in the field sacrificed organisation for immediacy at a basic and practical level—either Aubrey's sketches of Wotton or his prospect of Albury would be in the wrong place—and the quotation above indicates that this was something Aubrey somewhat morosely recognised.[50]

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[47] For a similar example of a single sheet containing a group of prospects of different places, see fols. 183-4.

[48] See fol. 141^{r}, on Waverley Abbey: 'I have hereunto annexed the Prospect of the Place; as well as I could doe it passant'. The prospect itself, on fols. 140b^{r}-c^{r}, has on its reverse a clear set of field notes towards the description of the Abbey, with measurements, inscriptions, etc.

[49] Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, Oxford UP, 2019, 98.

[50] On Aubrey's failed attempts to prepare his works for publication, and the connection of this unpublishability to 'delight', see Bennett (ed.), *Brief Lives*, xxxix-xl.

But this intrusive and disruptive force of the prospect, just as much as it imparted the recursive quality to the *Perambulation* illustrated by the Wotton-prospects, also drove the work's focus outward into the domain of the 'hint', or a word more locally significant for Aubrey's topographical works, the 'quaere'. On the Albury prospect, in an extremely messy hand indicative of haste during fieldwork, Aubrey wrote a note to himself: 'm*emoran*d*u*m this is donne already here in paynting & q*uaere* if M^{r} JE <sc. John Evelyn> has it'.[51] Aubrey then returned to this reminder in a smaller, neater hand, adding: 'but not right'. And a third time, in a different ink and much more clearly, Aubrey answered his own question on another part of the page: 'm*emoran*d*u*m Jo: Evelyn Esq. hath a good prospect of this seate, well painted'. Here, the generative, outward-facing function of the prospect becomes clear. The hasty prospect taken 'passant' was intended to provoke a 'quaere', a Latin injunction to inquire further into something inaccessible in the field, whether a neater prospect, or some related piece of information possessed by an acquaintance.

A significant number of Aubrey's prospects carry 'quaeres' along with them, implicitly or explicitly. These can be simple, like Aubrey's prospect of 'Betchworth Castle from the roade', at the base of which is written 'q*uaere* when & by whom this was built'.[52] They can also be puzzling, like the prospect of Albury Park, on the back of which, among other notes, there appears the apparently unrelated 'q*uaere* D^{r} <Christopher> Wren if Sr Reg: Bray was not D^{r} of Physick, and he that was Architect of H. 7 Chapell, & that at Windsore'.[53] What is common to these examples, however, is the manner in which Aubrey's prospects are used as repositories for unfinished research or desired

[51] fol. 95^{r}.
[52] fol. 57b^{r}.
[53] fol. 97b^{v}.

information—they are both cartographically preliminary, in the sense of being preparative for a more detailed version of the prospect (or indeed a full-scale map), and epistemologically preliminary, serving a gathering function for all of Aubrey's manifold foibles and curiosities.[54] In addition, they represent an earlier bibliographical stage of the *Perambulation*: as these examples have shown, it is usually on sheets which are used either for a gathered set of miscellaneous prospects, or on extremely rough field notes, that Aubrey takes his views. Indeed, often Aubrey seems to draw merely for the sake of provoking a *quaere*, and the resultant bibliographical irruptions are strange. An almost comically rough prospect of the Thames, inserted without any heralding near the end of the *Perambulation*, has scrawled across the whole drawing an apt injunction: 'take an exact account of the manner of the fishing in the Thames: and also of the severall kinds of Fish' (Fig. 5).[55]



(Fig. 5. MS Aubrey 4, fol. 200[r])

[54] On the prospects as preliminary to a larger, more accurate map, see n. 22 above.
[55] fol. 200[r].

The aesthetic and epistemological rôle of the prospects—as well as their appearance at the earliest bibliographical stages of the *Perambulation* (the field notes), which Aubrey's always-additive method preserved in the 'final' version—combine to produce their simultaneously disruptive and generative quality. When Richard Rawlinson published a version of the *Perambulation* in 1718-19, neither he nor the publisher Edmund Curll included any of the prospects in their effort to 'revise carefully these valuable notes', and 'reduce them into a more careful Method'; as a result, its reputation has suffered.[56] Like Ogilby, Rawlinson found the *Perambulation* unpublishable without major change; but the excisions he made to 'knit [it] into some narrative form' sacrificed another prevalent 'form' on show in the perambulation, a form which, I suggest, worked by multiplying and ramifying Aubrey's foci of attention beyond the linearity implied in narrative. By considering another fossilised hint at an alternative structure for the *Perambulation*, the impression is confirmed that the prospect, in its Aubreian form, was somehow emblematically eccentric to the concerns of more methodical antiquarianism. And revealingly, this further divergence occurs in relation to a different use of the *quaere*, in its form as institutionalised by the Royal Society.

Late in the *Perambulation*, Aubrey inserted printed material relating to his initial commission from Ogilby. This consisted of a half-destroyed map of Surrey made by William Smith, based on a map by John Norden, and engraved by Jodocus Hondius, as well as three 'query sheets', or organised lists of questions relevant to the investigation of a given area, and a popular mode of enquiry in the

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[56] Rawlinson, *The natural history and antiquities of the county of Surrey. Begun in the year 1673, by John Aubrey, Esq; F. R. S. and continued to the present Time,* London: for E. Curll, 1718-19, ii. B. J. Enright rued Rawlinson's omission of Aubrey's 'delightful maps': see Enright, 'Richard Rawlinson and the Publication of Aubrey's Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 54 (1955): 124-33.

Royal Society.[57] They would be distributed to the inhabitants of each county surveyed for a given antiquarian venture, and re-collected by the antiquarian and culled for their information. Two of the sheets in Aubrey's manuscript, produced specifically for Ogilby's *Britannia*, range in theme, as do most of the sheets in the genre, from an area's topography and its notable inhabitants to such 'antiquities' as '*Roman Ways* and Stations, coins & monuments, &c.'[58] Aubrey liberally annotated his copies of the sheets, adding his own supplementary queries, and including a telling note which echoes the complaints made by Taylor concerning Ogilby: 'My name is to be putt to those Counties, which I describe'.[59] On the sheet's final page, Aubrey added further circumstantial information, annotating Ogilby's signature in yet one more pointed reminder to give credit where it's due: 'These Queries were considered of at severall meetings by: Christopher Wren U.D / John Hoskyns R.S.S / Mr Robert Hooke R.S.S / M^{r} Jo: Ogilby / M^{r} Jo: Aubrey / Mr Gregory King'. These are ground-plots for the *Britannia*-project, and attempts at standardisation: but Aubrey, as his personal additions indicate, could not standardise his own contribution, and used queries in accordance with his incapacity to do so.

The passage from the responses to the queries offered to Aubrey, to his composition of his own text, displays the difference in epistemological styles between the local informants and the more distracted, personal style of Ogilby's man in Surrey. There is evidence in the *Perambulation* of what a faithful response to the query sheets looked like, and it differs emphatically from the surrounding

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[57] William Smith (1546-1618) was a cartographer who made twelve important county maps which for a number of years remained anonymous. Interestingly, one of his correspondents was none other than William Burton. For a short history of the map which Aubrey inserted, see the sale catalogue entry on *Clive A. Burden Rare Maps*: <https://www.caburdenraremaps.com/map/surriae-comitatus-continens-in-seoppida-mercatoria-vii-ecclesias-parochiales-cxl/> See also R.A Skelton, *County Atlases of the British Isles, 1579-1850: a Bibliography*, London: Carta Press, 1970, 21. For a broad account of 'query sheets' as a form, see Adam Fox, 'Printed Questionnaires, Research Networks, and the Discovery of the British Isles', *The Historical Journal* 53.3 (2010): 593-621; Richard Yeo, 'Queries in Early Modern English Science', *Intellectual History Review* 32.3 (2022): 553-73.

[58] fol. 243^{r}.

[59] fol. 243^{r}. See also MS Wood F 39, fol. 231^{v}: 'My Templa Druidu*m* will be printed in J.O. Britannia, but I am resolved to have my name to it. Or would you advise me otherwise to print it by itselfe or w^{t} it may be worth'.

pages authored by Aubrey himself. In his section on Bletchingley, Aubrey inserts a smaller sheet in a very neat hand, with a heading which simply reads 'County of Surrey, & in the Hundred of Tandridge, Bletchingley'.[60] The sheet proceeds to describe, in an entirely unadorned and to-the-point style, various features of the parish, and each paragraph concludes with a number keyed to the original query sheet. A small sample of the prose will serve to illustrate how different it is from Aubrey's additive, ramifying style:

> It hath a free-schoole, ye house & croft adioyning giuen by Mr Bostick, & lands to the ualue of 20^{l} p*er* an*n*um since added to it for to teach 20 of ye poorest childre*n* in the p*a*rish by John Euans of London gent. It hath also an hospitall or Almshouse for ten poore people, most of it built upo*n* the charge of Mr Wm Hampton ye p*re*sent Rector of ye Church. num. 6.[61]

There are no further 'quaeres' here, no aesthetic observations, no further biographies of the school's benefactors, preserved just in case more information could be found. The criterion for inclusion is what is strictly relevant to the sixth entry on the shorter, nineteen-item query sheet produced by Ogilby: '6. Castles, Churches, Chappels, Monasteries, Hospitals, Schools, Colleges'.[62] After a few more entries of exactly this nature, the sheet is simply subscribed, 'Ita testamur William Hampton Rector'.[63] This William Hampton, revealed as the note's author, is the same man as the Rector, described in the third person, at whose 'charge' the parish almshouse was built. We thus arrive at Ogilby's ideal informator: unlike Taylor and Aubrey, he did not see 'style' as the expression of one's idiosyncratic authorly *persona*; he includes himself, rather, only as another agent in the daily machinations of parish life, speaking in the first person (and even then in the formalised plural) only as a notary 'of good standing' to the report. We are a far cry, it seems, from the complaints of Taylor and Aubrey, for whom both 'style' and personal accreditation were matters of great import and contention.

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[60] fol. 63^{v}.
[61] fol. 63^{v}.
[62] fol. 243^{r}.
[63] fol. 63^{v}.

Given what I have suggested so far, then, it is no surprise that there is no mention of prospects at all in the query sheets. At no point are Ogilby's informants asked to seek out a 'fair view', a prospect 'worthy of a poem', or at any point to pause and reflect on the type of questions that a particularly striking vista might prompt—a fact unsurprising given the priorities of the Royal Society and Ogilby. This is not only the case with Ogilby's queries. In two closely analogous, and quite comprehensive rubrics for enquiry when compiling topographical histories—Robert Boyle's *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country Great or Small*, and the surviving manuscript query-sheet for Aubrey's friend Robert Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*—there is no mention whatsoever of the search for 'prospects'.[64] It would appear that the query-sheets compiled under the superintendence of the Royal Society had no time for prospects, especially of the distracting, generative, and committedly provisional kind drawn by Aubrey. Accordingly, the *Perambulation* exhibits a final bibliographical aptness on the verso of one of the query sheets, on which is drawn (upside-down) a sketchy, almost scribbled 'Prospect of Wimbleton House from the Parke'.[65]

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64 Boyle, *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country Great or Small, Drawn Out for the Use of Travellers and Navigators*, London; for John Taylor, 1692; Plot's query-sheet survives as Bodleian MS Ashmole 1820a, fols. 222-25. This MS, owned by Edward Lhuyd, contains a vast number of query sheets and responses thereto, none of which address prospects. One sheet, for Thomas Machell's enquiry into the 'Northern Counties', does contain a single mandate for geographical work: 'What form and figure does [the county] most resemble. as Square, Oblong, Oval, Triangular, &c. with the Length and Breadth in the largest parts of it, nameing the places where you begin and end your computation. as also where they lye, E. W. N. or South, and the circumference (by moderate Computation) if you can guess at it', MS Ashmole 1820a, fol. 226^{r}. On Plot and Aubrey's closeness, especially in the domain of research, see MS Aubrey 1, fol. 6^{r}: 'In the yeare 1675 I contracted ^came^ acquainted with Dr Rob: Plott, who was then ~~(by the like Impulse) at worke upon~~ ^had then^ his Naturall History of Oxfordshire ^upon the Loome^, wch I seeing he did performe so excellently well, desired him to undertake Wiltshire, and I would give him all my papers: as I did ^he had^ also my papers of Surrey ^as to the Naturall things^: and offered him my farther assistance'. It is clear that Aubrey, at one point, saw that he and Plot acted 'by the like Impulse'.

65 fol. 244^{v}.

Aubrey's departure from the conventions of contemporary geographical writing, and its relation to cartography, can be further glimpsed by a final comparison with one of his peers. We have seen that the queries for Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, published in 1677 and printed, it so happens, by Moses Pitt, at no point gestured towards 'prospects' as noteworthy things for a county survey.[66] When comparing the language used when describing the single map contained in Plot's *Natural History* with Aubrey's descriptions of his prospects, their difference in priorities comes into greater relief. Describing his map, Plot writes that:

> this *Map* is so contrived, that a *Foreigner* as well as *English-man,* at what distance soever, may with ease find out who are the *Owners* of most of them [sc. Mansions]; so as to be able to say that this is such or such a *Gentlemans* House: And all this done by *Figures* put to every such *House,* which referring again to *Figures* of the same value, placed in order over the *Arms* in the *Limb* of the *Map,* shew in the bottom of each *Shield* the *Nobleman* or *Gentlemans name,* whose house it is; their respective *Coats* of *Arms* being always placed between the *Figure* and *Name:* which too (all but some few) are cut in their *metals, furs,* or *colours,* as born by their *Owners.*[67]

Plot's idealised map, it appears, was designed to be both comprehensive and universally comprehensible, available in its non-linguistic system of heraldic 'figures' to 'Foreigners' and 'English-m[e]n' alike, with as many places as humanly possible placed 'as *true,* as actual *dimensuration,* and most of them as the doctrin of *Triangles,* and the best information, all compared together, could direct me to put them'.[68] It would be fully self-referential; that is, entirely explicable by the visual key provided

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66 Plot, *The natural history of Oxford-shire, being an essay toward the natural history of England*, Oxford and London, 1677. At one point, Plot did see himself and Aubrey as engaged in similar cartographic projects, although this was more in the case of Aubrey's *Chorographia Antiquaria*, which would eventually become the *Monumenta Britannica*. See MS Aubrey 13, fol. 137^{r}; Plot to Aubrey, Feb. 1675/6: 'The book you are writing out for the press which you call *Chorographia Antiquaria* will be an ac ceptable thing provided it be carefully done, of which I doubt not at all, if you yo*u*r selfe be the Author: but as you may perceive by this draught of my designe (which you know I lent S*i*r James Long) the very same thing is part of my business, an account whereof will be given in my history of Oxfordshire now going to the press, as also in my new Mapp already finisht, where all the Roman and British camps, and high ways are marked out & delineated in the very forme they ^now^ stand'.

67 Plot, *Natural History,* sig. b2^{v}.

68 Plot, *Natural History*, sig. b2^{r}.

by Plot. The map was also intended to be scalable, viewable 'at any distance', and Plot spends a great deal of time in this prefatory passage explaining his calculation of the Oxfordshire mile, and his rationale for scaling 60 of them to a degree.

Compare this to the language surrounding another of Aubrey's prospects, in his description of Saunderstead:

> in the Church nothing: but from here a delicate Prospect north and west to Croydon and beyond to Middlesex [Harrow on the Hill] Bucks Berks, to Hants and ouer all Bansted-downes, fower lengths of my cedar-pencill. my hasty draught of it I have hereto annexed. On Riddles-downe [a mile south of Sandersted] Eryngo's grow plentifully: as aboue as much in Norfolk.[69]

These notes, which are themselves copied from an abbreviated form on the back of the 'draught', do not invoke anything like the cartographic literacy appealed to on Plot's map.[70] The metrology is improvised and based on a single person's perspective: Aubrey held his pencil before his eyes, measuring how wide the prospect was from end to end by moving the pencil across his field of vision. Aubrey's thoughts wander when describing the prospect, as it prompts him to remember the growth of eryngo, or sea-holly, on another down a mile away. The prospect itself is annotated, rather than explained or organised by non-linguistic 'figures': on the right hand side, Aubrey has written the brief note, 'from ye hill by Saundersted Church: hazy weather', further hedging against any false impression of precise or measured vision.[71] All of these proliferating, extra-visual aspects prompted by the prospect are indicative of Aubrey's outward-looking attitude to the depiction and description of

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[69] fol. 85^{r}.

[70] fol. 84a^{r}: 'Saundersted: from hence a delicate p*ros*pect N by W to Croydon and beyond to Midd. & Berks or Bucks, to Harrow on the hill, to Hants over all Bansted downes. fower lengths of my cedar-pencill'.

[71] fol. 84b^{r}.

landscape—Plot's internally coherent and self-sufficient map was of a wholly different epistemological order.[72]

None of this is to suggest that Aubrey could not have done otherwise: we have seen his meticulous plan of Howard's garden, and his precise surveys of ancient monuments in the *Monumenta britannica* show that he could be metrologically and cartographically rigorous when he wanted to be. I am suggesting, rather, that the prospect as a unique form played a particular dis-organisational role in Aubrey's geographical writings: they were part of a network of prompts, as visually striking as they were imprecise, that were designed to provoke mental action both in the observer and in Aubrey himself; an action which often moved beyond the immediate confines of subject-matter, into a provisional domain of future research or thought. In what follows, I will elaborate on another aspect of the prospect which Aubrey was keen to advertise, and is especially evident in his writing on Wiltshire. This is the prospect's 'vividness' or 'liveliness', a topic we have already encountered in the textbook tradition, as well as in Bacon's metaphorical maps and Burton's curative ones, and which will begin to expose Aubrey's full debt to the mind-oriented view of geographical learning. We have seen above how Aubrey's prospects often commenced a movement in his prose-style towards a more lyrical (or as Aubrey preferred, 'romantique') key: I will substantiate this impression further, while complicating it with contemporary views on Aubrey's style, showing that the mental emphasis of Aubrey's views on writing and mapping brought the two together in an almost-articulated view of communication.

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[72] Ironically, Aubrey added a map to his own copy of Plot's *Natural History*, sketching the ruins of the legendary 'Rosamond's Bower', a maze at Woodstock. Aubrey revealingly called this map 'paralipomena', or supplements, to Plot's work: as I suggest, this may have gone against Plot's ideas of mapping. See Kate Bennett, 'John Aubrey 's Oxfordshire Collections: An Edition of Aubrey's Annotations to his Presentation Copy of Robert Plot's *Natural History of Oxford-shire*, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1722', *Oxoniana* 64 (1999): 59-86.

IV: Prospective Prose: Wonder, Curiosity, Recursion

In the autobiographical introduction to the *Natural History of Wiltshire*, Aubrey's concern with literary style and its connection to ideas of mental operation appears in two apposite comments. Reflecting on the genesis of his Wiltshire project, Aubrey omits any mention of the meeting of gentlemen at the Devises, and takes a more aetiological approach:

> I was from my Childhood affected ^with the view^ of things rare: which is the beginning of Philosophy: and though I have not had leisure to make any considerable proficiency in it; yet I was carried on with a strong ^~~secret~~^ Impulse to undertake this Taske, I know not why: unless for my own ^private^ ^particular^ pleasure.[73]

Appealing to the familiar paradigm of 'wonder' as the beginning of philosophy, Aubrey invokes pleasure and rarity as the chief spurs to his natural-historical project. But on the following leaf, Aubrey elaborates on this well-worn dictum, bringing questions of style, method, and the visual imagination to bear on the trope. Recalling the shared phrasing of Evelyn's which appeared in the *Perambulation*, he writes:

> I have tumultuar^il^y stitcht up what I have many yeares since collected; being (chiefly) but the Observations of my usuall ^frequent^ Road between South and North Wilts. [...] It is now fifteen years since I left this Countrey: and have at this distance prickt ^inserted^ such additions as I can call to mind. So that me thinkes this Discourse ^Description^ is like a picture that Mr E. B. of Trin: Coll: Oxon, drew of Dr Kettle, some yeares after his death, by strength of memory ^only, he had so strong an Idea of him:^, and it did well resemble him. I hope, hereafter it may be an Incitement to some ingeniose and publique spirited young ^Wiltshire^ man, to polish & compleat, what I have here delivered rough-hewen: for I have not leisure to heighten my stile: and it may be thought ^seeme^ nauseous to some, that I ^have^ rak't-up so many Western ~~Hob-naile~~ ^vulgar^ Proverbs, wch I confess I doe not disdeigne to quote.[74]

Developing the initial statement of his personal inclination towards the strikingness of 'things rare', Aubrey here suggests a connection between his casual and 'passant' method of research, the kind of

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[73] MS Aubrey 1, fol. 6^r^.

[74] MS Aubrey 1., fol. 7^r^.

pictorial memory evinced in a posthumous portrait of Ralph Kettell (president of Trinity College, Oxford from 1599-1642), and a certain 'rough-hewen' style of prose.[75] Antiquarian work which made a methodological point of accident, surprise, and striking images—and which conveyed this work in a corresponding style of prose—was conducive to a form of effective memorisation, the production of an exceptionally 'strong Idea'. And as with the role of the prospects described above, these hybrid manuscripts composed of field-notes and half-remembered proverbs would ideally provoke the work of the spectral and eloquent 'young man' whom Aubrey so often had at the back of his mind. In the Wiltshire manuscripts, this connection between the memory as a repository of 'Ideas' and a kind of 'vivid' style—whether pictorial or verbal—reappears constantly, and alongside Aubrey's theoretical works on education, suggests more clearly the specific effects he intended his prospects and his prose to have.

Aubrey's suggestion that his avoidance of the 'high-stile' was due only to time-constraints may have been at least partially disingenuous. In a letter to Wood from May 1680, Aubrey complained of the Latin translation of his 'Life' of Thomas Hobbes, which was being made by the physician and occasional collaborator on Aubrey's scientific projects, Richard Blackburne: 'Pox take your orators and your piety, they spoile lives & histories. The D^{r} says that I am too minute: but a hundred yeares hence, this minuteness will be grateful. He would put it in the *High-Style*'.[76] Aubrey here appears to defend both a certain 'unpious' salaciousness of biographical content, as well as attack a more ornate, 'oratorical' style of prose. Ciceronianism and hagiography would seem, for Aubrey, to go hand in hand. But furthermore and more strikingly, Aubrey goes on to connect his own 'minute' style of

[75] The only surviving portrait of Kettle (1563-1643) is in fact by one G[eorge] B[athurst], whose Christian name Aubrey may have (ironically) misremembered. But since Bathurst himself died only one year after Kettle, Aubrey's version of events, or indeed the portrait he refers to, may be different.

[76] MS Wood F 39, fol. 340^{r}, Aubrey—Wood, 22 May 1680.

writing—that is, both its 'minute' attention to detail and its avoidance of swelling and symmetrical periods—with a mnemonic durability which would ensure his work's relevance for centuries to come. Unlike the more outward-facing modesty of the Preface in the *Natural History*, Aubrey here privately argues that his own 'rough-hewn', 'minute' writing is one which, either via style or content, more directly influences the memory. Nevertheless, Aubrey's obduracy to unnecessary 'height' in prose does, in fact, emerge in the Wiltshire manuscripts. The manuscripts as they survive today include a letter to Aubrey from the naturalist and FRS John Ray, apparently in response to some portions of the *Natural History*. There, Ray advises Aubrey not on matters botanical, but on his 'style': 'It would be conuenient to fill up ye blanks so far as you can; but I am afraid that will be a work of time, & retard the Edition. Whatever you conceive may give offence may by ye wording of it be so softned & sweetned as to take off ye edge of it; as pils are gilded to make them lesse ungratefull.'[77] The letter is from October 1691, shortly before Aubrey deposited the manuscript in the Ashmolean (though he would add material later than this), and as such it seems that Aubrey would have had little time to polish the *Natural History* according to Ray's advice, meaning that what Aubrey sent Ray was likely very close to the manuscripts which we have today. In his own and in his contemporaries' judgement, then, Aubrey wrote a rough and abrupt style, which stood in need of amendment if it were to be published. In what follows, I will weigh this assessment against the evidence of Aubrey's prose, which, as we shall see, could often lapse into more elongated, elaborate prose (in particular when describing prospects), and which—though by no means Ciceronian—was not as 'Hob-naile' as Aubrey may have hinted.[78] It appears, however, that in terms of psychological effect, abruptness and effusion were two

[77] MS Aubrey 1, fol. 13^{r}.

[78] For brief but typically good remarks on Aubrey's style as poised between 'clumsiness and felicity', see Christopher Ricks, 'The Wit and Weight of Clarendon', in *Essays in Appreciation*, Oxford UP, 1996, 51-66, here 51-2.

sides of the same coin for Aubrey, and further, that it is in the ever-present prospect that this effect is most clearly glimpsed.

A proof passage for the interaction between the rough and the lyrical in Aubrey's prose is his extended discussion (which prompted Aubrey's citation of Suckling's 'Against Fruition') of the gardens built by the politician and regicide John Danvers, Aubrey's kinsman through his grandmother Rachel Danvers (and at whose funeral none other than Thomas Fuller preached).[79] Taking in both Danvers's garden at Lavington on Salisbury Plain, and his ancestral seat at 'Chessey' (Chelsea), this section stands somewhat out from the rest of the *Natural History*, concerned with the notable aspects of a single man's domain rather than of a county. It is also especially preoccupied with the limits and opportunities of the prospect's purchase on verbal and pictorial modes of expression. At first, Aubrey is unsure of how adequate his style would be to his subject:

> Among severall others, there is a very pleasant Elevation on the south side of the garden, which steales a rising (almost) insen*s*ibly, that is, before one is aware, and gives you a View over the Spatious Corne-fields there, & so to East-Lavington: where being landed on a fine Levell, letteth you descend again with the like easiness. It is almost impossible to describe this Garden, it is ^so^ full of variety and un-evenesse: nay it would be a difficult matter for a good Artist to make a draught of it.[80]

It is the minuteness of Danvers's Garden which defies easy representation—neither word nor image are sufficient; their 'evening' function betrays any real variety. Nevertheless, Aubrey's prose is more expressive than usual, the imperceptibly gradual upward approach to the 'View over the Spatious Corne-fields' measured by the short steps of the *commata*, and the transition to an easy descent marked

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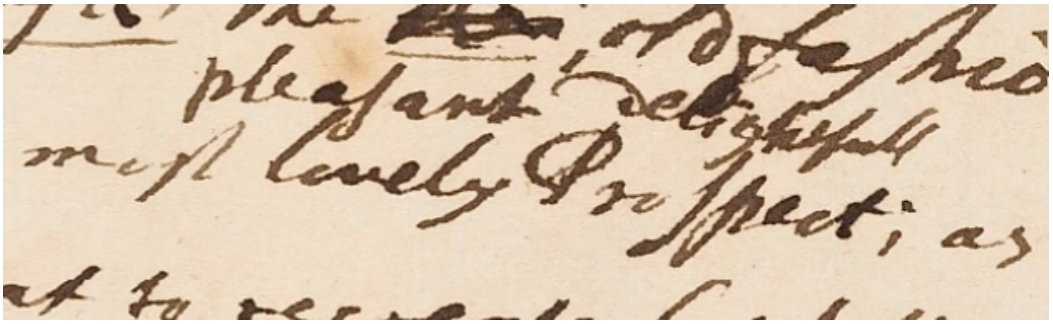
[79] For the various relations between Aubrey, Danvers, and Fuller, see Sidney Lee, 'John Danvers', in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Smith, Elder & Co., 1885-1900, 22 vols., vol. 14, 40-1; Sean Kelsey, 'John Danvers', *ODNB*. It was rumoured that Fuller's intimacy with Danvers was such that he repented at his death of his role in the regicide, on Fuller's counsel.
[80] MS Aubrey 2, fol. 54^{r}.

off by a balancing colon. And despite his caveats, Aubrey does not leave off description after this point. He writes of the Gate House which stood from the early sixteenth century at Danvers's seat in Chelsea: 'From ^the top whereof^ this Gate-house was a most lovely ^pleasant delightfull^ Prospect; as is to be seen. His Lo*rdshi*p was wont to recreate himselfe in this place; and to apricate & contemplate'.[81] Aubrey here shows a verbal tendency which abounds in the Wiltshire manuscripts and elsewhere: this was to multiply adjectives of pleasure, delight, and strikingness in a form of visual parataxis, where alternative words were written in between the lines of prose, with no indication of priority or order. Here, 'pleasant' and 'delightfull' hang above 'lovely' in a proliferative cluster of description—a kind of adjectival overplus which gestures towards the prospect's imaginative abundance (Fig. 6). Aubrey's prose at descriptive moments like this, which most often orbit a central figure of a prospect, is persistently additive.[82]



(Fig. 6. MS Aubrey 2, fol. 55^{r})

[81] MS Aubrey 2, fol. 55^{r}.

[82] See, e.g., fol. 86^{r}, on 'a noble ^delicate^ Prospect'; or fol. 6^{r}, on his 'Impulse to undertake this Taske, I know not why: unles for my own ^private^^particular^^^ pleasure'.

The full passage to which Suckling's poem was keyed on the following page exhibits at greater length Aubrey's additive style, while also showing in both content and form an epistemological movement which I have been suggesting in his treatment of prospects:

> As you sitt at Dinner in the Hall, you are entertained with two delightfull Visto's: one southward over the Thames & to Surrey: the other northward into that curious Garden. <...> You did not enter directly out of the Hall into the Garden: there was a low semicircle^-ular wall^, to hinder the immediate pleasure; and totall view primo intuitu. But first you turned on the right or left hand, downe a paire of Staires ^of ten steppes^, which landed you in a kind of Boscage ^Wildernesse^ of Lilac's, Syringa's &c ^sweet Briar &c. Holly — Juniper^: and about 4 or 5 Apple trees and peare trees.[83]

In this passage, there is a linear forward movement in styles of description, which goes some way to demonstrating the kind of observational movement Aubrey wanted his prospects to provoke. The first half of the passage takes the standard Aubreian form of prospect-description (here called 'Vistos'): a 'delightful' but ambiguous view is described and the counties it takes in enumerated. But it is the 'curious' view of the Garden which is taken up in the second half of the passage, and its 'curiosity' is evoked with 'minuteness'. The additive prose which earlier manifested itself with vague adjectives of 'delight' and 'pleasure' here fills out a botanical cornucopia, in an attempt at faithfulness to the abundance of Danvers's garden which Aubrey had lamented his own incapacity to represent. As his best modern reader has observed, 'Aubrey's is an art of digression: a matter of glimpses, surprises, and private intellectual delight in the intervals of good dinners'.[84] With this obsessively multiplicative writing, the page itself becomes a delighted, distracted boscage of minutely written additions.

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[83] MS Aubrey 2, fol. 56^{r}.

[84] Bennet (ed.), *Brief Lives*, xl.

The trajectory of this passage is its force. We have seen that Aubrey intended his prospects, rough-hewn as they were, to provoke further, more precise investigation, but before this passage the intention was little more than a deflective gesture. But here, the initial expression of delight and curiosity is followed up in detailed description, given ever more informational bulk by Aubrey's constant additions. Danvers's 'boscage' might become 'wilderness'; Aubrey's initial etceterative gesture is provisionally transformed into the vegetative reality of sweet briar, holly, and juniper.[85] This example of Aubrey's additive technique is the epistemological counterpart and sequel to the 'lovely pleasant delightful' view of the 'Vistos'. While initially Aubrey multiplied partially synonymous adjectives to (somewhat vaguely) emphasise the 'strikingness' of a prospect *primo intuitu*, here where he adds he brings detail: the same 'minute' verbal technique of addition, while by no means in the 'high style', plays out the two-step investigative procedure which Aubrey saw his prospects as initiating. Aubrey's viewer—designated by the conversational but gently instructive 'you'—sitting in the dining hall, would be struck by a 'delightful' view by happenstance, which would then lead 'you' to a closer scrutiny of what a prospect could only hint at. And as the following leaf of Aubrey's manuscript indicates, this process could repeat and extend *ad infinitum*: he describes Danvers's bowling green at Chelsea,

> over which is a fine Banquetting roome; the windowes whereof are painted glasse: over this roome are flatt Leads from whence you enjoy the prospect of ye Garden &c. — This building is of Brick and is a gracefull Tower to your view in the Garden: now, as you goe ^descend, downe^ from this gay ~~garden~~ ^Paradise^ into the darksome, deepe Vault ^Grotto^ where the Well is, it affects one with a kind of Religious horrour. Round about the Well, are fine potts of choice Plants. Of the earth that was digged-up for the making of this deep-walke & Grotto, was made the Terrace, that reaches west & east, above it: from whence you overlooke the Garden.[86]

[85] Though both 'Wilderness' and 'Boscage' were terms of technical horticulture and gardening during Aubrey's lifetime (see *OED* 'Wilderness' n. 1c; 'Boscage' n. 2), 'Wilderness' also had larger-scale connotations of less contrived, chaotic landscapes (see, e.g., n. 1a, b, 2).

[86] MS Aubrey 2, fol. 57^r^.

The view from the garden provokes a descent to look further, which upon closer inspection itself provokes a 'religious horrour', a 'horrour' which in turn, far from arresting the imagined onlooker (who tacks between the impersonal, somewhat detached 'one', and the more immediate 'you'), leads them to enquire into the practical construction of this 'grotto'. The final clause ends, in circular fashion, with another prospect of the garden. For Aubrey, the various ingenuity of Danvers's garden lies in its capacity both to strike the mind at first glance, and then to reward the necessary pursuit of this initial curiosity, all the while leading one (or 'you') to yet another arresting and provocative prospect.[87] Its prospects and prospectiveness channelled the mind into diverted but informative tracks; it lead the viewer on a *cursus investigationis* that practically realised a goal which we have seen imagined by so many educators in geography and their literary pupils. Like Cheyne urging the aristocracy to look not on tapestries of the hunt but on maps, Aubrey saw a certain form of visual pleasure as a preparative for useful thought.

It is worth pausing here, after outlining one of Aubrey's fuller exhibitions of the effect which he intended his prospects to have, to advert to the longer fate of the term 'prospect' in literature, and the change of epistemological function which it underwent after Aubrey's death. For it will become clear that Aubrey's conception of the prospect's function was somewhat eccentric to a mainstream that developed in the eighteenth century, and that this eccentricity may be connected to Aubrey's approach to theories of education and the mind's operation. The most full recent treatment of the literary 'prospect' in the eighteenth century has been provided by Frans de Bruyn, who is admirably open to the formal diversity grouped under the 'prospect' heading: he outlines how 'a literary

[87] On the connection between walking, observation, and mental operation in Aubrey's work, see Claire Preston, 'The Gallery, the Eye, and the Rhetoric of Observation in some Seventeenth-Century Descriptions', *The Seventeenth Century* 32.4 (2017): 371-92, 373-4.

convention that began by insisting on the actual ocular experience of looking at a landscape from a specific vantage point (in John Denham's *Coopers Hill*, James Thomson's *The Seasons*, and John Dyer's *Grongar Hill*, for instance) evolved over the eighteenth century in ways that transformed actual sight into imagined sight and eventually abandoned sight altogether'.[88] We have seen how the term 'prospect' could accommodate a range of cartographic styles in Aubrey's work (though the majority generally conformed to a certain rubric); de Bruyn is explicit about a prospect's disciplinary extensibility: the figurative possibilities of a 'perspective view' were too obvious for many non-cartographic practitioners to ignore. However, while his treatment of the prospect's formal lability is in sympathy with Aubrey's writing, the historical trajectory de Bruyn describes is less reflective of the kind of mental operation on show in Aubrey's manuscripts. For de Bruyn details how during the eighteenth century, authors attempted to shore up the empirical verifiability of prospects by re-imagining the role of the spectator.

The problem he sets out is a familiar one:

> A mind habitually focused on "any one pursuit" or trained to a specific profession, craft, or occupation cannot escape a partial perspective on things, partial both in the sense of embracing only parts or constituents rather than a totality and in the sense of an undue predisposition towards a biassed outlook. In order to grasp in its entirety what a prospect view lays out before the spectator, it is necessary to bring to it a mind detached and free of self-interest, with the leisure to train itself to a liberal perspective on things.[89]

We have seen how Aubrey in all his humility acknowledged the representational limitation of his prospects: the best they could do was provoke curiosity, which would lead to further investigation,

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[88] Frans De Bruyn, 'Prospect Views: Landscapes, Knowledge, and Political Spectatorship in the Eighteenth Century', in Ronald Huebert, David McNeil (eds.), *Early Modern Spectatorship: Interpreting English Culture, 1500-1780*, McGill-Queen's UP, 2019, 240-66, 241-2.

[89] de Bruyn, 'Prospect Views', 245.

and (as I have just suggested) further curiosity. But the authors and practitioners who de Bruyn marshals did not accept any necessary limitation to prospects. Instead, authors such as Richard Jago (1715-81) and Edmund Burke incorporated the language of professional land surveying into their 'prospective' poems and prose, appealing to 'a science that achieved its modern-day accuracy in the eighteenth century with the introduction of the theodolite and the extension of triangulation networks across entire countries, notably France and Britain.'[90] Land surveying, though of frequent use to aristocrats and with a fluctuating reputation in state administration during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became a full-scale method of statist control during the enlightenment.[91] As such, authors of the eighteenth century refigured the prospect to connote accuracy, objectivity, and a smooth path to comprehensive knowledge: 'prospect views conveyed an air of detached objectivity because everyone assented to the underlying premises of spectatorship – the processes of sight and insight, sensation and reflection – that prospect poems in effect embodied and performed.'[92] Thus Wordsworth wrote, at the end of the period which de Bruyn describes, of a 'geographical labourer', who 'pitched his tent, / With books supplied and instruments of art, / To measure height and distance': writing after the prospect-poem's reputational zenith, Wordsworth immediately undercuts the surveyor's comprehensive vision with an enveloping 'darkness', but it is clear that he is writing back ruefully to an optimistic tradition of spectatorship which used technical surveying as a metaphorical background.[93] The 'enlightenment' model of spectatorship, bolstered by the technical

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[90] de Bruyn, 'Prospect Views', 254.

[91] For these changes, see esp. Maria Luisa Sturani, 'Topographical Surveying', in *HOC4*, 1417-28. For the earlier history of state-sponsored surveying, see Peter Barber, 'England II: Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps, 1550-1625', in *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret, Chicago UP, 1992, 57-98; David Buisseret, 'Introduction', in *idem*.

[92] de Bruyn, 'Prospect Views', 244.

[93] Wordsworth, 'Written with a Slate Pencil on a Stone, on the Side of the Mountain of Black Comb', qu. de Bruyn, 'Prospect Views', 256.

language of surveying and an ideally aristocratic subject, ensured that literary invocations of a prospect would suggest a comprehensive and accurate overview of a mental or actual landscape.

Here, we are a far cry from Aubrey's description of a recursive process of 'curious' investigation provoked by the initial 'wonder' of a prospect. The hybrid survey-prospect invoked by authors in the next century conflated the perspective view *primo intuitu* with the mathematised details contained within it. 'Delight' was jettisoned from the prospect in favour of a vision of completion.[94] It is not the place of this chapter to speculate on Aubrey's relation to this tradition, or whether he influenced it or not (though it is most likely that Denham was the enlightenment prospect's direct ancestor). Rather, I want to suggest that Aubrey's thought on prospects—designed to initiate an endlessly generative movement between 'wonder' and 'curiosity'—was shaped profoundly by his educational and psychological theories. In one sense, this will place us back at the outset of this thesis: Aubrey's work on practical education, in all its preoccupation with the mind's reform through prospects both metaphorical and actual, seems to have absorbed the rhetoric of the textbooks which I began by outlining. Aubrey, however, brings this thesis to a close by indicating how a vision of mapmaking and prose-writing that prioritises pleasure, *varietas*, and delightfulness, aiming only at being provisional was a type of knowledge which has not been often used to tell the story either of prose or of cartography at the end of the century. Aubrey's vision of education, just like his vision of natural history and antiquarianism, dwelt on the provocation of the mind to further thought through vivid, ramified, and often-messy exercises of the imagination. The historiography of this period's writing and mapping have, rather, focussed on the banishment of such aesthetic addictions. After a view of

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[94] cf. de Bruyn, 'Prospect Views', p.258: 'On its own, an ocular view of the landscape makes a problematic claim to comprehensiveness, so, like the prospect poet's adoption of the scientific perspective of the land-surveyor, the prose observer in states and surveys supplies a wealth of factual information to substantiate the unified overview with which the work customarily begins.'

Aubrey's *Idea of Education*, and its adaptation of his prospective tendencies into practical pedagogy, the concluding chapter of this thesis will illustrate how the twinned histories of prose-writing and mapmaking leave Aubrey, for all his involvement in the intellectual *avant-garde* of his day, as a remnant of the older tradition of geography's intellectual inheritance which I have outlined in these pages.

V—The 'Idea of Education': Delight and the Imagination

Aubrey's *Idea of Education of Young Gentlemen* stands bibliographically in much the same state as his geographical manuscripts. Begun in 1669 and continued until around 1694 (though mostly completed in 1683-84), the *Idea* consists of scribbled notes; extended, conversational passages of speculation on techniques of education; and a provisional division and description of the various disciplines in which Aubrey's young gentlemen would be educated, as well as the institutions which would support these young boys. The work is very detailed in its description of formal educational arrangements—staff are listed with precise requirements as to their temperament and even nationality, the locations of the schools are proposed, and different forms of exercise and homework written out. Nevertheless, it is characteristically Aubreian in its messy organisation, and the mass of material transcribed and inserted from such varied authors as John Pell, John Milton, and René Descartes. It has received precious little dedicated critical attention, both in the context of contemporary educational writing and of Aubrey's broader corpus of work.[95] This is despite its typically conversational style, its synthesis of many diverse

[95] See, e.g., the extremely brief treatments in W.J Battersby, 'John Aubrey's *Idea of Education*', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 7.1 (1958): 50-5; J.E. Stephens, 'John Aubrey's *Idea of Education of Young Gentlemen*', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 1.1 (1968): 1-5. Aubrey's own education is surveyed in Kelsey Jackson Williams, 'Training the Virtuoso: John Aubrey's Education and Early Life', *The Seventeenth Century* 27.2 (2012): 157-82, but there is little reflection on how Aubrey's later theory was affected by his own educational background. The MS was edited, though with somewhat Rawlinsonian problems, in *Aubrey on Education: A Hitherto Unpublished Manuscript by the Author of Brief Lives*, ed. J.E. Stephens, Routledge, 1972. Much of the contemporary neglect may be due to the fact that the *Idea* is not digitised: due to its comprehensive immersion in most of the Aubrey MSS, Hunter's *John Aubrey* uses the *Idea* most fully of any work to date.

and contending theories of education, and, as I shall suggest, its potential to cast new light on Aubrey's more popular works.

Aubrey's model of education was fundamentally aristocratic. Drawing both explicitly and implicitly on John Milton's *Of Education*, Aubrey's *Idea*, in so far as it suggested any institutional arrangements, implied that his plans were restricted to gentlemen educated at small schools strictly populated by their social equals.[96] It is primarily in this context that the *Idea* as a whole has been situated: the royalist gentry, whose fortunes had declined under Cromwell, were in need of talent supplied by a new generation of educationalists.[97] Comparatively less stress has been placed on the *Idea*'s intellectual content in the round—though it has been frequently used for its brief discussion of the debates surrounding John Wilkins's *Essay towards a Real Character* (1668) and universal languages.[98] What follows will be equally selective, in the hope that a holistic treatment of the *Idea* will eventually emerge from further treatment of its parts.

Much energy is spent in the *Idea* on plans to reduce the bare unpleasantness of childhood education. Beatings are banned, recreation is emphasised, and methods of acquiring knowledge are reformed with a stress on minimal drudgery. Predictably, Aubrey sources many of his propositions from a seemingly endless store of contemporary anecdote. Here, for example, is Aubrey's account of the practice of the educationalist and scholar Israel Tonge's method of teaching Latin grammar:

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[96] See Battersby, 'John Aubrey's *Idea*', 51: 'the design [was] a plan to supply a system of education for young gentlemen of noble families by establishing some half-a-dozen schools in various parts of England and Wales, with a specially arranged syllabus of studies and a suitable code of regulations'. Battersby here presumably uses 'noble' loosely.

[97] See Stephens, 'John Aubrey's *Idea*', 1, for a historical summary of this predicament of the gentry.

[98] See Rhodri Lewis, 'The Efforts of the Aubrey Correspondence Group to Revise John Wilkins's *Essay* (1668) and their Context', *Historiographia Linguistica* 28.3 (2001): 331-64; Lewis, *Language, Mind and Nature: Artificial Languages in England from Bacon to Locke*, Cambridge UP, 2012, *ad indicem*; Poole, *John Aubrey*, 50-63.

> About 167.., he taught Scholars at the House of S^{r} ….. Fisher at Islington in Midd:, his schoole was in the Gallerie, where he pinned up severall Prints e.g. Heads of Alexander the great, Julius Ceasar, Hannibal, Scipio, Aristotle, Archimedes &c: e.g. when they came to a verb that governed an ablative case, it p*re*sently occurred to their memories, oh this verb is under Julius Caesar's head: & sic de ceteris: which way of Locall memorie made a fast impression, or Idea in their tender memories.[99]

With a glance at the popular aristocratic practice of adorning one's house with words and images of classical learning, Aubrey gives just one example of a formulation with which we have become familiar: learning, to most effectively endow the memory with 'ideas', should ideally be a pleasurable and visually striking pursuit.[100] Aubrey's further anecdotes increase this impression, and bring in a disciplinary parallel to grammar which at this point shall be less surprising than it should be. This time describing the teaching of Latin alongside applied mathematics, Aubrey describes the pedagogy of a certain non-conformist schoolmaster in Cheshire: 'Dr Martindale teaches both ^& wth very good successe^: and is the only person that I heare of, that does so. All his Scholars are good Surveyors; they take a great delight in it: and on playdayes make it their pleasure ^past-time^'.[101] In the context of the *Idea* on its own, the mention of surveying as an ideally delightful practice comes as something of a surprise: though often mentioned in aristocratic contexts as a 'suitable' occupation for the gentlemanly 'man of business', it was much less frequently viewed—other than by Burton—as a recreative discipline. But in the context of Aubrey's broader corpus of work, we can begin to understand why the geographical work of surveying came to the fore in the context of softening grammar's edges.

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[99] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 21^{r}. Aubrey wrote biography of Tonge in *Brief Lives*, MS Aubrey 6, fol. 49^{v}, and n. 101 below. He is here comparing Tonge's practise with that of Christopher Wase, who was also a popular grammarian, and had already published the very popular *Essay of Practical Grammar* in 1660, and a bilingual English and Latin dictionary in 1661. The grammar would go through seven editions before 1700, while Tonge's would remain unpublished.

[100] The *locus classicus* for the display of classical learning in one's house is Nicholas Bacon's house at Gorhambury, where images and quotations from the most eminent classical authors adorned many of the walls. See, e.g., Dominique Goy-Blanquet, 'Lord Keeper Bacon and the Writing on the Wall', *Law and Humanities* 4.2 (2010), 211-28.

[101] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 8a^{r}.

The view of landscape from an elevation was, we have repeatedly seen, something which both struck and delighted the Aubreian investigator. It is no wonder, then, that surveying and prospects take the lead metaphorical rôle in his description of more scholastic subjects, and how they might be communicated with greater facility. Further suggesting material for learning Latin grammar he writes that 'as for a short & clear prospect of Grammar, let them first learn Dr Ezerel Tongs in 2 half sheets, here adjoyned': aptly, Israel Tonge's unpublished notes on teaching grammar are inserted on a smaller, cut sheet of paper, much like the non-metaphorical prospects.[102] Aubrey is even more clear on the educational rôle of the prospect when discussing Logic:

> The Logick-notes of Trin: Coll: Oxon are as good perhaps as any are [by Bp Prideaux] they are short and clear: we learned them by heart. In teaching, it is the best, a most delightfull way for youth, first to see a prospect (as from a mountaine) of what the Science is: and then they will be the better encouraged to undertake a long journey thither: also it is good for them at last, to close with a Compendium.[103]

In a rare axiomatic key, Aubrey is very clear here about his definition of the prospect-as-metaphor: it is a brief, 'clear', 'delightful' and 'encouraging' glimpse of a subject which should then be pursued further.[104] It was correlated with, but not identical to, a 'compendium'. This is what distinguishes

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[102] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 21^r^. Aubrey was very admiring of the educator (and future inventor of the so-called 'Popish Plot') Tonge's methods in the *Brief Lives*, especially that of teaching writing. Aubrey's account of this method is highly relevant to this discussion of 'imagination' and play in education: 'the way of teaching children to write a good hand in twenty dayes' time, by writing over, with black inke, copies printed from copper-plates in red inke:—viz., the children (scilicet, about 8 or 9 aetatis) were to do it four howers in the day; i.e. 2 howers or 2 halfe-howers in the morning at a time (as the boyes' temper could endure it, without tyring him); and then to play as long; and then to it again, to keep up the idea in the child fresh.' MS Aubrey 8, fol. 10^v^. For more on Tonge see Aubrey, ed. Bennett, *Brief Lives*, vol. 2, 967-70.

[103] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 49^r^. These Logic notes are that of John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester and fellow of Exeter College. For a manuscript of Prideaux's which may be related to Aubrey's reference here (Exeter College MS 235), see William Poole, 'Learning By Crib: Some Seventeenth-Century Oxford "Systems"' in Anna Marie Roos, Gideon Manning (eds.), *Collected Wisdom of the Early Modern Scholar: Essays in Honor of Mordechai Feingold*, Springer, 2023: 79-100. This manuscript, however, contains 'only the lightest touch of logic' (92), and, ironically, is primarily preoccupied with teaching in geography.

[104] Aubrey also cites a cartographic metaphor which we have already encountered in Chapter 1, showing his debt to an earlier vein of the map-as-discourse trope: 'When they are to enter upon the Studie of the Common-Law, let ^them^ peruse "The Common-wealth of England, writ by Sr Tho: Smith, who hath declared sum*m*arily as it were in a Chart or Map, or as Aristotle saith, *hos en typo*, the Forme and Government of England"', fol. 68^v^. See above, 68-70.

Aubrey's conception of the prospect from the later authors. The question for the prospect-makers in de Bruyn's enlightenment canon inevitably also applies to Aubrey: 'Can such a prospect, such a landscape, be viewed as anything more than a theatrical spectacle or an object of aesthetic pleasure?'[105] But while the answer of many enlightenment authors would be in the affirmative only if the prospect was filled out with data and observations taken from the most modern techniques of surveying, Aubrey's would perhaps have been more paradoxical. For Aubrey, the prospect went beyond itself precisely *because* it was an 'object of aesthetic pleasure'. Pleasure, in Aubrey's view, had a peculiar effect on the mind which was itself preparatory for more complex knowledge.

This productive form of pleasure suffuses Aubrey's recommendations concerning educational *praxis*. In his scattered remarks on teaching Euclid, he first picks up the notion of surveying as a pleasurable activity, advising that 'they should be informed in the first 6 Bookes of Euclid's Elements: and when they are Masters of the first booke, they will easily learne & understand surveying; ^in^ wch they will take a good pleasure'.[106] Surveying was a pleasurable and practical counterpart to the rarefied *theoremata* of geometry. Later, he develops this thought into method, adding psychological detail to the initial surveying-pleasure connection: 'Let 'em drawe the Schemes themselves (wch will make a fast impression in their fancies; that they will see it (as it were) by the strength of imagination in the darke, & in their Beds<)>'.[107] Aubrey is constantly preoccupied with the connection between visual learning, delight, memory, and imagination. Discussing pure mathematics just before he moves on to Euclid, he notes a 'quaere' to be asked of John Pell, the mathematician and FRS:

> Quaere Dr Pell what is the best Idea for Children to have of Numbers? and as to Addition, & Subtraction in mind? whether the Imagination of a Scale of equall parts is not best? E.g. 7 +5 = 1. adde the 2, wch see as it were in your

[105] de Bruyn, 'Prospect Views', 249.
[106] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 30^{r}.
[107] MS Aubrey 10., fol. 38^{r}.

> imagination. The vulgar doe it (I suppose) by the remembrance only of y^e^ sounds of y^e^ names of Numbers: or is it better to make their Idea, by the imagination of the pippes in the Cards?[108]

Aubrey weighs up the relative imaginative value of seeing numbers on a looping scale from one to nine, and using the much coarser but more imaginatively rich technique of visualising the number of 'pippes' (i.e. diamonds, spades, clubs, hearts) on numbered playing cards.

The 'vulgarness' and ineffectiveness of learning simply by words or verbal sounds is the negative counterpart to these two modes of visualising number, and in an earlier passage Aubrey pursues this idea in a far more ramified fashion, where prose-style, delight, memory, invention and the prospect all collide in a remarkable statement of his theory of learning. Reviewing the various methods he has proposed for learning Latin grammar, he writes:

> This way of exercising their memories is much better, than the way commonly used in our Grammar-schooles, where they jade the Boies memories with Learning memoriter all their Lessons out of Classick authors: wch is tiresome to youths as not carrying delight along with it [...] Sr Henry Wotton saies somewhere jestingly, that Verse is the best way of "writing next to Prose<">: and 'tis certain that too much reading of the Poets spoiles a good prose-stile [...] but in Ovids metamorphoses & Homer, they should be very perfect [and no other ^Greeke or Latin^] for the delight, and delicacy of the Fancy, & the Lively descriptions, which they should imitate in Taskes (sometimes) but these Taskes to be in English blank verse: as is J. Miltons Paradise [...] But for the eliciting the inventive & poeticall faculty, and to discover, and find out their Genius's, let 'em sometimes for exercise make Descriptions in blanke verse, or in Prose e.g. of a Prospect; of a Faire; of a Fight; wedding &c.—ponere lucem.[109]

Aubrey's model of memory, as in his antiquarian manuscripts, turns not on the progressive induration of systematised knowledge, but on the ability of striking, delightful material to embed itself in young minds with exceptional success. In this meandering passage, Aubrey develops his view of delight's

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[108] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 30^r^.

[109] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 24^r^.

necessary presence in pedagogy, and does so with reference to styles of writing, and with particular attention paid to prose. He drastically narrows the recommended canon of poetry down to Ovid and Homer's epics, and even then they are to be culled—much like the views from which Aubrey took prospects—for the student's 'delight' at their 'liveliness'. He worries that any more reading of poetry would ruin the students' prose style: the nature of this ruination remains unfortunately unelaborated, though we might guess that it had something to do with the 'height' that Aubrey so detested in classical Latin. Nevertheless, he concludes with a more definitive statement of what writing in verse or prose must accomplish. The student must write 'descriptions' of, among other things, prospects, in blank verse or prose (presumably the artificial concinnities of rhyme would drag on the description's immediacy), and these descriptions would somehow 'elicit' the student's capacity to invent, or be 'poeticall'. The foundation of this recommendation is to be found in standard rhetorical practice: *topographia*, or the description of a place of particular interest, was one technique used for the production of *enargeia*, as his well-worn image of light (*ponere lucem*) suggests.[110]Aubrey's bringing in of *enargeia,* however, was not done in order to teach persuasion, but rather to cultivate and discover the students' 'Genius', their idiosyncratic mental formation set alight with the tinder of a well-chosen exercise in description. Like the prospects which he drew, these 'descriptions' were not of internal value—what use in imagining a wedding in great detail?—but were *loci* where the mind could recreate itself, where delightsome practice could draw out the faculties inherent in a student's psychological makeup.[111] If such an exercise in style—like Aubrey's own prose-style—could provoke a *quaere* or spur the mind to further thought, then its whetstone-like function would be fulfilled.

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[110] On *topographia* see Preston, 'The Gallery'.

[111] On the wedding as a trope for rhetorical expansion, see Erasmus, ed. Craig Thompson, 'De copia rerum ac verborum', in *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, 89 vols., vol. 24, 290-660, here 580.

The obverse to Aubrey's education through visual delight is found at an earlier point in the *Idea*, when discussing the malpractice of 'French Academies':

> 'Tis true there are Masters for Mathem:, for Logick, for the Lute, & Ghitarre, and all these are learn't & jumbled together when they are great fellowes [but generally rawe as to learning] at an age ^more^ proper for matrimony ^mariage^; & when their minds doe chiefly run-on the propagating of their race ^nature will be nature still at 18+^. So, that at this age, and with these circumstances, their Information is like writing on greazie parchment: it will not stick, and leave an impression: or like painting anew on an old picture, the new colours will not be imbib'd.[112]

Aubrey describes the risk of an undelightful education with reference to a now-metaphorical form of visual learning. Like the muddying effect of adding new paint to old, the 'liveliness' of Logic, Music, and Mathematics would be diminished by attempting to impose them on young men preoccupied with sexual conquest.[113] We have seen how Aubrey often made haste when sketching a prospect, loathing to sacrifice the vigour of the moment for revised neatness; here too, ripeness is all in the prompting of young minds to good thought. What is at stake in this passage, and throughout the *Idea*, is the need for a pleasurable imparting of information to a mind sufficiently impressionable to use this information for improving its 'wit', 'genius', or 'Idea'. Later, Aubrey inserts a passage more than a century old from Robert Recorde's *Whetstone of Wit* (1557) on Arithmetic:

> one commoditie that all men that studie that arte <sc. mathematics>, do feele, I cannot omit. That is the filing, sharpning, and quickening of the wit, that by practise of Arithmatick doeth insue. It teaches menne and accustometh them, so certainly to remember things past: So circumspectly to consider things present: and so providently forsee things that follow: that it may truly be called the *File of Witte*. Yea it may aptly be named the *Scholehouse of Reason*.[114]

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[112] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 9^{r}.

[113] Aubrey is particularly fraught on this point, recounting Thomas Hobbes's difficulty at learning mathematics at the age of forty, and speculating that ''Tis as if a man of 30, or 40 should learn to play on the Lute, when the joints of the fingers are knitt: there may be something analogall <sic.> to this in the Braine & understanding.' MS Aubrey 10, fol. 8a^{r}.

[114] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 37^{r}.

We return here to the general praise of prudence which was attached to so many documents of humanist pedagogy, not only the geographical: many of the secular *artes* were seen to improve a student's cognitive competence in all walks of life, constructing an inclusive *habitus* which underwrote 'all sorts of disciplines'.

In rehearsing material in this tradition from the early sixteenth century, Aubrey conceives of himself at least partially as an educator in the old style, a pedagogue who appealed with naïve optimism to the all-surveying life of the mind. But what is unique in Aubrey is his personal vision of the form which this education would take. We saw at the very beginning, with his quotation of Suckling, that it was an abbreviated, teasing form of instruction which Aubrey believed to be most effective. In the *Idea*, too, it is this clipped, rough, and *impressionnant* style which wins out for its pedagogical efficiency. And perhaps unsurprisingly, we can find it most clearly in Aubrey's discussion of the two disciplines with which this thesis has been concerned. Two closing examples will suffice to show his line of thinking. Shortly after his rumination on how best to memorise Euclid, Aubrey returns once again to a favourite practice:

> Let them be instructed in the Rules ^art^ of Perspective (wch is very easie). And let those (whose Genii doe incline them) by intervalls, & for their recreation practise Drawing. I would have those Lovers, make Perspectives of Walkes of cypresse-trees; and of Pillars, in Levell: uphill: and downhill. which is easie to do (there being no difficulty of draught in it) and extremely pleasant to the eie.[115]

This recommendation of learning perspective—by the most 'pleasant' means first—leads on to Aubrey's miscellaneous advice for drawing horses (at life size, on many sheets of paper stuck together), greyhounds (in a 'reduced' form of a square and an oblong when standing, or a right-angled triangle

[115] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 39^{r}.

when sitting), and other curious objects. In conclusion, however, he gets at his point: 'Now by this graphicall exercise, I doe not intend or expect to have them Titians, or Van dyks: but I would have them to proceed so far, as to be able to drawe Prospects or Engines &c. and to expresse their owne Inventions of them'.[116] The ambiguity of Aubrey's phrasing is revealing: his pleasant but comically rough training (what would a sitting greyhound look like if reduced to a triangle?) would lead at last to the drawing of prospects, 'Engines', and 'Inventions', the latter a term which suggests both the laboratory and the forum. Aubrey's pleasurably sketchy method would fit students to 'invent' according to the sole bent of their own nurtured 'Genius'.

Compare this to a later passage of Aubrey's, this time on the teaching of rhetoric: first, we see Aubrey worrying, in a fashion close to his private complaints concerning 'high-style', about the reading of sermons: 'The Rhetorication of the Preachers (generally) is not close enough: too laxe, & vagous: like Pindarique Poetrie'.[117] 'Close', that is, of sufficient concision and brevity to fit Aubrey's ideal form of education, is close to 'minute' in the collection of words implying their author's own preferences in prose-style. 'Pindarique'—a byword for cascading and interminable lines of breathtaking 'height', Englished by Cowley in what became a byword for baggy lines—would not serve the educational needs of his pupils. Thus, Aubrey arrives at his own metaphor for how students should be trained in prose composition, beautifully expressing the pedagogical virtues of brevity:

> Let 'em be taught ^shewed^ how to drawe-out, and improve hints, wch is the life of invention: as the birds teach their young ^by degrees^ to fly, first by fluttering from sprig to sprig. <...> So would I have the Informator of Oratory to shew them how to improve their Hints in Oratory: first let the Scholar doe as well as he can then let the master shew him how to drawe it ^out^, yet farther: sc.: give 'em 2, or 3 periods, or paragraffs, as plain song, and then shew them how to descant upon it: and derive it into Branches. So Lute-masters &c: play along with their Scholars: By this way whom once they have gott the

[116] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 40a^{r}.
[117] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 66^{r}.

> knack of it (provided they have ingeniose soules) their witts become luxuriant as a Vine: and will runne away with it at a maine rate.[118]

This is the closest we get to a developed statement of method from Aubrey: working with 'hints', Bennett's chosen term for Aubrey's style of writing and living, the 'Informator' would give only as much form to the student's exercises as would set their 'invention' moving according to their ingenuity. The vagueness is the point: Aubrey does not determine in advance what will result from his hinting pedagogy; as in prospects (to paraphrase Suckling), what matters is that the teacher leaves room to guess. These two practical recommendations, concerning prospect-making and prose-writing, thus show Aubrey's commitment to a certain epistemological style with exceptional clarity: the broken-off, the rough, and the pleasurably vivid formed his aesthetic of education.

Reading the *Idea* (and all the other works of Aubrey I have surveyed), we too feel we are fluttering from sprig to sprig, from observation to observation, between prospects, *quaeres*, and hints: Aubrey's philosophy of education is reflected perfectly in the resoundingly imperfect bibliographical state of his works. In a letter to Evelyn attached to the *Idea*, Aubrey instructs him as to its preservation: 'If I chance to dye before you return me the Book, be pleased to leave it with Dr Hooke at Gresham college; where is a great Chest on wch is writt IDEA in the Library, wch is full of Books relating to it. But I foresee, that if I dye, they will lye there coffin'd-up, no body have <*sic*> that Generosity as to sett afoot this noble Design'.[119] Like the 'young gentleman' who would eventually render his works into Latin (though not in the 'high-style'), the *Idea* relied on others to be completed. Content to be a 'whetstone' for the work of the more practically effective, Aubrey focussed his whole attention on the type of work which would be memorable, pleasurable, delightful, but resolutely incomplete. Aubrey's

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[118] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 67^{v}.
[119] MS Aubrey 10, fol. 2^{r}.

almost-earnest lament to Evelyn about his own inability to implement his pedagogical schemes thus turns out to be reflective of his educational philosophy writ large, as well as a humble recognition of his own capacities and their particular scope. He thought that the best way to strike the minds of the youth (and of those who would take hints from his antiquarian writing) was to write prospectively, to inform through the 'minute', vivid and rough style of communication which prospects themselves came so aptly to emblematise: that his works survive as 'ideas'—as similarly rough, open, yet altogether striking artefacts—shows the authentically pervasive quality of this aspect of his thought, just as much as a maggoty-headed inattention to literary legacy. This, *pace* Macintyre, is what divides Aubrey from his intellectual hero Bacon. While Bacon was a 'cartographer of futurity', he was very clear about what he wanted to be achieved: he 'mapped out' (in only one limited sense of that phrase) a program where forms would be discovered and works would be performed. His metaphors of mapping would eventually be cast aside for the 'real' work to begin. Aubrey, like Burton and Fuller, left far more to be guessed. He consciously saw his writing and his prospects as generative, pleasurable, and provocative: but he left the full elaboration of his proposals unstated. If the summoning of imaginative energy conjured by his prospective prose were to finally result in the metaphysical knowledge and 'works' which Bacon so idolised, then all the better. But Aubrey knew who he was, and what he could do: if any sparks at all flew from the *cos* as it sharpened the minds of others, then his work was done.

With Aubrey, then, we come to the end of an alternative trajectory in the history of cartography and literature between late humanism and early enlightenment. As, in Macintyre's terms, a 'true' Baconian, Aubrey in fact showed in his thought about mapping and other matters a bolder commitment to doubt, provisionality, and messiness than his intellectual model ever did. It has been my suggestion throughout this thesis that the seeds for such a conception of cartography—one which stressed delight, doubt, and a reform of the mind geared towards a learned responsiveness to the

varietas of worldly circumstance—were sown by the language used in the documents of university education. The creative reading of this material by the authors I have considered allowed them to understand certain questions as implicitly 'cartographic' which had little to do with space, representation, or the elision of quotidian experience by Apollo's eye.

Aubrey's attempt to write an educational work, and its survival as an artefact which can be called many things, but not a 'textbook', thus only partially returns to the formal pedagogical contexts with which I opened. The ambiguous but attractive virtues of an education in geography which the textbooks advertised could not have been fully expressed in their substantial content, because of the burden of information needing to be imparted—this, indeed, is the foundation of Grafton and Jardine's influential account with which my introduction reckoned.[120] My concern, rather, has been how authors less bound to the demands of a growing student population adapted these imagined virtues to suit their own epistemological, aesthetic, and ethical commitments, and that these commitments were equally manifest in these authors' prose-style. Bacon saw metaphor and mapping as analogous, with both occupying an important but intermediate place in his staged process of investigation; Burton buffeted his readers with *curiosa*, found both in his library of maps and the billowing 'referential edifice' of his prose; Fuller threw his whole career into the construction of a moderate *habitus*, which in his *Pisgah-sight* required an ingenious wedding of prose-style to map-making.[121] Aubrey's prose, we have seen, was locked in step with his prospects, directed along with his whole literary output towards the delightful and purposively ambiguous provocation of future thought. These authors have, at one point or another, all been used to tell stories of the development

[120] See above 34ff.

[121] 'Referential edifice' is Geoffrey Hill's: see 'Keeping the Middle Way', in *Collected Critical Writings*, ed. Kenneth Haynes, Oxford UP, 2009, 297-316, here 311.

of prose across the century— 'Self-consuming', 'Attic', 'Senecan', and 'Baroque' are some of the more popular epithets that have emerged in discussions of the authors I have written about, and which I have studiously avoided until now.[122] The history of cartography and geography, unsurprisingly, has not conventionally touched upon the concerns of these studies: one purpose of this thesis has been to show how the disciplinary voraciousness of seventeenth-century prose absorbed a particular conception of geography precisely in order to express its most vital concerns, and that we must look to the rhetoric of educational material to find an imaginative base for many authors' most animating preoccupations. In conclusion, I will briefly suggest how the histories of prose and cartography, at around the time of Aubrey's writing career, do in fact glancingly touch one another as part of a broad mythography of 'science' and factual expression. This notional coming-together, however, was of a different historical and epistemological order to the odd marriage outlined in this thesis.

[122] See, e.g., Neil Rhodes (ed.), *English Renaissance Prose: History, Language, Politics*, Medieval and Renaissance Text Society, 1997, esp. Rhodes, 'Introduction: History, Language, and the Politics of English Renaissance Prose', 1-18; Stephen Clucas, '"A Knowledge Broken": Francis Bacon's Aphoristic Style and the Crisis of Scholastic and Humanist Knowledge-Systems', 147-72, Jonathan Sawday, 'Shapeless Elegance: Robert Burton's Anatomy of Knowledge', 173-202; Morris W. Croll, 'Attic Prose: Montaigne, Lipsius, Bacon', in *Style, Rhetoric, Rhythm: Essays by Morris W. Croll*, eds. J. Max Patrick and Robert O. Evans, Princeton UP, 1966, 167-202, and 'The Baroque Style in Prose', in *idem*, 207-34; George Williamson, *The Senecan Amble: a Study in Prose Form from Bacon to Collier*, Faber & Faber, 1951.

Conclusion: Styles of 'Science'

> But if the story is not new, Jones has enriched it with new detail, longer quotations, and revealing illustrations. Best of all there is his illustration by parallel passages of [Joseph] Glanvill's re-writing (in 1676) of his *Vanity of Dogmatizing*, "so alter'd as to be in a manner new." This is delightfully illuminating. The citations from the earlier work show that Glanvill, like so many others, was then trying awkwardly and amusingly to shoot in [Sir Thomas] Browne's bow. The parallels from the later version reveal and justify the new vision of a clear, lighted prose. They give the reader the same impression that he may receive when he walks from dark vaulted halls into the Library of Trinity College, which is perhaps a work of Wren's.[1]

These words are Morris Croll's, the great early-century historian of seventeenth century prose, in response to R.F. Jones's exceptionally influential article on 'Science and English Prose Style' at the period in which Aubrey wrote. Croll's praise was reserved for this section of Jones's argument only: the remainder of the review was spent quarrelling with Jones's historiography. Croll was a partisan, for his whole career, of the view that the changes to fashions of prose-style at the end of the century were not breaks with the foregoing stylistic *Zeitgeist*, but the fulfilment of a century-long movement against 'Ciceronianism'—the polished, symmetrical and 'oratorical' style of writing favoured by the earliest humanists—which the new changes only brought forward in its inevitable historical *cursus*. Of the 'plain style' championed by members of the Royal Society, Croll wrote that 'it was an attempt, a successful attempt, to take the heat and fever out of the imaginative naturalism of Montaigne, Bacon, and Browne, to prune their conceits and metaphors, to restrain the wild motions of their eloquence. But it did not change the form and structure of the prose of its time. [...] Glanvill's later style is a revision of Browne's; and [Thomas] Sprat's easy periods have almost exactly the form of Bacon's harder and knottier ones'.[2] For Croll, the foundational moment in prose's seventeenth-century

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[1] Morris Croll, 'Reviews of R. F. Jones's "Science and English Prose Style in the Third Quarter of the Seventeenth Century"' (1931), in *Seventeenth Century Prose: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. Stanley Fish, Oxford UP, 1971, 90-93, here 91. Croll is referring to the passages from Glanvill's first and second editions, and printed in parallel, in Richard Foster Jones, 'Science and English Prose Style, 1650-1675', (1930), in *Seventeenth-Century Prose*, ed. Fish, 53-89, here 66-9.

[2] Croll, 'Reviews', 91.

development was the turn away from Cicero as a model to Seneca, whose closeness of expression and sententious periods provided a model for the whole period from Bacon to Glanvill—both the emotive, 'baroque' style of Sir Thomas Browne, and the brutal trimming away of metaphor and ornament by Hobbes, the Society, and so many other authors of the Restoration. It was a difference of degree, rather than kind.

The debate had no clear winner: like many later 'revisionist' histories which favoured historical continuity over dramatic breaks, Croll failed to register the real sense of change felt and expressed by the late-century reformers of style; nevertheless, his interpretation went at least some way to explaining the clear and acknowledged debt the reformers owed to earlier writing, chiefly that of Bacon. In one of the rare more recent attempts to think synthetically about the prose of this period, Ian Robinson comes down in favour of Jones in a qualified fashion: 'Jones shares, and Croll quite astonishingly stands out against, the basic perception of the critics that in the decade beginning in 1660 there was a great change in prose and world'.[3] Robinson's interest here is in describing 'the prose world', or the common linguistic assumptions of an age, where 'what we take so for granted that we build it into every sentence we write' characterises historically contingent periods of prose-style.[4] For him, Jones didn't quite go far enough in noticing the profound commitment many held to a 'scientific' style: 'there is a quasi religious fervour about it that belongs more to a whole world than to science'.[5] Not one of these scholars, however, disagreed that after the Restoration a new set of terms were used to describe correct prose-style, and that—if only for reasons of sheer weight of published matter—such a style was most clearly described by the group of men associated with the Royal Society. Croll's own

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[3] Robinson, *The Establishment of Modern English Prose in the Reformation and the Enlightenment*, Cambridge UP, 1998, 159.
[4] Robinson, *The Establishment*, 155.
[5] Robinson, *The Establishment*, 161.

metaphorical fervour belies any straightforward disenchantment with the sense of change felt by these men: Glanvill's updated prose-style could not but remind him of the limpid airiness which characterises the late-century architecture of the Wren Library. That the association made here is with a great innovator in the practical arts, rather than with Seneca's prose, shows the basic agreement between Croll and Jones on a fundamental intellectual grouping of the period's prose-style and a set of practical pursuits which, for better or for worse, have been termed 'science'.

Such a metaphor is unsurprisingly useful for elaborating the particular connections and departures with which this thesis ends. With Aubrey, we encounter a man who, for all his close personal and intellectual relationships to figures such as Glanvill and Wren, thought in a way which was both like and unlike that of his set. We have seen that Aubrey held fast to a particularly 'close', rough, and imaginatively striking style of thought, which in its tireless desire to strike the mind grew out into a prose-style and cartographic practice whose intended ends were identical. In his recommendations for styles of communication, Aubrey hit often upon the terms of art used by the Society's prose-panegyrists. Thomas Sprat, whose *History of the Royal Society* (1667) is by far the most expansive expression of the stylistic commitments under discussion (and must stand here for the others), gave perhaps the best-articulated view of the ideal 'scientific' prose-style:

> they [*sc.* the Society] have exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions; clear senses; a native easiness: bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can: and preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that, of Wits, or Scholars.[6]

[6] Sprat, *The history of the Royal-Society of London for the improving of natural knowledge,* London: for J. Martyn, 1667, 113. For another dictum of this group on 'closeness', see John Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching as it falls under the Rules of Art*, London: for M.F., 1646, 74: 'Our expressions should be so *close*, that they may not be *obscure*, and so *plain*, that they may not seem vain and *tedious*.'

Aubrey, we have seen, held disdain for the 'lax and vagous' style of preaching, for it would not teach students the properly 'close' style of rhetoric. But we have also seen that, for Aubrey, this commitment to closeness was not necessarily in the name of 'Mathematical plainness' or 'positive expression'. Here is Sprat on the pre-Socratic style of philosophising:

> but perhaps it left some ill influence, on the whole Philosophy of their Successors; and gave the Grecians occasion ever after of exercising their wit, and their imagination, about the works of Nature, more then was consistent with a sincere Inquiry into them.[7]

And here again, just before his praise of the Society's 'close' style, on the perils of wordiness and prolixity:

> they [*sc.* ornaments of style] make the Fancy disgust the best things, if they come sound, and unadorn'd: they are in open defiance against Reason; professing, not to hold much correspondence with that; but with its Slaves, the Passions: they give the mind a motion too changeable, and bewitching, to consist with right practice.[8]

These passages are proof-texts for most readings of late-seventeenth-century prose-style; how out of step Aubrey could be with this norm is clear from what I have indicated above. To strike the 'fancy' of his students and those who read his antiquarian works was a *desideratum* for Aubrey; so too was the need for 'exercising their wit, and their Imagination'.[9] That this was accomplished with his characteristically brief, 'close', and sketchy style of expression speaks to the profound difference in how Aubrey understood these tropes in comparison to the stylistic reformers. As a whetstone for the virtuosi rather than a virtuoso himself, his task and his style had different demands.

It follows that just as Glanvill's revised prose was comparable to Wren's Library, Aubrey's stylistic relation to mapmaking, another of the 'practical spatial arts', appears according to an aesthetic

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[7] Sprat, *History,* 6.

[8] Sprat, *History*, 112.

[9] Robinson, *Establishment*, 165, calls the prose of this period 'an explicitly anti-imaginative medium'.

other than that of plainness, neatness, and perspicuity. As with Bacon, Burton and Fuller, the notion of geography he inherited and adapted was one which led to a doubtful and often-messy style in both map and prose, which cleaved rather to the mind's nurture than strict accuracy of expression.[10] It will perhaps not be surprising, then, that such synthetic treatments of seventeenth-century cartography as exist sketch a trajectory not dissimilar to that which showed prose to be gradually, inevitably stripped of all that wasn't clear and stated fact. Matthew Edney, whose salvos against an 'un-processual' approach to map-history set the tone for this thesis, wrote a representative passage in an earlier article.[11] The passage, which though attempting to banish the notion of 'progress' from the field outlines a familiar movement, is worth including at length:

> The intellectual agenda of the Renaissance humanists had emphasised the particularity and contingency of both physical nature and of human existence and so recognized that there were many different avenues to knowledge. But this philosophical tolerance was destroyed by the stark divisions drawn between the religious dogmas constructed at the end of the sixteenth century. The horrors of the Thirty Years' War, and the search for a moral reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics, led Descartes and other natural philosophers to promote a logical, systematic and rational enquiry which did not depend on personal belief. The multiple perspectives of the 1500s gave way to a single perspective of rationality, which was explicitly sanctioned by the European states when they established scientific academies after 1660. Ortelius could put two quite different maps of Denmark on one plate in his *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570) without fear of confusing a reader, but the new intellectual regime transformed this epistemological multiplicity into self-contradiction; the new epistemological singularity required that at any one time, there should be only one map of one territory.[12]

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[10] See Sprat on Bacon, *History*, 36: 'He was a Man of strong, cleer, and powerful Imaginations: his Genius was searching, and inimitable: and of this I need give no other proof, then his Style it self; which as, for the most part, it describes mens minds, as well as Pictures do their Bodies; so it did his above all men living. The course of it vigorous, and majestical: The Wit Bold, and Familiar: The comparisons fetch'd out of the way, and yet the most easie [...] yet his History not so faithful, as might have been wish'd in many places, he seems rather to take all that comes, then to choose; and to heap, rather, then to register.'

[11] See above 12-15.

[12] Edney, 'Cartography without "Progress": Reinterpreting the Nature and Historical Development of Mapmaking', *Cartographica* 30.2-3 (1993): 54-68, here 62. For another narrative which partially covers the century, see David Woodward, 'Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change', in *HOC3*, 3-24.

Readers of the foregoing pages will recognise this characterisation of the seventeenth century only in a qualified sense. While Edney's deep literacy in the primary documents of cartographic history is not to be quarrelled with, and his position has since been revised, this passage profoundly resembles the histories of prose which, like this vision of mapmaking, saw the later seventeenth century as a time when the one-to-one ratio of representation and reality was the thing to be sought. The studies of 'literary geographies' with which this thesis has taken issue have very often absorbed narratives of this type: this is the cartography that does violence to 'practice', that attempts to epistemologically dominate the world.

I have argued, rather, that closer consideration shows some of this period's prose-authors, who thought especially deeply about mapping, to have been in a much greater debt to an older conception of geography's virtues. This could not but have been the case: the textbooks through which the majority of the educated (doomed not to be pioneers in the field) learned geography based their most expressive statements of purpose on this older tradition. Against any perceived triumph of 'logical, systematic and rational enquiry' in a broader picture of cartography's cultural image at this time, I have outlined a historical *hiatus*, where those authors of prose who preceded or overwent Sprat's prescriptions for style often did so with recourse to a view of geography which also flew in the face of any ascendent 'regime' of cartographic order. While Bacon attempted to systematise knowledge, and was perhaps the single greatest influence on those authors of 'facts' associated with the Royal Society, he did not see the language of mapping as itself implying a complete system. Rather, like the authors described in the rest of this thesis, he used the image of the map to suggest a first foray into the management of *varietas*, a provisional arrangement of natural-historical information before metaphysics took the reins. Burton used the *incredibilem rerum varietatem* on the many maps and map-books which he owned and saw as a cure; the type of guided but pleasurable attention extolled

by the textbooks was pushed beyond a simple humanist idealism in his vision of reforming melancholy. Fuller, amid the civil wars, saw *varietas* as both the tragedy of the times, and something to be left—at least in the world of confessional Biblical scholarship—to subsist, if any fellow-feeling were to remain among men. His maps, paired with an evasive but ingratiating rhetoric, put matters of doubt at the very front of the reader's mind as an ethical imperative. Aubrey could afford to be far more optimistic: the pleasure of his prospects brought him to an ecstasy of disorganised but rapt thought, imagining an educational scene where geographical delight, rather than systematic aptitude, was at the heart of the curriculum.

One final example of geography's curious institutional and cultural reputation in the middle years of the century will serve to close the curtains on this period, and leave Sprat and the sextant to a shared (though no less fraught) 'Enlightenment'.[13] Barten Holyday's disastrous academic play *Technogamia* (1618) was first performed to the students of Christ Church, Oxford (while Burton was a Student there) and later to the King at Woodstock. Holyday's lumbering writing (mainly in prose) was so grindingly dull that the King, according to Anthony Wood, attempted to leave twice: 'the performance was too grave for the king, and too scholastic for the auditory, (or as some have said, that the actors had taken too much wine before they began) his majesty, after two acts, offr'd several times to withdraw'.[14] The play, written by and partially for an academic crowd, shows the strife between and eventual marriage of a group of allegorised university disciplines, presided over by 'Polites' and including one 'Geographus'. Geographus, whose servant is the aptly named Phantastes,

[13] The sextant, whose ability to accurately measure angles between objects caused a revolution in navigational (and hence cartographic) accuracy, was first implemented in 1731, though Isaac Newton's manuscripts contain a similar principle.

[14] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 2 vols., London: for Thomas Bennett, 1691-92, vol. 2, 170. For a recent reading of *Technogamia* in its theatrical context, see Natália Pikli, 'The Hobby-horse in University Plays and on Politicized Public Stages', in *Shakespeare's Hobby-horse and Early Modern Popular Culture*, Routledge, 2021, 165-211.

is a rakish, dissipated, and fantastically-minded figure, whose infatuation with Polites's virtuous daughter Astronomia is a problem for the play's patriarchs. To get money for subsistence, he establishes himself as a teacher, and produces an advertisement which smacks of a broad humanist erudition:

> If there be any Gentleman, that, for the accomplishing of his natural indowments, intertaynes a desire of learning the languages, especially, the nimble French, maiestike Spanish, courtly Italian, masculine Dutch, happily-compounding Greeke, mysticall Hebrew, and physicall Arabicke; or that is otherwise transported with the admirable knowledge of forraine policies, complementall behauiour, naturall dispositions, or whatsoeuer else belongs to any people or country vnder heauen; he shall, to his abundant satisfaction, be made happy in his expectation and successe, if he please to repaire to the signe of the Globe.[15]

Under the 'signe of the Globe' an array of humane learning is grouped, aimed typically at the 'Gentleman' who wishes to polish his 'natural indowments'. We find ourselves once again with a newly-institutionalised discipline, whose self-justification was a typically humanist appeal to a learned and aristocratic *habitus*.

Geographus disappears from the middle acts of the play, but returns in a final scene of lovestruck submission to Polites, who eventually grants wary permission for him to marry Astronomia. After Geographus offers a varnished summary of his own life and work, Polites gives his judgement:

> Hum, the method is sufficiently approoueable: but I like that very well that you place Policy first; and would wish you to prosecute that fully, with the most subtle examinations of your purest iudgement: 'twill be worth your trauaile: and 'tis a maine fault of your common Geographers, that now-a-dayes doe rather garnish the margine of a Map, then materially describe it; and onely draw a companie of lines through it; as if they had rid ouer the Countrie to take notice onely of the high-wayes; which yet a Carriers Horse knowes better

[15] Holyday, *Technogamia, or the Marriages of the Arts*, London: for John Parker, 1618, I.vii.

> then they; neglecting in the meane time more solid obseruations; whilest their fancies (I will not say iudgements) are weakly satisfied with these fruitlesse superficialities; not vnlike your sedentary Students, who for the attaining of a little glorie with some few lesse iudicious of their owne Sect, stirred vp with a contemplatiue ambition, earnestly prosecute those studies, which themselues shall neuer reduce vnto practice, in the actions of their life.[16]

Polites's reasoning here is no less motivated than the other characters'. His watchwords are order, judgement, and reason, and these are ideas which are seen as alien to the 'common Geographers'. This rabble of geographically-minded smatterers, in their focus on the 'margine of a Map', do not go beyond the 'fancy'; they linger in the type of general, 'gentlemanly' learning in which Geographus had advertised his expertise. To be suitable for Astronomia, Geographus must banish Phantastes—φανταστής, which in Greek signified both a 'boaster' and one who was led, or deluded, by the visual Imagination—and 'reduce vnto practice' his airy speculation.[17]

In view of the material considered in this thesis, Holyday's Geographus seems not an image of geography gone wrong, but an accurate reading of its institutional reputation during the seventeenth century. Geographus as ruled by Polites, reduced to order and stripped of wayward mental fantasies, was perhaps an ideal to be aspired to, or an aspect of the picture, but he was not the whole of geography. The play makes much of the disciplines it portrays trespassing beyond the boundaries which a rightly ordered institution should set for them, stepping dangerously into extracurricular recreation: the material I have considered here, though, put a recreative, productively diverted cast of mind at the rhetorical centre of practical geography as taught within the universities. Later in the century, this ideal of a controlled, 'factual' and unimaginative geography would fall into step with the

[16] Holyday, *Technogamia*, IV.i.
[17] *Liddell and Scott*, s.v. 'φανταστής'.

ideal of prose, each with an Olympian arrogance. Consider Sprat's description of an ongoing cartographic project:

> they have suggested the making a perfect Survey, Map, and Tables of all the fix'd Stars within the Zodiac, both visible to the naked eye, and discoverable by a six foot Telescope, with a large aperture; towards the observing the apparent places of the Planets, with a Telescope both by Sea and Land. This has been approv'd, and begun, several of the Fellows having their portions of the Heavens allotted to them.[18]

A prose which could render the world entirely transparent to the observer, and a map of the Heavens which was parcelled up and apportioned to the well-mannered Fellows of the Royal Society, were without doubt analogous goals among certain thinkers by the later decades of the century. But the earlier prose, which was more open to the vagaries of mind and the bents of the imagination, could be just as 'geographical' as the one which cast out these personal oddities. Geography at the time of *Technogamia* and the other writings considered here, as it had been institutionalised and codified, was not a 'science'—a term which collapses under the slightest pressure of nominalism—but it was a discipline with recognised habits of thought, a form of knowing which was related to and expressed through other such forms, including prose. Its closeness in conceptual matter and linguistic basis to a distinct canon of prose-writing, whose own bearing on 'science', the 'early Enlightenment' and other phantoms is so fraught, represents a period of voracious reading across disciplines, remarkable creativity in adapting the tropes of university education to writing beyond that education's concerns, and worthy attention to the mind's involvement in life and learning. Geographus worked, like many of his contemporaries, with character and language: his and their goal was not only the advancement of learning, but a mind well-turned and a life well-lived.

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[18] Sprat, *History*, 190-1.

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