

**Gifted travellers: rhetorical invention in seventeenth-century English travel  
writing**

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## Abstract

‘Gifted travellers: rhetorical invention in seventeenth-century English travel writing’

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This thesis argues that seventeenth-century English travellers drew on the precepts of rhetorical invention to understand and describe their experiences on the road. It focusses on the writings of Thomas Coryate, Henry Blount, William Scott, John Cartwright, and Edward Terry, all of whom travelled to the ‘Old World’ (Africa, Europe, and Asia, as opposed to the ‘New World’ of the Americas) for diplomatic, mercantile, and religious purposes in the period before 1660. It reconstructs aspects of the humanist pedagogy that these writers encountered at school and university to show that they used this intellectual training in settings far removed from their classrooms. It reveals that travellers drew on the topical approaches of a number of other genres, including the essay, tragedy, and the sermon. It examines the ethical and cognitive aspects of travel, demonstrating that practices of note-keeping were central to travellers’ regimens of self-knowledge and self-discipline. Setting travel writing within the discourses of natural philosophy and natural history, it shows that travellers, like other observers, were expected to transform the particulars of their experiences into universals, or general knowledge; it explains that this process, which was figuratively understood as ‘digestion’, inflected both the language and form of travellers’ works. It positions classical rhetoric as a background in which to see cross-cultural encounters in sharper relief, showing that travellers used their reading, and the precepts of invention, to bring things that were distant and unfamiliar closer to home.

The first chapter situates Thomas Coryate’s eponymous *Coryats Crudities* (1611) within the contexts of ancient pilgrimage practices and classical understandings of *ekphrasis*, to show that Coryate fashions the account as a ‘tour’ that enables English readers to participate, as proxy witnesses, in his travels. Turning from Coryate’s ‘crudity’, the second chapter examines Henry Blount’s *A Voyage into the Levant* (1636), illustrating that Blount’s account is partly composed

through the digestion of writings of Francis Bacon and Michel de Montaigne, and that its observations, though presented as the direct product of the traveller's eyewitness experience, draw on earlier works by Bacon and George Sandys. The third chapter moves to discuss the anonymous *Sir Thomas Smithes voiage and entertainment in Rushia* (1605), and explains its emphasis on plotting, and the virtue of prudence, by reading it alongside classical and early modern theories of rhetorical disposition, including William Scott's *Model of Poesy*; Scott may have been involved in the composition of *Smithes voiage*. The fourth chapter focusses on John Cartwright's *The Preachers Travels* (1611), and explores the various strategies that Cartwright, a traveller whose reputation had been damaged during a previous expedition, employs to establish *ethos* and acquire credit. The final chapter studies Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), and it demonstrates that Terry draws on his training as a preacher, particularly the imperative to 'apply' passages of scripture to the auditory's experience, in crafting his account.

The thesis resituates travel writing as a creative, experimental, and theoretically sophisticated body of material, and broadens the scope of what early modern 'literature' might be said to comprise. More significantly, it offers a fresh assessment of the significance of travel to the cultural, intellectual, and literary life of early modern England, by showing that travel writing informed how this period thought about language, knowledge, cognition, governance, religion, and identity.

## Acknowledgements

If my experience of doctoral research is in sympathy with Richard Hakluyt's description of editing *The Principal Navigations*, as a series of 'long & chargeable journeys' through 'famous libraries', 'ancient and modern writers', and 'old records, patents, privileges, letters, &c.', it differs in one key respect: I had a number of guides, companions, friends, and family to help me along the way. It is a pleasure to thank them here.

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## Introduction: Travel Writing and the ‘Places’ of Rhetoric

On his way to Constantinople at the beginning of 1613, Thomas Coryate stopped at the island of Zante. As he explored its various monuments, his attention was drawn to one in particular. This was said to be the tomb of Cicero, ‘that famous and incomparable Orator’ from whom ‘so many excellent Orators have drawne liquor of Rhetoricall invention’. Although the site was unmarked, the knowledge of ‘who lieth there’ filled him with awe, and thus could not ‘passe unmentioned’.<sup>1</sup> Not long afterwards, Coryate’s own aptitude for rhetoric was put to the test. By then he had sailed to Troy, where, as before, he surveyed a range of antiquities, including what appeared to be the remains of Priam’s palace. To reward Coryate for such thorough ‘searching’, his companion Robert Rugge dubbed him ‘the first English Knight of *Troy*’, urging, ‘Rise top of wit, the honour of our Nation, / And to old *Ilium* make a new Oration’. Only too willing to oblige, Coryate promptly stood ‘upon a high stone’, and ‘pronounced’ an ‘extemporall Oration’ to the group of Englishmen gathered there. He began by reminding his ‘deere Countrimen’ that Troy was, after Jerusalem, ‘the most renowned place of the whole World’. Asking them to ‘behold’, ‘observe’, and ‘cast [their] eyes’ on its ruins, he pointed out the surviving ‘Arches’, ‘squared stones’, ‘walls’, ‘Castles and Fortifications’, and ‘Crypts and Vaults’ as evidence of the city’s former glory, and speculated about the uses to which they had been put. Next, he used these observations, along with a series of quotations from classical authors including Virgil, Ovid, and Hesiod, to elaborate on the theme of fortune, arguing that the fall of Troy should teach London, ‘our new *Troy*’, to rein in its excesses. He concluded with a Latin proverb: ‘Foelix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum’. It reads, in translation, ‘Happy is he who is made careful by the trials of others’.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 4 vols. (London, 1625), 2:1811-12 (chap. 12). On the cultural significance of Cicero’s supposed tomb, see Lucy Pollard, *The Quest for Classical Greece: Early Modern Travel to the Greek World* (London, 2015), 127-8.

<sup>2</sup> Purchas (1625), 2:1816-18. This expression is included in Erasmus’s collection of *Adagia*. See *Adagia*, 2.3.39 in *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, 86 vols., ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Robert D. Sider, J.K. Sowards, Craig R. Thompson, et al. (Toronto, 1974-), 33:150-1.

This account, taken from Coryate's 'owne Bookes' and printed in Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, encapsulates the argument of the present thesis: that seventeenth-century English travel writers drew on the habits and techniques of rhetorical invention to understand and describe life on the road. In making this argument, I contest two key assumptions which underlie modern scholarship on early modern travel writing. First, that the practice of travel was marginal to, or constituted a departure from, humanistic learning. Second, that travel was written about in a haphazard fashion. These assumptions are mutually reinforcing: because travel has been defined in contradistinction to humanism, the relationship between travel writing and rhetoric, the discipline at the centre of the humanist curriculum, remains underexplored. By revealing that the rhetorical tradition shaped the ways in which travel accounts were written and read, this thesis offers a fresh assessment of travel's significance to early modern England's cultural, intellectual, and literary life. It shows that travel, and travel writing, informed how this period thought about language, particularly the relationship between English and 'far-fetched' words; about observation, and its role in the production of knowledge; about cognition, and the fallibilities of the mind; about civic duty, and the governance of the state; about the interdependence of eyewitness and textual witness; and, lastly, about the relevance of scripture to the particular experiences of individual believers. As we will see, travellers engaged with all of these issues in the course of moving between literal places and the 'places' of rhetoric.

Coryate's oration, and the exchange with Rugge which precedes it, illustrates the close relationship between literal and rhetorical place. Both travellers speak *ex tempore*, a mode of composition which, according to the ancient rhetoricians, could only be employed successfully by an orator at the very height of his powers, able to seize the *temporis munera*, the 'gift the moment brings'.<sup>3</sup> Although it is delivered spontaneously, the *ex tempore* speech is thus more, not less, reliant on art and technique than a prepared one would be.<sup>4</sup> Further, the travellers' exchange

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<sup>3</sup> Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 5 vols. ed. and trans. D.A. Russell (Cambridge, 2001), 10.6.6.

<sup>4</sup> For discussions of extemporal speech in classical rhetoric, see Quintilian (2001), 10.6.1-10.7.33; Cicero, *De oratore*, ed. and trans. E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham (London, 1942), 1.33.149-53. On rhetorical notions of improvisation and

is influenced by humanist traditions of learned play which prized witty improvisation and the parodying of pretensions.<sup>5</sup> They speak ‘in a merrie humour’, repeatedly juxtaposing Troy with Coryate’s native Odcombe (a village in Somerset) to comic and bathetic effect. The oration itself is reminiscent of the ‘arrival speech’ delivered by ancient Greek travellers when visiting a new city, a category which included the ‘Trojan oration’, a speech specifically addressed to Troy.<sup>6</sup> Fittingly, the arrival speech, like other speeches which involve the detailed description of place, belongs to epideictic, the branch of rhetoric best suited to the display or ‘showing off’ of the orator’s gifts.<sup>7</sup>

Exhibitionism and humour aside, Coryate’s speech performs important conceptual work. It begins by describing what the travellers can physically see before embedding these sights in a set of authoritative texts and ideas, moving back and forth between geographical place and rhetorical ‘places’. As a result, Troy’s arches, stones, fortifications, and walls accrue moral and philosophical significance; in turn, the experience of travelling there is presented as an opportunity to confirm rather than contradict the knowledge contained in books. The oration encourages Coryate’s fellow travellers to see differently and more meaningfully, while granting imaginative access, via Purchas, to English readers not present at the scene. Coryate’s ‘Rhetoricall invention’ thus aligns him with the ‘excellent Orators’ referenced in his discussion of Cicero’s tomb. Rhetoric gives his travels a distinctive form and weight, enabling him to transform his experience into a text. At the same time, it enables him to understand his experience *through* text, such that travelling becomes a form of reading, a productive overlapping of literal and rhetorical place.

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inspiration, with reference to extemporal speech, see Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford, 1979), 125-56. See also Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge, 2008), 206, 253-260.

<sup>5</sup> For background on these traditions, with specific reference to Coryate, see Michelle O’Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007), esp. 10-59; Noel Malcolm, *The Origins of English Nonsense* (London, 1997), esp. 12-18, 19, 32, 44.

<sup>6</sup> Menander Rhetor, *Treatise II*, in *Menander Rhetor* ed. and trans. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (Oxford, 1981), 378-88.

<sup>7</sup> Quintilian (2001), 10.7.1. On Coryate’s engagement with epideictic oratory, see chapter 1 below.

Few travellers engage with rhetorical invention quite as explicitly as Coryate: it does not seem to have been standard practice in the seventeenth century to deliver extemporal orations in the middle of a journey; at least, they are rarely transcribed in travel accounts. But like Coryate, each of the travel writers examined in this thesis were beneficiaries of a humanist education in English schools and at the University of Oxford, institutions which prioritised the study of rhetoric.<sup>8</sup> Oxford occupies a special place in the history of early modern travel not only because so many of its graduates went on to careers that involved travelling or the publication of travel accounts, but also because it was a major centre of geographical scholarship.<sup>9</sup> Richard Hakluyt, the translator and editor credited with ‘usher[ing] in the first great age of English travel writing’, delivered ‘publike lectures’ in geography to undergraduates, probably after taking his MA in 1577; it is likely that this was the first time that the subject was taught at university level in England.<sup>10</sup> In the university, as in the pages of the rhetorical handbooks, rhetoric and travel existed side by side. I show that for Coryate, as for Henry Blount, William Scott, John Cartwright, and Edward Terry, the education they received proved to be indispensable in settings far removed from the classroom. Each of these writers travelled to the ‘Old World’ (Africa, Europe, and Asia, as opposed to the ‘New World’ of the Americas) for diplomatic, mercantile, religious, or ‘touristic’ purposes in the period before 1660, and published accounts upon their return; and each of them used the precepts of rhetorical invention as a cognitive compass with which to navigate the distance between their existing knowledge and the new things they encountered in travel.

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<sup>8</sup> Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge, 1996), 19-40; Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, 2002), 11-75. On the teaching of rhetoric at Oxford, see Mordechai Feingold, ‘The Humanities’, in *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume Four: Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1997), 211-357, esp. 246-56.

<sup>9</sup> Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580-1620* (Chicago, 1997). See also Mordechai Feingold, ‘The Mathematical Sciences and New Philosophies’, in Tyacke ed. (1997), 359-448.

<sup>10</sup> William Sherman, ‘Stirrings and searchings (1500-1720)’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge, 2002), 17-36, 19; C.W. Boase, *Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1885), viii; William Poole, ‘Richard Hakluyt: From Oxford to the Moon’, in *Hakluyt and Oxford: Essays and Exhibitions Marking the Quatercentenary of the Death of Richard Hakluyt in 1616* ed. Anthony Payne (London, 2017), 53-66.

The ‘rhetoric’ of early modern travel writing has been the subject of scholarly interest for the last thirty years, featuring within literary criticism and several historiographical traditions, including the histories of literature, culture, and political thought. I place rhetoric in quotation marks because the term is frequently employed not as individuals in the early modern period would have understood it, as referring to the *ars rhetorica*, but to denote ‘style’ or ‘language’ much more generally.<sup>11</sup> The rest of the Introduction gives an account of these critical contexts, in order to outline the situation in which my study intervenes, and provides an overview of the study’s key themes. First, I survey the development of literary scholarship on travel writing. Next, I discuss the role of rhetoric in scholarship on travel writing, and in early modern studies more generally. I then give an overview of the chapters of this thesis. In order to show that the precepts of rhetorical invention were particularly important for travellers, the latter part of the Introduction turns to consider how they were parodied on the early modern stage. I explain that these parodic figures articulated real concerns about the challenges faced by travellers in the period. These challenges included the risk that travel would impair their cognitive function, render them morally or physically deformed, or tempt them to adopt foreign languages and fashions. Travellers also had to contend with the stereotype of the ‘travel-liar’, navigating a situation in which their readers were inclined to assume that they were not telling the truth. I turn to examine these challenges in closer detail, and outline the relevant solutions recommended by travel advice literature, revealing that rhetoric not only informed how travellers thought about writing, but also how they thought about themselves. Having done so, I turn to the studies of individual writers which make up my chapters.

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<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of rhetoric as a ‘much-abused’ term, see Skinner (1996), 5-6. See also Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (Oxford, 1988), 435-79.

### Scholarship on early modern travel writing: an overview

The development of modern scholarship on travel writing is closely connected to developments in postcolonial studies. Of particular importance is Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), an examination of 'the Orient's special place in European Western experience'. Said argued that the Orient is 'almost a European invention', created and sustained through the 'discourse' – in Foucault's sense of the term, as a 'group of statements that belong to a single system of formation' – of 'Orientalism'.<sup>12</sup> Said's definition of Orientalism is tripartite, referring to the academic study of 'the Orient', a 'style of thought' that insistently distinguishes between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident', and to 'the corporate institution' which enabled the West to manage the Orient, including political and military infrastructure. These parts are interdependent: writing on the Orient from the academic and 'imaginative' spheres, ranging from historical and philological studies to the works of poets and novelists, reinforced the 'basic distinction' between East and West and legitimised Europe's dominance of that region. Together, the three parts (academic, imaginative, and corporate) represented the Orient as Europe's 'surrogate and even underground self' through a set of images, ideas, and generalisations that were systematised and legitimised as 'knowledge'. By 'knowing' that the peoples of the Orient were uncivilised and inferior, Europe could claim that it was justifiable, if not inevitable, for them to submit to foreign rule.<sup>13</sup>

Although Said primarily focusses on Anglo-French colonialism in the Middle East from the late eighteenth century, his argument has important implications for the study of other periods, not least because it identifies Orientalist impulses in writing going as far back as Aeschylus's *The Persians*. For my purposes, the most significant aspects of *Orientalism* are the prominence of 'travel books' in Said's archive (which includes the writings of early travellers like

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<sup>12</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1979), 1. For this definition of discourse, see Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* trans. Alan Sheridan (London, 2002), 121.

<sup>13</sup> Said (1979), 'The Scope of Orientalism', 31-92.

Herodotus and Marco Polo and ‘fabulists’ like Mandeville, as well as works of travel from later periods, particularly the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), as well as the manner in which this material is analysed, which shows that travel writing, like other forms of Orientalist discourse, trafficked in fictional representations rather than truth, drawing on, and contributing to, an existing collection of language, images, tropes, and figures of speech. Said’s use of early travel writing as evidence of modern Orientalism creates problems of application and anachronism which I discuss below. Nonetheless, there are aspects of his work that are significant for this study: in particular, the recognition that travel writing is not a plain, transparent record of what the traveller saw, but a palimpsest of literary conventions and rhetorical strategies.

Galvanised by *Orientalism*, the rhetorical analysis of Kenneth Burke, and the discourse analysis practiced by Hayden White and Michel Foucault, literary scholars aligned with the New Historicism began to read travel writing using methods previously reserved for ‘high’ literary forms in order to consider the relationships between power, knowledge, and textual representation.<sup>14</sup> The New Historicism was interested in travel writing for several reasons. First, its interests in the ‘texts’ of a culture naturally went beyond the canonical. Second, travel writing seemed to offer a particularly revealing arena in which to explore the dynamics of power and language. Third, because of the availability of relevant critical models in Burke, White, and Foucault. For example, White’s call for a return of narratology to historiography provided a useful precedent for the narratological studies of travel writing that followed.

In early modern studies, New Historicism extended Said’s insights to a different geographical context: the ‘New World’. Three particular studies deserve to be singled out. Stephen Greenblatt’s *Marvelous Possessions* (1991) examined late medieval and early modern writing on the New World, paying particular attention to the use of anecdotes to communicate the ‘encounter with difference’, an experience characterised by ‘wonder’. Greenblatt argued that

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<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (New York, 1950); Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore, 1978); Michel Foucault, ‘The Order of Discourse’ in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (London, 1981), 48-79.

anecdotes were produced by ‘a culture’s representational technology’ and circulated through ‘telling and retelling’, a form of ‘mimetic capital’ that aided the European quest for possession.<sup>15</sup> Mary Baine Campbell’s *The Witness and the Other World* (1991) studied the rhetorical strategies of pre-modern travel writing including the use of similitudes and the ‘inexpressibility topos’, to consider how travellers dealt with the challenge of presenting their experiences on the page.<sup>16</sup> Finally, Mary Louise Pratt’s *Imperial Eyes* (1992) offered an account of the ‘signifying practices’ of European travel writing and its role in colonial expansion from 1750. Pratt emphasised the ‘transcultural’ aspects of colonial encounters to show that subordinated groups were not passive recipients of the materials of dominant European cultures; rather, they were selective, creative, and often subversive in their engagements. These studies, particularly Pratt’s concept of the ‘contact zone’ – spaces in which ‘peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations’ involving coercion, inequality, and conflict – has demonstrated that early modern travel writing is bound up in larger cultural and political systems.<sup>17</sup> They have also provided further evidence of the rhetorical complexity of travel writing, in greater detail than that permitted by Said’s brief references to ‘travel books’. However, their treatments of rhetoric make little to no reference to the body of rhetorical theory with which early modern travellers would have been most familiar: that derived from the classical tradition.<sup>18</sup>

The New Historicist focus on encounters within the Americas has been followed by a broader interest in ‘encounter’ and its implications for conceptions of nationality and race. Scholars have investigated the role this genre played in the construction of an English national

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<sup>15</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: the Wonder of the New World* (Oxford, 1991), esp. 1-25.

<sup>16</sup> Mary Baine Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca, 1988).

<sup>17</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992). See also Pratt, ‘Arts of the Contact Zone’, *Profession* (1991), 33-40.

<sup>18</sup> My study is in greater sympathy with Nandini Das’s study of Thomas Roe, which draws on Pratt’s concept of the ‘contact zone’ while also engaging with classical rhetoric, See Das, “‘Apes of Imitation’: Imitation and Identity in Sir Thomas Roe’s Embassy to India”, in Jyotsna G. Singh ed., *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion* (London, 2009), 114-128, esp. 123-5.

identity and in the formation of incipient colonial projects, especially in the New World, while considering its formal and generic relationships to ‘colonial writing’ and ethnography.<sup>19</sup> A turn to writing on the Old World has revealed a different set of problems and conceptualisations of encounter. In particular, England’s relationship to India and the Ottoman Empire has received a great deal of attention.<sup>20</sup> Several studies have attempted to extend Said’s insights to the writing on the Islamic world that was produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, critiques of *Orientalism* have shown it to be a flawed prism through which to assess pre- or proto-colonial encounters, for several reasons. The geopolitics of the early modern period were strikingly different from the situation Said describes: the empires of the Islamic world, based in Turkey, Persia, and Mughal India, were dominant rather than dominated; Christian Europe was fractured by the Reformations, and lacked the unity that Said ascribes to early modern Europe; derogatory representations of foreigners, including the peoples of the Ottoman Empire and North Africa, existed alongside neutral and positive accounts; and, as the accounts of Muslim travellers in Europe attest, the power to ‘represent’ was not exclusive to Europeans.<sup>21</sup> Further, there were aspects of Islam that appealed to the English; it was not uncommon for Englishmen to convert to it.<sup>22</sup> Next, in the early modern period, the study of the Orient was not yet

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<sup>19</sup> Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London, 1986); Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, 1993); Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge, 1995); Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford, 1998); Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583-1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge, 1999); Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark, 2008).

<sup>20</sup> For early studies of the representation of Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the literature of this period, see Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York, 1937); Orhan Burian, ‘Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance’, *Oriens* 5 (1952), 209-29; Brandon Beck, *From the Rising of the Sun: English Images of the Ottoman Empire to 1715* (New York, 1987). On India, see Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Delhi, 1995); Jyotsna Singh, *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: Discoveries of India in the Language of Colonialism* (London, 1996).

<sup>21</sup> For a detailed discussion of these issues, see Hector Roddan, ‘“Orientalism is a Partisan Book”: Applying Edward Said’s Insights to Early Modern Travel Writing’, *History Compass* 14 (2016), 168-188. See also Linda McJannet, ‘Mapping the Ottomans on the Renaissance Stage’, *Journal of Theatre and Drama* 2 (1996), 9-34; Bernadette Andrea, ‘Columbus in Istanbul: Ottoman Mappings of the “New World”’, *Genre: Forms of Discourse and Culture* 30 (1997), 135-65. On Muslim travellers to Europe, see Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> Nabil Matar, ‘The Traveller as Captive: Renaissance England and the Allure of Islam’, *Literature, Interpretation, Theory* 7 (1996), 187-96; Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge, 1998); Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999); Rahul Sapra, *The Limits of Orientalism: Seventeenth-century Representations of India* (Newark, 2011). See also Matthew Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture* (New York, 2013), and ed., *William Percy’s Mahomet and his Heaven: A Critical Edition* (Aldershot, 2006).

formalised as a discipline, which means that the essential academic arm of Orientalism did not exist.<sup>23</sup> Finally, it is difficult to reconcile the conceptual frameworks of *Orientalism*, which emphasise geographical boundaries (real and imagined) and cultural difference, with the transnational turn in early modern studies, which emphasises the porousness of national borders, and shows that the movement of people and objects across the world was a key feature of the early modern period.<sup>24</sup>

It is likely that the critical tendency to read early modern accounts through a postcolonial lens has less to do with the realities of early modern geopolitics than with how these accounts were appropriated by proponents of imperialism long after their composition. Pre-modern travel writing is, as Said puts it, part of the ‘vast literature about the Orient inherited from the European past’ that has been instrumentalised by political projects for which it was not originally intended.<sup>25</sup> There has been some research on the reception of travel writing, but more remains to be done, for instance, to reconstruct the circumstances of the founding of the Hakluyt Society in 1846, and the significance of J.A. Froude’s lectures ‘English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century’ (1893-4), delivered during his tenure as Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford.<sup>26</sup> In any case, Said himself made it clear that his argument was not designed for wide application; as he put it in a later edition, ‘*Orientalism* is a partisan book, not a theoretical machine’.<sup>27</sup>

If *Orientalism* will not do, what other paradigms are available for the study of travel writing and encounter? Several have been proposed. To give just two examples, Gerald Maclean describes England’s relationship to the Ottoman Empire in terms of ‘imperial envy’, the envy of and fascination with ‘Ottomanism’ that inflected travellers’ experiences, while Nabil Matar shows

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<sup>23</sup> For an incisive critique of *Orientalism* which discusses these issues, see Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (London, 2006).

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g. Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London, 1997); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London, 2000).

<sup>25</sup> Said, 42.

<sup>26</sup> For an exemplary reception study, see Mary Fuller, *Remembering the Early Modern Voyage: English Narratives in the Age of European Expansion* (New York, 2008). Froude’s lectures are published in James Anthony Froude, *English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century* (Luton, 2012).

<sup>27</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 340.

that the English defined the Muslim Mediterranean using images and ideas from their experiences in the New World, forming what he calls a ‘Renaissance Triangle’.<sup>28</sup> This work has significantly advanced our understanding of cross-cultural encounters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: by eschewing reductionism and attending to particularities of history and geography, it has shown that England’s relationships to its ‘Others’ were shaped by contingencies of time and place, and that these relationships were much more ambivalent than terms like ‘dominance’ and ‘possession’ suggest. However, despite emphasising the representational aspect of travel writing (and thus extending the line of inquiry established by older postcolonial and New Historicist approaches), it tells us little about *how* these representations were produced, and why this is significant. The present thesis will fill this critical gap.

A further important context for this study is historical scholarship on travel as an institution and as a practice. John Stoye, one of the first historians to take early modern travel seriously as a subject, drew on State Papers and manuscript diaries to examine the networks of patronage that both facilitated travel and enabled the political advancement of travellers.<sup>29</sup> Stoye’s interest in the educational aspects of travel anticipated subsequent work by Edward Chaney, on the knowledge of Italian art and architecture brought back to England by travellers, and by Sara Warneke, on the heated debates about the value of travel that took place in the sixteenth century.<sup>30</sup> More than Stoye or Chaney, Warneke treats travel as a discrete phenomenon that has its own history, rather than being subordinate to histories of the military, naval, social, or political sort. Moreover, her focus on ‘images’ of travellers – representations of travellers in

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<sup>28</sup> Gerald Maclean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Basingstoke, 2004), xiv, 126, 131, 133, 182. See also Maclean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke, 2007), and Maclean ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchange with the East* (New York, 2005). Matar (1999), esp. 83-108.

<sup>29</sup> John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London, 1952).

<sup>30</sup> Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and ‘The Voyage of Italy’ in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva, 1985); see also Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London, 2014); Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 1995). See also Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London, 1914), and John H. Ghazvinian, ‘A certain tickling humour: English travellers, 1560-1660’ (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2003).

popular culture in which they are depicted, variously, as apish imitators, fools, and liars – illustrates that the influence of travel on early modern England was far-reaching. In this respect, her study sets an important precedent for my own discussion of parodic travellers below. However, unlike this thesis, Warneke’s study handles travel as a theme, rather than taking travel as a model for cognition, rhetorical invention, and composition. As a result, it does not consider how travellers engage with – and, frequently, contest – the aforementioned images in their accounts. As this thesis will demonstrate, travel writers developed a number of strategies to prove that they were not, in fact, imitators, fools, and liars, using their account to offer a different sense of what the traveller could be.

In contrast to Warneke’s, Melanie Ord’s study of travel writing sets contemporary perceptions of travellers within contemporary debates about the relative virtues of travel, experience, and reading in both humanist pedagogy and ‘the new science’.<sup>31</sup> Ord’s interest in the bigger cultural and intellectual debates in which travel writing is embedded is valuable, and in sympathy with the aims of my thesis. But her study anachronistically reifies distinctions between humanism and ‘the new science’ – a locution which is itself anachronistic – that did not yet exist. In this thesis, particularly in chapter 2, I show that writing by ‘scientific’ travellers is as engaged with the precepts of classical rhetoric as writing by travellers who appear to be working in a more traditional, humanistic mould.

Most recently, John Gallagher has examined practices of language learning in the context of travel; unlike Stoye, Chaney, Warneke, and Ord, he places emphasis on the return of the traveller, and the way in which travellers accommodated their new tongues, behaviours, fashions, and possessions at home.<sup>32</sup> In doing so, Gallagher shows that early modern travellers were often

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<sup>31</sup> Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (New York, 2008). For further discussions of the impact of ‘the new science’ on travel, see Judy Hayden ed., *Travel Narratives, The New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750* (Farnham, 2012).

<sup>32</sup> See John Gallagher, ‘The Italian London of John North: Cultural Contact and Linguistic Encounter in Early Modern England’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 70 (2017), 88-131, and ‘Language and education on the grand tour of Sir Philip Perceval’, in *Adel und Mehrsprachigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit. Ziele, Formen und Praktiken des Erwerbs und Gebrauchs von Fremdsprachen*

more preoccupied by their return, and how they could put their experiences to good use, than by the period of travel itself. This approach has much to recommend it: the shift of focus from travel to return is in keeping with the early modern sense of priorities, and thus has greater claims to historical accuracy than earlier studies of educational travel. My thesis, too, considers the relationship between the traveller's experience and his return, showing that travellers often revised their accounts long after they had travelled, in order to cast their experiences in a new light. However, rather than focussing exclusively on the traveller's return, I also examine how their *prior* education prepared them for the challenges (formal, cognitive, and epistemic) that they faced. In doing so, I show that travel was not just a source of education, but a product of it, a habitus which was inculcated by a rhetorical education. Travel required training in the humanistic disciplines; the seventeenth-century writer James Howell thus takes it for granted that Englishmen engaged in foreign travel 'hath been matriculated', and had 'initiation in the Arts and Sciences'.<sup>33</sup>

I offer a different model for the study of travel writing by using classical rhetoric, particularly rhetorical invention, as a background against which to view its formal and cultural dynamics in sharper relief. In *Orientalism*, Said named the writing of 'gifted travelers' as one of the forms of literature that produced 'systematic knowledge in Europe about the Orient'.<sup>34</sup> My title, *Gifted travellers*, acknowledges the debt of travel writing studies to the tradition of *Orientalism* by using Said's phrase. This phrase is useful, because the passage in which it appears places travellers alongside 'novelists, poets, translators'. In the pages of this thesis, too, travellers are considered alongside poets and translators (as well as essayists, dramatists, and preachers), in sympathy with Said's sense that all of these figures contribute to a 'body of literature'.<sup>35</sup>

However, I also use the phrase to call attention to a specifically early modern context: the

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(forthcoming: Wolfenbüttel, 2018). See also Gallagher, "Ungratefull Tuscans": Teaching Italian in Early Modern England', *The Italianist* 36.3 (2016), 392-413.

<sup>33</sup> James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (London, 1642), 16.

<sup>34</sup> Said (1979), 40.

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, 40.

‘ingenious travellers’ of the seventeenth century, individuals who were thought to possess a unique ‘discourseng [*siz*] gift’.<sup>36</sup> The following section of this Introduction contextualises the figure of the ‘ingenious traveller’, and discusses the role of rhetoric in early modern studies.

### **The ingenious traveller: *inventio* as travel**

The affinities between invention and travel are implicit in the technical vocabulary of rhetoric itself. Rhetorical invention (from Latin *inventio*, ‘an inventing’ or ‘invention’) is the procedure through which the orator ‘finds’ material for a speech by working with a set of pre-arranged *loci*, or places. Although *inventio* is typically translated as ‘discovery’, which is of course especially resonant in the context of travel to the New World, *inventio*’s sense of ‘coming upon’ or ‘happening upon’ means that the movement of travel is even more explicit in the word than discovery suggests: it is conceived of as a movement from place to place. The admixture of chance and design inherent in *inventio* captures some of the problems of travel writing and rhetoric suggested in this thesis, which, as we will see, are particularly evident in Coryate.

Classical and early modern writers alike designate invention as the first, most difficult, and most important part of rhetoric. Accordingly, Cicero dedicates an entire work to the subject, the *De inventione*. Invention was traditionally conceived as a hunt, with the orator cast as a hunter or hunting dog stalking his prey.<sup>37</sup> The sixteenth-century English rhetorician Thomas Wilson explains that the orator must be ‘like a hunter’, and treat the places as ‘covertes or boroughes’ in which to find ‘game’.<sup>38</sup> But he also says that the orator will find ‘at length that some one argument above al other, serveth best to confirme his cause, the whiche when with travayle, he hath founde out, he maie bryng to light and use, according to his will’.<sup>39</sup> Etymologically, ‘travel’

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<sup>36</sup> Said, 39; Francis Bacon, *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, 15 vols., ed. Michael Kiernan, Graham Rees, Alan Stewart, Maria Wakely, et al. (Oxford, 1996-), 1:648-9.

<sup>37</sup> Karl Josef Hölzgen, ‘Clever Dogs and Nimble Spaniels: on the Iconography of Logic, Invention, and Imagination’, *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 24 (1998), 1-36; Rhodri Lewis, ‘A Kind of Sagacity: Francis Bacon, the *Ars Memoriae* and the Pursuit of Natural Knowledge’, *Intellectual History Review* 19.2 (2009), 155-175, 171-2.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Wilson, *The Rule of Reason* (London, 1551), sigs. J5<sup>v</sup>-J6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, sig. J5<sup>r</sup>.

derives from the Old French *travail*, referring to ‘labour’, ‘toil’, or ‘exertion’; this broad usage existed alongside the more specialised sense of ‘journey’, ‘to go from one place to another’.<sup>40</sup>

Wilson engages both senses, depicting the orator as a ‘very diligent labourer’ who must ‘go from place to place’.<sup>41</sup> In the discussions of invention that took place in the following century, the metaphor of travel gradually superseded that of the hunt, while a new figure occupied the position formerly held by the hunter: the so-called ‘ingenious traveller’.<sup>42</sup> *Ingenium*, typically rendered as ‘ingenuity’ or ‘wit’, is associated with the activity of rhetorical invention. It is understood as a natural capacity, ability, or talent that enabled the orator to seek out arguments and ideas – in other words, to invent; as one definition has it, an ingenious person is ‘gifted with genius’.<sup>43</sup> This thesis will explore these associations, and their implications for travel writing, in greater detail.

Although several existing studies of travel writing are concerned with rhetoric, almost all use the term in a carelessly broad and ahistorical way. They treat rhetoric as a synonym of style, and thus limit the field of inquiry to discussions of figures and tropes, the domain of *elocutio*. In contrast, I ground my argument in the writings of the *ars rhetorica*, and only make use of the rhetorical definitions and principles with which seventeenth-century writers would have been familiar. This includes the universally held view that elocution is secondary to invention. In focussing on invention, this thesis joins studies by scholars including Lorna Hutson and Quentin Skinner, who have shifted discussions of rhetoric from the consideration of elocution to questions of invention and disposition, as well as several related studies which examine the impact of developments in the law on early modern theatrical practice, including dramatists’

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<sup>40</sup> OED, s.vv. ‘travail’, *n.*1; ‘travel’, *n.*; ‘travail’, *v.*; ‘travel’, *v.*

<sup>41</sup> Wilson (1551), sigs. J5<sup>r</sup>, J6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of this shift, see Piers Brown, “‘That full-sail voyage’”: Travel Narratives and Astronomical Discovery in Kepler and Galileo’ in James Dougal Fleming ed., *The Invention of Discovery, 1500-1700* (Farnham, 2011), 15-28. The phrase ‘ingenious traveller’ is commonplace in the seventeenth century. See, e.g., Baptist Goodall, *The Tryall of Travel* (London, 1630), sig. L1<sup>v</sup>; Henry Edmundson, *The Fellow-Traveller through City and Country* (London, 1658), sig.a5<sup>r</sup>; Nathaniel Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World, or, A General History of Man* (London, 1673), 226 (cap. 44).

<sup>43</sup> Lewis and Short, s.vv. ‘ingenium,’ ‘ingeniosus’. See Rhodri Lewis, ‘Francis Bacon and Ingenuity’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 67.1 (2014), 113-163, esp. 120-4.

conceptions of authority, testimony, and proof.<sup>44</sup> By examining rhetorical invention in travel writing, I extend these accounts into new analytical territory. In shifting focus away from forensic rhetoric, I expand the accounts of Hutson and Skinner. Further, I demonstrate that travel writing is often implicitly a theorisation of the very ideas of rhetorical invention; reading travel writing thus enables us to see the rhetorical tradition in a new light.

Attending to invention provides a new depth for the reading of travel writing, partly because it opens up an entirely new set of questions: about travellers' engagements with their reading and the processes of allusion, citation, revision, and borrowing through which their accounts were composed; about observation and practices of note-taking; about authority, and the establishment of *ethos*; and about travellers' experiments with genre and form. This approach is usefully defamiliarising: setting travel writing within the discursive contexts of its own time allows us to appreciate the significance of terms which recur in travellers' accounts and which would otherwise be overlooked or, worse, misconstrued; examples of these terms include 'digestion', 'observation', and 'testimony'. Further, the organisation of the thesis places travel writing in fruitful conversation with a number of other genres and discourses, including the essay and natural philosophy, tragic drama and moral philosophy, and the sermon and the art of preaching.

My contextualisations also demonstrate that the rhetoric cannot be viewed in exclusively pragmatic, utilitarian terms. While it is often used to serve political ends by persuading people toward a particular course of action, rhetoric has a number of other functions, including entertainment. It is, moreover, a habit of thought that informed all acts of reading and writing by

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<sup>44</sup> Lorna Hutson, *The Invention of Suspicion: Law and Mimesis in Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 2007); Hutson, *Circumstantial Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2015); Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge, 1996); Skinner, *Forensic Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2014), esp. 3-6; Subha Mukherji, *Law and Representation in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, 2006); Holger Schott Syme, *Theatre and Testimony in Shakespeare's England: A Culture of Mediation* (Cambridge, 2012). On the 'legal turn' in early modern studies, see Lorna Hutson, 'Introduction: Law, Literature, and History' in Hutson ed., *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature, 1500-1700*, 1-20.

those who were inculcated into its habitus.<sup>45</sup> In taking this stance, my thesis differs from the only previous study to assess the influence of the *ars rhetorica* on travel writing, Andrew Fitzmaurice's *Humanism and America* (2003). Fitzmaurice shows that English writing on the New World used the techniques of deliberative oratory to make the case for colonial expansion. In his view, the formal structure of the New World colonial tracts actually disqualifies them from the category of travel writing, because the 'use of classical rhetorical conventions in contemporary works of travel' is 'sparse'.<sup>46</sup> Needless to say, I disagree. Fitzmaurice's definition of 'classical rhetorical conventions' is highly restrictive: it prioritises deliberative oratory at the expense of its other kinds, and primarily focusses on texts which are overtly structured like a speech.

Fitzmaurice's approach is the opposite of the indiscriminately broad treatments of rhetoric that characterised the first wave of studies in this field, and is accompanied by a different set of problems. Namely, it does not appreciate that early modern writers' engagements with the rhetorical tradition were flexible and eclectic, and, accordingly, that there are rhetorical strategies at work in all sorts of texts, including those which do not bear obvious resemblances to a speech and which were not written for a particular political purpose. Unlike Fitzmaurice, and, for that matter, Skinner, this study is not attached to the structure of the individual speech, and shows that writing can be rhetorically involved, even if this rhetoricity is not obvious in its structure. Skinner's studies are particularly damaging to the structure of the drama that they examine, in that they assume that the forensic speech is the paradigm of early modern rhetorical practice. By contrast, I consider all three branches of rhetoric (forensic, deliberative, and epideictic), and examine travel writing which takes a number of different forms; this broader scope reveals that travellers' engagements with classical rhetoric were more extensive, and more diverse, than has previously been supposed. In this way, my study brings a new perspective to

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<sup>45</sup> The phrase 'habit of thought' is Deborah Shuger's. See *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley, 1990).

<sup>46</sup> Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625* (Cambridge, 2003), 107.

scholarship on rhetoric in early modern literature, over and above its application to a different generic context.

A further weakness of existing scholarship on travel and rhetoric is also a product of the aforementioned preoccupation with rhetoric's instrumentality, coupled with the desire to subject travel writing to ideological critique: this is the tendency to assume that travellers primarily used rhetoric to obfuscate and to deceive. In 1991, Greenblatt had declared that the travel writers examined in his study were 'liars', 'frequent and cunning liars' engaged in 'the strategic manipulation and distortion and outright suppression of the truth'.<sup>47</sup> Subsequent criticism has been somewhat less totalising in its judgments, but has retained Greenblatt's focus on questions of truth and credibility. For example, Jonathan Sell claims that travel writing established a form of 'consensual truth' with its readers, while Julia Schleck suggests that the formal and generic features of travel accounts determined whether or not they were received as fiction or nonfiction.<sup>48</sup> Some have examined the use of 'facts' in the editorial practices of Hakluyt and Purchas, while others have used genre theory to track changes in the formal characteristics of travel writing alongside concurrent shifts in ideas about truth and falsehood.<sup>49</sup>

The notions of 'fact' and 'falsehood', 'fiction' and 'nonfiction' that these studies bring to bear on early modern writing are anachronistic, and risk reifying formal and epistemological distinctions that did not yet exist. Of their many anachronisms, perhaps most problematic is the implication that eye-witnessing and reading are mutually exclusive, and that travellers who inserted textual material into their 'eyewitness' accounts were being disingenuous. Early modern writers, too, often distinguished 'experience' from 'book knowledge'; indeed, this distinction was

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<sup>47</sup> Greenblatt (1991), 7. For earlier studies of the figure of the 'travel-liar', see Chew (1937), chap. 1, and Malcolm Letts, 'Of Lying Travellers', *Contemporary Review* 116 (1920), 95-100.

<sup>48</sup> Jonathan Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560-1613* (Aldershot, 2006); Sell, 'Embodying truth in early modern English travel writing', *Studies in Travel Writing* 16.3 (2012), 227-241; Julia Schleck, *Telling True Tales of Islamic Lands: Forms of Mediation in English Travel Writing* (Selinsgrove, 2011).

<sup>49</sup> Julia Schleck, "'Plain Broad Narratives of Substantial Facts": Credibility, Narrative, and Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 59. 3 (2006), 768-794; Kirsten Sandrock, 'Truth and Lying in Early Modern Travel Narratives: Coryat's *Crudities*, Lithgow's *Totall Discourse* and Generic Change', *European Journal of English Studies* 19.2 (2015), 189-203.

fundamental to the polemical debates about the usefulness of travel that took place between humanist pedagogues in the sixteenth century.<sup>50</sup> But the language of these debates is misleading. Although the distinction between ‘experience’ and ‘book knowledge’ was useful in that theoretical context – they functioned as shorthand for ‘travelling’ and ‘staying at home’, respectively – in practice things were not quite so clear-cut. One of the recurring themes of this study is that there was in fact a reciprocal relationship between experience and text in travel writing, and that rhetorical invention functioned as a pivot between the two. The travellers examined in these chapters frequently set textual witnesses (the writings of other travellers, works of natural philosophy and natural history, ancient literature, and the Bible, amongst others) within records of their own eye-witnessing. This does not mean that they were liars; on the contrary, according to the conventions of the seventeenth century, these textual engagements would have helped to enhance their credibility, and, thus, the persuasiveness of their writing. Moreover, the modern conception of rhetoric as inherently obfuscatory is at odds with the way it was presented by its classical and early modern practitioners, who characterised it as an art aimed not at making dark, but making visible, using ‘clear’ language and strategies of ‘illumination’ to help listeners ‘see’ the things being described.<sup>51</sup>

My move away from the application of Said’s *Orientalism*, alongside my recuperation of travel writing from the charges of lying and dishonesty, and insistence on rhetoric as an art of illumination, might seem to suggest an ameliorising view of the writers considered in this thesis, and a claim that they were (comparatively) innocent of prejudice and stereotyping, or assumptions that we might now consider racist or colonial. This is not the case. Take, for example, Edward Terry’s description of the people of the Bay of Souldania (now known as Table Bay, on the Cape Peninsula) in his *A Voyage to East-India* (1655). These ‘barbarous inhabitants’ of the ‘remotest part of Africa’ are said to be ‘brutish’, and accused of ‘covetousness and deceit’;

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<sup>50</sup> For discussions of these debates see Warneke (1995), esp. 41-104; Ord (2008), esp. 29-56.

<sup>51</sup> See Vickers (1988), 79. See also Hutson (2015), for a discussion of rhetoric and vividness in specific reference to the topics of circumstance.

their language is depicted as ‘inarticulate noise’, their dress as ‘filthy’, and their diet as ‘that which a ravenous dog in England will refuse’. This description is unequivocally derogatory. But it is offensive in a different sense from that which might automatically be assumed, using the colonial and postcolonial paradigms which dominate because of the influence of Said, and because of the tendency to use the discovery of America as the paradigm for all cross-cultural encounters in this period. By focussing on writing on the Old World, and using classical rhetoric, rather than postcolonial theory, as my main conceptual framework, I bring a new perspective to the study of encounters such as this moment.

Indeed, Terry’s *Voyage* offers a particularly clear example of the benefits of reading cross-cultural encounters in rhetorical terms. He turns from this passage on Souldania to enjoin his Christian readers to think of those in ‘Turky, and Barbary, and these Africans’, as well as in ‘America and in Asia, aye and Europe too’ who do not belong to the Church. Christians, he writes, need to be more appreciative of their lot in life, the ‘great happiness’ that it is to be ‘born in the visible church of God’, and reform their behaviour accordingly.<sup>52</sup> Elsewhere in the *Voyage*, Terry articulates the strategy of his account explicitly, claiming that ‘the onely way for a man to receive good, is by reflecting things upon himself’.<sup>53</sup> For him, going out into the world and experiencing other cultures is simply a precursor to another, more important journey into the soul. It is a manoeuvre characteristic of Terry, and is explored at greater length in chapter 5. Terry’s description of Souldania is nonetheless offensive: it appropriates the other as a moral example, with an inherent privileging of the Christian paradigm, and possesses no real sense of the validity or perspective of other cultures. However, while this might be a precondition for the emergence of colonial manoeuvres, in this period it is rather that travel is here acting as a mode of *inventio* of exempla which then have application for the source culture. It is an appropriation of rhetorical rather than literal resources, even if for some it works in both ways.

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<sup>52</sup> Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (London, 1655), 12-24.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*, 453.

Terry's emphasis on 'reflecting things upon himself' offers us a particularly vivid illustration of what Sell has called the 'self-reflexive turn' of early modern travel writing.<sup>54</sup> My study reconstructs the contexts of this 'self-reflexive turn' by setting it within advice and instructions to travellers. Travel advice has a strong connection to rhetoric, in that it was strongly influenced by the topical logic of Petrus Ramus, via Theodor Zwinger, humanist and author of an important work of travel advice; it thus supplies essential context for a study of travellers' rhetoric. Literary and intellectual historians including Daniel Carey, Joan-Pau Rubiés, and Justin Stagl have used these texts, from the humanist *ars apodemica* ('art of travel') to the Royal Society's 'Queries', as a lens through which to consider the place of travel, and travellers' notes, in the disciplines of natural history and natural philosophy.<sup>55</sup> Yet thus far, despite continuing interest in the precepts of travel advice literature – as suggested by the recent launch of the electronic database *The Art of Travel, 1500-1850* – little has been said about travellers' actual note-taking practices, and the extent to which they are legible in published accounts.<sup>56</sup> By neglecting to study travellers' compositional practices in detail, scholars elide the distinction between precept and practice, leaving the formal and stylistic diversity of travel writing unexplored. More pertinently, despite the aforementioned interest in travel writing's 'self-reflexive turn', very little has been said about the ethical and cognitive aspects of travel advice literature, which are informed by Aristotelian and Galenic theories of the 'mind' or 'soul' as well as the *cultura animi* tradition, what Sorana Corneanu calls 'regimens of the mind'.<sup>57</sup> As I will show, travel advice not only told travellers what to see and do during their travels and how to write about it, but also how to mitigate the cognitive dangers they encountered along the way through practices of self-

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<sup>54</sup> See Sell (2008), 8. This connection is also made in Das (2009), esp. 125-6.

<sup>55</sup> See Daniel Carey, 'Hakluyt's Instructions: *The Principal Navigations* and sixteenth-century travel advice', *Studies in Travel Writing* 13.2 (2009), 167-185; Carey, 'Compiling nature's history: travellers and travel narratives in the early Royal Society', *Annals of Science* 54.3 (1997), 269-292; Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for travellers: teaching the eye to see', *History and Anthropology* 9.2-3 (1996), 139-90; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800* (Chur, 1995).

<sup>56</sup> *The Art of Travel, 1500-1850*: <https://artoftravel.nuigalway.ie>.

<sup>57</sup> Sorana Corneanu, *Regimens of the Mind: Boyle, Locke, and the Early Modern Cultura Animi Tradition* (Chicago, 2011).

knowledge and self-discipline; indeed, these cognitive dangers could affect the quality of their written observations, and thus have a direct bearing on their uses of rhetoric. In doing so, I show that travel writing's 'self-reflexive turn' is conditioned by language and ideas that carry resonances beyond the specific context of travel.

The best way to understand the self-reflexivity of travel writing, as well as the diversity of travellers' approaches to the transformation of observation into text, is through the concerted study of individual writers. Accordingly, the chapters of this thesis carry out a series of such studies. In what follows, I offer a map of the thesis.

### A Map of the Thesis

Each of my chapters addresses the rhetorical concerns discussed above. In addition, each of them pairs the works of an individual travel writer with a rhetorical figure or concept, as well as a related discourse. Together, they show how travel writing might reflect and illuminate broader issues in the literary and cultural contexts of the early modern period. My study offers a new perspective on rhetorical invention by bringing together lines of literary and historical inquiry which are, at present, largely kept apart. The first of these has been mentioned already: the study of cognition. The 'cognitive turn' in early modern studies has enabled scholars to re-examine the relationship between literature and the mind, and to offer new insights into the workings of language, the passions, character, and selfhood in the literature of this period.<sup>58</sup> The most significant work in this area has reconstructed the reception of Aristotelian theories of cognition, and its bearing on how early modern writers conceived of the 'mind' or 'soul'.<sup>59</sup> Because *ingenium*

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<sup>58</sup> See, e.g., Arthur Kinney, *Shakespeare and Cognition: Aristotle's Legacy and Shakespearean Drama* (New York, 2006); Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago, 2004); Evelyn B. Tribble, *Cognition in the Globe: Attention and Memory in Shakespeare's Time* (Basingstoke, 2011); Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan eds., *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Manchester, 2015).

<sup>59</sup> Katharine Park, 'The Organic Soul', in *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* eds. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, and Jill Kraye (Cambridge, 1988), 464-84; Eckhard Kessler, 'The Intellectual Soul', in *Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 485-534; Richard Serjeantson, 'The Soul', in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy in Early Modern Europe*, eds., Desmond Clarke and Catherine Wilson (Oxford, 2011), 119-41.

referred not only to facility with language, but to the ‘mind’ or ‘wit’ more broadly, this study considers the measures taken by the ‘ingenious travellers’ of the seventeenth century to improve their powers of perception and, consequently, the quality of their observations.

The second, closely related, line of inquiry is the study of practices of note-taking, particularly in the context of natural philosophy. This is part of a broader interest in how the early modern period dealt with what Ann Blair has called ‘information overload’.<sup>60</sup> As the present thesis demonstrates, early modern travellers made frequent reference to notes in their accounts; in some cases, these references are detailed enough to enable us to reconstruct the processes by which the accounts in question were composed. Finally, this thesis engages with a sphere of scholarship which could broadly be described as the ‘history of truth’: the study of a cluster of epistemological concepts including fact, proof, probability, testimony, and credibility.<sup>61</sup>

Rather than proposing a restrictive definition of ‘travel writing’, this thesis foregrounds its eclecticism, what one English bookseller called its ‘Linsey-Woolsey’ form.<sup>62</sup> ‘Linsey-Woolsey’, a textile woven from a combination of flax and wool, figuratively stands for that which is ‘neither one thing nor the other’.<sup>63</sup> ‘Linsey-Woolsey’ is closely related to the terms fustian and bombast. Fustian refers, literally, to coarse cloth made of cotton and flax, but figuratively stands for language that is inflated, turgid, or inappropriately pretentious. To bombast is, literally, to stuff or fill out with cotton-wool or a similar material; like fustian, its figurative use refers to inflated, swollen language.<sup>64</sup> Coryate, aptly, once used the term ‘Linsey-Woolsey’ to characterise

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<sup>60</sup> Lorraine Daston, ‘On Scientific Observation’, *Isis* 99.1 (2008), 97-110; Daston, ‘Taking Note(s)’, *Isis* 95.3 (2004), 443-448; Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck eds., *Histories of Scientific Observation* (Chicago, 2010); Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven, 2010); Richard Yeo, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science* (Chicago, 2014); Ann Blair and Richard Yeo eds., *Intellectual History Review* 20 (2010), special issue on ‘Note-taking in Early Modern Europe’.

<sup>61</sup> Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, 1994); Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca, 2003); Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, 1998); Richard Serjeantson, ‘Proof and Persuasion’, in *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. III: *Early Modern Science* eds. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (Cambridge, 2006), 132-75; Serjeantson, ‘Testimony and Proof in Early-Modern England’, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 30.2 (1999), 195-236.

<sup>62</sup> Thomas Allison, *An Account of a Voyage from Archangel in Russia* (London, 1699), sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> OED, s.v. ‘linsey-woolsey’, *n*.

<sup>64</sup> OED, s.v. ‘fustian’, *n*. and *adj.*, and ‘bombast’, *n*. and *v*.

his own orations, and also played an important role in the development of fustian and bombastic literary modes in the period.<sup>65</sup> Lacking an obvious generic code or precedent with which to accord, and writing in a ‘Linsey-Woolsey’ fashion, the writers I examine applied the skills, precepts, and manners of devising topical approaches drawn from elsewhere to the composition of their travel accounts. By showing that travellers wrote works of non-fiction in a self-consciously *literary* fashion, using strategies more familiar to us from poetry, drama, the essay, and the sermon, I broaden the scope of what we understand early modern ‘literature’ to comprise.<sup>66</sup>

My intention is not to examine how these writers followed the prescriptions of rhetoric, treating their writing as an example of theory put into practice, but to challenge any such distinction between the theoretical and the practical. As we will see, they did not simply follow the rules: as they journeyed across the world, they took the ancient art of eloquence in unexpected directions; their writing is a key site of theoretical engagement. In bringing this engagement to light, the thesis not only contributes to the reading of travel writing, but also, as I have suggested already, to the study of rhetoric in the period. The metaphorical intertwining of travel and rhetoric means that travel writing is, implicitly and explicitly, an investigation of rhetoric.

I focus on five writers who engaged with rhetorical invention in particularly self-conscious and creative ways. My selection of writers encompasses several of the different ‘kinds’ of traveller that were prominent in this period: Coryate is an early ‘tourist’, Blount a natural philosopher, Scott a lawyer engaged in diplomacy, while Cartwright and Terry were preachers

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<sup>65</sup> Thomas Coryate, *Thomas Coryate Traveller for the English Wits* (London, 1616), 3. On Coryate’s engagement with fustian and bombast, see Malcolm (1997), *passim*.

<sup>66</sup> For studies of travel writing’s relationships to other genres which, while otherwise exemplary, do not make much reference to classical rhetoric, see, e.g., Chloe Houston, *The Renaissance Utopia: Dialogue, Travel and the Ideal Society* (Farnham, 2014); Houston ed., *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (Farnham, 2010); Nandini Das ed., ‘Travel and Prose Fiction in Early Modern England’, *Yearbook of English Studies* 41.1 (2011); Eva Johanna Holmberg, ‘Writing the travelling self: travel and life-writing in Peter Mundy’s (1597-1667) *Itinerarium Mundi*’, *Renaissance Studies* 31.4 (2017), 608-625.

attached to trade companies. Some of these writers, particularly Coryate, are well known; others, like Cartwright, are less so. I aim to examine their travel writings within the wider scope of their literary output, and thus to situate travel writing within the period's literary culture more broadly. Although I do not treat travel writing as a specimen of 'life writing', I occasionally examine biographical anecdotes about these writers. Such anecdotes are useful, not only because of what they tell us about a person, but because they can give an indication of how a writer's works were initially received. It matters, for example, that Coryate was described as a 'wit', and Blount as an 'observer'. Anecdotes are also important because in travel writing, the ethos of the traveller is part of what is established rhetorically; and because the anecdotal is often the stuff of which travel accounts are composed. The thesis also makes frequent reference to travel advice literature, and thus reinforces the aforementioned connections between travel writing and wider debates in the disciplines of natural history and natural philosophy, as well as in theories of cognition.

The first two chapters consider the emphasis on observation in early modern travel. Together, they offer different perspectives on the relationship of 'book knowledge' to 'experience', and to rhetorical 'digestion', in the seventeenth century. **Chapter 1**, 'Thomas Coryate and the Tour of Ekphrasis', situates Coryate's writings, particularly the eponymous *Coryats Crudities* (1611), within the context of pilgrimage and ancient, rather than modern, senses of *ekphrasis*. By using ekphrasis, Coryate positions his readers as proxy witnesses, making them feel as if they were present at the places described. For Coryate, ekphrasis is also an important strategy of amplification, which enables him to produce a text with *copia* and *varietas*. The extent of amplification in the *Crudities* is unusual: this chapter shows that Coryate rejects the instruction to describe his experience in a digested form, instead recuperating 'crudity' as a powerful linguistic strategy. Paradoxically, I argue, Coryate's 'undigested' writing is designed to counter the sense that he spent too little time observing, that he 'gobled' rather than chewed. **Chapter 2**, 'Henry Blount and the Art of Observation', explores Henry Blount's borrowings from the

writings of Francis Bacon and Michel de Montaigne, suggesting that he presents the *Voyage* as a ‘register’, a record of past experience, as well as an ‘essay’: a work of taste, test, and trial, in which the traveller’s ‘self’ is placed under intense scrutiny. The latter part of the chapter turns to assess Blount’s relationships to Bacon and to the travel writer George Sandys, using their observations on the new subject of coffee. By tracing the movement of material from Sandys to Blount via Bacon, I contest reductive distinctions between ‘humanistic’ and ‘scientific’ travellers, while illustrating that early modern writers understood observation as an inherently collaborative exercise.

**Chapter 3**, ‘William Scott and Dramatic Reversals’, turns to the question of plotting in travel writing, through a reading of *Sir Thomas Smithes voiage and entertainment in Rusbia* (1605). This text was published anonymously, though it is likely that the English lawyer and poetic theorist William Scott (c. 1571-c. 1617) had a hand in its composition. The chapter situates its discussion of plotting in *Sir Thomas Smithes voiage* within classical and early modern theories of plot, including Scott’s treatise *The Model of Poesy*, which contains the most detailed account of *peripeteia*, or plot ‘reversal’, in the vernacular literature of the sixteenth century. I make reference to reversal scenes in early modern romance, arguing that the use of romance tropes in travel writing is further evidence of the importance of books to practices of travel observation, and vice versa.

The last two chapters are concerned with citation and its relationship to truthfulness and belief. **Chapter 4**, ‘John Cartwright and the Acquisition of Credit’, offers a reading of John Cartwright’s *The Preachers Travels* (1611). It explains that Cartwright’s reputation had been damaged during a previous expedition, and that he had been called to trial at the court of the East India Company to face charges relating to this expedition. It suggests that Cartwright attempts to repair his reputation in the *Preachers Travels*, by drawing on a number of different rhetorical strategies; these include fashioning his prefatory material as a *proboemium*, and using the topic of testimony to reinforce his eyewitness observations. It explains that in this period, personal and textual testimonies were complementary, not opposed, and shows that Cartwright

interweaves textual material into his account of eyewitness travel in order to lend it (and himself) credence. Finally, **Chapter 5**, 'Edward Terry and the Uses of Scripture' discusses Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), an account of his time as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at the Mughal court of Jahangir. Though modern critics often fault the preacher's digressive style, this chapter considers the ways in which Terry's digressions, a form of narrative wandering, roving, or excursion fulfil an important discursive function, enabling him to draw parallels between his experiences in India and passages of scripture. It explains the relationship of digression to 'application', a technical term in preaching. It suggests that Terry's writing subverts stylistic expectations by employing a figure typically associated with idleness and wastage for profitable salvific purposes. It concludes by considering questions of self-knowledge, explaining that in seventeenth-century thought, travel wearied the body but also transformed the soul.

Because the writers I examine were all educated men with access to a shared pool of language and ideas, the chapters of the thesis share a number of common themes which relate to the cognitive challenges involved in travel. The remainder of the Introduction will draw out these themes, beginning with a discussion of the parodic 'wry-transformed traveller', a staple of the early modern stage.

### **Wry-transformed: Parodies of Travellers in Early Modern Drama**

For people living in England in the early modern period, it would not have been unusual to see travellers dramatized on stage, thanks to the popularity of a stock figure described in Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesy* as 'the wry-transformed traveller'.<sup>67</sup> 'Wry' refers to parts of the body,

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<sup>67</sup> Philip Sidney, *Defence of Poetry*, in *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), 116. For a discussion of the 'wry-transformed traveller', with specific reference to Shakespearean drama, see Thomas A. Perry, 'Proteus, Wry-Transformed Traveller (1954)', in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona: Critical Essays* ed. June Schlueter (New York, 1996), 49-58. A new collection of essays on voyage drama, currently in press, promises to enrich our understanding of the place of travel on the early modern stage. See Claire

including facial features and the neck, which have been ‘deflected’, ‘turned’, ‘contorted’, ‘distorted’, or ‘twisted’. It can also refer to that which has been ‘deflected from a straight course’, to a person who has erred, gone astray or ‘awry’, or to a thing ‘twisting’, ‘bending’, and ‘winding’. A further, now obsolete sense is ‘a particular or specified tendency, disposition, or inclination’.<sup>68</sup> By pairing ‘wry’ with ‘transformed’, Sidney reinforces several of these senses. To ‘transform’ is to alter, change, or metamorphose, but the preposition *trans-* also suggests a movement ‘across’, ‘beyond’, ‘over’. Sidney’s phrase thus has two possible implications: one, that travellers are permanently changed, made ‘wry’, by their experiences; or two, that they are changeable by nature, ‘wry’ or inclined to be transformed. Fictional travellers are not the subject of this thesis, but they illustrate the various ways in which travel could go wrong, and thus provide useful contexts for the travel writers I examine. Indeed, Sidney’s point in the aforementioned passage of the *Defence* is that ‘the wry-transformed traveller’ is funny because he is true to life; he, like the ‘busie loving Courtier’ or ‘self-wise seeming Schoolemaister’ produces ‘delightfull laughter, and teaching delightfulness’ because he is a character that ‘we play naturally’.<sup>69</sup>

The comparison of travellers to actors is a commonplace. For example, the Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius, whose work of travel advice was translated into English in 1592, writes that travellers are ‘as plaiers on the stage, which perhaps in one houre change themselves into a dosen kindes of gestures’.<sup>70</sup> Like Lipsius, Sidney travelled himself, and took a keen interest in English exploration more generally; Hakluyt dedicated his *Divers Voyages* (1582) to him, praising that ‘most vertuous Gentleman’ for his ‘accustomed favour towarde these godly and honourable discoveries’.<sup>71</sup> He drew on his experience to write a letter of advice to his brother, Robert. In it, he explained the importance of ‘directing’ a ‘course’ of travel ‘to the right end’, aiming to use

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Jowitt and David McInnis, ed., *Travel and Drama in Early Modern England: The Journeying Play* (Cambridge, forthcoming 2018).

<sup>68</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘wry’, *n.*, *adj.*, *adv.*, *v*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Sidney (1973), 116.

<sup>70</sup> Justus Lipsius, *A Direction for Travailers* trans. John Stradling (London, 1592), sig.C2r.

<sup>71</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (London, 1582), sig.4r.

travel as an opportunity to bring back useful knowledge, including the ‘vertue, passion, and vices’ of ‘mens mindes’, as well as of the ‘Religion, Policies, Lawes’ to be found in each place.

However, many English travellers spent too much time learning languages, buying clothes, or taking endless notes; they travelled for shallow reasons of vanity or curiosity. For that reason, there was always the risk that ‘wee Travellers shall bee made sport of in Comedies’.<sup>72</sup> As Sidney’s *Defence* and letter of advice indicate, early modern drama satirised travellers as individuals who were physically or morally ‘deformed’, as well as chameleon-like, willing and able to adopt the manners, habits, fashions, accents, and diets of the countries they visited.

Particularly memorable examples of these characters can be found in the drama of Ben Jonson and Richard Brome. Jonson’s masque, *Cynthia’s Revels, or the Fountain of Self-Love*, set at court in the fictional valley of Gargaphia, features a traveller called Amorphus (literally, ‘the deformed’). Amorphus has returned from his travels, and seems not quite human: he is described as a series of animals, including the rhinoceros, and, on account of his imitation of foreign words and manners, is also characterised as a puppet or ‘travelling motion’.<sup>73</sup> He will not stop talking about his time abroad, though he often gets basic details wrong. For example, he claims to have tasted Metheglin, ‘A kinde of Greeke Wine’ that ‘is the same that *Demosthenes* usually drunke, in the composure of all his exquisite and Mellifluous Orations’, but metheglin is in fact a traditional Welsh mead.<sup>74</sup> One of the other courtiers claims that Amorphus ‘cannot speake out of *Dictionary* method’, recalling the fifteenth sonnet of Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella*, where Astrophil chastises unoriginal poets who ‘do dictionary’s method bring / Into your rhymes’, and also accuses them of ‘search[ing] for every purling spring’, claiming that they ‘take

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<sup>72</sup> Robert Devereux, Philip Sidney, and William Davison, *Profitable Instructions Describing what Speciall Observations are to be Taken by Travellers in All Nations, States and Countries* (London, 1633), 81.

<sup>73</sup> Ben Jonson, *Cynthia’s Revels*, ed. Eric Rasmussen and Matthew Steggle, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*, ed. Martin Butler, David Bevington, Karen Britland, Ian Donaldson, David L. Gants, and Eugene Giddens, 1.3.7.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*, 1.4.9-12.

wrong waies; those far-fet helpes be such / As do bewray a want of inward tuch'.<sup>75</sup> Jonson's *Amorphus* comes across a 'purling spring' of his own, the 'Fountain of Self-Love' named in the play's title. He successfully persuades the other courtiers and ladies to taste the fountain's water, which makes them enamoured with themselves. The final act sees the members of the court perform two masques for the goddess Cynthia. At its close, they are all commanded to unmask, and to repent for their sin by moving from self-love to self-knowledge. As we will see, real travellers, too, were encouraged to strive for self-knowledge and warned against narcissism; the implication is that a stronger sense of 'self' would prevent them from going 'wry' during their time abroad. The travellers examined in the ensuing chapters attempt, in their different ways, to stay on course. This theme is explored at particular length in chapter 3, which discusses the relationship of disposition, the arrangement of travel writing, and the ethical and cognitive values with which the disposing traveller was associated.

Jonson's *Volpone* points us to another set of cognitive dangers associated with travel, this time to do with practices of note-taking. Sir Politick Would-bee is easily the most foolish of the travellers in the play. He claims to love 'To note, and to observe', and boasts of his detailed knowledge of the 'rules, for travayle', offering to give 'Some few particulars' to Peregrine, a purportedly 'rude', 'raw', and 'crude' traveller.<sup>76</sup> But Sir Pol is not as skilled an observer as he would like to think. Despite his professed knowledge of the 'rules', his copious notes, diligently kept in a '*diary*', are of little use. They include references to trivial matters, including his purchase of 'tooth-pickcs [*sic*]' and the cost of fixing 'silke stockings', and record events such as 'at St. MARKES, I urin'd'. Sir Pol lacks discrimination – 'I do slippe / No action of my life, thus, but I quote it', he says – and, accordingly, the ability to turn the 'particulars' of his experience into substantial knowledge.<sup>77</sup> In chapters 1-3, I examine how real travellers dealt with the task of

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<sup>75</sup> 4.3.14-15. Philip Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, in *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* ed. William A. Ringler (Oxford, 2012), 172.

<sup>76</sup> Ben Jonson, *Volpone* (1607 quarto), ed. Richard Dutton, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*, 2.1.100-101, 2.1.112, 4.1.1-8.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.*, 4.1.139-145.

turning particulars into knowledge, and show that practices of note-taking were essential to this effort.

Finally, Richard Brome's *The Antipodes* explores the reciprocities between reading and travel, or, to use the terms mentioned above, 'book knowledge' and 'experience'. The traveller in this play, as in Jonson's *Volpone*, is called Peregrine, a young man so fixated on reading 'Reports of travailes, and of voyages' that his mind is 'all on fire to be abroad'.<sup>78</sup> He even enters the stage with 'a Booke in his hand'; this 'excellent worke' is the travels of Mandeville, and through it, Peregrine learns of 'Dragons', 'Serpents', 'Elephants', 'Unicornes', 'Lyons', and 'monsters'.<sup>79</sup> It is one of many books that 'convey his fancy round the world'. An inset play, directed by Letoy, a 'Lord of fancy', attempts to rescue Peregrine from this 'distracted' state by convincing him that he has travelled to the Antipodes, described by Mandeville as a 'wildernesse'.<sup>80</sup> By emphasising the power of the imagination to transport, Brome's play challenges the assumption (often made by anti-travel polemicists) that reading about travel is necessarily safer than travel itself.<sup>81</sup>

As these seventeenth-century plays suggest, there are a number of different ways in which travel could go awry. Travellers might, like Amorphus, come back 'deformed' from their travels. They could expend time and energy on note-taking, without benefitting themselves or anyone else, like Sir Pol. Or they could let their imagination drive them (and, sometimes, their readers) to distraction. These parodies give us a sense of the criticisms that were levelled at travellers; but they ignore the conscious and complex ways in which travel writing disciplines the memory and structures observation, including the 'digestion' of particulars into general knowledge. The following section of this Introduction moves away from parody, to discuss how travellers themselves understand the cognitive dangers involved in their pursuits.

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<sup>78</sup> Richard Brome, *The Antipodes: A Comedie* (London, 1640), sig. B3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> *ibid.*, sigs. C2<sup>v</sup>-C3<sup>r</sup>, B3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, sig. C3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> On depictions of imaginative travel in Brome and other early modern dramatists, see David McInnis, *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2012).

## Cognition and its Challenges

Fynes Moryson's 'Of Precepts for Travellers', included in his *Itinerary* (1617), contains one of the most lucid discussions of the cognitive challenges that travellers could face. His comments are thus worth quoting at length:

And because the memory is weake, and those who write much, are many times like the Clerkes that carry their learning in their Booke, not in their braine, let him constantly observe this, that whatsoever he sees or heares, he apply it to his use, and by discourse (though forced) make it his owne. Thus Students of *Rhetoricke*, at first seeking matter for words, rather than words for matter, at last attaine an easie stile flowing like a still River, and lay aside the affectation of words. Let nothing worth the knowledge pass his eyes or eares, which he draweth not to his own possession in this sort. In the meane time, though he trust not to his papers, yet for the weakenes of memory, let him carefully note all rare observations; for he lesse offends that writes many toyes, then he that omits one serious thing, and later when his judgement is more ripe, he shall distill Gold (as the Proverbe is) out of the dung of *Ennius*. Let him write these notes each day, at morne and even in his Inne, within writing Tables carried about him, and after at leasure into a paper booke, that many yeers after he may looke over them at his pleasure.<sup>82</sup>

Moryson's starting point is that human cognition is, by nature, imperfect. The most significant of its imperfections is the 'weakenes of memory', which makes it difficult for travellers to remember everything that they have seen. For this reason, travellers need to turn to artificial helps, particularly written notes. However, Moryson is adamant that notes should be used as an adjunct for, not a substitute of, the memory: to acquire knowledge, transferring learning from 'Booke' to 'braine', the traveller needs to 'apply' and 'use' the things he has seen and heard in the course of his journey. He should 'carefully note' as much as possible, but – crucially – subsequently return to these notes, in order to determine which to keep and develop further, and which to discard. In this respect, travellers resemble 'Students of *Rhetoricke*', who achieve mastery of their art when they finally 'lay aside the affectation of words' in order to prioritise 'matter'. By

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<sup>82</sup> Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson Gent.* (London, 1617), I.II, 12.

comparing travellers to rhetoricians in a passage about the ‘weakenes of memory’, Moryson suggests that there are important connections between rhetoric and cognition in travel writing. Travellers’ cognitive states have a direct bearing on the quality of their writing; writing, in turn, can compensate for cognition’s shortcomings.

The ‘Precepts’ in Moryson’s *Itinerary* draw on an established set of theories of cognition, or, in the early modern lexicon, of the soul. Predominantly Aristotelian and Galenic in its inflections, the language and ideas of this framework were commonplace. There is broad agreement about how cognition occurs.<sup>83</sup> Normally, data is received by the ‘external senses’ (sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch), and channelled by the common sense (the ‘privy chamber of the soule’) to the imagination or ‘fancy’.<sup>84</sup> From here, the data are arranged and sent either to reason – ‘Judge’ of ‘trueth from falshood’, ‘agreement’ from ‘disagreement’, and ‘good’ from ‘bad’ – or laid up in the memory for future reference.<sup>85</sup> These data are also transported to the heart, the ‘seat [...] of all passions’, which ‘stirre[s] and command[s] the humors in the body’ through dilation or contraction.<sup>86</sup> The heart induces ‘passions’ which are to be habituated to encourage the individual to act according to the dictates of their reason. The cognitive process does not always work as smoothly as it should, however, because of the potential of the passions to disrupt reason’s proper functioning. As Timothy Bright explains, this is because even though cognition itself continues to work normally, the delivery of the imagination’s report to the heart becomes distorted by the humours and passions already there, so that ‘though the brayne be without faulte [...] the hart [...] by faulte of humour, doth not aunswere in affection as the object requireth’.<sup>87</sup> The consequence of such imaginative distortion is misapprehension. Further, as Thomas Wright explains, because the soul’s ‘force is so exhausted in that action’ of strong

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<sup>83</sup> See Park (1988); Kessler (1988); and Serjeantson (2011).

<sup>84</sup> Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia a Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1615), 432.

<sup>85</sup> Pierre de la Primaudaye, *The Second Part of the French Academie*, trans. T[homas] B[owes] (London, 1594), 159. (chap. 26).

<sup>86</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 6 vols., ed. Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicolas K. Kiessling and Rhonda L. Blair (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989-2000), 1:145-6.

<sup>87</sup> Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie Containing the Causes thereof* (London, 1586), 93.

passion, ‘shee can not exactly consider the reasons which may dissuade her from [...] such affections’, and so becomes doubly blinded: blinded to the correct action and blind to why it is correct.<sup>88</sup> By setting reason and passion in opposition, this theory associates error with the humours and their contingent passions. Edward Reynolds puts it simply, ‘the causes of these Errors are [...] those humors’, which act as ‘certain poysones’ to reason.<sup>89</sup> These ‘Errors’ and ‘poysones’ of perception could affect anyone, but were especially problematic for the traveller, as they could prevent him from carrying out his primary task: observation.

In the early modern period, ‘observation’ stood for a special kind of disciplined, trained, or habitual perception, as opposed to that which occurs in the course of everyday life.<sup>90</sup> It involved the focussed, active use of the senses for investigative purposes, and could – but did not necessarily – require the aid of tools or technologies. An observer can quickly and accurately distinguish between things; for instance, telling the differences between different kinds of animals, plants, or clouds. In doing so, as Lorraine Daston puts it, the observer ‘furnishes the universe’, giving it shape and significance.<sup>91</sup> Observation thus depends on a conceptual framework that makes sense of, and manages, the diverse phenomena that one sees (or otherwise senses), be they animals, plants, clouds, or something else. But as Bright, Wright, and Reynolds explain, distortion can occur, particularly if the phenomena in question are not readily resolvable within this framework. Travellers were said to be particularly susceptible to these mental distortions, because of their failure to ‘know themselves’. As we have seen already, a lack of self-knowledge is the defining characteristic of the dramatized ‘wry-transformed traveller’, who is, like an actor, inclined to mimicry, so quick to take on the languages, customs, fashions, and even gestures of the places he visits that he risks losing his own sense of self in the process. Failures of self-knowledge, and the association of travel and mimicry, feature prominently in

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<sup>88</sup> Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London, 1604), 50.

<sup>89</sup> Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man* (London, 1640), 26; Bright (1586), 40.

<sup>90</sup> The following paragraphs draw on Daston (2008) and Daston and Lunbeck eds. (2010), especially chapters by Katharine Park, Gianna Pomata, and Lorraine Daston.

<sup>91</sup> Daston (2008), esp. 98-100.

writing about real travellers, too. William Cornwallis, in his essay ‘Of Imitation’, compares travellers who ‘runne away with all villanous customes’ to ‘Snow-balles, that carry away part of the Durt they are rowled upon’.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, the dedication to Bishop Joseph Hall’s *Quo vadis?* (‘where are you going?’), a polemic against travel, begins by explaining that ‘the soule’ tends to ‘gather up mosse in [its] rolling’, and, subsequently, experiences ‘unnecessary agitation’.<sup>93</sup> According to these writers, it is safer to stay at home and thus avoid collecting ‘Durt’ and ‘mosse’ – ‘villanous customes’, for Cornwallis, and ‘agitation’ of the soul, for Hall – abroad. In practice, however, the traveller’s options were not quite so stark: it was possible for him to travel without going awry, or rolling like a snowball, if he made the effort to know himself.

Knowing oneself, as the Dutch physician Levinus Lemnius puts it, involves knowing ‘how fervente or how remisse the agitations of [one’s] minde be’.<sup>94</sup> A clear understanding of the peculiarities of one’s own constitution, attained through introspection, is key to self-governance: it enables self-correction and thus self-control, allowing the individual to ‘frame [him] selfe the better’.<sup>95</sup> Cicero’s interpretation of self-knowledge in the *De officiis* defines ‘knowing oneself’ in the terms of civic humanism, as knowing one’s place in the world. As Nicholas Grimald, one of Cicero’s early modern translators, renders the thought, it meant recognising that ‘all things in the worlde [...] be made for somme use’, identifying which use ‘to his kinde is most agreable’ and then employing oneself accordingly.<sup>96</sup> Early modern travellers knew that their ‘use’ was to record observations of foreign lands and then disseminate them, either to the public at large or to an exclusive community such as the Royal Society. They could also travel as official intelligencers for the crown, functioning as proxy eyes whose duties extended beyond mere sight. Whatever their specific audience, travellers had to keep their passions under control in order to

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<sup>92</sup> William Cornwallis, *Essayes. By Sir William Corne-Waleys the Younger, Knight* (London, 1600-1601), sig. M<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> Joseph Hall, *Quo vadis?* (London, 1617), sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions Generallye Appliable* (London, 1576), 14.

<sup>95</sup> Lodowick Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civill Life Containing the Ethike Part of Morall Philosophie* (London, 1606), ‘To the Reader’, sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> Cicero, *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes Thre Bokes of Duties* trans. Nicholas Grimald (London, 1556), fol. 45<sup>r</sup> (*De officiis*, 1.114).

observe properly. Not only were they required to know themselves, and to perceive the world in a certain way, but travellers were also expected to follow a specific set of note-taking methods when it came to recording their perceptions. Rooted in humanist commonplace culture, these methods found application in a variety of other fields, including the closely related discipline of natural history. Fundamental to travellers' note-taking methods is the imperative to establish axioms, or general knowledge, from the particularities of experience, a process metaphorically understood as 'digestion'. The following section returns to Fynes Moryson, to discuss the use of notes as an aid to the memory, and to explain its relationship to the process of textual digestion.

### **Note-taking, Memory, and Digestion**

Moryson's 'Precepts' are informed by a set of alimentary metaphors which are frequently used in discussions of note-keeping, and which will be particularly important for my discussion of Coryate in chapter 1. The recommendation that the traveller should 'make [...] his owne' and take 'possession' of his impressions suggests a process of assimilation, the absorption and incorporation of a substance. His reference to 'the dung of *Ennius*' is an even more explicit engagement with the humanist principle of digestion. In an anecdote first recorded by Cassiodorus, Virgil is said to have explained that he was reading Ennius, a poet often described as 'crude', because he was 'looking for gold in a dung-heap'.<sup>97</sup> Robert Burton alludes to this anecdote in the copious opening of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, in which Democritus Junior disparages those who 'pilfer out of old writers to stufte up their new comments', as if digging in '*Ennius* dunghills'.<sup>98</sup>

For Moryson, in contrast, the traveller must play the role of both Ennius *and* Virgil; it is his responsibility to 'distill Gold' from the 'dung' of his own copious notes, once his mind is 'ripe' or mature enough to do so. The structure of Moryson's own *Itinerary* broadly conforms to

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<sup>97</sup> Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul* trans. James W. Halporn (Liverpool, 2004), 114.

<sup>98</sup> Burton (1989-2000), 1:9.

these principles. It is divided into three parts: the first two are ‘journalls’ describing his travels, as well as a historical account of the rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone, while the third synthesises the particulars of the earlier parts, grouping them together as ‘a discourse upon severall heads’. The principle of digestion is set out in similar terms in a later work of travel advice, Thomas Neale’s *A Treatise of Direction*. Neale commends travellers who ‘commit to their briefe note-books the adventures of each day’ and ‘the notable Acts of each weeke’ to ‘diaries, Kalendars & Ephemerides’, because later, they can turn to these textual repositories and, ‘as from a store-house’, draw out ‘provision’ to mitigate the ‘famine or barrenesse of oblivion, or their confused memorials’, supplementing this material with ‘new matter’ through ‘inlargement’. Like Moryson, Neale employs an alimentary metaphor, instructing travellers to ‘ruminare’ (what Burton calls ‘*Mastication* or chewing in the mouth’) on their material as oxen do with grass, in order to ‘tread out the pure and solid Corne of observation’.<sup>99</sup> If used carefully, notes can feed the memory, rescuing it from the ‘famine’ of ‘oblivion’, while the observational ‘Corne’ that is produced by digesting them can feed others.

An account by the traveller Henry Timberlake illustrates the centrality of note-keeping to the experience of travel. According to this account, Timberlake spent his days ‘writing downe all things which I thought *note-worthie*’ (emphasis mine) and then, in the evenings, ‘had so much to doo, in writing my notes out of my table bookes’.<sup>100</sup> As per the conventions of the period, Timberlake used his ‘table bookes’ on a daily basis for short-term, temporary storage, before writing the notes up in a more permanent, and likely more detailed form. Table books were small and portable, which made them useful for the traveller. But their size also meant that there was a limit to how much they could contain. There is thus a sense of labour and urgency to Timberlake’s nightly writing (‘so much to doo’) because he needed to empty his table books in order to use them again the next day. For Timberlake, as for the travellers examined in this

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<sup>99</sup> Thomas Neale, *A Treatise of Direction* (London, 1643), 27.

<sup>100</sup> Henry Timberlake, *A True and Strange Discourse of the Travailes of Two English Pilgrimes* (London, 1603), 12, 18.

thesis, taking note of the *'note-worthy'* is essential: without proper notes, there is a chance that they could forget what they had seen.

In certain contexts, however, notes can be a *burden* to the memory, especially if they are taken in haste. Reynolds explains that the memory's 'principall Corruptions' include

too much slightnesse and shallownesse of observations; when out of an impatiencie of staying long, or making any profound enquirie into one object, and out of a gluttonous curiositie to feed on many, the greedinesse of the appetite weakeneth the digestion [...] an eagernesse to take in, meakes [*sic*] uncarefull to retaine.

He compares this 'gluttonous curiositie' to speedy travel: men trying to learn too much too quickly do not make a 'solemne Journey to a particular Coast, and Head of Learning, but view all as it were in *Transitu*, having no sooner begun to settle on one, but they are in haste to visit another'.<sup>101</sup> By describing the weaknesses of the memory, and its role in observation, in terms of 'gluttonous curiositie', Reynolds implies that observers need to possess a certain degree of self-control: to take in enough, but not too much. Although Moryson shares Reynolds's view on the discipline required for observation, and draws on a similar set of digestive metaphors, he does not seem to think that it is possible for the traveller to write too much. His insistence that travellers should write 'each day, at morne and even in his Inne, within writing Tables carried about him' articulates one of the central contentions of this study: that in the seventeenth century, travellers were defined by their writing; to be a traveller was to be a writer. In this sense, the term 'travel writer' – as well as the various neologisms used in scholarship on travel writing, including Jonathan Sell's 'traveller-writer' – are tautologous, and would have been utterly incomprehensible to an early modern reader. Nonetheless, I use the terms 'travel writing' and 'travel writer' in an attempt to recover the particular cultural association of travelling and writing that prevailed in the seventeenth century that has now been lost. The task of observation, and

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<sup>101</sup> Reynolds (1640), 13-15. For a similar comparison of memory overload to overeating, see John Willis, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1621), 56-7: 'We must take heed that we overcharge not our memory with a multitude of *Idea's*: for as it is hurtfull to loade the stomack with more meat then it can digest at once; so is it also unprofitable to oppresse the memory with too great a multitude of *Ideas*'.

the procedure of digestion that observation entailed, thus informed both the language and form of travel writing in the seventeenth century, and also shaped travellers' experiences during their time away.

The connections between the practice of travel writing and its art should not suggest that travel is simply an exercise in rule-following, however. As we will see, seventeenth-century English travellers knew that the fresh territory they charted was not just geographical, but also literary. By examining the inventiveness of their writing, I follow their travels from the places of rhetoric, to the places of the world, and back again. I begin with the traveller who is unquestionably the strangest of them all, yet also central to the argument that this thesis pursues: Thomas Coryate.

## Chapter 1

### Thomas Coryate and the ‘Tour’ of Ekphrasis

In his ‘Character’ of Thomas Coryate (c. 1577-1617), author or ‘Maker’ of the eponymous *Coryats Crudities* (1611), Ben Jonson described the borrowings from ancient languages, the ‘vein or thread of Greek’ and ‘another of Latin’, that run through the traveller’s prose. He called Coryate a ‘great and bold *Carpenter* of words’, or, ‘to express him in one like his own’, a ‘*Logodaedale*’, adding, ‘which *voyce* when he hears, ’tis doutfull whether he will more love at the first, or envy after, that it was not his owne’.<sup>102</sup> Jonson’s language mimics the peculiarities it describes; the inkhorn term ‘logodaedale’ is derived from the Greek λογοδαίδαλος, and means ‘one who is cunning in words’, while ‘*voyce*’ is used in the sense of the Latin *vox*, ‘word’, with the consciousness of its use as a borrowing signalled by italics.<sup>103</sup> Jonson’s ‘Character’ of Coryate thus enacts the learned inkhornism that it diagnoses.

Although Jonson claimed to write as a ‘charitable friend’, this compliment is double-edged. Early modern definitions of ‘logodaedalus’ include ‘he that speaketh craftily’, ‘vayne talker’, and ‘gay talker with fayre and trimme wordes’; the logodaedale was eloquent, but spoke ‘little pith of matter’, ‘sentences vayne, or of lyttel purpose’, and was lacking in ‘gravite’. According to Thomas Elyot, ‘artificiall spekers’ or ‘*Logodedalet*’ did not deserve the title of ‘orateurs’ because they had ‘nothinge but langage only’, while John Evelyn, writing a century later, said that he did not want to seem ‘*Logodaedalus*’, that is, ‘*Architectus Verborum*’, and so would proceed to ‘the *Thing*’ itself.<sup>104</sup> By casting Coryate as a logodaedale, Jonson thus implied that his writing was rich in words but poor in things: a feat of *verba*, not *res*.

<sup>102</sup> Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (London, 1611), sig.b2<sup>v</sup>. Hereafter ‘*Crudities*’. For biographical information on Coryate, see Michael Strachan, *The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate* (London, 1962), and Strachan, ‘Coryate, Thomas (1577?-1617)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/6364, accessed 25 Nov 2017].

<sup>103</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘logodaedalus’, *n.*, and ‘voice’, *n.* Jonson’s is the first recorded appearance of the coinage ‘logodaedale’.

<sup>104</sup> Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, 2 vols., ed. H.H. Croft (London, 1880), 1:119-20. Elyot took the term ‘*logodaedalet*’ from Plato’s *Phaedrus*, in which Socrates ironically refers to the sophist Theodorus of Byzantium as a

This is a damning assessment. As we saw in the Introduction, travellers were expected to prioritise things over words, and, in so doing, to produce general knowledge through the ‘digestion’ of particulars. In entitling his account *Coryats Crudities*, Coryate himself signals that he has not carried out this essential task. ‘Crudity’ stands for that which is raw, unripe, imperfectly digested or indigestible, as well as for the condition of indigestion.<sup>105</sup> It is a key term in early modern accounts of the operation of ‘Nutrition’, in which it is understood as the affliction of ‘gluttons, Epicures, and idle persons’, as well as of ‘Melancholike persons’, those lacking in the ‘naturall heat’ required for digestion to take place.<sup>106</sup> Normally, food that has been ‘mynced & chawed wyth the teeth’ descends into the stomach, where it is digested and ‘made substantiall’ for ‘proper nourishment’. But crudity disrupts this process: it turns food into ‘ill humours & troubled Spirits’ which corrupt and putrefy, engendering a ‘stoare of diseases’ and a number of undesirable symptoms, including ‘sower vomitting’; at the same time, it prevents the body from dealing with ‘superfluitie’ or ‘excrement’, the ‘unwholsome’ waste products of ‘meats and drinks’.<sup>107</sup> For authorities writing on the subject, it is obvious that crudity is ‘harmfull’ and ‘to be avoyded’.<sup>108</sup>

Coryate, who experienced indigestion more than once in the course of his travels, takes a different view. The *Crudities* opens with a description of his journey from Dover to Calais, during which he ‘varnished the exterior parts of the ship with the excrementall ebullitions of my tumultuous stomach’ because he had previously ‘superfluously stuffed’ himself on land. It is already clear that this is an individual given to excess, as immoderate in diet as in (copious, fustian, bombastic) style. Unlike his contemporaries, however, Coryate does not think that a lack

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‘λογοδοσίδαιον’. See *Phaedrus* trans. Harold North Fowler in *Euthyphro; Apology; Crito; Phaedo; Phaedrus*. (Cambridge, MA, 1990, first pub. 1914), 266e4; Roland Fréart, *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern* (London, 1664), trans. John Evelyn, 121.

<sup>105</sup> OED, s.v. ‘crudity’, *n.*, 1a-b, 2a.

<sup>106</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, eds. Thomas C. Faulkner, Nicolas K. Kiessling and Rhonda L. Blair, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1989-2000), 1:148; Levinus Lemnius, trans. Thomas Newton, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (London, 1576), fol. 118<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> Lemnius, fol. 10<sup>v</sup> (sig. B2<sup>v</sup>); Bright (1586), 178-184.

<sup>108</sup> Lemnius, fol. 10<sup>v</sup> (sig. B2<sup>v</sup>).

of moderation constitutes an ethical or aesthetic failure; on the contrary, he sees it as a virtue. Although ‘excrement’, from the Latin *excrementum*, refers to ‘what is sifted out’, he presents his ‘excrementall ebullitions’ as a substance to be taken *in*, claiming that they ended up in ‘the gormandizing paunches of the hungry Haddocks’.<sup>109</sup> Coryate’s vomiting episode is represented as the first image (A) on the book’s frontispiece, and receives a double distich in the ‘explication of the Emblemes of the frontispiece’. One of the distichs reads: ‘First, th’Author here glutteth Sea, Haddocke & Whiting / With spuing, and after the world with his writing’.<sup>110</sup> The supposed nourishment of Coryate’s vomit is thus the beginning of both the journey and of the narrative. Other aspects of the frontispiece perform a similar manoeuvre: it describes Coryate’s ‘crudities’ as ‘gobled up’ (and thus, presumably, improperly chewed) and only belatedly ‘digested’, but somehow, at the same time, as ‘nourishment’ for ‘the travelling Members of this Kingdome’. Coryate positions the excremental or undigested as a form of sustenance that would both ‘satiare’ and nourish; in the process, he recuperates crudity, both literal (as a physiological condition), and, more pertinently, metaphorical (as a textual strategy). This act of recuperation, and its function within Coryate’s travel writing, is the subject of this chapter.

The *Crudities* might seem a strange place for this thesis to begin: Jonson’s charge of logodaedaly suggests that Coryate should be excluded from the domain of invention, the part of rhetoric that deals with *res*, matter or ‘stuff’, while Coryate’s own attitude to crudity poses a challenge to the principles of self-discipline and textual digestion that underpin the *ars apodemica*. Flawed as both orator and traveller, Coryate’s debt to any ‘art’ or precept is, at first, difficult to detect; indeed, this apparent artlessness has defined his critical reception since the seventeenth century. Some have read the *Crudities* in biographical terms, and treated it as evidence that Coryate was a ‘buffoon’. Writing in the nineteenth century, Augustus Jessopp claimed that Coryate ‘left the university without taking a degree, and seems to have led an aimless life for a

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<sup>109</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘excrement’, *n*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>110</sup> *Crudities*, sig. a<sup>r</sup>.

few years, till [...] he became a hanger-on of the court, picking up a precarious livelihood as a kind of privileged buffoon'.<sup>111</sup> More recently, the *Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson* echoed this assessment, stating that Coryate 'made a profession out of being the butt of others' wit'.<sup>112</sup> Others have made the implications of Jonson's 'Character' more explicit, and draw a connection between Coryate's purported buffoonery and the sense that the *Crudities* is concerned with verbal ornament rather than the transmission of knowledge.<sup>113</sup> Because Coryate was the first Englishman to travel explicitly for pleasure rather than for more conventional enterprises of diplomacy or trade, many have viewed him as a progenitor of the Grand Tour, a tourist *avant la lettre*. Richmond Barbour goes as far as to call Coryate 'Britain's first modern tourist', the individual almost single-handedly responsible for 'the invention of tourism'.<sup>114</sup> Analogously, literary critics often describe the *Crudities* as the first of its kind in the history of English travel writing.<sup>115</sup>

Viewed in the round, the various interpretations of Coryate are difficult to reconcile: they depict him as a buffoonish pioneer, a crackbrained stylist, the originator of English travel writing as well as its worst practitioner. Despite their differences, they share the sense that Coryate is exceptional. This is a reputation that Coryate actively cultivated: first, by setting himself against the figure of the ideal traveller, typically referred to as the 'judicious traveller' or 'learned observer', in his account; second, by soliciting the mock-encomiastic 'Panegyrick Verses' that make up the bulk of the book's prefatory material, and which foreground his oddity, describing

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<sup>111</sup> Augustus Jessopp, 'Coryate, Thomas (1577?-1617)', *DNB*, ed. Leslie Stephen, 63 vols. 12: 259-60. See also *Encyclopædia Metropolitana; or, Universal Dictionary of Knowledge*, eds. Edward Smedley et al (London, 1829-43), 28 vols. 21: 630.

<sup>112</sup> See notes to Ben Jonson, 'Certain Opening and Drawing Distichs', in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*.

<sup>113</sup> Peter Womack, "The Writing of Travel" in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* ed. Michael Hattaway, Blackwell Publishing, 2002. Blackwell Reference Online. 18 January 2018 [http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9781405106269\\_chunk\\_g978140510626914](http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9781405106269_chunk_g978140510626914).

<sup>114</sup> Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge, 2003), 115-145, 115. For a similar remark see Kenneth Parker, *Early Modern Tales of Orient: A Critical Anthology* (London, 1999), 107.

<sup>115</sup> On the style of the *Crudities*, see, e.g., Andrew Hadfield, *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English, 1550-1630* (Oxford, 2001), 28, and *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545-1625* (Oxford, 2007), 58; Helen Wilcox, *1611: Authority, Gender and the Word in Early Modern England* (Chichester, 2014), 72.

him as the ‘travelling *Wonder* of our daies’.<sup>116</sup> But Coryate’s self-presentation as an artless buffoon, a ‘crude traveller’, has been taken too literally; it is a decided and deliberate strategy, one which enables him to frame his approach to travel writing as less sophisticated, but more truthful, than those taken by his contemporaries.

This chapter offers a fresh assessment of the *Crudities* by examining how Coryate redefines textual crudity as ‘nourishment’. I begin by considering Coryate’s decision to write ‘particularly’ and ‘copiously’, and explain its connection to practices of note-taking, issues of memory, and the book’s governing metaphor of indigestion. Next, I discuss the centrality of architecture in the account, and establish its relevance to Coryate’s search for opportunities for energeia. I then turn to examine Coryate’s strategies of description, which make the *Crudities* a site of vicarious travel, a textual ‘tour’, and discuss these strategies in readings of two exemplary passages which feature descriptions of the amphitheatre in Verona and of the clock in Strasbourg Cathedral. The latter part of the chapter considers the significance of inscriptions and epitaphs in the *Crudities*, suggesting that Coryate’s attention to matter exploits, and literalises, the rhetorical connotations of *res*. As we will see, Coryate’s engagement with the traditions of rhetoric and travel writing is selective and creative; his writing draws on them, and changes them, too.

### **Rhetorical Indigestion and Writing ‘More Particularly’**

Coryate dedicated the *Crudities* to Henry, Prince of Wales. Anticipating the ‘censure’ of ‘carping criticks’, he gave ‘some few reasons’ to explain why this book, the ‘greene fruits’ of ‘short travels’, merited royal attention. First, he hoped that his ‘silly Observations’ would ‘yeeld some encouragement’ to the ‘yong Gallants’ at court. The ‘description of many beautifull Cities,

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<sup>116</sup> *Crudities*, sig. c7r.

magnificent Palaces, and other memorable matters’, he wrote, would inspire them to visit ‘forraine countries’ and ‘outlandish regions’ themselves, an experience which would prepare them for future service to the Crown. Second, he promised to ‘exhibite’ a number of ‘things’ to Henry’s ‘Princelie view’, including Venice, which he had ‘more particularly described, then it hath been ever done before in our English tongue’. To properly ‘delineate & paint out’ the ‘singular beauty’ of that city would require an ‘exquisite pensill’, a ‘better stile’; nonetheless, his account reports ‘remarkable matters’ neglected by previous writers, such as ‘antiquities and monuments’, ‘Palaces’, ‘Churches’, and the ‘Piazza of S. Marke’. Similarly, the ‘descriptions of other cities’ which he ‘survayed’ in France, Italy, Switzerland, and high Germany offer ‘matter of newes’ to the English reader, because ‘none of these Cities have ever been described in our language’.<sup>117</sup>

This passage implies a rapprochement between eyewitness travel and reading, two modes of experience which are typically placed in direct opposition. It does so by relating both modes to Coryate’s ‘description’, which is said to function both as an argument for travel, a form of ‘encouragement’, as well as a *substitute* for travel, an ‘exhibite’ or ‘view’ in its own right. In referring to his book as an ‘exhibite’ to be ‘view[ed]’, Coryate presents the *Crudities* as an exercise of ekphrasis, defined in ancient rhetorical handbooks as speech that ‘brings its subject before the eyes’ and ‘makes listeners into spectators’.<sup>118</sup> Ekphrasis is closely associated with the quality of *enargeia*, ‘vividness’ or ‘evidentness’.<sup>119</sup> Vividness transports the audience through space and time, making them feel as if they are witnesses to, and stimulated by, the things described.<sup>120</sup> Early modern writers (who tend to use vernacular translations of equivalent Latin terms for *enargeia*,

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<sup>117</sup> *Crudities*, sig. a4r-a5v.

<sup>118</sup> The origins of this tradition lie in the *Progymnasmata*. See Theon, *Progymnasmata*, 118.6, ed. M. Patillon (Paris, 1997), 66; Ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata in Opera*, ed. Hugo Rabe (Leipzig, 1913), 22; Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata*, 36, ed. Hugo Rabe (Leipzig, 1926); Nikolaos, *Progymnasmata*, ed. Joseph Felten (Leipzig, 1913), 68.

<sup>119</sup> See, e.g., Cicero (1942), 3.202; *Rhetorica ad Herennium* ed. and trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, MA, 2014), 4.39.51, 4.55.68-69; Quintilian (2001), 4.2.63-65, 6.2.29-35, 8.3.61-72. See Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham, 2009), esp. 87-130; Heinrich F. Plett, *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity and the Early Modern Age: The Aesthetics of Evidence* (Leiden, 2012), 7-21.

<sup>120</sup> Webb (2009), esp. 131-165.

including *descriptio*, *illustratio*, and *evidentia*) draw on this set of ideas: the ‘description of a thyng’ places it ‘before the Readers eyes, that it semeth not to be told, but to be done: & the reader not to here it, but se it’; it is ‘an evident declaration of a thyng, as though we saw it now doen’, enabling the orator to ‘collecteth and representeth to the iye, that which he sheweth’.<sup>121</sup> To create this illusion of presence and immediacy – which is, as Coryate’s references to ‘paint’ and ‘pensill’ suggest, often compared to the experience of viewing a painting – the orator has to first ‘see’ the things in question himself, forming mental ‘visions’ that will induce the same affective response that he desires in his listeners. Travelling is one of the examples Quintilian gives of visions which could make the orator and, consequently, the audience, think that they were ‘not just imagining but actually doing these things’.<sup>122</sup> Like an orator, Coryate calls to mind the sights of his travels, fashioning them into a textual ‘description’ and, in the process, transforming his readers into proxy witnesses.

By stating that one of his aims is to ‘encourage’ young men to travel, Coryate implicitly aligns his observations with deliberative oratory, the function of which is to persuade people to take a specific course of action. The association with deliberative rhetoric is made more explicit in Coryate’s letter to the reader, which reiterates his desire to ‘encourage Gentlemen and lovers of travell to undertake journeys beyond the seas’. ‘Of all the pleasures in the world’, he writes, travel is ‘the sweetest and the most delightfull’; nothing is more ‘pleasant’ than to see

passing variety of beautifull Cities, Kings and Princes Courts, gorgeous Palaces, impregnable Castles and Fortresses, Towers piercing in a manner up to the cloudes, fertill territories replenished with a very *Cornucopia* of al manner of commodities as it were with the horne of Amalthea.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Richard Sherry, *A Treatise of the Figures of Grammer and Rhetorike*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 1555), xlv; Wilson (1553), fol. 95r; Richard Rainolde, *A Booke Called the Foundacion of Rhetorike* (London, 1563), fol. 56r. For other early modern accounts of *enargeia*, see, e.g., Erasmus, *Works*, 24:577-89 (*De copia*, 2.5); Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London, 1577), sig. O2r.

<sup>122</sup> Quintilian (2001), 6.2.29-32.

<sup>123</sup> *Crudities*, sigs. b2v-b3r.

This, he says, is ‘the argument of my booke’.<sup>124</sup> The terms of Coryate’s ‘argument’ are strikingly similar to those used by the rhetorician Thomas Wilson in a model ‘Oration deliberative’, which considers the hypothetical situation ‘if I would counsel my friend to travel beyond the Seas’. Wilson recommends finding ‘matter to confirme my cause plentifully’, and explains that one way to ‘enlarge suche matters’ is to declare that travel is ‘pleasant’. To do this, the orator should ‘heap together the variety of pleasures, which come by travel’, including the ‘strange and ancient buildings’ and ‘divers other like and almost infinite pleasures’.<sup>125</sup> These are not only verbal parallels, but evidence that persuasion to travel is a paradigm of deliberative rhetoric, as exemplification of how to recommend in general, as well as how to recommend travel in particular. This is not the only rhetorical precept in Coryate’s mind: the references to Amalthea and cornucopia also invoke the Erasmian ideal of copiousness.

To write an account that would adequately capture, indeed replicate, the copiousness, variety, and pleasure of travel, Coryate focussed on recording the particulars of his experience, writing ‘more particularly’, in ‘a more particular manner’, than any English traveller had done before. He suggests that this approach to travel writing distinguishes him not only from the ‘learned traveller’, but also from the ‘scholler’, ‘eloquent historiographer’, and ‘statist’.<sup>126</sup> His ambitions are less grand than theirs, for, as a ‘superficial smatterer in learning’, a person of ‘poore readings’, he can only aspire to write ‘as faithfully and truly as any man whatsoever’.<sup>127</sup> This modesty, though feigned, is epistemologically significant: it frames the *Crudities* as a set of observations made by an untrained, naked eye, unprejudiced by prior knowledge; it also implies a direct connection between Coryate’s lack of expertise, his preoccupation with particulars, and the truthfulness of his writing.

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<sup>124</sup> *Crudities*, sig. a7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> Wilson (1553), fols.16<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> *Crudities*, sigs. a4<sup>v</sup>, a5<sup>v</sup>, b5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*, sigs. b2<sup>r</sup>, b4<sup>r</sup>.

The inclusion of particulars in a work of travel writing is far from unusual: on the contrary, as the Introduction discussed, it is one of the defining features of the genre. Phrases such as ‘a particular description’ frequently appear in the titles of travel accounts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and particulars comprise a substantial portion of the material contained in the accounts themselves.<sup>128</sup> But there is a crucial difference between Coryate’s treatment of particulars and those of the other travellers of his time. For most, particulars are useful only insofar as they provide a basis for the production of general knowledge; they are a means to an end, rather than an end in themselves. As I have explained, the distinction between particular experience and general knowledge often determines a travel account’s overall structure. Typically, the first part deals with particulars, while the second abridges these particulars to produce ‘general’ or ‘abstract’ conclusions. Indeed, the distinction between particular and general is the chief organising principle of all of the other full-length travel accounts examined in this thesis.

Coryate is the exception. The *Crudities* deals *exclusively* with particulars. The travel account proper consists of a series of observations of cities and towns organised by the order in which they were visited, beginning with Coryate’s landing at Calais.<sup>129</sup> Coryate consistently refers to his observations *as* particulars, frequently beginning a description of a place with phrases such as ‘I observed these particulars’, ‘These are the particulars that I saw’, or ‘The particulars that I saw there were these’.<sup>130</sup> He uses the same language to note omissions, the things that he did not have the opportunity to observe, as in Calais, where he ‘adventured not to approach’ a citadel fort to ‘survey the particulars’ because it seemed dangerous.<sup>131</sup> The account ends, somewhat abruptly, with a description of the city of Flushing (Vlissingen) in the Netherlands. In lieu of a

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<sup>128</sup> See, e.g. Robert Coverte, *A True and Almost Incredible Report of an Englishman [...] With a Particular Description of all those Kingdomes, Cities, and People* (London, 1631); Richard Lassels, *A Voyage of Italy* (London, 1670), 22: ‘Having sayd this much of *Italy* in Generall, I will now come to a particular Description of it’.

<sup>129</sup> *Crudities*, 1.

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*, e.g., 2, 34, 179.

<sup>131</sup> *ibid.*, 5.

conclusion is a bald statement of the number of miles Coryate travelled in the course of the journey; the general remarks we would expect to find at the close of a travel account, the summation of what the traveller has learned, are thus entirely absent.<sup>132</sup>

Yet, because Coryate's descriptions are so highly particularised, the *Crudities* is very long even without a final, general section: the travel observations take up over 600 quarto pages, in addition to over 300 pages of paratextual material. The volume's heft is all the more remarkable considering that Coryate travelled for just five months, a short period of time by early modern standards. This discrepancy – between the length of the account, and that of the travel it describes – underpins much of the humour in the 'Panegyrick Verses' prefacing the *Crudities*. The panegyrists specifically connect the size of the book to Coryate's particular and copious writing: one compares Coryate to Pliny, claiming that the former is 'more particular by ods / In his descriptions', while another refers to his 'copious booke'.<sup>133</sup> A verse by John Chapman makes the point most explicitly, declaring that 'Here is not stifled much stuffe in few wordes / His little matter many lines affordes'; 'Few Orators so copiouslie endite'. In a marginal note, he explains what he means by 'little matter':

I therefore call it little, as having relation to the shortnes of the time that he spent in his travels, viz. five moneths, in which short time though an ordinary traveller would have written but little; yet if you reade his booke, you may perceiue that in the short space he found matter enough to affoord many lines of Observations to his country-men.<sup>134</sup>

Like Jonson in his 'Character', Chapman draws on the terminology of rhetorical invention, contrasting the relative paucity of Coryate's *res* ('matter') to the abundance of his *verba* ('lines'). He implies that Coryate's choice to write 'so copiouslie' is a strategy to help him overcome the temporal limitations of his travel ('shortnes of the time') and that, through the amplificatory powers of copia, he has managed to get a 'little' into 'matter enough', thus exceeding the output

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<sup>132</sup> *Crudities*, 654-55.

<sup>133</sup> *ibid.*, sigs. f4r, d2r.

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*, sig. f6v.

of ‘an ordinary traveller’. Another of the panegyrists alludes to Virgil’s comparison of Ennius’s writings as a ‘dung-heap’, already discussed in relation to Fynes Morison in the Introduction, claiming that Coryate ‘over-speakes the English tongue, / And picketh gold out of the dongue, / That ancient Poets made’.<sup>135</sup> Considered together, these remarks suggest that Coryate’s prose is ‘undigested’ and ‘excrementall’ in two senses: first, because it has not properly executed a shift from particulars to axioms; second, because it is composed through the excavation of the metaphorical ‘dung’ of other writers. The title of Coryate’s account, *Crudities*, thus specifically refers to the traveller’s handling of particulars, and his refusal to digest them.

As we saw in the Introduction, undigested notes could cause problems for the memory. Memory is an important part of Thomas Fuller’s description of Coryate, one of the ‘Memorable Persons’ featured in his *History of the Worthies of England*. Fuller writes, ‘[t]he shape of his head had no promising form, being like a *Sugar-loaf inverted*, with the little end before, as composed of *fancy* and *memory*, without any *common-sense*’.<sup>136</sup> This passage has been identified as the source of Coryate’s modern reputation as a buffoon.<sup>137</sup> If this is the case, then Coryate’s reputation has been shaped by a fundamental misunderstanding: in seventeenth-century England, Fuller’s phrase ‘without any *common-sense*’ would have carried a different, and much more specific, connotation than buffoonery. Early modern writing on the soul classifies the fancy, memory, and common sense as three of the internal senses or ‘inward wits’ which deal with the processing and storage of data from the external senses. The Huguenot encyclopaedist Pierre de la Primaudaye, whose *French Academie* was translated into English and widely read in the first half of the seventeenth century, explains that the common sense ‘receiveth all the images and shapes that are offered and brought unto it [...] yea all the kindes and resemblances of materiall things’. Its task is to ‘discerne’ and ‘judge’ the properties of these things, and to communicate them to the

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<sup>135</sup> *Crudities*, sig. c4v.

<sup>136</sup> Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), 31.

<sup>137</sup> Katharine Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (London, 2007), 95.

other senses accordingly.<sup>138</sup> It thus acts as an intermediary between the two groups of senses, sorting and filtering impressions from the outside world as they travel to the fancy (which ‘frames’ and augments these impressions as images) and the memory (which stores them away for later use). Read in this context, Fuller’s words imply that Coryate was undiscerning, unable to distinguish properly between the various impressions received by his senses; they thus reinforce the conceit of the *Crudities* as ‘hastily gobbled up’ particulars, an assemblage of notes based on a mass of impressions, an exhaustive retelling of every detail of everything that he saw. In claiming that Coryate’s crudity is writ on his physiognomy, Fuller goes a step further than Jonson’s ‘Character’, suggesting that the indigested nature of Coryate’s travel writing is not a matter of choice or design, but that there is something about Coryate’s mind that prevents him from writing in any other way.

There is, however, an artful artlessness to the heaping up of particulars in the *Crudities*. Although both powerful and pervasive, the metaphors of indigestion in the *Crudities* risk obscuring something that would otherwise be obvious: the account does not *actually* describe everything Coryate saw in the space of five months; such comprehensiveness is impossible. The principles of invention and rhetorical design emerge more clearly when we notice the selections that Coryate *does* make. The account prioritises some kinds of material over others through processes of selection and exclusion which are largely tacit but occasionally articulated. For example, in his observations of Lyons, Coryate refers to the ‘long discourse’ he had with a ‘scholarly Turk’ and gives some details of their exchange, before concluding with the statement ‘Many other memorable things besides these this learned Turke told me, which I will not now commit to writing’.<sup>139</sup> The material that Coryate *does* ‘commit to writing’ tends to be on the subject of architecture. As suggested by his dedication to Prince Henry and letter to the reader,

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<sup>138</sup> Pierre de la Primaudaye, *The Second Part of the French Academie. Wherein...the Bodie and Soule of Man, the Creation, Matter, Composition, Forme, Nature, Profite and Use of all the Parties of the Frame of Man are Handled*, trans. T[homas] B[owes] (London, 1594), 414 (chap. 25).

<sup>139</sup> *Crudities*, 64-66.

Coryate primarily focusses on the description of the ‘Palaces’, ‘Churches’, ‘Castles’ and ‘Fortresses’ he saw during his travels. The following section of this chapter considers the significance of this architectural focus to Coryate’s project of writing ‘more particularly’ than any English traveller had done before.

### **Architecture, the *Ars apodemica*, and Ekphrasis**

Early modern travel advice regularly instructs travellers to take notes on the buildings they encounter. Two orations on travel by the German humanist Hermann Kirchner (translated into English by Coryate himself and printed in the *Crudities*) recommend those desirous of learning to seek out ‘ruines’, ‘statues of ancient men’, and ‘Images of antiquity’. They also, in contrast to Coryate’s own emphasis on crudity, emphasise the importance of digestion, using Plato as an example of a traveller who ‘sifted all the monuments of antiquity with his most singular industry, and entred into the very marrow and pith itselife of Moses truth’. Kirchner is probably referring to ‘monuments’ in the textual sense, suggesting that the traveller is expected to read the textual ‘monuments of antiquity’ while viewing its ‘ruines’, ‘statues’ and ‘Images’. His phrasing, ‘sifted all the monuments’, recalls the Virgilian sift through dung for gold, and, like the *Crudities*, uses this image to analogise the acts of reading and seeing. Similarly, Albrecht Meyer’s *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, translated into English in 1589, includes a section on ‘Topographie, or the portraiture of particular places’, which mentions ‘castels’, ‘towres’, ‘entrances and gates’, ‘wals’, ‘streets’, ‘houses & pallaces’ as features to observe. Francis Bacon’s essay ‘Of Travaile’ stresses that ‘Men should make Diaries’ during travel, and take note of ‘Courts’, ‘Churches’, ‘Wals’, ‘Antiquities’ and ‘Ruines’, amongst other things.<sup>140</sup> Jerome Turler’s *De peregrinatione*, translated into English in 1575, includes a description of Naples as an example of the ‘viewing & diligent

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<sup>140</sup> Albrecht Meyer, *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions* trans. Philip Jones (London, 1589), 8-9; Francis Bacon, *The Oxford Francis Bacon*, 15 vols., ed. Michael Kiernan, Graham Rees, Alan Stewart, Maria Wakely, et al. (Oxford, 1996-), XV: 56.

consideration of things' that should be carried out during travel. Describing the 'Kinges Pittes or Pondes', Turler writes:

This goodly building or rather Pallaice, was erected by *Ferdinand* of Arragon the first, king of *Naples* in fourme fouresquare, but somewhat long, in whose walles stand very auncient Pictures to be seene. The middle court was made to washe in [...] that great Courte is round aboute compassed with a beautifull, and verie gorgeous gallerie. But in the last siege of the Cittie of *Naples*, that Frenchmen spoyled not onely this Gallerie: but welnighe all the whole Pallaice.<sup>141</sup>

This could easily pass as an excerpt from Coryate's own observations. Turler's adjectives 'goodly', 'auncient', 'beautifull', and 'gorgeous', used in relation to architecture and art, recur in the *Crudities*, in which 'goodly courts', 'exceeding ancient' inscriptions, and palaces that 'make a very glorious and beautifull shew' appear frequently.<sup>142</sup> Like Turler, Coryate uses buildings as a point of departure for more extensive discussions of historical context, paying particular attention to the foundation of cities, such as the fact that Bergamo was founded by 'one *Cirinus* King of Liguria'.<sup>143</sup> As in Turler's reference to the siege of Naples, Coryate lingers over evidence (both visual and textual) of ruin and decay; for instance, he recalls the 'harme' done to Vercellis (Vercelli) by Autharus, the third Lombard, resulting in large portions of the city being 'demolished' and 'defaced'.<sup>144</sup> This preoccupation with defacement means that the textual record of place becomes a means of reading both what is and is not there, rendering the material artefact a testament of history as well as simply of the physical presence of place. In this way, travel writing forms a bridge between the ancient past and its own time.

Travellers writing at around the same time as Coryate, including Fynes Moryson and George Sandys, also pay close attention to architecture and antiquities. The title-page of Moryson's *Itinerary* references 'the situation of Cities, the descriptions of them, with all Monuments in each place worth the seeing'. Sandys's *Relation*, like the *Crudities*, is dedicated to

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<sup>141</sup> Jerome Turler, *The Traveler of Jerome Turler* (London, 1575), 187.

<sup>142</sup> See, e.g., *Crudities*, 38, 141, 163.

<sup>143</sup> *ibid.*, 342.

<sup>144</sup> *ibid.*, 89.

Prince Henry, and is especially interested in the historical and political processes by which ‘sumptuous buildings become ruins’.<sup>145</sup> Angus Vine identifies Moryson, Sandys, and Coryate as examples of seventeenth-century ‘antiquarian travellers’ committed to studying ‘vestiges of the past’.<sup>146</sup> However, while architecture is just one of the many topics discussed by Moryson and Sandys, who are equally interested in government, religion, law, and medicine, it is at the centre of the *Crudities*. As indicated above, Coryate’s remarks on etymology, history, and politics are, more often than not, prompted by encounters – actual, or imaginative – with buildings and monuments. And, as we will see, these features often provide a formal structure for the observations themselves.

The privileged status of architecture in the *Crudities* can be partially explained by Coryate’s biography: he had personal connections to a number of English connoisseurs with interests in architecture, including Henry Wotton, Inigo Jones, and the Earl of Arundel, and his involvement with the household of Prince Henry would have given him access to the masques and entertainments staged by Jones and Ben Jonson, featuring elaborate sets and spectacular special effects of Jones’s design.<sup>147</sup> Michelle O’Callaghan suggests that Coryate’s offer to act as the ‘eyes’ of the prince is informed by a sense of civic duty, and that his descriptions of architecture should thus be viewed as a form of intelligence-gathering, with architectural innovation functioning as an index of a nation’s military and naval power.<sup>148</sup> The reading of Coryate as an intelligencer is however difficult to square with his insistent claim to be a ‘private man’ uninterested in affairs of state, and with the account’s emphasis on delight. Nor, however, does it seem that Coryate was interested in architecture for artistic reasons. As Melanie Ord notes, the travel writing of this period does not possess a ‘developed artistic and architectural

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<sup>145</sup> George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey* (1615), sig. A2r.

<sup>146</sup> Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2010), 139-168, 143.

<sup>147</sup> Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London, 1998), 205-8.

<sup>148</sup> Michelle O’Callaghan, ‘Coryate’s *Crudities* (1611) and Travel Writing as the “Eyes” of the Prince’, in Timothy Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England* (London, 2007), 85-103.

appreciation'; and, despite his proximity to figures in English architecture, Coryate himself had little knowledge of the technicalities of the subject.<sup>149</sup> Biography thus does not fully explain the scale and extent of the architectural descriptions in the *Crudities*.

Rather, Coryate's engagement with architecture is better understood as part of his aim to give readers a 'view' of travel through ekphrasis. Cities, buildings, and statues are among the principal subjects of ekphrasis as defined and practiced in antiquity.<sup>150</sup> Moreover, *enargeia* – which is, as mentioned above, the quality or effect with which ekphrasis is associated – is often discussed in architectural terms, as in Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesy*. Distinguishing between the 'wordish description' of philosophy and the 'perfect picture' of poetry, Sidney identifies the latter as the form that is most capable of granting the reader access to the things being described. He gives the example of 'the architector' who rattles off a list of the features of a 'gorgeous palace' without satisfying his listener's 'inward conceits'. By contrast, the poet is able to show the 'house well in model', leading others to a 'judicial comprehending of them'. The poet's practice of *enargeia* makes it possible for the reader to see the description, rather than simply hear the enumeration of its features. This suggests that both the architector and the poet deal in particulars, but that there is a crucial difference of mode that permits one to describe more effectively than the other. Moreover, for Sidney, the poet is superior to the philosopher specifically because of his handling of particulars: while the philosopher is confined to 'precept' and 'bare rule', the poet 'coupleth the general notion with the particular example', telling of the 'particular marks' of things; it is, to an extent, its particularity that enables poetry to offer up an 'image' to the mind.<sup>151</sup> Coryate reconciles the Sidneian figures of the poet and the architector in suggesting that the provision of particulars can set sights before his reader's eyes.

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<sup>149</sup> Melanie Ord, 'Returning from Venice to England: Sir Henry Wotton as Diplomat, Pedagogue and Italian Cultural Connoisseur' in Thomas Betteridge (ed.), *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2007), 147-167, esp. 151-2.

<sup>150</sup> On the subjects of ekphrasis, see Webb (2009), 61-86, esp. 61-2, 64, 81.

<sup>151</sup> Sidney (1973), 85. For a discussion of these two kinds of mimesis (one eikastic, the other fantastic) in the poetics of Sidney and Fulke Greville, see Kathryn Murphy, 'Greville's Scantlings: Architecture and Measure in the Treatise

The notion that *enargeia* could be achieved through the accumulation of particulars is also present in Quintilian, who explains that ‘sometimes, the picture we wish to present is made up of a number of details’; to describe it, the orator must ‘expand everything’, giving a sense of the ‘whole’ by setting out its ‘parts’. Quintilian’s term for this type of *enargeia* is ‘*ex pluribus*’, ‘out of many’.<sup>152</sup> Architecture lends itself especially well to this mode of description, in that an entire building can be easily broken down into its constituent parts, materials, colours, and textures, and viewed from variety of perspectives. Indeed, architectural description can only work through this kind of particularisation, because it is impossible to take in an entire building at once. Julius Caesar Scaliger’s *Poetices libri septem* discusses *enargeia* under the term ‘hypotyposis’, literally an architectural plan, using a series of architectural terms, including ‘lines’, ‘dimensions’ and ‘proportions’, and explains that its main modes were the description of characters and places.<sup>153</sup> Coryate’s ‘many lines’, his ‘particular’ descriptions of cities and buildings, including ‘gorgeous Palaces’, are thus an example of the ways in which theories of *enargeia* could be put into practice in the context of travel writing.

Paradoxically, Coryate’s particularity thus makes his writing simultaneously vivid, spectacular, and touristic, as well as bloated and crude. Pointing to Coryate’s tendency to describe in ‘meticulous detail’, Raymond-Jean Frontain calls the *Crudities* ‘an equal mix of hyperbole and tedium’, referring to a passage on the Doge’s Palace – what Coryate calls ‘the Duke’s Palace’ – in Venice as a ‘particularly tedious’ example.<sup>154</sup> Frontain’s choice of language is apt, as Coryate also describes that passage, and others like it in the *Crudities*, as ‘tedious’; and, like Frontain, he attributes that tediousness to its provision of detail, or, rather, particulars. Before commencing his description of the Piazza of St. Mark, he writes:

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Poems’ in Russ Leo, Katrin Röder, and Freya Sierhuis ed., *The Measure of the Mind: Fulke Greville and the Literary Culture of the English Renaissance* (Oxford, forthcoming 2018).

<sup>152</sup> Quintilian (2001), 8.3.66-70. See Webb (2009), 90-91.

<sup>153</sup> Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (1561; Leiden, 1594), 306-7.

<sup>154</sup> Raymond-Jean Frontain, ‘Donne, Coryate, and the Sesqui-Superlative’, *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 29.2 (2003), 211-224, 212-13.

But I will descend to the particular description of this peerelesse place, wherein if I seeme too tedious, I crave pardon of thee (gentle Reader) seeing the variety of the curious objects which it exhibiteth to the spectator is such, that a man shall much wrong it to speake a little of it. The like tediousnesse thou art like to finde also in my description of the Dukes Palace, and St. Markes Church, which are such glorious workes, that I endeavoured to observe as much of them as I might, because I knew it was uncertaine whether I should ever see them againe, though I hoped for it.<sup>155</sup>

For Coryate, ‘tedious’, from *taedere*, ‘to weary’, does not mean boring, but exhaustive. Here, as elsewhere, he uses the term ‘observe’ to mean ‘record in writing’, and gives two justifications for his ‘tediousnesse’. First, he suggests that it is an entirely appropriate response to variety and the attempt to capture it in writing, and that it would ‘wrong’ the ‘curious objects’ in question to describe them too briefly. Second, he implies that his ‘tedious’ observations of these places would function as a substitute for travel in the event that he could not ‘see them againe’ in person. The ‘exhibite’ and ‘view’ of ekphrasis is not only reserved for the reader: although he has seen these places with his own eyes, Coryate too stands to benefit from particular description and the kind of imaginative ‘seeing’ it facilitates. Writing tediously is thus a way in which to pay respect to things that are beautifully made, as well as to keep a record, for one’s own future reference or for others, taking hold of images that, if trusted to the memory alone, would simply decay.

Coryate’s intention to ‘descend’ to a ‘tedious’ description also echoes an earlier moment in the *Crudities* in which he undertakes a ‘tedious descent’ after crossing the Alps, taking ‘waies’ that are ‘exceeding unease’ and ‘wonderfull hard, all stony and full of windings and intricate turnings’.<sup>156</sup> As we have already seen, Coryate frequently suggests parallels between travel, writing, and reading by using the same terms to refer to the sights of his travels as well as to the style in which they are described, such as ‘copious’ and ‘various’. ‘Tedious’ is another example. To describe something as tedious is to suggest that it is ‘long and tiresome’; it is said of anything that takes up a substantial amount of time, such as a narrative, or a journey. It refers to states of tiredness and

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<sup>155</sup> *Crudities*, 172.

<sup>156</sup> *ibid.*, 80.

exhaustion, as well as, in older senses, to slowness or lateness.<sup>157</sup> Coryate's descriptions are indeed sometimes tedious, but they are meant to be: the experience of reading them approximates his own experience of tedious travel, as suggested by the frequency with which the panegyrists pair 'mile' with 'style'.

Once again, Moryson provides a helpful point of comparison. To explain the way in which he composed the *Itinerary*, he uses a 'strange Riddle': 'I wrote it swiftly, and yet slowly'; 'swiftly' because his pen 'was ready and nothing curious', and 'slowly', due to 'the long time past since I viewed these Dominions, and since I tooke this worke in hand'. 'Curious' writing is, in Moryson's view, simply a distraction, and often used to compensate for a lack of substantial subject matter, functioning as 'rich imbroidery laid upon a frize jerken'; that is, a garment made out of course, homespun cloth, like Coryate's 'Linsey-Woolsey' orations discussed in the Introduction.<sup>158</sup> In the *Crudities*, however, rhetorical ornament serves a distinct purpose. By offering descriptions that are as exhaustive as they are exhausting, Coryate slows the pace at which the narrative progresses; he (and the reader) cannot move on until a place has been thoroughly surveyed. The rhetorical term 'dilate' is especially relevant to Coryate's 'tedious' writing. Often used as a synonym of 'amplify', to dilate is to widen, expand, and enlarge. The term often appears in definitions of invention, the part of rhetoric responsible for 'dilatyng argumentes'.<sup>159</sup> But its other senses are temporal: to 'dilate' is to 'delay', 'defer', as well as to 'extend in time, protract, prolong, lengthen'.<sup>160</sup> In the *Crudities*, amplification – writing copiously, variously, tediously, particularly, and, we might add, dilatorily – works to counter the sense that Coryate spent too little time observing, that he 'gobled' rather than chewed.

<sup>157</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'tedious', *adj.*, senses 1a, 3, and 4.

<sup>158</sup> Moryson (1617), 'To the Reader'; *OED*, s.v. 'frieze', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 'jerkin', *n.*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>159</sup> Wilson (1553), fol. 90<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'dilate', *v.*<sup>1</sup> and *v.*<sup>2</sup>. For a discussion of dilation that emphasises its temporal aspects, see Patricia Parker, 'Dilation and Delay: Renaissance Matrices', *Poetics Today* 5.3 (1984), 519-535.

### Pilgrimage and *Periegesis*

The prominence of ekphrasis in Coryate's travel writing is apt: ancient rhetoricians conceived of ekphrasis as *περιήγησις* (*periegesis*), 'leading around', an analogy in which the orator is likened to a tour guide taking a visitor around a city.<sup>161</sup> As Ruth Webb remarks, this analogy suggests that 'the guide not only "shows", but directs his or her audience's attention, adding order and meaning to the undifferentiated mass of sights which is presented to the visitor'; in contrast to related terms like *diegesis* (a 'leading through'), *periegesis* implies speech that is 'a more elaborate form of telling, a winding path', like Coryate's tedious 'windings' and 'turnings'.<sup>162</sup>

A number of early city descriptions are structured like a tour, as is the model ekphrasis in Aphthonius's version of the *Progymnasmata*, which takes the form of a tour of the Alexandrian acropolis. Aphthonius begins by making general remarks about the function of citadels, before setting out to describe the appearance of the acropolis. He approaches the acropolis gradually, as if walking towards it, giving details of its etymology, location relative to the rest of the city, and height. Ascending its steps, he leads the reader through the entrance surrounded by columns, before entering the acropolis itself. Once he has done so, he describes its courtyard and columns, detailing their respective materials and decorations. Finally, he describes what one would see during a descent from the acropolis, concluding with the statement 'if anything has been left out, this has been incidental to our wonder. It has been omitted because it was impossible to describe'.<sup>163</sup>

As the example of Aphthonius makes clear, ancient conceptions of ekphrasis differ significantly from modern definitions of the term, which have largely been shaped by nineteenth-century writing on the topic. In the latter, ekphrasis is narrowly understood as a description of an object, usually a work of art, while in the former, it is considered appropriate for the description

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<sup>161</sup> Joannes Sardinianus, *Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata* ed. Hugo Rabe (Leipzig, 1928), 216-217.

<sup>162</sup> Webb (2009), 54.

<sup>163</sup> Aphthonius (1926), 36-41.

of four broad categories of subject matter: persons, places, times, and events.<sup>164</sup> Moreover, as the metaphor of periegesis suggests, older models of ekphrasis permitted the orator to insert himself implicitly into the description, as in Aphthonius's movements up and down the steps leading to the acropolis. Descriptions of places are a staple of epideictic oratory, the only branch of rhetoric in which the audience plays the role of spectator, rather than judge.<sup>165</sup> As I mentioned in the Introduction, epideictic deals with occasions of cultural and political significance, including the arrival or departure of travellers. Coryate's formulation of the *Crudities* as an 'exhibite' fittingly recalls the root of epideictic, the verb *epideiknunai*, 'to exhibit' or show. 'Periegesis' also appears in the titles of works of geographical description, such as Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις (*Hellados Periegesis*, or 'description of Greece') by the second century geographer Pausanias, a figure thought to be one of the first travel writers. Pausanias's account sets a precedent for Coryate's, in that it is structured as a tour that retraces the routes Pausanias took, with ekphrastic passages that invite comparison to poetry and other kinds of fiction.<sup>166</sup> Periegetic writing included accounts of pilgrimage which, in ancient Greece, was understood as travelling 'by way of sightseeing'. Pilgrims were delegates sent to other cities to view, and often participate in, festivals and competitions, to meet members of other political communities, and to visit oracles, temples, and other sites, such as battlefields.<sup>167</sup>

The writing of the early modern period testifies to the continued influence of these ancient Greek traditions in several ways. It is common for Reformed travellers to draw on the language of pilgrimage in ways that emphasise its longstanding connections with sightseeing while effacing, or ironising, any Roman Catholic undertones. Given the Reformed cancellation of actual pilgrimage, ancient practices of sightseeing provide an extra lens through which to view the development of apodemic writing. Henry Timberlake calls himself an 'English Pilgrim', as

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<sup>164</sup> Ruth Webb, 'Ekphrasis ancient and modern: the invention of a genre', *Word & Image* 15.1 (1999), 7-18.

<sup>165</sup> Webb (2009), 55; Laurent Pernot, *Epideictic Rhetoric: Questioning the Stakes of Ancient Praise* (Austin, 2015), 4.

<sup>166</sup> Jaś Elsner, 'Structuring "Greece": Pausanias's *Periegesis* as a Literary Construct' in *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* eds. Susan E. Alcock, John F. Cherry, and Jaś Elsner (Oxford, 2001), 3-20.

<sup>167</sup> See Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford ed., *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity* (Oxford, 2005).

does William Lithgow, who undertakes ‘peregrinations’ in search of ‘worlds eye-sight’; this term derives from the Latin *peregrinatio*, the ‘action of travelling or staying abroad’.<sup>168</sup> It is related to ‘peregrine’, a borrowing from *peregrinus*, ‘foreigner’, ‘traveller’, or ‘pilgrim’.<sup>169</sup> Like Coryate, Lithgow relates to his readers as a performer to spectators, deeming his travels ‘*Worthie* to be seene and read’ by ‘Pompe-expecting eyes’, and, in terms reminiscent of the *Crudities*, offers ‘particular descriptions’ that are ‘more exactly set downe then have beene heretofore in English’.<sup>170</sup> The compiler Samuel Purchas titled his first collection of travel narratives *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, and the second *Purchas his Pilgrims*; the first positions Purchas as a pilgrim carrying out a pilgrimage (one that he describes as ‘tedious’) by viewing and working through a substantial amount of material, while in the second, the pilgrims are the travellers themselves, those who have viewed the world.<sup>171</sup> Coryate likewise frequently styles himself as a pilgrim. In a series of letters from India published in 1616, he called himself a ‘pilgrim’ and his travels a ‘pilgrimage’.<sup>172</sup> Coryate’s contemporaries described him in similar terms: Lawrence Whitaker labelled the *Crudities* a ‘Pilgrime feast’, while Edward Terry dubbed Coryate ‘our Pilgrim’, a person with ‘a very coveting eye, that could never be satisfied with seeing’.<sup>173</sup> According to these writers, the traveller’s insatiable gluttony, the trait that makes his writing ‘crude’, is located in his eyes. This preoccupation with sight aligns him with the pilgrims of the ancient world.

In addition to describing himself as a ‘pilgrim’, Coryate also refers to himself as a ‘Peregrine’, signing off his dedication to Prince Henry as ‘Thomas Coryate, Peregrine of Odcombe’. ‘Peregrine’ reinforces the numerous other contemporary references to Coryate as a pilgrim. But it also has an important significance in the context of rhetoric: classical rhetoricians

<sup>168</sup> OED, s.v. ‘peregrination’, *n.* See William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures, and Painefull Peregrinations* (London, 1632); Timberlake (1603).

<sup>169</sup> OED, s.v. ‘peregrine’, *adj.* and *n.*

<sup>170</sup> William Lithgow, *A Most Delectable and True Discourse, of an Admired and Painefull Peregrination* (London, 1616), sigs. A4r, A3r, and *The Pilgrimes Farewell, to his Native Countrey of Scotland* (London, 1618).

<sup>171</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1613), and *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625). For a discussion of Purchas’s use of the pilgrimage metaphor, see Matthew Dimmock, ‘Faith, form and faction: defining Samuel Purchas’s *Purchas his pilgrimage* (1613)’, *Renaissance Studies* 28.2 (2014), 262-278.

<sup>172</sup> Coryate, *Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits* (London, 1616), 38, 51.

<sup>173</sup> Coryate, *Coriats Crambe* (London, 1611), sig. b3r; Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (London, 1655), 71, 73-4.

use the term *peregrina verba* to refer to words borrowed from other languages.<sup>174</sup> The language of pilgrimage in the *Crudities*, and in other writing on Coryate, thus brings together the traveller's emphasis on eyesight and his tendency to inkhornism, caricatured by Jonson. It also, as I have suggested, sets the *Crudities* within a longer tradition of periegetic writing.

In early modern literature, the term 'periegesis', defined as a 'compasse' or 'circuit', is used to refer not only to ancient geographers like Pausanias or Dionysius of Alexandria (also known as Dionysius Periegetes) but also to contemporary topographical works. Take, for example, Jonson's panegyric on Michael Drayton, which declares

Thou hast made thy way  
And flight about the Ile, well neare, by this  
In thy admired *Periegesis*,  
Or universall circumduction  
Of all that reade thy *Poly-Olbyon*.<sup>175</sup>

Jonson portrays Drayton's 'way' and 'flight', his description of the 'Ile', as a '*Periegesis*' or 'circumduction'; the latter term is a borrowing from the Latin *circumductio*, derived from the verb *circumducere*, 'to lead around'.<sup>176</sup> The etymology of 'about', 'outside' or 'without', suggests movement around a circumference, reinforcing the sense that Drayton leads the reader *around*, opting for a route that is circuitous rather than direct.<sup>177</sup>

The idea of 'leading' (the most common vernacular rendering of *ducere*) through discourse is recurrent in Renaissance rhetoric and poetics, and is often discussed in connection to the aim of *movere*. The opening of Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric* draws on Lucian's version of the fable of Hercules, explaining that 'Hercules being a man of greate wisdom had all men lincked together by the eares in a chaine to draw them and leade them even as he lusted'; this 'chaine' was Hercules' 'witte' and 'eloquence', which was sufficient to make people 'to do that whiche he

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<sup>174</sup> See Alvin Vos, 'Humanistic Standards of Diction in the Inkhorn Controversy', *Studies in Philology* 73.4 (1976), 376-396.

<sup>175</sup> Michael Drayton, *The Battaile of Agincourt* (London, 1631), sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>176</sup> OED, s.v. 'circumduction', *n*.

<sup>177</sup> OED, s.v. 'about', *adv., prep.<sup>1</sup>, adj., and int.*, and 'about', *prep.<sup>2</sup> and conj.*

woulde and to wil that whyche he did'.<sup>178</sup> Sidney, in turn, writes that the end of learning is 'to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls, made worse by their clayey lodgings, can be capable of'; 'poesy must not be drawn by the ears: it must be gently led, or rather it must lead'.<sup>179</sup> By emphasising that poetry should 'lead' rather than be 'led', Sidney implies that it possesses agency that is independent of its creator. Sidney's sense that leading is carried out by the work of art, as well as by the artist, is also present in the ancient concept of *ductus*, defined by Mary Carruthers as 'the way by which a work leads someone through itself', an experience that is 'more like travelling through stages along a route than like perceiving a whole object'. The *ductus* is a 'guiding movement within and through a work's various parts'; it relates to disposition but also to stylistic ornament, because the 'pleasureful variety' of ornament determines the pace and direction of the audience's journey from thought to thought.<sup>180</sup> This 'guiding movement' is particularly important for descriptions of architecture, in which, as I have suggested, entire buildings must be viewed in parts, because it is impossible to take them in at once; instead, the reader must be led through, room by room. *Ductus* is not explicitly theorised in early modern poetics, but, as several critics observe, writers in the period often draw links between pleasure, variety, and movement: Ulrich Langer accounts for the Renaissance 'poetics of variety' in terms of its Aristotelian understanding of pleasure as 'unconstrained movement', while Kathryn Murphy remarks that Burton's use of ekphrasis in descriptions of landscapes mean that these descriptions 'become themselves journeys, copious representations of variety' which produce pleasure.<sup>181</sup> Coryate's use of ekphrasis to take his readers on a tour thus resonates with the descriptive strategies employed by a number of his contemporaries.

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<sup>178</sup> Wilson (1553), sig. A3v.

On the significance of the figure of Hercules in Tudor rhetoric, see Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge, 1996), 92-3.

<sup>179</sup> Sidney (1973), 82, 111.

<sup>180</sup> Mary Carruthers, 'The concept of "ductus", or, journeying through a work of art' in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010) ed. Mary Carruthers, 190-213, 190, 196, 199. See also Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge, 1998), 61, 77-81, 93-4, 100, 116-7, 200, 208, 253-4.

<sup>181</sup> Ulrich Langer, 'Pleasure as Unconstrained Movement in Renaissance Literary Aesthetics', *French Studies*, 64.1 (2010), 13-25; Kathryn Murphy, 'The Anxiety of Variety: Knowledge and Experience in Montaigne, Burton and Bacon',

The closest analogue for the *Crudities*, in terms of the particularity of its ekphrastic descriptions, is, perhaps surprisingly, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, a romance attributed to Francesco Colonna. This work was partly translated into English in 1592 by the traveller Robert Dallington, and dedicated to Sidney, as *Strife of Love in a Dream*. The *Hypnerotomachia* charts the journey of its protagonist, Poliphilo, through a series of dreamscapes which feature a variety of buildings and monuments. Like Coryate, Poliphilo is hungry for sight, with ‘greedie eyes’ and an ‘unsaciabie desire’ to ‘looke’ and ‘overlooke’.<sup>182</sup> Looking is not enough, however: he must observe in a manner both ‘diligent’ and ‘curious’. One passage dramatises Poliphilo’s view of a ‘rare Obelisk’. Like Aphthonius’s mode of approaching the Parthenon, it begins by showing the obelisk ‘imperfectlie’ as a ‘forme’ in the distance, but then reveals that it is a structure ‘worthy of the noting’ that prompts Poliphilo to approach and describe it in detail. After noting that it is made out of ‘the pure glistering marble of *Paros*’, Poliphilo moves around the obelisk, considering it from ‘every side’. He comments on the skill involved in its construction, imagining the ‘instruments’ and ‘workmen’ used to devise it, and details its colour (‘exquisite vermillion’, ‘purple and red diverse coloured’), texture (‘smoothe’), ornamental features (‘embost carvings, bearing forth like embroderie’, ‘arches beames’, ‘images’), and approximate height (‘five parts of a furlong’). Although the ‘woonderfull excellencie’ of its design is apparent, the obelisk is now a ‘broken and decayed object’, existing in ‘fragments’. By reconstructing the processes of the ‘workemanship’ behind it, Poliphilo is able to put it back together: description is a way in which to pay tribute to ‘the perfection of such an art’.<sup>183</sup> Poliphilo’s focus on ‘workemanship’ has a precedent in ancient ekphrasis, in which the orator could describe the manner in which something is made or done, a category of subject matter called the *tropos*. Literally, *tropos* is a

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*Fictions of Knowledge: Fact, Evidence, Doubt* eds. Yota Batsaki, Subha Mukherji, and Jan-Melissa Schramm (Basingstoke, 2011), 110-130, here 118. For a related discussion of ekphrasis and topographia as figures which create the illusion of a ‘tour’, see Claire Preston, ‘The gallery, the eye, and the rhetoric of observation in some seventeenth-century descriptions’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 32.4 (2017), 371-392.

<sup>182</sup> *The Strife of Love in a Dream*, sig. 25<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>183</sup> *Crudities.*, sigs. 5<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>.

‘way’, ‘turn’, or ‘direction’, again like the ‘windings and turnings’ that characterise Coryate’s ‘too tedious’ descriptions. The *Hypnerotomachia* is set in the protagonist’s dream, but the *Crudities* is real, based on Coryate’s firsthand observations of places that are locatable on a map. The parallels between Coryate and Colonna, as well as the congruities between the strategies of the *Crudities* and those of Sidney’s poet, who shows the ‘house well in model’, suggests that Coryate’s descriptions share some of the strategies of poesis.

In the case of the *Crudities*, the association of description and journeying, and the sense that the work should conduct its reader, is even more pronounced than in the *Hypnerotomachia*. Coryate often acknowledges the contributions of guides to his observations, the moments in his travels in which *he* is led. Thus, in the section on Venice he writes:

For the sight of most of these notable things that I enjoyed in this faire citie, I doe acknowledge my selfe exceedingly beholding to two Italian yong Gentlemen [...] especially to one of them, who kept me company almost all that day that I spent there, and conducted me from place to place till he had shewed me all the principall things of the citie.<sup>184</sup>

As narrator, Coryate acts as a guide, giving his readers the sight of ‘notable’ and ‘principall’ things and taking them from ‘place to place’. Part of this work is carried out by the structure of the account. As mentioned above, the *Crudities* consists of observations of cities and towns that follow the order in which Coryate travelled, encouraging the reader to take the same route in their role as proxy witness. But there are several other ways of navigating the book. It has an alphabetised table of contents featuring ‘*all the memorable things*’ that have been observed, such as ‘An Hospitall of Milan very rich and magnificent’, ‘Storkes’, and ‘The Tower of Cremona’, giving the reader the option of moving between different textual and geographical ‘places’ as they wish.<sup>185</sup> Similarly, cross-references within the text prompt the reader to move back and forth, pointing back to things ‘before described’, ‘before said’ and ‘before mentioned’, or forward to

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<sup>184</sup> *Crudities*, 304.

<sup>185</sup> *ibid.*, sigs. Ddd2r, Ddd4r, Ddd4v.

what is still to come, that which Coryate will ‘hereafter describe’, ‘hereafter mention’ and ‘hereafter more particularly declare’.<sup>186</sup> Although it leads the reader along, the ductus of the *Crudities* thus also gives them some flexibility: like travellers, they can lag behind if they are tired, or continue if ready to proceed to the next place.

Coryate’s observations generally begin with brief details of an individual city’s history, including information about its founder(s), and the etymology of its name, as well as discussion of its climate, geographical situation, and commodities, with references to the time of his arrival and departure, and to any people he met. In doing so, he uses a series of topics of invention, including those of place, person, and time. The provision of particulars in the *Crudities* is thus not totally indigested, but deployed according to a scheme of invention. For example, Coryate’s observations of Mantua define it as ‘one of the auncientest cities of Italy’, refer to its establishment ‘one thousand, one hundred and eighty years before Christ’, tell of its founder, ‘one Ocnus Bianor an ancient King of the Hetruscans’ who named Mantua after his mother, Manto, praise its ‘goodly meadows, pastures, vineyards, orchards, and gardens’, the ‘sweetnesse of the situation’, its ‘abundance of delectable fruites’ and ‘diversity of odoriferous flowers’, and note that he ‘came into the Citie about halfe an houre after seven of the clocke in the evening, and rode therehence about eight of the clocke the next morning’.<sup>187</sup> These remarks are cursory, and give an indication of how little time Coryate spent in a number of the places he describes – in this case, a mere thirteen hours – but they serve as an introduction to the more detailed descriptions that follow, and, despite their brevity, gesture toward the pleasure in copiousness and variety (‘abundance’, ‘diversity’) that characterises the account as a whole. A representative example of a detailed description of architecture in the *Crudities* is the ekphrasis of ‘the King’s Palace, which is called the Loure’ (the Louvre) in Coryate’s observations of Paris. It begins ‘Therein I observed these particulars’ and proceeds to enumerate them:

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<sup>186</sup> See, e.g., *Crudities*, 156, 318, 166, 20, 57.

<sup>187</sup> *ibid.*, 118-20.

A faire quadrangular Court, with goodly lodgings about it foure stories high, whose outside is exquisitely wrought with white free-stone, and decked with many stately pillars and beautiful Images made of the same stone. As we go up towards the hall there are three or foure paire of staires, whereof one paire is passing faire [...] The roofe over these staires is exceeding beautifull, being made *ex fornicato seu concamerato opere*, vaulted with very sumptuous frettings or chamferings, wherein the formes of clusters of grapes and many other things are most excellently contrived. The great chamber is very long, broad and high, having a gilt roofe and richly embossed: the next chamber within it, which is the Presence, is very faire, being adorned with a wondrous sumptuous roofe, which though it be made but of timber worke, yet it is exceeding richly gilt, and with that exquisite art, that a stranger upon the first view thereof, would imagine it were either latten or beaten gold.<sup>188</sup>

Like Aphthonius's description of the Acropolis, and Poliphilo's of the obelisk, this passage describes an approach from the outside of the building inwards, progressing from its 'quadrangular Court', 'towards the hall', and into a series of chambers, finally arriving at 'the Presence'. A subtle grammatical shift from the first-person singular to plural, from 'I' to 'we', reinforces the sense that Coryate is walking *with* the reader. This is the mark of the periegetic moment, and also carries the sense that ekphrasis is both eyewitness and proxy witness. Coryate directs the reader's gaze from 'staires' to 'roofe', while a series of adjectives, hyperbolic in effect, emphasise the palace's beauty and grandeur by making reference to the skill required to create it: it is, we are told, 'exquisitely wrought', 'excellently contrived', 'richly embossed', and 'richly gilt'. It is so excellently made that even a roof made of 'timber worke' appears like 'latten or beaten gold'. This false appearance provokes the traveller's admiration at such 'exquisite art'; here, artifice is not a cause of anxiety, but pleasure. Coryate's 'diligent' consideration of buildings recalls Poliphilo's focus on *tropos*. In the *Crudities*, this serves two functions. First, it contributes to the epideictic thrust of the book, enabling Coryate to exhibit the 'beautifull' architecture he has seen; this, in turn, reinforces his argument for travel as a route to pleasure. Second, it means that Coryate's descriptions of architecture are not limited to the present day, but can reach back

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<sup>188</sup> *Crudities*, 24.

and forth in time, creating narratives of a monument's construction and deconstruction, and considering how its appearance and social or political purpose has changed over the years.

Thus, although critics who describe Coryate as a 'tourist' commit anachronism (the term dates from the late eighteenth century), they also articulate something important about his style.<sup>189</sup> Derived from the Greek *τόρνος* (*torinus*), an instrument used to draw circles, one of the senses of 'tour' is 'going or travelling round from place to place'.<sup>190</sup> Its emphasis on circuitousness, going *around* a place in a leisurely fashion, recalls the earlier terms *periegesis* and *circumduction*; in fact, in studies of ancient practices of pilgrimage and sightseeing, 'tourism' is often used as a synonym of those terms. To adapt Barbour's phrase, quoted earlier, Coryate *invents* tourism in a fundamentally rhetorical sense, by creatively re-working existing frameworks and tropes. The next section of this chapter considers two example passages of ekphrasis from the *Crudities*, to bring together the 'crude', 'particular', ekphrastic and touristic aspects of Coryate's prose.

### So Ingeniously Made: Coryate's Witty Descriptions

The etymology of 'Amphitheater', Coryate explains, signifies 'about', and 'to behold': it is 'a circular and round forme' no matter the direction from which it is viewed.<sup>191</sup> Coryate's description of the amphitheatre in Verona imitates this circularity in text, by 'going around' it in the *periegetic* mode. He describes the building according to the route he took to walk through it, occasionally digressing to discuss its origins and significance. In his view, this building is 'the worthiest and most remarkable of all' of the 'many notable antiquities and memorable monuments' to be seen in that city. But this 'stupendious masse of worke', the 'admirable

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<sup>189</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'tourist', *n.*

<sup>190</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'tour', *n.*, sense 3a.

<sup>191</sup> *Crudities*, 311.

Fabricke' that 'draweth all strangers into admiration', is 'very ruinous at this time'.<sup>192</sup> Like Poliphilo's ekphrasis of the 'rare Obelisk' in the *Hypnerotomachia*, Coryate's passage on the amphitheatre repeatedly shifts between past and present, the invisible and the visible. In his description of the 'rare magnificence' of the 'outward wall', Coryate writes that it was 'built with redde marble, all the pieces being cut square, which doe very excellently garnish the worke'. Little of the wall remains, but Coryate insists that these fragments testify that 'it was a wondrous architecture'.<sup>193</sup> Then, he moves to the 'inner wall', which has survived 'pretty well', and 'yeeldeth a most stately shew', but is 'something blemished'.<sup>194</sup> Coryate counts the number of arches in the wall by walking 'round about them', and reports that 72 remain. He describes the 'pillars', 'seates' 'galleries', and 'roomes' in the amphitheatre, as well as its former and current uses, which include 'great shewes' on festival days, 'publique games', 'divers spectacles', and 'a most bloody kind of fight between men and beasts, which was performed by their Gladiatores'.<sup>195</sup>

Coryate's focus on *tropos*, and what the amphitheatre was like when it was first built, is obviously not based on eyewitness, but pieced together through reading, conjecture, and report, including the 'particulars' that a local guide 'shewed' him. John Taylor, the water poet, claimed that this approach to travel writing is peculiar to Coryate: in his satirical *The Pennyles Pilgrimage*, he explains that the descriptions of 'sundrie places' therein include 'few additions of my owne devizing, / (Because I have a smack of *Coriatizing*)'.<sup>196</sup> Taylor's '*Coriatizing*' coinage suggests that Coryate's travel writing is not a straightforward eyewitness account, but based largely on material of his own invention. His intention is to diminish the epistemological value of Coryate's observations, but '*Coriatizing*' has a purpose: it gives the reader a complete image – or, to put it in periegetic terms, a full 'tour' – of the building, even though it only existed in parts at the time of Coryate's visit. If Coryate rarely distinguishes between eyewitness travel and the experience of

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<sup>192</sup> *Crudities*, 312.

<sup>193</sup> *ibid.*, 313.

<sup>194</sup> *ibid.*, 314.

<sup>195</sup> *ibid.*, 315-6.

<sup>196</sup> John Taylor, *The Pennyles Pilgrimage, or The Money-lesse Perambulation* (London, 1618), sig. E2r.

reading about travel in books, it is because of his belief that a ‘view’ through textual description can match, if not better, that obtained by the eyes.

The ekphrasis of the clock at the Strasbourg Cathedral deals with issues of time and eyewitness more explicitly. The ability to measure time accurately was considered a novelty in the early modern period, while the Strasbourg clock in particular was viewed as a wonder, a popular destination for travellers and a trope of ingenuity. Coryate’s focus on this clock (as in his description of the clock at St. Mark’s place in Venice) brings out these associations, by focussing on its ingenious display. Other seventeenth-century writers also emphasise the clock’s appearance. Robert Burton, for example, names ‘the Steeple and Clock at *Strasburrough*’ as one of the ‘pleasant’ sights of travel that will compel the traveller to ‘admire the effects of art’. Like Coryate, Burton understands reading as a kind of seeing; his reference to the clock is quickly followed by a discussion of the experience of ‘look[ing] upon a Geographical Map’ full of ‘Chorographical, Topographical delineations’, which is said to be like ‘behold[ing] [...] all the remote Provinces, Towns, Cities of the world’.<sup>197</sup> Coryate commences his description of the Strasbourg clock by claiming that it is ‘the most exquisite piece of worke of that kinde in all Europe’. He describes its different parts, including ‘pretty little pillers of marble’, ‘a paire of winding staires made of free stone’, an ‘astronomicall globe’, ‘seven little pretty bels of brasse’. The clock also features a number of inscriptions, some of which Coryate transcribes directly into the account. As in the passage on the Verona amphitheatre, Coryate conceives of the clock as a ‘fabricke’, a skillfully made thing:

The highest toppe of this fabricke is framed with such surpassing curiositie that it yeeldeth a wonderfull ornament to the whole engine, having many excellent little portraitures and fine devices contrived therein of free stone, and garnished with borders and workes of singular art.

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<sup>197</sup> Burton (1989-2000), 2: 86.

The wit of the clock's design fills Coryate with amazement – it is 'so ingeniously made that I have not seen the like' – and he attempts, over several pages, to capture this wit in his description. Of most interest is a mechanical rooster, the 'effigies of a Cocke' which is said to 'counterfayth very neere the true voyce of that bird'. Coryate is delighted not by an exact mapping of nature onto art, but art that approximates nature without attempting to obscure its artifice. If an implicit value judgement is placed on either the counterfeited or the 'true', it is the former that Coryate most admires. In this respect, he is like Poliphilo, preoccupied with 'woorkemanship'.

Coryate's ekphrasis of this clock is one of the longest passages in the entire book. Even so, it ends with a note of regret:

But I am sorry I have not made that particular relation thereof as that excellent fabricke doth deserve. For these few observations which I have written of it I gathered in little more than halfe an houre, where I had no mans assistance to instruct me in the principall things that I doubted off [...]

Remarkably, Coryate claims that he has only 'superficially described' the clock, offering 'few observations' due to the constraints of time. Although his descriptions allow him to manipulate the reader's sense of time and space, so that they move through the account tediously and dilatorily, and frequently stand still, in his own travels he was always running out of time. It is ironic that Coryate offers a meditation on time in his description of a clock, a description that itself transforms the reader's sense of time through dilation. He goes on to imply that there is a direct relationship between the value of a sight, and the particularity of its description. In his view, 'excellent' things 'deserve' to be described in detail; to write 'particularly' is thus to show respect. Discussing this passage, Jessica Wolfe claims that 'the Strasbourg clock echoes and mimics the rhetorical challenges of Coryate's travel narrative, a genre which demands a meticulous attention to detail and the assimilation of an Odyssean diversity of experience'.<sup>198</sup> But

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<sup>198</sup> Jessica Wolfe, *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, 2004), 186.

for Coryate, attention to detail and assimilation are mutually exclusive. In digestion, the assimilation of a substance involves its absorption and incorporation; to borrow Dallington's phrasing, it is through assimilation that 'crudities' are turned into 'good blood' of 'knowledge or vertue'.<sup>199</sup> But in his privileging of crudity, Coryate pursues knowledge of a different kind: an approach to travel that enables him, and his reader, to see the world as particularly as possible. The next section of this chapter considers an aspect of Coryate's account in which his anti-assimilationist impulse is made most explicit: the prominence of stone, inscriptions, and writing on stone.

### **Rude and Crude: Inscriptions, Ruins, and Rhetorical *Copia***

Coryate often describes his writing as 'rude'. Related to the Latin adjective *rudis*, which itself probably derives from the noun *rudus*, 'broken stone', 'rude' suggests things unrefined and unwrought, and can function as a synonym of 'crude'.<sup>200</sup> As we have already seen, the crudity of Coryate's writing is bound up with his interest in broken stone, including architectural ruins. A number of the panegyrists in the *Crudities* register their disapproval of this interest. In a mock-encomium, Robert Phelps writes:

What others thought too heavy and too high,  
As Tombes, Steeples, with the Butter-flie,  
Thou hast brought home, though not in solid stuffe:  
For which let not our carping Criticks huffe:  
For thou the substance wouldest not bring  
Of ought which might be termed a\* solid thing.

Phelps suggests that despite the weight of the buildings it describes, Coryate's account lacks substance; its medium is language, not 'solid stuffe'. A marginal note by Coryate (indicated by the asterisk) responds to Phelps's insinuation as follows:

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<sup>199</sup> Robert Dallington, *A Method for Travell. Shewed by Taking the View of France* (London, 1605?), sig. Ar.

<sup>200</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'rude', *adj.* and *adv.*

If you mean solid stones, you are in the right Sir. If solid Observations, I referre my selfe to the Readers censure after he hath thoroughly perused my booke, whether I have brought home any solid thing or no.<sup>201</sup>

This debate over the solidity of Coryate's 'things' is another version of a claim that we have encountered several times: that Coryate's writing consisted of *verba*, not *res*. And here, once again, Coryate uses a technical rhetorical term only to redefine it. *Res* means 'subject matter', or the 'substance' of an argument; but Coryate exploits, and literalises, the connotations of *res* as 'matter', conceiving of 'things' (be they buildings, tombs, or inscriptions) as *material* things to be 'collected' or 'gathered'. These 'things', like the account's use of ekphrasis more generally, give Coryate opportunities to reflect on his own practices of composition. Take, for example, his description of Paris as a city 'plentifully furnished', located on a 'quarre of free stone'. This quarry is a site of *copia*, which 'ministreth that inexhausted plenty of stone for their houses'. The stones dug up in a quarry are 'rude', broken fragments that supply the material for construction. With its seemingly inexhaustible resources, Paris functions as a model for what Coryate hopes to achieve in prose.<sup>202</sup>

The same can be said of Coryate's focus on destruction, failure, and more banal descriptions of works in progress, which is made particularly explicit in description of the Tuilleries Palace in Paris. Coryate's description of the palace is, like most of his observations, diachronic. It begins by noting that 'Tuilleries' etymologically recalls that 'they used to burne tile there' before the palace was built, adding for further clarification that this word 'doth signifie in the French a place for the burning of tile'. Coryate explains that this palace is still under construction; one of its walls contains a 'peece of Jeate in the wall', one 'so hackled that it seemed to be much blemished'. The palace is built on the site of a kiln that made the materials now used for its construction. This passage suggests that Coryate is at once interested in the raw

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<sup>201</sup> *Crudities*, sig. c7<sup>r</sup>-c7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>202</sup> *ibid.*, 25-6.

materials of building, and in the remains; the making and unmaking, rather than the completed artefact. This prioritising of the depleted and ruined, the crude and rude, serves as a subtle justification of the *Crudities* itself, a work explicitly presented as unfinished.

Coryate's descriptive practices diverge significantly from the ideal model of poetic creation (or edification) proposed by Sidney. Sidney invokes the mythological figure of Amphion to declare that poetry can build: heaps of rocks, literally moved by the beauty of Amphion's harp, come together to form the walls of Thebes. The example of Amphion suggests that poetry is, for Sidney, edifying in the most literal sense: the etymological root of 'edify' consists of the Latin *aedis* (dwelling) and *ficare* (to make). The *Crudities* proposes an alternative procedure. For Coryate, existing edifices create text, not the other way around; ruined buildings are the 'places' of invention that he turns to in discovering the Continent. This is because he thinks differently about what writing should be: his account situates the activities of collecting or gathering as an alternative kind of making, and 'rudeness' as a form of richness. It makes a defence, in other words, of 'posies', not poesy.

George Puttenham defines 'Posies' as 'short Epigrammes' penned for special occasion, 'sent usually for new yeares giftes or to be Printed or put upon their banketting dishes or suger plate', and designed to be taken away, kept as a gift or memento.<sup>203</sup> The title of a compilation of panegyrics on Coryate, *The Odcombian Banquet* (1611), recalls this traditional practice, additionally reinforcing Coryate's own presentation of his travel writing as a meal.<sup>204</sup> Puttenham defines 'Epigramme' as 'an inscription or writting made as it were upon a table, or in a windowe, or upon the wall or mantell of a chimney in some place of common resort'; he explains that these often 'came to be put in paper and in bookes, and used as ordinarie missives'.<sup>205</sup> Coryate

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<sup>203</sup> George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy* ed. Wayne A. Rebhorn and Frank Whigham (Ithaca, 2007), 1.30, 146. See Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London, 2001), 19-20. See also Fleming, 47: 'Thomas Coryate regularly copied down verses he encountered written on or in houses on his continental travels'.

<sup>204</sup> *The Odcombian Banquet: Dished Foorth by Thomas the Coriat, and Served in by a Number of Noble Wits in Prayse of his Crudities and Crambe too* (London, 1611).

<sup>205</sup> Puttenham (2007), 1:27, 142.

collected a number of inscriptions; so many, in fact, that he became known as a ‘tomb-stone traveller’.<sup>206</sup> In the *Crudities*, he often refers to inscriptions as posies; his passage on Padua, for instance, describes a ‘most elegant poesie’ written ‘in Capitall blacke letters upon a ground of gold’.<sup>207</sup> Like the posy (itself a species of epigram), inscriptions begin in a particular place – on, or embedded *in*, a table, window, wall, or mantel – but can be gathered and moved elsewhere, to a different medium. This de-localizing effect is most striking in the case of epitaphs. The importance of place is apparent in the word’s etymology: ‘upon a tomb’.<sup>208</sup> The deictic emphasis of the epitaph, its insistence on pointing to the body that lies ‘here’, remains even when it is no longer ‘on’ the tomb.

Coryate attempts to mitigate this sense of displacement, by attending closely to the locations of the inscriptions he records, the materials which they are ‘written upon’, as well as the manner in which they are written. Some are difficult to read, ‘intricate and harsh’, while others are ‘faire’; the ‘antiquity’ of their ‘Character’, and their ‘golden’ hue, are also considered worthy of note.<sup>209</sup> Significantly, almost all of the inscriptions in the *Crudities* are retained in Latin, and not translated into the vernacular. Neither are the series of verses by Julius Caesar Scaliger prefixed to Coryate’s descriptions of ‘certaine of the nobler Cities’. This is another way in which Coryate’s observations resist digestion. To ‘assimilate’ is to make something *like*, similar to, something else; by leaving the inscriptions untranslated, Coryate foregrounds their linguistic and cultural difference. He explains this decision, claiming that if they had been turned into English ‘many of them would have lost part of their grace by my improper translation’. Just as ‘certaine plants that being removed from their natural soile to a strange place’ do not prosper, the ‘elegancies’ that are peculiar to Latin would be impossible to translate. Etymologically, a ‘translation’ is a removal,

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<sup>206</sup> *Crudities*, sigs. b5<sup>r</sup>-b6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>207</sup> *ibid.*, 154.

<sup>208</sup> *OED*, s.v., ‘epitaph’, *n.* As Scott Newstok notes, ‘the actual *writing* on the tomb is somewhat implicit here, and needs to be supplied by a philologist’. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke, 2009), 46.

<sup>209</sup> *Crudities*, e.g., 4, 62, 99, 121, 127.

conveyance, or transportation, a ‘carrying across’ of meaning from one language to another.<sup>210</sup>

Coryate’s decision *not* to translate is another mode of ‘carrying across’, one that rejects assimilation (and the formal and semantic losses that such assimilation could incur), instead retaining the inscriptions’ strangeness. It is in this sense that Coryate has ‘brought’ them ‘home’.

### Coryate as Ulysses

As we have seen, Coryate’s rhetorical strategies in the *Crudities* constitute a rejection of the imperative for travellers to digest their observations. Coryate’s ambivalent attitude to the precepts of travel advice is suggested by the frontispiece of the book, which makes two allusions to ancient writing on travel. The first, a Latin tag running beneath the title, reads, ‘Quadrigris, pedibus bene vivere, navibus atque’, or ‘to live well with carts and feet and ships’. This is a reworking of a line from Horace’s *Epistles*: ‘navibus atque quadrigris petimus bene vivere’, or ‘we seek to live well with carts and ships’.<sup>211</sup> Significantly, Horace’s epistle makes an argument *against* travel, explaining that it is futile for the traveller to ‘seek’ a good life away from home, when all that he is seeking is ‘here’. But Coryate transforms the line into a celebration of travel. He removes the verb of ‘seeking’ in order to present travel as a formula for living well; and, in a knowing nod to his own association with walking and shoes, adds ‘feet’ as a mode of transport alongside Horace’s ‘carts’ and ‘ships’.

The second classical allusion is a phrase in Greek that frames Coryate’s author portrait – itself positioned below a female figure representing the nation of Germany, depicted vomiting on Coryate’s head, thus recalling the vomiting episode with which the *Crudities* begins. It is an abbreviated version of a phrase from Homer’s *Odyssey*, ‘πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα’; literally, ‘he saw many men and cities’. This phrase appears frequently in early modern travel

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<sup>210</sup> OED, s.v., ‘translation’.

<sup>211</sup> Horace, *Epistles* in H. Rushton Fairclough, ed. and trans. *Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica* (London, 1926), I.11. The above is my translation.

advice. Sidney, for example, urges his brother to travel ‘with the eye of Ulysses’, and provides a slightly altered Latin rendering of the Homeric line, in which the verb of ‘seeing’ becomes one of ‘knowing’: ‘*Qui multos hominum mores cognovit et urbes.*’ This shift from seeing to knowing is intentional; Sidney is keen to stress that travel is not just about looking at places. Homer, he says, ‘means not [...] to have seene Townes, and marke their buildings; for surely houses are but houses in every place [...] he intends to their Religion, Policies, Lawes [...] and such like’.<sup>212</sup> As we have seen, Coryate’s approach to travel is different; the *Crudities* is entirely concerned with ‘seeing’ towns and ‘marking’ their buildings, and establishes this ‘seeing’ and ‘marking’ as a legitimate form of knowledge, ‘things’ that are as worthy of collecting and gathering as those of more conventional travellers. Considered together, the allusiveness of the frontispiece captures, in small, the action of the *Crudities* as a whole. Coryate’s relationship to classical tradition is not one of subordination, or of outright rejection, but of active engagement; he inserts himself, and his feet, into established precepts, and finds power in his identity as a ‘crude traveller’. His crudity is nourishing because of the opportunities it gives readers to act as proxy witnesses: through the ekphrastic passages of the *Crudities*, they can participate in a Coryate-led ‘tour’; and through the transcribed inscriptions, they can re-live the experience of happening upon strange, often hard-to-read text. Further, in writing crudely, Coryate thus passes the responsibility of digestion to the reader, who must sift through the particulars of his account themselves.

As this chapter has shown, the apparent crudity of Coryate’s travel writing is not evidence of a failure or absence of rhetorical art, but in fact constitutes a deep and sustained engagement with the modes of ekphrasis and periegesis that establish a particular use of rhetorical invention for travel writing. Coryate’s descriptive strategies are inventive in several different ways. His gathering of inscriptions activates *inventio*’s sense of ‘coming upon’ things, while his commitment to ‘leading’ the reader through ekphrasis revives ancient practices of

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<sup>212</sup> *Profitable Instructions* (1633), 87-9.

sightseeing and description. The *Crudities* offers an important lesson for studies of travel writing, in illustrating that a text can be rhetorically involved, without obviously being so. It demonstrates that travellers' engagements with rhetoric were imaginative and creative, rather than a form of dutiful rule-following. Further, it shows that we should treat travellers' claims about their own work, as well as the responses of their contemporaries, with scepticism: as we have seen, Coryate's 'buffoonery' is a carefully developed persona which has roots in learned humanist traditions; it should not, in and of itself, be used to argue for the artlessness of his travel writing.

We have seen that Coryate prioritises copiousness and variety over digested knowledge. In contrast, for Henry Blount, the subject of the next chapter, the relationship between particulars and universals, and the imperative for the traveller to 'digest' experience, is of the highest importance, offering a different perspective of the rhetoric of travel writing in this period.

## Chapter 2

### Henry Blount and the Art of Observation

In the introduction to his travel account *A Voyage into the Levant* (1636), Henry Blount (1602-1682) considered the relative merits of ‘travell’ and ‘booke knowledge’.<sup>213</sup> He began by noting that ‘Intellectual Complexions have no desire so strong, as that of *knowledge*’. Knowledge, he wrote, is best attained through eyewitness: because the eye has ‘the most immediate, and quicke commerce with the soule’, an ‘eyewitnesse of things conceives them with an *imagination* more compleat, strong, and intuitive, then he can either apprehend, or deliver by way of relation’. Travelling, and attaining an ‘ocular view’, thus gives a better ‘impression’ of things than reading accounts written by others, which are like ‘dishes’ better suited for ‘another mans stomacke’. This is because the eye is highly selective; a traveller only observes things that ‘his owne apprehension affects’, and will ‘digest’ these things into ‘experience’ in a way that is most natural to him. By the same token, however, the traveller should realise that the mind is inclined to error: it tends to rely on existing knowledge, and to use its own, often flawed, perceptions as its primary point of reference; as a result, it frequently distorts what it sees. Like a ‘false glasse’, it represents objects in ‘colours, and proportions untrue’, leaving the eye ‘dazled’. To mitigate this, the traveller must come to places in a manner that is ‘fresh and sincere’, judging other places on their own terms, not his own.<sup>214</sup> Blount ended these remarks by presenting the *Voyage* as a

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<sup>213</sup> For biographical accounts of Blount, see John Aubrey, *Brief Lives: with, An Apparatus for the Lives of our English Mathematical Writers* (Oxford, 2015) ed. Kate Bennett, 1: 336-339; Nabil Matar, ‘Blount, Sir Henry (1602-1682)’ in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.); Maclean (2004), especially 117-122; Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 2 vols. (London, 1691-2) 2:534. As he was descended from Lady Elizabeth Pope, wife of Thomas Pope, Founder of Trinity College, Henry Blount qualified as ‘Founder’s Kin’. For a discussion of Elizabeth’s family and their connection to Trinity, see Herbert E.D. Blakiston, *Oxford University College Histories: Trinity College* (London, 1898), 48-9. See further Clare Hopkins, *Trinity: 450 Years of an Oxford College Community* (Oxford, 2005). There are two references to Henry Blount in the Trinity College caution book. The first, undated, records a payment of £10 for him and his brother, Thomas. The second shows that Henry received his caution money back in 1619. It is unclear if he was at the College for the entire four years, or if he went away earlier expecting to return. Shelf reference II.C/1, Trinity College, Oxford.

<sup>214</sup> ‘Sincere’ was not a stable word in this period, and was not yet used in its modern sense. It connoted things that were clean, pure, unadulterated, or, relatedly, individuals lacking in dissimulation or pretence. See *OED*, s.v. “sincere”, *adj.*

collection of ‘observations’ intended for strictly private use, barred ‘from appearing beyond my owne closet’. These notes, ‘lines registred to my selfe’, would not be particularly useful to anyone else – they were too personal, too flawed – but would act as a helpful aid to memory. As he put it, ‘*experience* forgotten is as if it never had beene’; this makes his observations, imperfect as they are, ‘worth retaining’.<sup>215</sup>

This passage borrows silently, but extensively, from Michel de Montaigne’s essay ‘Of Experience’, in John Florio’s translation. The opening of the *Voyage* is a paraphrase of the opening of Montaigne’s essay, itself a paraphrase of the opening of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*: ‘There is no desire more naturall, then that of knowledge’.<sup>216</sup> Blount shares Montaigne’s emphasis on experience, and, like him, understands experience in Aristotelian terms, as an accumulation of memories.<sup>217</sup> His commitment to ‘retaining’ his observations for memory parallels Montaigne’s conception of his essays as ‘loose memorialles’, a record of ‘past experience’, while his use of the language of digestion recalls the earlier writer’s presentation of his writing as ‘digested’. The word ‘register’, in Blount’s ‘lines registred to my selfe’, is particularly important for Montaigne, who describes his essays both as a register, and as a mode of coming to self-knowledge.<sup>218</sup> Blount thus positions the *Voyage* as another kind of essay, in which the traveller’s ‘selfe’ is placed under scrutiny. Ironically, Blount asserts the necessity of eyewitness, and its epistemological superiority to reading, in the context of literary borrowing; his argument against ‘booke knowledge’ is constructed through books.

Nor is this the only borrowing in Blount’s introduction. The metaphor of the mind as a ‘false glasse’ is ancient and conventional, but its formulation in the *Voyage* is specifically indebted to book two of Francis Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning*. Speaking of the ‘Fallacies of the Minde

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<sup>215</sup> Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London, 1636), 3-4. Hereafter ‘*Voyage*’.

<sup>216</sup> Aristotle, *Metaphysics* trans. W.D. Ross, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols (Princeton, 1995), 980<sup>a</sup>25. For a discussion of Montaigne’s engagement with Aristotle in this essay, see Murphy (2011), 110-130.

<sup>217</sup> See Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics* in *The Complete Works of Aristotle* (1995), 2.19.100<sup>a</sup>4-8.

<sup>218</sup> Michel de Montaigne, *Essays* trans. John Florio (London, 1603), 633-664.

of Man', Bacon explains that the mind 'is farre from the Nature of a cleare and equall glasse, wherein the beames of things should reflect according to their true incidence'. Rather, it is 'like an enchanted glasse', predisposed to yield 'false appearances'.<sup>219</sup> Bacon employs this conceit elsewhere, including in the *Novum organum*, where he uses it in reference to the 'Idols of the Tribe'. One of four 'Idols of the Mind', the categories of error to which the mind is prone, the Idols of the Tribe represent the misguided assumption that human sense is the ultimate 'measure of things', when, in fact, the universe is built according to its own scale. The intellect, Bacon says, is 'to the rays of things like an uneven mirror which mingles its own nature with the nature of things, and distorts and stains it'; this unevenness can be attributed largely to the 'dullness, inadequacy and unreliability of the senses', including sight.<sup>220</sup> Bacon's Idols are designed to illustrate the 'false notions' which entrap the mind, in order to help his readers to avoid or diminish them and, in so doing, to get closer to the truth.<sup>221</sup> Blount's understanding of the mind as 'false' yet salvageable is in sympathy with Bacon's project.

Through his engagements with Montaigne and Bacon, Blount develops an account of experience that will prepare the reader for the observations that follow. His conception of eyewitness and '*imagination*' as a form of digestion is, however, not present in the earlier writers. It is a strange metaphor, not least because the eye and the imagination – literally, the image-making faculty – are not directly related to the 'stomacke'. But the metaphor is informed by, and reinforces, the precepts we have already encountered. First, that actual sight is not enough; the traveller, an 'eyewitnesse of things', needs to 'digest' his particular experience into epistemological experience, that is, a universal, in order to really 'see'. Second, that this digestion will only succeed if the traveller is sufficiently disciplined. Blount's writing enacts the procedure it describes; his textual borrowings are 'digested', thoroughly absorbed and assimilated into his

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<sup>219</sup> *Novum organum* in Bacon (1996-), 4:116. See Katharine Park, 'Bacon's "Enchanted Glass"', *Isis* 75.2 (1984), 290-302.

<sup>220</sup> Bacon (1996-) 11:79-81, 11:87.

<sup>221</sup> *ibid.*, 11:79.

own prose. In the previous chapter, we saw that Thomas Coryate's *Crudities* develops strategies of rhetorical indigestion, characterised by the heaping up of particulars, in order to extend the experience of travel to readers' imaginations. We also saw that Coryate, like his earliest readers, repeatedly draws connections between rhetorical invention and cognition, implying that the crudeness of his writing can be attributed to his gluttony, a lack of self-discipline which, in turn, has consequences for the functioning of memory and common sense. As the introduction to the *Voyage* indicates, Blount engages with a similar set of ideas, establishing a link between the different ways in which travellers 'digest' their 'impressions' and the different forms of their writing, an array of 'dishes' which may not suit 'another mans stomacke'. But Blount takes these ideas in a strikingly different direction: unlike Coryate, he prioritises the digestion of particulars, and insists upon the importance of self-discipline in the context of travel. Together, the chapters on Coryate and Blount function as a chiasmus, in which Blount's observational procedures are the reverse of Coryate's own.

Commentary on Blount tends to reiterate the distinction between 'experience' and 'book knowledge' that introduces the *Voyage*. Anthony Wood, for example, depicts him as an individual of 'great experience', adding, parenthetically, 'tho not of much reading'.<sup>222</sup> Modern critics frame the experience/book knowledge distinction as a contrast, both implicit and explicit, of the 'new science' and 'humanism'. They tend to describe Blount as one of the first – if not *the* first – Englishmen to travel in a 'scientific' mode, and often directly compare him to Bacon. Jonathan Haynes articulates these claims most explicitly, positioning Blount as the very antithesis of earlier, more conventional travellers such as George Sandys, and suggesting that his account

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<sup>222</sup> Wood (1691-2), 2:534.

anticipates the worldview of the Enlightenment.<sup>223</sup> If the consensus is to be believed, Blount was a man ahead of his time, not of it.<sup>224</sup>

This chapter takes a different view, and sees Blount's *Voyage* as continuous with, rather than outside, its time. It demonstrates that Blount is a much more 'literary' writer than he claims, or that current critical models suggest. I begin by considering a panegyric poem on the *Voyage*, using it as a starting point for a discussion about the relationship between cognition and observation, and the shift from particular to general involved in moving from one to the other. I discuss Blount's writing on taste, vision and the imagination, and then consider the use of note-taking as a 'help' to the memory, with reference to Bacon's notion of 'literate experience'. I show that for Blount, observation, self-regulation, and reading are closely intertwined, and that he frequently turns to books in order to understand himself better. In the latter part of the chapter, I focus on the patterns of original and recycled observations in works of travel and natural history, reading the *Voyage* alongside writing on the subject of coffee by Sandys, Bacon, and James Howell. I explain that early modern writers understand observation as an inherently collaborative exercise, and think of themselves as proxy eyes, tasked with seeing for others. Despite his reputation as a man 'not of much reading', books, and questions about how to read and write them, are central to Blount's experience of the Levant. In addition to offering a new reading of Blount, the present chapter reveals the rhetorical underpinnings of seventeenth-century observational writing more broadly, and draws connections between the precepts of rhetorical invention and ideas of experience and experiment.

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<sup>223</sup> Jonathan Haynes, *The Humanist as Traveler: George Sandys's Relation of a journey begun an dom. 1610* (Rutherford, 1986), 36; Haynes, 'Two Seventeenth Century Perspectives on the Middle East: George Sandys and Sir Henry Blount', *Alij: Journal of Comparative Poetics*, 3 (1983), 4-22. For cognate readings, see Sascha Ruediger Klement, 'Representations of Global Civility: English Travellers in the Ottoman Empire and the South Pacific, 1636-1863' (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2013), ch. 2; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford, 2009), 90-91; Eva Johanna Holmberg, *Jews in the Early Modern English Imagination: A Scattered Nation* (London, 2016), 25; Florence D'Souza, *Knowledge, Meditation and Empire: James Tod's Journeys Among the Rajputs* (Manchester, 2015), 199.

<sup>224</sup> Gerald Maclean's studies are an important exception. See Maclean (2004), 115-176 and 'Ottomanism Before Orientalism? Bishop King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger in the Levant' in Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh eds., *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* (New York, 2001), 85-96.

**‘Undoubted now, and clear as Axiom’: Cognition, Observation, and the *Voyage***

In a panegyric poem ‘To my Noble and Judicious Friend Sir Henry Blount upon his Voyage’, Bishop Henry King declared that Blount was a ‘Rule’ and ‘Example’ for all ‘Travailleurs’ to follow.<sup>225</sup> King begins the poem by admitting that he has always been ‘Possest with humane curiositee’, a curiosity enhanced by his exposure to travel writing:

since I had the witt to understand  
The Termes of Native or of Forraine land;  
I have had strong and oft desires to tread  
Some of those Voyages which I have read.

King’s wish to travel was never fulfilled: as he puts it, he never ‘had the fortune (though design’d) to satisfy the wandrings of [his] mind’.<sup>226</sup> Instead, he used maps and books as a substitute for travel. With the assistance of maps by Ortelius and Mercator, and the observations of travellers, he was able to travel further in his imagination than he could have ever managed in person:

Through most of the discover’d World I stray’d.  
I could with ease double the Southerne Cape,  
And in my passage Africk’s wonders take:  
[...]  
Oft hath the travaile of my Eye out-run  
(Though I sate still) the journey of the Sun[.]

According to King, books enabled him to encounter sights that he could not access otherwise. Describing his imaginative travels through Egypt, for example, he claims ‘There I the Pyramids and Cairo see’; similarly, from the comfort of his home, he could go to the Ottoman Empire, where, ‘all rap’t in pittie and Amaze’ he could ‘upon the Sultan gaze’.<sup>227</sup> Travel writing had its limits, however: although it was entertaining, and excited King’s imagination, it was ultimately lacking in substance. ‘I confesse’, King writes, ‘Like stomackes fed with Newes / I took them in

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<sup>225</sup> Henry King, *The Poems of Henry King* ed. Margaret Crum (Oxford, 1965), 83-7, 86.

<sup>226</sup> King (1965), 83.

<sup>227</sup> *ibid.*, 83-4.

for wonder, not for use'. By contrast, Blount's *Voyage* offered something new. Turning to address him directly, King claimed that his

Experienc'd and authentick pen  
Taught mee to know the Places and the Men;  
And made all those suspected Truthes become  
Undoubted now, and cleare as Axiome.  
[...]  
I am at once inform'd and cur'd by You.

King continues, claiming that Blount's countrymen will only fully appreciate how unusual he is when they 'try' the 'solid depthes' of his book, which

lookes above our Gadders' triviall reach,  
The common place of Travailours, who teach  
But Table-talk; and seldomly aspire  
Beyond the Countrye's Dyett ot Attire.  
Whereas your piercing judgment does relate  
The Policy, and Manage of Each State.<sup>228</sup>

Because of the approach he took to travel, King claims, Blount has 'farther journey'd the Levant' than any Englishman before, and thus will teach 'Each knowing Reader' how to 'Goe Abroad to some effect, / And not for Forme'. For King, Blount's *Voyage* is not only an important work in its own right, but also has the potential to transform English travel writing as a whole.

This poem provides a useful starting point for my discussion of the *Voyage*, because of the connections it draws between the traveller's cognition, the quality of his observations, and the form of his writing. King's use of the term 'Axiom' is particularly compelling. The term stands for a 'proposition', 'maxim', 'rule', or 'law'. Its origins in medical discourse suit the poem's emphasis on the cognitive aspects of travel, as well as its figuring of Blount as a physician who has 'cur'd' King's desire for travel, the 'wandrings' of his mind, by satisfying his 'curiositee'.<sup>229</sup> In Bacon's writings, significantly, 'axiom' has a specialised sense, in which its semantic field is

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<sup>228</sup> King (1965), 88.

<sup>229</sup> *ibid.*, 86.

restricted to generalisations drawn from experience.<sup>230</sup> King evidently had Bacon in mind when he wrote these lines on Blount's 'Experienc'd and authentick pen': they recall the note 'To the Reader' in Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum* (1626), in which Bacon's editor, chaplain, and amanuensis William Rawley explains that 'true *Axiomes* must be drawne from plaine Experience, and not from doubtfull'.<sup>231</sup> By reworking Rawley's words and assimilating them into his own, King reinforces the existing association of Blount and Bacon in the *Voyage*, as well as Blount's emphasis on the digestion of experience. King's claim that Blount travelled 'farther' than other English travellers is meant figuratively, and is related to his production of axiom: in the fact that Blount travelled with purpose, for 'effect', not 'Forme'. Read within the contexts of the *ars apodemica*, King's description of Blount presents him as the ideal traveller, someone who should become a 'Rule' because of the discipline with which he follows the rules.

The contrasts King draws between Blount and other, purportedly lesser travellers are instructive. Specifically, they reveal the ways in which Blount and Coryate diverge. As we have seen, the poem is structured as a narrative of King's own reading, which begins with 'Voyages' and the tracing of 'Lines' and 'Spots' on maps, a 'travaile' of the 'Ey' that enabled him to make vicarious passage through the world. Although King does not mention Coryate by name, his description of these 'Voyages' could easily describe the *Crudities*, which uses undigested particulars to take the reader on an imaginative 'tour', helping them to 'see' the things described. Further, King's reference to 'Gadders', the travellers who have nothing to offer but 'Table-talk', recalls contemporary accounts of Coryate's logodaedaly. Unlike Coryate, who prioritises *verba*, Blount – at least according to King's description – is, like the ideal orator, primarily concerned with *res*.

Strikingly, the poem's turn from these 'Voyages' to the *Voyage* is marked by a shift in verb, from seeing to knowing. King's 'Ey' gives way to Blount's 'Eyes', which see for him, the

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<sup>230</sup> OED, s.v. 'axiom', *n.* sense 1b.

<sup>231</sup> Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum: or A Naturall Historie in Ten Centuries* (London, 1626), sig.A<sup>r</sup>.

newly ‘knowing Reader’. This indicates that King conceives of Blount’s relationship to the reader in terms that are very different from Coryate’s; he is not a tour guide, but someone who teaches. Crucially, however, King also suggests that he relates to his readers as a collaborator in a shared search for knowledge. The poem conflates ‘Travailleurs’ and the ‘Reader’, assuming that Blount’s readers will go on to ‘observe’ the ‘remoter Parties’ of the world themselves; Blount’s observations are thus not the final word on the subject, but a starting point from which other travellers will ‘direct’ their own efforts. King makes this clear when he encourages readers to ‘try’ Blount’s book. To ‘try’, in this context, is to test the quality of something in order to assess it, or, to experiment.<sup>232</sup> King’s choice of word is suggestive, implying that readers of the *Voyage* will be able to assess the value of Blount’s observations by experimenting with their own. ‘Try’ recalls both Montaigne’s title, and his offering of his essays as an ‘assay’, a ‘taster’ for the reader willing to ‘taste’.

It also signals a further, implicit shift that occurs in the poem: from readers’ ‘stomackes’, passively and unsatisfyingly fed by books of wonder, to their tongues, which are given an active, decisive role in the reception of Blount’s account. Aristotle associates taste with ‘the discriminating of flavours’ that is carried out by ‘wine-tasters and people who season dishes’.<sup>233</sup> True tasters are gourmands, not gobblers; their consumption of food and drink is selective, involving the application of judgment, and is based on prior experience and expertise. According to King’s interpretation of the *Voyage*, then, Blount sought readers who would exercise their own judgment, who would ‘taste’. In this poem, King emphasises Blount’s exceptionality while simultaneously situating the *Voyage* within the cognitive and observational discourses of its own day. By doing so, he suggests that the *Voyage* thus draws on the same set of language and ideas as the *Cruditie*s, while turning them to different ends.

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<sup>232</sup> OED, s.v. ‘try’, *v.* senses 7a, 11a.

<sup>233</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* in *The Complete Works of Aristotle* (1995), 1118<sup>a</sup>20-1118<sup>b</sup>5.

King's sense that Blount prioritised the production of axiom is correct. The *Voyage* is divided into two distinct sections. First, it offers a 'Relation' of Blount's journey, attending to circumstantial details of time, date, place, and distance travelled. The 'Relation' follows a chronological structure. It describes features of topology and climate, ports and rivers, buildings, bridges, and monuments, including pyramids, and religious and legal practices. It also recounts Blount's interactions with the people he meets, particularly those which result in the expansion of his access to a place, and information he has received from others, through both hearing and reading. The second half of the account deals with 'the more abstract and general', offering broad conclusions on matters of religion and government. This structure suggests that Blount, in keeping with convention, took daily notes, probably using a table book, and later worked them up into a more sophisticated form. The shift from particular to general thus informs the structure of Blount's writing, as well as its philosophical preoccupations; it is, in a sense, what the *Voyage* is 'about'.

As I explained in the Introduction, the seventeenth century defined observers by their powers of discrimination, their ability to tell things apart. When King describes Blount as someone able to 'observe', his intention is to indicate his possession of this highly prized skill. Just as a trained medical doctor can read the signs of a patient's illness better than a layperson, so Blount could see the world he encountered with greater clarity than others.<sup>234</sup> The *Voyage* characterises Blount's habits of discrimination as a process of trying, testing, and tasting. For example, he sets out to 'try' the men he encounters, and has a 'taste' of different kinds of interactions.<sup>235</sup> His focus on digestion activates the other senses of 'trying', which include sifting, straining, and extraction, the separation of the good part of something from the rest.<sup>236</sup> These senses are strengthened by Blount's use of the verbs 'select' and 'discern', both of which also

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<sup>234</sup> For other contemporary references to Blount as an 'observer' or 'observing', see Christopher Elderfield, *The Civil Right of Tythes* (London, 1650), 44; William Birchley [John Austin], *The Christian Moderator* (London, 1652), 22.

<sup>235</sup> *Voyage*, 8, 178.

<sup>236</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'try', *v.* sense 2a, 3, 4a.

imply separation, a ‘picking apart’.<sup>237</sup> These resonances suggest that Blount’s tries and tastes, the sifting through of daily experience, function as a preliminary stage to the more extensive digestion that follows, when he proceeds to transform all of the particulars that he has accumulated into universals.

In addition to this metaphorical language of digestion, Blount sometimes speaks of ‘taste’ literally. One passage describes his use of the sense of taste for the purpose of experiment. In it, he hears of the ‘rarities’ of the Danube (*‘Danuby’*), including the fact that it joins the Sava (a tributary of the Danube) while remaining ‘unmixed’; the two rivers ‘mingle no more then water, and oyle’. Blount decides to find out if this is true through his ‘owne experience’: going into the water in a boat, he ‘tasted’ the two currents, and realized that one was ‘as cleare, and pure as a well’, the other ‘as troubled as a streete channell’, leaving a taste of ‘gravell’ in his teeth. The passage concludes, ‘I have been an eye-witnesse thereof’.<sup>238</sup> Blount implies a connection between faculties which are usually thought to be distinct – in this case, taste and sight – in order to illustrate the complex cognitive work that ‘eye-witnesse’ requires.

Blount’s emphasis on ‘eye-witnesse’ accords with conventional understandings of sight as the most powerful of the external senses. For example, Pierre de la Primaudaye describes the eyes as the ‘watch towers & sentinels, the guides & leaders of the whole body’. He continues, ‘they are the chiefest members of all the bodily senses, whose nature approacheth nearer to the nature of the soule and spirit’.<sup>239</sup> Like this account, Blount identifies the eye as the most direct sensory route to ‘knowledge’, followed by the ‘eare’.<sup>240</sup> However, his conception of eyewitness as a form of ‘tasting’ offers an interesting slant to conventional thinking about the eye: in the *Voyage*, the ‘eye’ stands metaphorically for direct experience, which is itself a metaphor for *any*

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<sup>237</sup> OED, s.v. ‘select’, *v.*, ‘discern’, *v.*

<sup>238</sup> *Voyage*, 18-19.

<sup>239</sup> Pierre de la Primaudaye, *The Second Part of the French Academie. Wherein...the Bodie and Soule of Man, the Creation, Matter, Composition, Forme, Nature, Profite and Use of all the Parties of the Frame of Man are Handled*, trans. T[homas] B[owes] (London, 1594), 68 (chap 10). For an almost exact repetition of Primaudaye’s phrasing, see Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia* (London, 1615), 530.

<sup>240</sup> *Voyage*, 3.

experience, one's own or another's. Blount punctuates his travel descriptions with verbs of vision, including 'see', 'behold', 'pry', and 'view', and uses his eye as a metonym for evaluative judgment or opinion (again, aligning the eye with 'taste'): 'I have not seene a better in *Christendome* [...] I have not seene in any other place, no not in *Italy*', 'I went to view it throughout, but found it in no way equall to his other at *Andrinople*, which in my eye is much more Magnificent, then any of those at *Constantinople*', 'farre beyond any that I ever saw elsewhere'.<sup>241</sup> Blount sometimes ascribes a great deal of agency to his eye: while sailing through the Greek archipelago, for instance, his eye 'selected' the three islands on which it would focus.<sup>242</sup> Finally, 'view' functions as a unit of time, such that the passing of a single day is recorded as 'a dayes view'.<sup>243</sup> The title of the German translation of the *Voyage*, published in 1687, also foregrounds Blount's eye: it includes the term 'genausichtig', which means, literally, 'with precise vision', 'precisely observed'.<sup>244</sup> In these respects, the *Voyage*, and its seventeenth-century reception, subscribes to the notion that being an eyewitness is the most important aspect of travel: the traveller's eye acts as a grounding device, enabling him to find his way in the world.

But things are not always quite so straightforward; in this period, ocularity was as much a cause of anxiety as a marker of authenticity.<sup>245</sup> So too in the *Voyage*, where failures of vision, moments of *not* seeing, match up to, or even outnumber, successes. Sometimes Blount is not sure that he has found the 'precise place' he was looking for, making it 'too uncertaine for any observation'.<sup>246</sup> In other cases, the locals deny him access because they are suspicious of his intentions.<sup>247</sup> As well as such obstacles to literal vision, Blount also writes about the disruption

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<sup>241</sup> *Voyage*, 22, 25, 34.

<sup>242</sup> *ibid.*, 29.

<sup>243</sup> *ibid.*, 6.

<sup>244</sup> *Des Edlen Herrn Henrich Blunt, Englischen Herrn und Ritters Morgenländische Reise Durch Dalmatien, Sklavonien, Thrazien und Egypten, &c.: in welcher die grundfeste Des Türkischen Staats genausichtig untersucht wird* (Helmstedt, 1687).

<sup>245</sup> For a landmark study of this topic, see Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>246</sup> *Voyage*, 55.

<sup>247</sup> *ibid.*, 38. Blount's readers made note of the *Voyage*'s emphasis on limitation. Thomas Browne's annotator, Thomas Keck, cites Blount in a passage on the Red Sea, but includes Blount's line 'wherefore (saith he) I left that as too uncertain for any Observation'. See Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (London, 1682), 200. There is a further reference to Blount at page 252.

that the imagination can cause the operations of the senses, drawing a link between the ‘*imagination*’ and ‘eyewitness’. According to the Aristotelian tradition, data acquired from the senses, like all thought, took the form of visual images: what was seen by the eyes was also ‘seen’ by the mind. Emphasising the role of the imagination as a mediator between the body and mind, a number of writers compare its function in the soul to that of the eye in the body.<sup>248</sup> Blount’s Baconian comparison of the mind to a ‘false glasse’ signals his interest in these ideas.

George Puttenham uses the ‘false glasse’ conceit in similar, albeit less technical terms. Writing about the figures of the philosopher and poet, both frequently branded ‘*phantasticall*’, he explains that the ‘conceits’ of a ‘well affected’ disposition will be ‘*uniforme*, that is well proportioned, and so passing cleare, that by it as by a glasse or mirror, are represented unto the soule all manner of beautifull visions’. But he admits that not all are able to live up to this ideal. Just as there are ‘many tempers and manner of makinges’ of glass with a range of ‘*perspectives*’, including ‘false glasses’ that ‘shew thinges otherwise then they be in deede’, so too are there variations of ‘the phantasticall part of man’, the most disordered of which ‘breede *Chimeres* & monsters in mans imaginations’.<sup>249</sup> Blount uses the ‘false glasse’ trope along similar lines to Puttenham in one of his unpublished manuscript poems from the 1620s. In it, he offers a meditation on the instability of sight. This takes the form of a lover’s apostrophe to a ‘cruell Glasse’ that has failed to properly ‘see’ or ‘perceiv[e]’ his beloved for what she really is, a love ‘to hard for mee’. He urges it to ‘frame’ her differently, picturing ‘another shee’, though, as he soon discovers, getting hold of this ‘beautious Vision’ is an impossible task: her ‘double forces’ resist any single framing. If she is hard to see, she is harder still to touch, disappearing into thin air like ‘figured charmes’, a shape-shifting ‘Angell’, or a shadow. Overcome by these tricks of the eye and hurts to the heart, the lover surrenders.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Primaudaye (1594), 146 (chap. 23). Aristotle turns to etymology to reinforce the link between sight and imagination: ‘Since sight is the chief sense, the name *φαντασία* (imagination) is derived from *φῶς* (light), because without light it is impossible to see.’ *De Anima* in *The Complete Works of Aristotle* (1995), 429a.

<sup>249</sup> Puttenham (2007), 110.

<sup>250</sup> BL Add Ms 25303, f. 171r.

Unlike the heartbroken lover, surrender was hardly an option for the traveller on the road, however visually and imaginatively challenged. Instead, he needed to turn to the standard piece of advice for how to keep the passions (and, in turn, reason and the faculties it governed, including vision) under control: to know himself. Blount's *Voyage*, accordingly, documents the state of his body and mind at various points of the journey, including notes about the food he eats, and his experiences of illness. One passage, for example, describes a period in which the 'winde', both 'hot' and 'odoriferous', 'corrupted' Blount's 'stomach', rendering him unable to eat for 'nine or ten days together'.<sup>251</sup> Blount's notes thus function as a 'register', and enable him to keep track of his body's responses to its surroundings. The 'registering' of observations was also important for the traveller's memory, as the next section of this chapter will discuss.

### Memory, Notes, and Literate Experience

As discussed in the opening of this chapter, Blount frames his justification for writing the *Voyage* in terms of memory, as 'lines registred' to himself. By the seventeenth century, the ancient art of memory, which had been outlined most clearly in the writings of the Roman rhetoricians, was no longer held in high esteem.<sup>252</sup> The feats of verbal legerdemain that mnemotechnique facilitated were seen as just that: a form of trickery that hindered, rather than helped, the acquisition of knowledge. For Bacon, the art of memory was the cognitive equivalent of 'the tricks of Tumblers'.<sup>253</sup> A letter of advice attributed to Bacon and addressed to the Earl of Rutland explains that shallow displays of rhetorical ingenuity were particularly useless in the context of travel. It argues that travellers who only have this talent for 'table talke' (a phrase which coincides with the reference to 'Gadders' in King's poem on Blount) will gain little from their journeys: 'though like emptie caskes they sounde lowde when a man knockes upon them on their outsides, yet if you

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<sup>251</sup> *Voyage*, 80.

<sup>252</sup> For landmark studies of memory in the medieval and early modern periods, see Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966); Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press* trans. J. Parzen (Toronto, 2001), and Carruthers (2008).

<sup>253</sup> Bacon (1996-), 4: 119.

pierce into them, you shall finde they are full of nothing but winde'.<sup>254</sup> Despite mnemotechnique's fall from grace, and the suspicion of rhetorically gifted travellers, memory remained fundamental to humanist practices of reading and writing as well as to Baconian reforms in natural philosophy.<sup>255</sup>

Memory plays an especially important role in Bacon's writing on natural history. As we have seen, he believes that the natural senses, and the natural memory, cannot be trusted to interpret nature and retain knowledge on their own: they needed help. One such help is writing, the best possible 'Assistant to *Memory*'. In the context of natural historical investigation, the use of commonplace books or 'tables' – intellectual apparatuses which help the traveller, lawyer, scholar, or student to derive knowledge from particulars – was classified as *experientia literata*, 'literate experience'.<sup>256</sup> Literate experience (that is, experience set down in writing as a form conducive to learning) was a stage of enquiry preparatory to *interpretatio naturae*, the interpretation of nature. Blount's use of notes as an aid to his memory, and as a tool with which to digest particulars, is thus in keeping with Bacon's notion of literate experience; and Bacon's literate experience, in turn, is informed by traditional humanist tools and methods.<sup>257</sup>

Although Blount's description of the *Voyage* as 'lines' not worth 'transferring to others' might seem like feigned modesty, another version of Coryate's self-presentation as a 'mere smatterer of learning', it more likely stems from his awareness of the epistemological value that

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<sup>254</sup> Bacon (1996-), 1: 648-9. There is considerable controversy over the authorship of this letter, on the basis that it was probably written by Bacon to be circulated as from Robert Devereux, the earl of Essex. This raises questions about the recycling of observations in the contexts of travel, natural philosophy, and natural history, which I discuss further below. For discussions of the authorship of this letter and other of Devereux's writings, see Paul E.J. Hammer, 'The Uses of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, c. 1585-1601', *HER* 104 (1994), 26-51 and Hammer, 'The Earl of Essex, Fulke Greville, and the employment of scholars', *Studies in Philology* 91 (1994), 167-80; Brian Vickers, 'The Authenticity of Bacon's Earliest Writings', *Studies in Philology* 94 (1997), 248-96.

<sup>255</sup> See Lewis (2009).

<sup>256</sup> Bacon (1996-), 4:111. For discussions of literate experience, see Lisa Jardine, '*Experientia literata* or *Novum organum*? The Dilemma of Bacon's Scientific Method' in *Francis Bacon's Legacy of Texts: The Art of Discovery Grows with Discovery*, ed. W.A. Sessions (New York, 1990), 47-68, and Sophie Weeks, 'The Role of Mechanics in Bacon's Great Instauration', in *Philosophies of Technology: Francis Bacon and his Contemporaries*, 2 vols. ed. Claus Zittel et al. (Leiden, 2008), 1: 133-196, esp. 162-73.

<sup>257</sup> For a discussion of early modern writing tools, with specific reference to table books and memory, see Peter Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables and Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55.4 (2004), 379-419.

travellers' notebooks possessed. By presenting his account as a collection of 'notes' and 'observations' (the two are often used interchangeably) he could emphasise his status as an eyewitness traveller: he really did go and see the world, and has the notes to prove it. However, unlike King, he expresses uncertainty about the possibility of his travel particulars becoming 'Axiom'. This is, in large part, because he did not trust his memory to keep up with the speed of his travel. He describes himself as a 'passenger', foregrounding the limitations of his capacity to observe: passing through a place means that he can observe things 'not perfectly, (which were a taske for an inhabitant rather then a passenger)'.<sup>258</sup> In other words, there is only so much that he can see in such a short period of time. This is the same issue that faced Coryate in the previous chapter. Unlike Coryate, however, Blount does not turn to rhetorical dilation to cope with these temporal constraints. There is a sense of ambivalence, and even defensiveness in the *Voyage* about Blount's limited, imperfect observations. In his entry on Constantinople, for example, he explains, 'I stayed here but five days, wherefore I had not much leisure for much observation', and resigns himself to simply making a couple of points 'in this hast'.<sup>259</sup> Two pages later, he insists, 'In that I observed no more of so great a *Citie*, I doe not much accuse my selfe; for the chiefe time I had to view, was my first two dayes [...]'.<sup>260</sup> Blount's identification as a 'passenger', and his claim that being a passenger makes his observations incomplete, recalls Puttenham's discussion of the figure of '*Paralepsis*, or the Passenger'. This figure paradoxically calls attention to a topic while claiming to omit it.<sup>261</sup> This figure, Puttenham writes, is used to pretend 'as if we set but light of the matter, and that therefore we do pass it over slightly'.<sup>262</sup> Other writers concur: *paralepsis*, or *paralipsis*, is 'an over-passing', used 'when you say you let pass that which not

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<sup>258</sup> *Voyage*, 2.

<sup>259</sup> *ibid.*, 24.

<sup>260</sup> *ibid.*, 26.

<sup>261</sup> On *paralipsis*, see Claire Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge, 2005), 203-4, 208.

<sup>262</sup> Puttenham (2007), 392.

withstanding you touch at full'.<sup>263</sup> There is something paraleptic about the *Voyage*: it is more thorough, more authoritative, and tighter in structure, than Blount's prefatory protestations would suggest.

To compensate for being a 'passenger' who will inevitably experience gaps in his knowledge and memory, Blount turns to books, supplementing his passage through the Levant with 'passages' from texts. He often compares what he sees with 'the *judgement of Antiquitie*', and only resorts to conjecture when there is 'want of other authoritie'.<sup>264</sup> During his time in Egypt, for instance, he is particularly vexed by the problem of 'that admirable table of *Isis*, not mentioned in Plutarch, and slenderly unfolded by *Pignoria*'.<sup>265</sup> Throughout the account, he makes reference to a range of classical authorities, including Homer, Virgil, and Seneca. Days of rest or 'leisure' give Blount the opportunity to catch up on his reading. During one such 'abode' near the site of the Roman civil wars, he has 'leisure to read *Cæsar* his Commentary thereon, which on purpose [he] carryed to conferre the better impression'.<sup>266</sup> 'Conferre' suggests 'bring together' but also to 'compare'. Blount thus suggests that drawing comparisons between his reading and the things he can see will give him a 'better impression' of them.

However, Blount's engagement with his reading is most revealing when it is least explicit. As in the introduction, the travel account proper includes a number of 'digested' passages from books, particularly in reference to the human mind, its errors, and the importance of self-regulation. Two examples stand out. The first is a passage in which Blount claims that people who live in high, dark places such as caverns and grotts tend to have '*profound* speculations'; the '*privacy*' and '*aspect*' of those 'rocky *Cavernes*', plus their '*gloomy, still, and solemne*' air, acts on the imagination, producing the 'highest fancies of men'. These lines recall Bacon's writing on the 'Idols of the Cave', which compares the mind to a 'special cave or den' which 'scatters and

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<sup>263</sup> John Smith, *The Myserie of Rhetorique* (London, 1665), 157; Thomas Blount, *The Academie of Eloquence* (London, 1654), 26.

<sup>264</sup> *Voyage*, 19, 28.

<sup>265</sup> *ibid.*, 48-9. The 'Table of *Isis*' refers to the Bembine Tablet, discovered in 1527.

<sup>266</sup> *ibid.*, 36.

discolours the light of nature'.<sup>267</sup> Bacon's 'Cave' is a metaphor, but Blount's passage is provoked by his encounter with an actual cave, namely, a 'Rock' covering a 'Grot' (grotto) in which Saint John is said to have written his '*Apocalyps*' (the Book of Revelation).<sup>268</sup> What begins as a component of Bacon's 'new instrument', his *Novum organum*, is subsumed into an account of 'eyewitnesse'; a book is transformed into experience, and theory into practice. This passage is more complicated than this, however: the Sibylline and Delphic prophetesses are troglodytes, and the writing of John on Patmos in this cave is also notoriously prophetic rather than deluded. It is possible that Blount is invoking that more positive sense of inspiration, whilst simultaneously drawing on Bacon's *Novum organum*.

The second example of Blount's 'digested' reading is more significant still. It occurs at the mid-point of the *Voyage*, where the account itself is digested, shifting from the particular to 'the more *abstract* and generall'. Here, Blount makes a remark that mingles self-defence and self-accusation. Although he knows that these abstract and general observations should be based on a substantial amount of experience, spread out over a period of time, he admits, 'I take but the accounts of a reckoning made in hast, and therefore subject to the *disadvantage* of a hasty view, that is, to over-flip many things, and to see the rest but *superficially*'. Arguing *in utramque partem*, he writes, 'yet usually quicke glances, taken in the most *eminent* peeces, amongst which there are some like the dye of *Scarlet*, better discerned by a passing eye, then a fixt'.<sup>269</sup> The language and ideas of this passage draw directly on Montaigne's 'Of Bookes', an essay debating whether it is better to read deeply or simply leaf through a book, in connection to the function of the memory. Montaigne writes that we should sometimes read in a flitting way of fits and starts: 'Even as to judge well of the lustre of scarlet we are taught to cast our eyes over it, in running it over by divers glances, sodaine glimpses, and reiterated reprisings'.<sup>270</sup> Montaigne's discussion of

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<sup>267</sup> *Voyage*, 30; Bacon (1996-), 81.

<sup>268</sup> *ibid.*, 54.

<sup>269</sup> *ibid.*, 61.

<sup>270</sup> Montaigne (1603), 236.

reading thus supplies matter for Blount's discussion of travel: the former understands reading as a form of bodily action, an optical 'running' through books, where the latter thinks of travel in terms of reading, in which the traveller is sometimes obliged to 'over-flip' through places like the pages of a book. Montaigne describes his writing process as 'invention', a drawing together of reading and experience that conceals the sources of his textual borrowings, and says that he 'will love him that shall trace, or unfeather me'. Blount's *Voyage* invites a similar mode of reading: 'tracing' and 'unfeathering' it reveals the extent to which the traveller's account of 'eyewitness' and self-regimen is composed through 'booke knowledge'. The next section of the chapter considers the significance of textual recycling within the contexts of travel and natural history, paying particular attention to observations on the subject of coffee.

### **Tasting and Testing: Observations of Coffee**

As I explained in the Introduction, early modern travellers were expected to record, and then disseminate, their observations. These observations could be shared with the public, with a specific group, such as the Royal Society, or, in the context of foreign intelligence, the state. Blount appears to have done all three at various points of his life: despite his description of the *Voyage* as 'lines registred to my selfe', these observations were made available to the public; he was later a member of the Royal Society, which took great interest in travel observations; and he also may have been a spy.<sup>271</sup> As we will see, Blount's emphasis on regimen and self-regulation, and his preoccupation with tasting and trying, is bound up with his sense of himself as a proxy eye whose duties extended beyond mere sight.

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<sup>271</sup> E.S. de Beer, 'The Earliest Fellows of the Royal Society', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 7.2 (1950), 172-192, 190. On the Royal Society's use of travel observations, see Carey, (1997), 54.3. On the suggestion that Blount served as a spy, see Maclean (2004), 120, 128-9, 153, 158-9, 160, 166. It is likely that the success of the *Voyage* was a factor in Blount's appointment to the band of Pensioners by Charles I. See Andrew Kippis, *Biographia Britannica: Or, The Lives of the Most Eminent Persons Who have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland*, 4 vols. (London, 1780), 2:376-8. The historian Thomas Warton writes, 'So little penetration had the orthodox court of Charles the first, that merely on the merit of this book, he [Blount] was appointed one of the band of Pensioners'. Warton, *The Life of Sir Thomas Pope, Founder of Trinity College Oxford* (London, 1780), 206.

These connections are present in earlier English travel writing, such as Thomas Hariot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1590). The second part of Hariot's account, on commodities 'for victuall and sustenance of mans life', supplies a detailed catalogue of grains, beans, herbs, roots, fruits, beasts, fish, and fowl, which are consumed by the 'naturall inhabitants' and, during his time in Virginia, 'also by us'. Hariot's description of these commodities focus on their taste: the '*Beanes*' are 'altogether as good as our English peaze'; the roots are, variously, 'very good meate', 'very good in taste, and holsome', and 'not so good'; the fruit 'verie oylie and sweete', 'lushious sweet', 'such as wee have in England'.<sup>272</sup> The company even sample the meat of 'their *Wolves* or *wolvish Dogges*'; some, who have 'beene experimented in both', claim that they can tell the difference between the taste of dogs in Virginia, and those in England.<sup>273</sup> Hariot's emphasis on consumption, and the importance of taste in travel observation, anticipates Blount. Further, Hariot's interest in the medicinal values, the 'vertues in physik' of foreign commodities, offers a particularly clear illustration of the function of proxy witness in the context of observational writing. For example, his passage on tobacco explains that it is a 'herbe' used to 'purge[...] superfluous fleame & other grosse humors', clearing 'obstructions' in the body and preventing a number of 'greevous diseases'. Hariot and his company tried tobacco themselves; they 'used to sucke it after their [the inhabitants'] maner', and continued to do so 'since our returne'. The passage does not stop there, however: Hariot notes that he has discovered 'rare and wonderful experiments' of the 'vertues' of tobacco, which are so numerous that it would 'require a volume by it selfe'.<sup>274</sup> Hariot's own observations, his 'tasting' of tobacco, thus exist within a more expansive, collaborative experimental setting, one which could result in further publications on the subject.

Blount's writing on coffee undergoes an analogous development, and, in doing so, vividly illustrates the transmission and circulation of observations from both literature and direct

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<sup>272</sup> Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London, 1590), 13, 16-18.

<sup>273</sup> *Voyage.*, 20.

<sup>274</sup> *ibid.*, 16.

witness. In the first part of the *Voyage*, Blount is invited to ‘drink *Cauphe*’ in the presence of the Ottoman general Murad Basha. This social occasion gives Blount the opportunity to establish connections at court; he visited the general several more times during his stay in the region.<sup>275</sup> At a later point in his travels, Blount is served ‘*Cauphe*’ in a ‘*Porcelane dish*’, which he ‘dranke’.<sup>276</sup> Here, too, coffee facilitates the enrichment of Blount’s experience in the Levant, functioning as the prelude to a productive ‘discourse’ between him and his hosts. There is an extensive literature on the social and cultural history of coffee, in which travellers’ accounts figure prominently.<sup>277</sup> But Blount’s interest in coffee goes beyond its use as a social lubricant. In keeping with the digressive procedure of the account as a whole, the second half of the *Voyage* turns from these brief references to Blount’s coffee-drinking to offer a broader overview of coffee as a commodity, and the various uses to which it can be put. The passage reads as follows:

They have another drinke not good at meat, called *Cauphe* made of a *Berry*, as bigge as a small *Beane*, dryed in a Furnace, and beat to powder, of a soote colour, in taste a little *Bitterish* that they seeth [*sc.* ‘seethe’, or put in boiling water], and drinke hote as may be endured: it is good all houres of the day, but especially morning, and evening, when to that purpose, they entertaine themselves 2 or 3 houres in *Cauphe-houses*, which in all *Turkey* abound more then *Innes*, and *Ale-houses* with us: it is thought to be the old blacke broth used so much by the *Lacedemonians*, and dryeth ill humors in the stomacke, comforteth the braine, never causeth drunkennesse, or any other surfeit, and is a harmlesse entertainment of good fellowship; [...] they sit *crossed-legg’d* after the *Turkish* manner, many times two or three hundred together, talking, and likely with some poore *Musicke* [...]<sup>278</sup>

On the strength of this account, Blount received credit for the ‘discovery’ of ‘the Turkes Physick, of Cophie’.<sup>279</sup> In 1657, the Welsh barrister Walter Rumsey published a medical treatise entitled *Organon salutis: an instrument to cleanse the stomach: as also divers new experiments on the virtue of tobacco and coffee, how much they conduce to preserve humane health*, and addressed one of the dedicatory letters to Blount. In it, Rumsey explains that his old age and ill health prompted him ‘to remember what I

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<sup>275</sup> *Voyage*, 27.

<sup>276</sup> *ibid.*, 76.

<sup>277</sup> See, e.g., Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London, 2004), with references to Blount at 3, 133–4; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, 2005).

<sup>278</sup> *Voyage*, 105–06.

<sup>279</sup> W[alter] R[umsey], *Organon salutis* (London, 1657), sigs. a3<sup>v</sup>–a4<sup>r</sup>.

learned in my youth at School, in reading of *Tullies Office*, (that is) after taking notice of my own body, to observe what did doe me good, or harm, before I should use the help of Physicians'.<sup>280</sup> This is a use of the self-knowledge trope, *nosce teipsum*, that we encountered in the Introduction. After using it, Rumsey claims that Blount is his inspiration for publishing this text, which includes discussion of coffee's medicinal benefits. Blount's response to Rumsey, included in the *Organon salutis*, praises Rumsey's 'excellent Physick Treatise', and thanks him for working toward 'the publique advantage of humane life'. He goes on to discuss, in some detail, the importance of keeping the stomach in good order: 'doubtlesse mens diseases arise from the Stomach; whose impurities obstruct the passages of life'. A person with a diseased stomach is like 'a House which having it [*sic*] Vaults and Sinks furred up and stopt, soon growes so full or putrification and stink as cannot be endured'. Like Rumsey, Blount is of the opinion that men should take care of their own bodies, rather than placing their trust in physicians, and recommends 'Tobacco and Cophie' as helpful cures for 'crudities, cured by ill dyet, or moist lodging'.<sup>281</sup> These letters extend the themes of digestion and self-regulation that are so central to the *Voyage*, and demonstrate the ways in which observations could move from a traveller's eyes and tongue to a medical volume.

The textual travels of Blount's observations are more complicated than this, however. Although his description of coffee is presented as his own experience – and, in its emphasis on 'good fellowship', resonates with his earlier discussions of coffee-drinking as a fundamentally social practice – it is, in fact, an amalgamation of earlier accounts by Bacon and Sandys. As I explained at the beginning of this chapter, these figures have often been invoked in criticism on the *Voyage*. Bacon has been cited as a major influence on Blount, and Blount's cast of mind characterised as 'Baconian'. My discussion thus far has considered the nature of Bacon's influence on the *Voyage*: Blount interpolates sections of Bacon's writing on the 'Fallacies' of the mind, and his approach to travel is informed by Bacon's writing on observation and 'Axiom'

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<sup>280</sup> '*Tullies Office*' refers to Cicero's *De officiis*.

<sup>281</sup> Rumsey (1657), sigs. A3<sup>v</sup>-A7<sup>v</sup>.

more generally. Less has been said about Sandys, who is typically depicted as Blount's opposite. Bacon and Sandys effectively function as forms of critical shorthand, geographical coordinates in relation to which the *Voyage* – and, by extension, other early modern travel writing – can be mapped. Bacon is thought to represent the future of scientific reform, and Sandys the past, defined by a traditional, humanistic style of thought. In the *Voyage*, however, all three writers collide. Blount's description of coffee, summarised above, closely resembles an account published by Sandys over twenty years earlier, in 1615. Sandys writes:

Although they be destitute of Taverns, yet have they their Coffa-houses, which something resemble them. There sit they chatting most of the day; and sippe of a drinke called Coffa (of the berry that it is made up) in little *China* dishes, as hot as they can suffer it: blacke as soote, and tasting not much unlike it (why not that blacke broth which was in use amongst the *Lacedemonians*?) which helpeth, as they say, digestion [...]<sup>282</sup>

Blount's comparison of coffee-houses to '*Innes, and Ale-houses*', his description of the '*Berry*' the colour of 'soote', that is consumed 'as hot as may be endured' is clearly indebted to Sandys. His claim that coffee is 'thought to be the old blacke broth' of the Lacedemonians is in fact a misreading of Sandys's suggestion that coffee tastes as bad as 'that blacke broth which was in use amongst the *Lacedemonians*' – this 'broth' was not coffee, but a pork stew. A passage of the *Voyage* that presents itself as the product of Blount's experience, based on his own seeing and tasting, is, ultimately, based on material taken from another book.

This is not all. Before it appeared in Blount's *Voyage*, Sandys's writing on coffee had appeared in Bacon's *Sylva*. From Sandys, Bacon gleans information about a number of experiments, including an '*Experiment solitary touching the growth of sponges*', '*Experiment solitary touching sea-fish put in fresh waters*', '*Experiment solitary touching certain drinks in Turkey*', and '*Experiment solitary touching medicines that condense and relive the spirits*'. The passage on coffee is included in an '*Experiment Solitary touching Medicines that Condense, and Releeve the Spirits*', and reads:

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<sup>282</sup> Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun an: Dom: 1610*, 4 vols. (London, 1615), 1: 66.

They have in *Turkey*, a *Drinke* called *Coffa*, made of a *Berry* of the same Name, as Blacke as *Soot* and of a *Strong Sent*, but not *Aromaticall*; Which they take, beaten into Powder, in *Water*, as Hot as they can drinke it: And they take it, and sit at it, in their *Coffa-Houses*, which are like our *Tavernes*. This *Drinke* comfourteth the *Braine*, and *Heart*, and helpeth *Disgestion* [*sic*] [...]<sup>283</sup>

Bacon provides the key details given by Sandys, and reiterated by Blount: that coffee is made of a ‘Berry’, ‘as Blacke as *Soot*’, consumed ‘in their *Coffa-Houses*, which are like our *Tavernes*’, and that it ‘helpeth *Disgestion* [*sic*]’.<sup>284</sup> That is, Sandys, a writer figured as Bacon’s opposite, supplied him with a substantial amount of data, data that Bacon deemed legitimate ‘Materiall’ for the ‘Erecting and Building of a true *Philosophy*’.<sup>285</sup> It is striking that these writers not only share particulars, but also phrasing: Bacon’s ‘as Hot as they can drinke it’ and Blount’s ‘hote as may be endured’ closely echo Sandys’s ‘as hot as they can suffer it’. In 1663, the passages on coffee by all three writers appeared in a compilation titled *The Vertues of Coffee*.<sup>286</sup> Although the passage from Sandys appears to be based on eyewitness, and the passages from Bacon and Blount largely do not, the compilation does not distinguish between observations acquired through ‘eyewitness’ and those gleaned from ‘bookes’. *The Vertues of Coffee* thus offers further evidence that the opposition of ‘booke knowledge’ and ‘experience’ – the opposition with which Blount begins the *Voyage*, and which structured debates about travel in the early modern period – does not hold in observational writings themselves. As the relationships between Sandys’s *Relation*, Bacon’s *Sylva*, and Blount’s *Voyage* shows, each of these writers attempted to arrive at general knowledge, through the digestion of particulars, but also set out to provide particulars (what Rawley calls the ‘Indigested Heap’ that is *Sylva*, for example) on which other observers could draw.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> Bacon (1626), 191.

<sup>284</sup> *ibid.*, sigs. A1<sup>v</sup>-A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>285</sup> The *Voyage* draws on several other experiments sourced from Sandys and included in *Sylva*, such as those to do with sponges and the interactions of fresh and salt water.

<sup>286</sup> [N.D.], *The Vertues of Coffee* (London, 1663).

<sup>287</sup> See, e.g., the reference to Blount’s writing on snakes in Robert Boyle’s ‘The Effects of the Particular *Modifications* of the Invisible *Motions* of *Fluids*, on Animal Bodies dispos’d to be work’d upon by them, are not usually sufficiently noted’. Boyle, *The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle* (London, 1699), 226. The diaries of Robert Hooke and Samuel Pepys refer to conversations with Blount: he spoke of Chinese chariots to the former, and of Egypt to the latter. See Hooke, *The Diary of Robert Hooke* ed. Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams (London, 1935), 200; Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 9 vols. ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London, 2016), 5: 274.

### Practice and Precept

In 1642, the Anglo-Welsh writer James Howell published a work of travel advice, entitled *Instructions for Forren Travell*. The *Instructions* begin with a discussion of ‘the advantage, and preheminance [*sic*] of the Eye’ which recalls the opening of Blount’s *Voyage*:

Amongst the many advantages, which conduce to enrich the mind with Knowledge, to rectify the Judgement, and compose outward manners; Forraine Travell is none of the least. But to be a Sedentary Traveller only, penn’d up between Wals [...] As also to run over and traverse the world by Hearesay, and traditionall relation, with other mens eyes, and so take all things upon courtesie, is but a confused and imperfect kind of speculation, which leaveth but weake and distrustfull notions behind it [...] I say the Eye having a more quick and immediat commerce and familiarity with the Soule (being the principall of her Cinq ports, and her Centinell) taketh in farre deeper Ideas, and so makes firmer and more lasting impressions, conveying the object more faithfully to the memory, where it remains afterward upon record [...]<sup>288</sup>

The opening of Howell’s *Instructions*, which foregrounds the need to ‘enrich the mind with Knowledge’, and the ‘immediat commerce and familiarity’ between the eye and the soul, reworks the opening of the *Voyage*, which begins by articulating the universality of a desire for knowledge, and describes the ‘immediate, and quicke commerce’ of the eye and soul. As we have seen, the *Voyage* is itself a reworking of passages from Montaigne and Bacon. Howell’s engagement with Blount in the *Instructions* thus offers another example of the way in which observations travelled, and the reciprocity of theory and practice, books and experience. This is not Blount’s only appearance in the *Instructions*. Later in the treatise, Howell enjoins young travellers to remain firm in their faith, urging them to be ‘like the River Danube which scornes to mingle with the muddy streame of Sava, though they run both in one Channell’.<sup>289</sup> This image is drawn from the *Voyage*, in which, as we have seen, Blount tastes the water of the Danube and the Sava in order to confirm that this ‘rarity’ is true. In his panegyric poem on Blount, Henry King had expressed the hope that Blount’s travels would become ‘Rule’ and ‘Example’. Thanks to Howell, this comes to

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<sup>288</sup> Howell (1642), 2-7.

<sup>289</sup> *ibid.*, 18.

pass: Blount's passage on the Danube, a collection of 'particulars', is digested, and thus rendered abstract. His practice has become precept. For Howell, Blount offers an ideal example of the 'ingenious and discerning Traveller' who can distinguish between things.<sup>290</sup> Blount's ingenuity, as evidenced in the *Voyage* and described by his contemporaries, is directly connected to his observational skill: his writing is 'Experienc'd and authentick' because of the discipline with which he carries out his travels.

Blount's illustrious reputation has partially rescued him from the obscurity that is the fate of most travel writers of the period, but it has also had the consequence of severing the *Voyage* from its historical context. It is tempting to think of Blount as unique, but this has skewed critics' sense of historical difference. His ideas seem familiar, which is why they have been misunderstood. By neglecting to read his writing within the contexts of its composition, we see it – to use Blount's borrowed Baconian metaphor – as in a 'false glasse'. The prevalence of anachronisms like 'science' and 'objectivity' in the extant literature on Blount is sufficient to suggest that something is amiss. Moreover, modern criticism has paid little attention to the bookishness of Blount's book, tending to elide the relationship between Blount's eye and pen by primarily focusing on the former. The elision has had a strange consequence: critics write about the *Voyage* as if it provides immediate, transparent insight into Blount's sensory impressions, but this is not the case. Although it documents Blount's impressions, it does so through the medium of crafted language, and – as we have seen – with constant reference to his reading.

This chapter has defamiliarised the *Voyage* by setting it within the reconstructed contexts of early modern theories of cognition, travel advice literature, practices of note-taking, and developments in natural philosophy. First, it has shown that the distinction Blount draws between 'experience' and 'book knowledge' does not hold, in the *Voyage* and in early modern thought more generally. On the contrary, books are at the centre of writing on 'experience'.

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<sup>290</sup> Howell (1642), 189.

Second, it has explained that an interest in the world is not incompatible with a concern for the soul: Blount's writing on practical questions of governance, and of natural phenomena, are made possible by his focus on disciplining his 'self', looking inward in order to see the Levant with greater clarity. Third, it has established that seventeenth-century writers thought about observation in terms that are very different from those of the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries, by charting the travels of Blount's observations from earlier accounts like Sandys's *Relation* and Bacon's *Sylva*, to later publications, like Rumsey's *Organon salutis*.

These insights are significant for studies of travel writing more generally. The misguided assumptions about the relationship of humanism to the 'new science' that structure Blount's reputation – and which, I have suggested, read his use of the terms 'experience' and 'booke knowledge' too literally and anachronistically – are widespread. Because the 'new science' has been viewed as a dramatic departure from humanistic thought, travellers are often categorised as either 'humanistic' or 'scientific', and their writing interpreted accordingly. Travellers like Blount who emphasise the importance of eyewitness are said to be scientific, while others, like Sandys, who make their engagements with literature explicit, are said to be humanistic. Ironically, the very reason Blount has been viewed as a 'scientist', a non- or even anti-humanist, is that his account follows the humanist precepts of textual digestion: his borrowings from Montaigne, Bacon, and Sandys are difficult to discern, because of how well they have been assimilated into his travel observations. As we have seen, Blount's travel writing is essayistic, aphoristic, and experimental; it is unmistakably inventive, composed through a sustained and creative engagement with his reading.

The following chapter offers a different perspective on the rhetoricity of travel writing by considering the significance of rhetorical disposition, and the use of plot 'reversal' in the writings of William Scott. Like Blount, Scott turns to his books in order to make sense of the world; unlike Blount, however, Scott is fundamentally concerned with questions of narrative arrangement, and seeks to establish connections between travel writing and other literature.

## Chapter 3

### William Scott and Dramatic Reversals

In 1605, *Sir Thomas Smithes voiage and entertainment in Rusbia*, an account of the embassy of Sir Thomas Smythe (1558-1625) to T'sar Boris Godunov, was published anonymously.<sup>291</sup> A prefatory note 'To the Reader' explained the origins of the account:

Reader, the discourses of this voyage (at the comming home of the Gentleman that was chiefe in it and his company into England) affoorded such pleasure to the hearers, by reason the accidentes were strange and Novell, that many way-laid the Newes, and were gladde to make any booty of it to delight themselves, by which means, that which of it selfe being knit together was beautifull, could not chuse but shew wilde, beeing so torne in peeces. So that the itching fingers of gain laid hold upon it, and had like to have sent it into the world lame, and dismembred. Some that picke up the crums of such feasts, had scrapt together many percel of this Rushian commoditie, so that their heads being gotten with child of a Bastard, there was no remedy but they must be delivered in *Paules Church-yard*. But I taking the truth from the mouths of divers gentlemen that went in the Journey, and having some good notes bestowed upon me in writing, wrought them into this body, because neither thou shouldst be abused with false reports, nor the Voyage receive slaunder [...] Read and like, for much is in it worthy observation.<sup>292</sup>

This note establishes a contrast between two different ways of presenting the 'discourses' of Smythe's embassy. One focusses on a selection of 'accidents' – incidents or events, particularly those which happen unexpectedly – while the other offers a more comprehensive account, situating the aforementioned accidents within it. In the writer's view, the latter produces work that is of a higher aesthetic quality ('beautifull', not 'wilde'), as well as more credible ('truth', not 'false'). It is also more substantial, giving the reader 'feasts' rather than 'crums'; the related claim that the book contains material for 'worthy observation' and not just pleasure recalls the Horatian sense of the poet's duty to profit as well as delight. Finally, the writer argues that an account of this kind makes a more meaningful contribution to public life. Unlike the self-

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<sup>291</sup> For Smythe's biography, see Basil Morgan, 'Smythe [Smith], Sir Thomas (c. 1558-1625)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.).

<sup>292</sup> *Sir Thomas Smithes voiage and entertainment in Rusbia* (London, 1605), sig. A2<sup>r</sup>. Hereafter '*Smithes voiage*'.

interested persons who obtained the ‘Newes’ through disreputable means – ‘waylaid’ and ‘booty’ imply theft, while ‘child of a Bastard’ suggests illegitimacy – he uses material from the ‘mouths’ and ‘notes’ of the travellers themselves. The writer thus presents himself as a heroic figure who has ‘wrought’ the disparate fragments of the voyage into a unified whole and, in so doing, benefitted the reputations of Smythe and his company, as well as the minds of English readers.

The writer’s reference to the defective text as ‘torne in peeces’ recalls the way that humanist editors often describe their role as a reunification of scattered parts, and frame this reunification as a civic duty.<sup>293</sup> This language carries a particular salience in the context of travel, in which the act of editing travellers’ accounts is conceived as a form of travel or travail itself, involving the ‘gathering’ of fragments spread – metaphorically, if not actually – across the world. Richard Hakluyt, for example, states that his project is to ‘gather [...] and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes’ of English voyages, restoring ‘ech [*sic*] particular member, being before displaced, to their true joynts and ligaments’; these ‘labours’ have been carried out ‘for the common-wealths sake’, as well as for that of the reader.<sup>294</sup> Writing along similar lines, an editor by the name of Theophilus Lavender introduced a travel account by explaining that he had ‘gathered the matter’ of several letters in order to ‘make one body of them’, dedicating his ‘paines and labour’ to the ‘publike good’.<sup>295</sup> Later, Samuel Purchas, in an architectural metaphor, compared himself to a ‘*Labourer*’ setting out to ‘forme and frame’ a collection of ‘Materials’ by giving them ‘their due place and order’ in an ‘Aedifice’.<sup>296</sup> Like his

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<sup>293</sup> The conception of textual fragments as scattered limbs is informed by the Horatian metaphor of the ‘disiecta membra’. See *Satires I* in Horace (1926), 4.62.

<sup>294</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 3 vols. (London, 1598-1600), 1:xxxix. See Nandini Das, ‘Richard Hakluyt’s Two Indias: Textual Sparagmos and Editorial Practice’, in Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt eds., *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2012), 119-128.

<sup>295</sup> William Biddulph, *The Travels of certaine Englishmen* (London, 1609), sigs. A<sup>r-v</sup>. ‘Theophilus Lavender’ appears to be a persona invented by Biddulph. See Maclean (2004), 55; Julia Schleck, ‘Textual Truths and Lived Experience: George Sandys’s *A Relation of a Journey begun an: domini 1610* and William Biddulph’s *The Travels of certain Englishmen*’ in Judy A. Hayden and Nabil Matar eds., *Through the eyes of the beholder: The Holy Land, 1517-1713* (Leiden, 2011), 75-96, here 86-7.

<sup>296</sup> Purchas (1625), 1:xli.

contemporaries, the writer of *Smithes voiage* emphasises the importance of the proper arrangement of textual material in order to legitimise, and gain credit for, his labour.

The paratexts of *Smithes voiage* thus raise questions about unity and generic form. While a concern for the reintegration of disparate material is something that *Smithes voiage* has in common with many other published travel accounts, it also makes other, more unusual generic claims in a further paratext. The title makes it clear that the account is explicitly informed by the narrative forms of other genres. It explains that the relation of Smythe's 'voyage and entertainment' is combined 'With the tragicall ends of two EMPERORS, and one Empress, within one Moneth during his [Smythe's] being there: And the miraculous preservation of the now reigning EMPEROR, esteemed dead for 18. yeares'. The deaths of Boris Godunov, his son, Feodor II, and his wife, Maria Skuratova-Belskaya (the 'two EMPERORS, and one Empress'), followed by the arrival of a pretender to the throne who claimed to be the rightful heir, Dmitry Ivanovich ('the now reigning EMPEROR, esteemed dead') took place during a period of Russian history that has since been called the Time of Troubles (1598-1613).<sup>297</sup> The language of the title foregrounds the narrative shapes, or plots, of these events, presenting them as tragic 'ends' followed by a 'miraculous preservation' reminiscent of a romance.

Narrative shape is also a concern of the account proper, in which the writer describes Russia's political crisis in terms of poetic craft. For instance, in a passage on the 'tragedies' that befell the Godunovs, he calls for 'some excellent pen-man' to 'lively, naturally, or indeed poetically delyneare [*sic*] or enumerate these occurrents'. As examples of excellent poets, he names 'Sydney Prince of Poesie', 'Lord Salustius' (the Huguenot poet Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas), 'the noble Foulk-Grevill', and 'our Lawreat worthy Benjamen' (Jonson); he cannot match up to them, he says, but '*Hic labor, Hoc opus est*'.<sup>298</sup> The Latin tag is doubly allusive: '*Hoc opus, hic labor est*' is a phrase from Virgil's *Aeneid*, which Sidney uses in his *Defence* to describe the task of

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<sup>297</sup> See Chester S.L. Dunning, *Russia's First Civil War: The Time of Troubles and the Founding of the Romanov Dynasty* (University Park, 2001), esp. 60-238.

<sup>298</sup> *Smithes voiage*, sig. K1v.

‘moving’ people to ‘well-doing’.<sup>299</sup> *Smithes voiage* adapts it and places ‘*Hic labor*’ first, emphasising that the ‘work’ of poetry is ‘here’. This poetic ‘work’, the writer suggests, has to do with the proper handling of ‘occurrences’; the term ‘occurrences’, which means incidents or events, reinforces the emphasis on ‘accidents’ in the book’s prefatory note. The previous chapter showed that Henry Blount’s *Voyage* is written in direct conversation with the works of Montaigne and of Bacon, and that, although Blount subordinates book knowledge to experience, his description of the Levant thematises, and is fundamentally structured by, the procedures of invention and digestion. *Smithes voiage*, in contrast, is less concerned with the invention of material than with its arrangement. This is the realm of rhetorical disposition, what Thomas Wilson calls the ‘settelyng or orderyng of thynges invented’, an ‘apt bestowyng and orderly placyng of thynges’.<sup>300</sup> Invention and disposition are closely related; indeed, a number of rhetorical theorists go as far as to reduce disposition to an aspect of invention.<sup>301</sup>

This chapter will explain the significance of disposition in *Smithes voiage* through its connection to William Scott (c. 1571-c. 1617), the author of a poetic treatise, the *Model of Poesy* (c. 1599), and an English translation of ‘Le Premier Jour’ and ‘Le Second Jour’ from Du Bartas’ *La Sepmaine* (1578). Scott accompanied Smythe on his trip to Russia, and gave an account of it in a letter to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury and secretary of state to James VI and I.<sup>302</sup> It is likely, as Gavin Alexander suggests, that Scott had a role in the composition of *Smithes voiage*, or, alternatively, that it was written for him; because it employs a set of images and allusions that are characteristic of Scott, reading it gives the impression that he is ‘hovering close’.<sup>303</sup> Like *Smithes voiage*, Scott’s *Model* foregrounds questions of plot, the ordering of accidents and occurrences; indeed, it offers the fullest account of the narrative device of ‘accident’, also termed ‘reversal’ or,

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<sup>299</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.129; Sidney (1973), 91.

<sup>300</sup> Wilson (1553), fol. 3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>301</sup> Skinner (1996), 47.

<sup>302</sup> For biographical information on Scott, see William Scott, *The Model of Poesy* ed. Gavin Alexander (Cambridge, 2013), xix-xxviii. Hereafter ‘*Model*’. All quotations from the *Model* and Scott’s letter are taken from this edition.

<sup>303</sup> *ibid.*, xxii-xxv, xxiv.

in the transliterated Greek, *peripeteia*, in the vernacular literature of the period. Further, it discusses plot in the language of travel, explaining that ‘events’ should be arranged in such a way as to work on the ‘passages of attention and persuasion, the haven where both orator and poet should strike sail’.<sup>304</sup> In this chapter, I examine the use of ‘accident’ in travel writing by reading *Smithes voyage* alongside Scott’s extant and attributed body of work, paying particular attention to the *Model* and his letter to Cecil. I begin by considering the virtue of prudence in early modern thought and travel advice, and its relationship to plot, to show that the account’s characterisation of Smythe as a man of ‘plot’ and ‘provision’, able to cope with sudden turns of events, is informed by these traditions. Then, I discuss the association of plot and travel in Scott’s translation of Du Bartas, and in the *Model*, before focussing more specifically on his account of *peripeteia*. The next parts of the chapter explore how the theoretical precepts of *peripeteia* outlined in the *Model* play out in Scott’s letter to Cecil, and, finally, in *Smithes voyage*.

In addition to contributing to a growing body of scholarship on Scott’s poetics by exploring his precepts in a different generic context, this chapter explains that analogies with literary form, such as those used in the paratexts of *Smithes voyage* and underscored by the writer’s conception of himself as a labouring poet, are integral to travel writing: poetics supplied travellers with the narrative shapes with which to think about, and describe, their experiences. While connections between travel and comedy have previously been recognised, as in my discussion of parodic wry-transformed travellers in the Introduction, this chapter takes the opportunity to consider the relationship between travel and tragedy. Further, the chapter amplifies my earlier discussions of digestion, which, in its original sense, is disposition, derived from the Latin *digerere*, to separate, divide, distribute, or dispose. In *Smithes voyage*, the alimentary metaphor explored in previous chapters – in which ‘digestion’ referred to the transmutation of particular experience into general knowledge – becomes the stuff of structure, such that the

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<sup>304</sup> *Model*, 39.

digestion of the traveller's writing about place involves the 'placyng' of material. The emphasis on disposition in *Smithes voiage* is surprising, even paradoxical. We might assume that in a travel narrative, disposition is automatic: that its *fabula* and *sjuzhet* are necessarily simultaneous, and story-telling consecutive; and we might assume, moreover, that the accidents of travel can only be unforeseen. But this chapter reveals the formal artfulness, the careful deployment of accident, and the poetic prudence, that informs the composition of the *Voyage*, and the theoretical thinking behind it. In doing so, it will extend this thesis's exploration of the association of rhetorical invention and travel, and establish a connection between the matter of travel writing, its accidents and occurrents, and the way in which this matter is arranged.

### Prudential Plotting: The Example of Sir Thomas Smythe

*Smithes voiage* does not offer detailed descriptions of the places Smythe and his company visited. Unlike the lengthy ekphrastic passages of Coryate's *Crudities*, it records Smythe's travels from place to place in a perfunctory fashion, as a transit through 'faire', 'well scituated', 'pleasant', 'ruinous', and 'famous' cities, towns, and terrains. For example, it dispenses with the 'famous River of *Volga*' in two sentences, advising the reader to consult the 'many excellent writers', such as 'Master *Richard Hackluyte*', who have 'made particular mention thereof', and written 'largely and painfully' on the subject.<sup>305</sup> The account is less interested in geographical particularities than in how Smythe's journey structured the activities of his embassy. For this reason, it dedicates a great deal of attention to Smythe himself. By the time he travelled to Russia, Smythe had already held the roles of trade commissioner, member of the Company of Merchant Adventurers, governor of the Muscovy and Levant companies. From 1600, he served as the first governor of

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<sup>305</sup> *Smithes voiage*, sig. D3v.

the East India Company.<sup>306</sup> These years of experience form the backdrop of his appointment as ambassador to the tsar. The opening of *Smithes voyage* explains that

*Sir Tho. Smith* knight [...] was thought fit to be chosen and commanded by his Majestie, to go upon an Embassie thither: which (according to duty) he entertained: making such speedy preparation for the journey, as the shortness of time squired out unto him, could minister.<sup>307</sup>

To ‘entertain’ is to take on a task or obligation.<sup>308</sup> However, several other senses of ‘entertain’, including the ‘entertainment’ in the account’s title, relate to activities of maintenance, support, and sustenance, such as showing hospitality to a guest.<sup>309</sup> It can also refer to the occupying of time.<sup>310</sup> All of these senses are active in the account. Smythe’s embassy in Russia is a task; the account describes the hospitality that Smythe is shown, and the hospitality he shows his own company, in great detail; and it also evinces an interest in time, and the ways in which Smythe seeks to use his time productively. The description of Smythe’s ‘preparation for the journey’, and its use of the term ‘entertained’, anticipates one of the account’s major themes: Smythe is characterised by his ability to maintain himself and his company with limited resources. In this instance, he manages to prepare for a journey to Russia despite ‘shortnesse’ of time. A more vivid example of Smythe’s ‘entertainment’ occurs during the voyage itself. After ensuring the safety of all of the ships in his charge with ‘great care and love’ as well as ‘wisdom and good discretion’, Smythe invited all of the men on board his ship for a feast. The account describes Smythe’s hospitable behaviour as follows:

they found him like a good hous-keeper at home, and like a bountifull sir, command them the best cheare. In a word, the Ambas. own and ordinarie praise shall ease mee of more labor in proving it, al must confesse necessarily, which was this: That al the

<sup>306</sup> See Morgan on Smythe in *ODNB*.

<sup>307</sup> *Smithes voyage*, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>308</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘entertain’, *v.* sense V. 16.

<sup>309</sup> *ibid.*, sense V. 13.

<sup>310</sup> *ibid.*, sense IV. 9b.

provisions whatsoever (yea his purse likewise) was every ones & no one, no not himselfe for all.<sup>311</sup>

By finding ample ‘provisions’ in the midst of a difficult voyage with a series of near ‘sea accidentes’, Smythe proved that he possessed a particular virtue, indeed, the most important virtue of all: prudence. The comparison of Smythe to ‘a good hous-keeper’ recalls Thomas Elyot’s account of prudence, ‘the capytayne or maystres of vertues’, which, like ‘the house wyfe [...] doth investigate & prepare places apt and convenient, where other vertues shall execute theyr powers or offices’.<sup>312</sup> Elyot explains that the ‘branches’ of prudence include ‘Providence’, the ability to foresee ‘commoditye and incommoditye, prosperitie and adversitie’, and to turn situations to ‘profite and advauntage’; ‘Industrie’, a quality that accompanies ‘wytte and experience’, the possession of which enables an individual to ‘perceyveth quickly’, to understand ‘what is expedient’, and to find ‘new wayes and meanes to bryng to effecte that he desyreth’; and ‘circumspection’, which is the ‘beholdynge [...] what is well and sufficiente, what lacketh, howe, and from whens [*sic*] it may be provided’, acquiring a knowledge of the ‘state’ of things.<sup>313</sup> Elyot’s description of prudence repeatedly turns to metaphors of vision. This is apt: ‘prudence’ and ‘providence’ are ultimately the same word, because ‘prudens’ (adj.) is a contracted form of ‘providens’ (adj.). In Elyot’s view, foresight is essential for the governance of the ‘publike weale’. The same position is taken by *Smithes voiage*, in which the sea is imagined as a ‘miserable commonwealth to live in’, where ‘mens eies must ever be open to al dangers’, and Smythe’s success attributed to his ‘for-knowledge’.<sup>314</sup> Like the travel writing examined in the previous two chapters, *Smithes voiage* centres on the traveller’s eye. But Smythe’s ‘eye’ differs from those of the other travellers we have encountered thus far, in that it is associated with the power of seeing in advance.

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<sup>311</sup> *Smithes voiage*, sigs. C1<sup>r</sup>-C2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>312</sup> Elyot (1880), 1:240.

<sup>313</sup> *ibid.*, 1: 246-261.

<sup>314</sup> *Smithes voiage*, sigs. C1<sup>v</sup>; E1<sup>r</sup>.

Smythe's character, as described in *Smithes voyage*, aligns him with the ideal governor of Elyot's *Boke*. The characterisation of Smythe is also in sympathy with the precepts of travel advice literature, in which prudence is viewed as an essential virtue, and the inexperienced traveller is encouraged to, in Fynes Moryson's words, 'forecast with himselfe his owne purposes and ends'.<sup>315</sup> According to Moryson, the forecasting principle applies to all human endeavours, as 'no action is wisely undertaken, whereof the end is not forecast in the first place'.<sup>316</sup> Writing on the same subject, Lipsius compares travel to archery; addressing the traveller, he writes, 'as archers when they goe abroad, choose themselves out some mark [...] whereat they aime and shoote: so must you doe'.<sup>317</sup> Sidney employs the same metaphor. In terms that recall his claim, made in the *Defence* and informed by Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, that the 'ending end of all earthly learning is virtuous action', his letter of advice to his brother reminds him of 'Aristotles Ethiques', and tells him to keep 'imprinted in [his] mind the scope and marke you meane, by your paines, to shoot at', aiming at 'things as may bee serviceable for your Country & calling'.<sup>318</sup> The risk of going off course, of being 'wry', meant that travellers had a special need for 'forecasting' their 'ends' and proceeding accordingly. By the same token, Ulysses, the ideal traveller, is often described as a paradigm of prudence. For example, Elyot's discussion of the 'order of learnynge apte for a gentyll man' recommends 'the lesson of *Odyssea* of Homere, wherein is declared the wonderfull prudence and fortitude of Ulisses, in his passage from Troye'.<sup>319</sup> Smythe, the seventeenth-century English ambassador undertaking a 'passage' through Russia, is thus part of a lengthy genealogy that extends back to antiquity.

Most pertinently, the association of travel and prudence is recurrent in accounts of rhetorical disposition, which is said to be the domain of the 'prudent man'.<sup>320</sup> Quintilian, who

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<sup>315</sup> Moryson (1617), 3.2. 2. 9.

<sup>316</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> Lipsius (1592), sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>318</sup> *Profitable Instructions* (1633), 76-9.

<sup>319</sup> Elyot (1880), 60.

<sup>320</sup> Sherry (1555), iii.

says that ‘prudent planning’ is essential for the orator, explains that orating without disposition is like ‘drifting without a pilot, incoherent, repetitive, incomplete, wandering in the dark, as it were, in unknown places, with no fixed beginning or end, and guided by chance rather than design’.<sup>321</sup> Wilson’s rhetoric discusses prudence in its section on deliberative oratory, in an example speech ‘To advise one, to study the lawes of Englande’. This speech immediately follows the example deliberative oration used to advise a friend to travel, discussed in chapter 1. The ‘lawes’ speech defines prudence in conventional terms, emphasising its relationship to ‘Foresight’, which Wilson describes as ‘a gatheryng by conjectures, what shall happen, and an evident perceivng of thynges to come, before thei do come’.<sup>322</sup> This passage anticipates Wilson’s account of disposition later in the text, which, like Quintilian’s, suggests that disposition requires prudence. In it, Wilson explains that an oration ‘hath litle force with it, and dothe smallly profite, whiche is utterde without all order’; an orator who cannot dispose will ‘wander’, and not know ‘how to goe’, until he is left ‘gropyng in the darke’.<sup>323</sup> Wilson’s engagement with the concept of prudence suggests that its significance to rhetoric is twofold. First, like the argument for travel, it is a paradigm of deliberative rhetoric. Because prudence is, in humanist moral philosophy, unquestionably a good thing, it is a useful weapon for the orator to have in his arsenal: if he can show that a particular course of action is prudent, he is more likely to persuade his listeners to pursue it. Second, as we have seen, the virtue of prudence has a particular relevance to the practice of rhetoric; in order to succeed, the orator must be prudent in his disposition, determining the desired end of his speech and the route that will enable him to reach it.

This cluster of associations informs the language and preoccupations of *Smithes voiage*. The account frequently refers to the Smythe’s rhetorical abilities, claiming that he speaks ‘very wiselie’, and is so persuasive that his words act on his listeners like ‘a *Spell*’, while Smythe himself

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<sup>321</sup> Quintilian (2001), 7.1.3. On the relationship of rhetoric and prudence, see Victoria Kahn, *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1985).

<sup>322</sup> Wilson (1553), fol. 17<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>323</sup> *ibid.*, fol. 83<sup>v</sup>.

specifically links speech and prudence, urging his company to ‘be wise and very circumspect what wee speake’.<sup>324</sup> Smythe’s call for ‘circumspect’ speech resonates with the emphasis on sight and foresight in the rhetorical tradition: ‘circumspect’ is from the Latin *circumspicere*, ‘to look around’. As I have suggested, this foresight is specifically associated with the task of rhetorical disposition. It is no coincidence, then, that Elyot’s preferred verb in his discussion of the activities of the ‘circumspecte governour’ is ‘dispose’.

The task of prudent disposition in *Smithes voiage* is not exclusive to Smythe, however; it is required of the narrator, too. As we saw above, the writer of *Smithes voiage* claims that his record of the embassy will be of benefit to others. Like Smythe, he prioritises disposition, and aims to ‘provide’ for his reader. Exercising foresight, he frequently looks ahead to the parts of Smythe’s voyage that are still to come, in order to decide which to relate immediately and which to ‘defer’.<sup>325</sup> Using the language of digestion that we have repeatedly encountered, he conceives of his writing as matter for consumption, selecting and ordering material with the reader’s ‘feeding’ – or, perhaps, entertainment – in mind. This concern with disposition is particularly clear in a passage on the Northern Seas:

Now being far entred the Northren [*sic*] Seas, I could here feed you: yea, make you a feast royall with little cost: and after that disport you excellent strangely, with Water-Tylts and Barryers: bring in the *Levyathan* with his *Oystershel-armed shield* [...] The gallant Sea-fight betwixte the huge *Whale, the Sword-fish, and the Thresher*: Two against one, Rapyer and dagger against your two-hand-sworde: Or I might speake verye much to little purpose of the *STURGEON*, whose Rowes makes the *Italians* delightfull *Caviare*, of which this Nation makes the most and best of any. The *Porpus, Belluga, Sharke, Seale, Grampas, Salmon, &c.* But I feare too many whilst they have gazed after them, have bene made giddie, and others presuming to have made profit of them, have fed them: then, were it not unkindlye and unnaturall to feede you, with those creatures, that rather are satisfied with men, whereby it would prove a harde digestion [*sic*]. Besides, I might discourse the Witchcraft of the Seas (as I may tearme it) when one Ship shall be becalmed, and Divers have excellent gales or undergo the description of the Capes, Sandes, Shelles, Islands, Rockes, Whirlepooles, &c.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> *Smithes voiage*, sigs. E2<sup>r-v</sup>, D1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>325</sup> *ibid.*, sigs. E4<sup>v</sup>, H2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>326</sup> *ibid.*, sigs. C2<sup>r-v</sup>.

This is a witty *praeteritio*, a passing over, a figure closely related to *paralipsis*, which, as the previous chapter discussed, informs Henry Blount's 'over-passing' gestures in the *Voyage*.<sup>327</sup> The theme of entertainment is apt, because this passage is entertaining: its copious catalogue of sea creatures is amusing, and it not only refers to the fish but also to the many stories that might be told of them. *Copia* is, here, associated with speaking 'verye much to little purpose', a mismatch of *res* and *verba* that recalls Coryate's copious prose. 'Purpose' reinforces the concern with the virtue of foresight expressed elsewhere in the account, while making its connection to travel more explicit: related to the term 'propose', which is etymologically influenced by the Latin *propositus*, 'put or set forth' and the Old French *poser*, 'to place', one of the senses of 'purpose' is 'to be bound for', used in reference to a place, or with an adverb of direction. For an example of this sense, the *OED* turns to a seventeenth-century travel account, William Lithgow's *Totall Discourse*, in which Lithgow 'purposed for Constantinople'.<sup>328</sup> In *Smithes voyage*, 'purpose' is also associated with composition. The reference to ships that 'undergo [...] description' explicitly connects the acts of writing and travelling; specifically, it suggests that a 'description' is inherently meandering, taking routes around 'Capes', 'Islands', 'Whirlepooles' and other geographical features, lacking a clearly defined destination or 'purpose'. Further, the writer's reference to the 'Witchcraft of the Seas' is possibly an allusion to Odysseus. The passage as a whole shares the *Odyssey*'s sense of a perilous and convoluted sea journey, and of the traveller's need to resist the siren temptation of such a narrative.

Yet, in the course of passing over it, the writer confirms that the thought of a divagating narrative is, indeed, tempting. This temptation, and the need to resist it, is explicitly related to digestion: the writer considers telling the reader about 'the STURGEON', and the '*Porpus, Belluga, Sharke, Seale, Grampas, Salmon, &c*' that can be found there, but decides against it; it would be 'unkindlye and unnaturall to feede' the reader this 'feast royall' and 'disport' them, as it would

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<sup>327</sup> On this figure see, e.g., Smith (1665), 157.

<sup>328</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'purpose', *n.*, sense 7; 'purpose', *n.*; and 'propose', *v.* The *OED* cites the 1632 edition of Lithgow's *Totall Discourse*, but the phrase also appears in his earlier account, *A Most Delectable and True Discourse* (1616), 35.

‘prove a harde disgestion [*sic*].’<sup>329</sup> In keeping with the dispositional emphasis of the account, ‘disport’ implies a connection between ‘harde disgestion’ and the passage through a place: to ‘disport’ is to amuse or entertain; but it also connotes a physical movement, a leading, turning, or carrying away from more serious matters.<sup>330</sup> The writer implies that the task of ‘feeding’ the reader well, leaving them satisfied and entertained, but not overfull, is bound up with the purposeful selection and arrangement of material. Further, he suggests connections between the ethical ideal of prudence, rhetorical disposition, and questions of narrative or plot. As we have seen, he presents himself as a prudential figure, able to foresee, and thus navigate, any accidents that may occur in the course of his composition. He conceives of his material in the language of poiesis, and places particular emphasis on its narrative shaping, the various ways in which its events can be ordered, as well as the epistemological and cognitive implications that this ordering can have. By describing the process of writing as a sea journey, the writer implicitly parallels his own actions with those of Sir Thomas Smythe: both are concerned with providing for, or entertaining, their respective constituencies, and try to maximise the profitability of their resources.

In these respects, *Smithes voyage* resonates with the formal and ethical concerns of sixteenth-century prose fiction, which, as Lorna Hutson and Nandini Das have shown, also conceives of narrative in spatial or cartographic terms, and implies a connection between the navigation of this narrative space – by the reader, and the protagonists – and changes in fortune. These works were designed to be read in an active and pragmatic fashion, to be emplotted; readers were expected to, in Sidney’s words, ‘use the narration [...] as an imaginative ground-plot of a profitable invention’, a mental map on which they could place material so that it could be invented, or found, in future.<sup>331</sup> *Smithes voyage*, a travel account, exploits the spatial connotations

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<sup>329</sup> *Smithes voyage*, sig. C2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>330</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘disport’, *v*.

<sup>331</sup> See Lorna Hutson, ‘Fortunate Travelers: Reading for the Plot in Sixteenth-Century England’, *Representations*, No. 41 (Winter, 1993), 83-103; Nandini Das, ‘Romance Re-charted: The “Ground-Plots” of Sidney’s *Arcadia*’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 41.1 in Das ed. (2011), 51-67. Sidney (1973), 103.

of narrative, and also reinforces the link between narrative and fortune. But it differs from prose fiction in foregrounding the prudence and craft of the writer, rather than that of the reader. Consequently, it is more closely engaged with the *dispositio* of the text, and the prudential disposition of the writer, as well as rhetorical precepts about the handling of narrative, particularly the relationship between accidents and the narrative as a whole, than with the reader's invention. In order to explain the significance of rhetorical disposition in *Smithes voyage*, the following section of this chapter turns to Scott's poetics, in which the narrative device of accident is central.

### William Scott's Theories of Disposition

Advising travellers about what they should read during their time away, James Howell wrote that there 'bee some French Poets affoord excellent entertainment, specially Du Bartas'.<sup>332</sup> Although Scott translated Du Bartas several years before his journey to Russia, his translation anticipates the themes of travel, plotting, and entertainment that recur in *Smithes voyage*, as well as in the *Model*. Du Bartas employs a range of contemporary metaphors for poetic invention to compare human and divine creativity.<sup>333</sup> In one key passage, he compares God to a builder. Scott's translation has it thus:

This admirable worke-man did not tye his thought  
 To some Imaginarye plott of worke forethought,  
 Founde out with much a doe, nor farther did he chuse  
 Anye more auncient wordle [*sic*], which he had neede to use,  
 To modell out this one, as does the maister wrighte  
 Of some great buildinge, who before his hand be pight  
 Unto his charge, makes choyse of some greate frame and fayre,  
 Whose costlye matter, cuninge worke ar equall rare;  
 And if one onely buildinge he shall misse to fynde  
 Whole, uniforme, and fayre; he patterns, in his mynde,  
 Of one the front, anothers pillers he compares,

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<sup>332</sup> Howell (1642), 45.

<sup>333</sup> For a discussion of these comparisons, see Peter Auger, 'A Model of Creation? Scott, Sidney and Du Bartas', *Sidney Journal* 33.1 (2015), 69-90.

And in the third he markes the wyndinge stately stayres;  
 Thus over all he goes, chusinge each seemeliest thinge  
 And after twentye patterns makes his one buildinge;  
 But having naught, saving a NAUGHT whereby to frame  
 This WHOLE; the cheif of this fayre worke, th'ETERNAL NAME,  
 Without farr ranging, without sweating toyle or payne,  
 Creats the ayre, heaven, earth, and this lowe flowinge playne,  
 All as the quickeninge sunne, without leavinge his spheare,  
 Adorns with bewteous wreath's the springe tyme of the yeare,  
 And without travell, getts with child our common dame,  
 And from a farr renueth the face of this fayre frame.<sup>334</sup>

For Du Bartas, God is defined by his capacity to create without 'forethought'. Unlike human creators, God is able to make a 'worke' without developing an 'Imaginarye plott' beforehand; he is distinguished by his capacity to make something out of nothing, a 'WHOLE' from 'NAUGHT'. Moreover, unlike the human inventor, God does not need to travel or travail: he builds, frames, and adorns the world '[w]ithout farr ranging, without sweating toyle or payne', and 'without travell'. The opposite is true for poets, for whom disposition is of central importance. In order to make this contrast, Du Bartas analogises poets and 'Master wrights', or architects, suggesting that the work of the master wright is akin to the poetic work of plotting, because both are required to select a 'modell' or 'frame' for their works before they can turn their hand to construction. There are a number of relevant meanings of the term 'model', which also feature in the title of Scott's *Model of Poesy*. These include a 'set of designs'; a 'description of structure'; a 'summary, epitome, [or] abstract' of a literary work; a representation 'on a small scale', or 'a person or thing that is the likeness of another'. Model can also refer to '[a]n object of imitation', 'an exemplar', while, in architecture, a 'module' is a unit of measure.<sup>335</sup> Considered collectively, these senses reinforce the analogy of poetry and architecture suggested by both Du Bartas and Scott (a model is a unit of architectural measure and a summary of a literary work)

<sup>334</sup> Peter Auger, 'William Scott's Translation from Du Bartas' *Sepmaine* [with text]', *English Literary Renaissance*, 47.1 (2017), 21-72, 38. All quotations from Scott's translation are taken from this edition.

<sup>335</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'model', *n.* For a discussion, see Alexander, 'Introduction' in *Model*, lxix-lxx and 85-6.

and suggest the inseparability of invention and disposition (because model can refer to the structure of a work as well as to its contents).

Further, Du Bartas and Scott both describe the act of writing as travel. In an ‘Invocation’ to God (‘Le poëte invoq Dieu’) at the start of the ‘First Day’, Du Bartas asks God to ‘refine’ his spirit and ‘enrich’ his work, in order that he may ‘The diverse, and choyce wares of this wordles [*sz*] shopp display’.<sup>336</sup> Scott extends and intensifies the ‘shopp’ metaphor in the following interpolation:

And graunte this forraine Prize, (High God) I, weakling, maye  
Unto our coastes transporte, the readye, though rough waye;  
Yf fraught to heavie bee, errors pathes diverse wyde,  
Thy spiritt Gale, and Pilot, my barke dryve and guyde.<sup>337</sup>

Scott’s lines literalise the etymology of ‘translation’ as ‘carrying’ or ‘bringing’ across. Like a merchant trader, he asks for God’s guidance in safely transporting Du Bartas’s work, ‘this forraine Prize’, to English shores over the rough seas and paths of error. Something similar happens in Scott’s translation of the ‘Second Day’. The last two lines of Du Bartas’s invocation read:

Thy holy Phare direct me, in my voyage right,  
That I may reach my Inne before my day loose light<sup>338</sup>

‘Phare’ is the French word for lighthouse, which derives from the Greek *φάρος* (*pharos*). Once again, Scott builds on Du Bartas’s nautical imagery in an interpolation:

And as my slender barck [*sz*] is forced in the mayne,  
From harbour quiet safe, the heavens grace me susteyne,  
As thou hast steerd the travailes of the former daye  
Thy spiritt be the Pilott, still to guide my waye<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Auger (2017), 33.

<sup>337</sup> *ibid.*, 33.

<sup>338</sup> *ibid.*, 53.

<sup>339</sup> *ibid.*, 53.

Scott's prayer for a 'Pilott' to guide his 'waye' recalls Quintilian's claim that a lack of disposition is like 'drifting without a pilot'. By asking God to be the 'Pilott' and 'Phare' for their poetic voyages, 'plots' of imagination, Du Bartas and Scott anticipate a sense of 'plot' (in addition to the existing senses of 'chart' or 'map') that would emerge later in the century: that of a 'sea-card', used by sailors to determine whether or not they were on course.<sup>340</sup>

The first sentence of Scott's *Model* draws on a similar set of images to those in his translation of *La Sepmaine*:

Because all doctrine is but the orderly leading of the mind to the knowledge of something convenient and possible for us to know which before we knew not, and the way wherein we are to be led by this clew of discipline is the space between ignorance and science, we are therefore to make this passage by certain degrees and steps, of necessity taking that which is nearest our understanding and which giveth light to that that ensueth, still proceeding from things known to things unknown, until we have gone through all the mazy paths that might trouble or stop the voyage of our mind in discovery of those riches she naturally covets.<sup>341</sup>

Scott imagines learning as a voyage, and knowledge as the riches acquired through this voyaging, not unlike the 'forraine Prize' he wishes to transport across the seas in his work as a translator. The figurative voyage is compared to wandering through the 'mazy paths' of a labyrinth, while the *Model* is presented as a 'clew' that will help the reader undertake this 'passage'. 'Clew', which is etymologically related to 'clue', stands for a ball of thread. In classical mythology, a 'clew' provides the means by which Theseus finds his way through the Cretan labyrinth, thanks to the ingenuity of Ariadne, the daughter of King Minos.<sup>342</sup> As Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid has it, she

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<sup>340</sup> See, e.g., Henry Manwayring: 'To Pricke a Plott, is to Vote downe the Travers of the Ships way, and so comparing it to your observation, finding where the Ship is, to make a small Prick in the Plot in the Latitude and Longitude, where you suppose the Ship to be, and so still keeping account of the daies, you shall still see how neere, or farre off you are from the place, which you saile to'. Manwayring, *The sea-mans dictionary, or, An exposition and demonstration of all the parts and things belonging to a shippe* (London, 1644), 76. For this reference, see *OED*, s.v. 'plot', *n.* sense II. 3.b.

<sup>341</sup> *Model*, 5.

<sup>342</sup> See *OED*, s.v. 'clew', *n.*, esp. sense 3a.

taught him for to tie  
 a clew of Linnen at the dore to guide himself thereby  
 As busie as the turnings were, his way he out did finde,  
 Which never man had done before.<sup>343</sup>

For Scott, the image of the clew helps to introduce a commitment to logical procedure, the ‘orderly’, that characterises the *Model* as a whole.<sup>344</sup> As he subsequently explains, the quality that will help writers to proceed in such an ‘orderly’ fashion is prudence, the ‘inseparable companion of the poet’s’.<sup>345</sup> By drawing a connection between travel, disposition, and prudence, the *Model* resonates with the language and ideas of humanist moral philosophy, such as that articulated in Elyot’s *Boke*, as well as with the rhetorical tradition, in which, as we saw in the example from Quintilian, the function of disposition is compared to that of a ship’s pilot.

Voyages are rarely as orderly as the opening of the *Model* suggests: in the ‘mazy paths’ of a labyrinth, there is a high chance that there will *not* be a clew, and that the traveller will get lost. Travel involves grappling with uncertainty and unfamiliarity, mishap and error, what Ovid calls ‘busie [...] turnings’. At all times, it contains the possibility of peripeteia. First theorised in Aristotle’s *Poetics*, peripeteia is a surprising or unexpected turn of events. It often, but not always, appeared alongside *anagnorisis* or recognition, which typically came after, and resolved, the ambiguities and uncertainties created by reversals.<sup>346</sup> The etymological relationship between ‘peripatetic’ and ‘peripeteia’ points to the embeddedness of peripeteia in travel: the terms share the prefix *peri-* (around, roundabout), but then diverge. While a peripatetic walks or treads around, peripeteia signals *falling* around, a change in fortunes, as suggested by the gerund

<sup>343</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses* trans. Arthur Golding (London, 1567), fol. 98<sup>v</sup>. For a discussion of this myth as an illustration of classical understandings of plot, see Terence Cave, *Recognitions: A Study in Poetics* (Oxford, 1988), 369.

<sup>344</sup> See Michael Hetherington, “‘An Instrument of Reason’: William Scott’s Logical Poetics”, *The Review of English Studies*, 67 (2016), 448–467. For a related discussion of the significance of logic to early modern poetics, see Hetherington, ‘Gascoigne’s Accidents: Contingency, Skill, and the Logic of Writing’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 46 (2016), 29–59.

<sup>345</sup> *Model*, 30.

<sup>346</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle* (1995), 1452a. For an overview of anagnorisis that stretches from ancient Greek drama to the twentieth century and explains these ideas, see Cave (1998).

‘befalling’.<sup>347</sup> The etymological roots of a number of related terms also have to do with the movement or positioning of the body: ‘incident’ and ‘accident’ as falling into or upon, ‘occur’ as arriving, meeting, or running against, and ‘circumstance’ as standing around.<sup>348</sup> What are ‘accidents’ in logic are ‘circumstances’ in topical rhetoric; these colliding words, which suggest the disposition of bodies in space, are thus logical and rhetorical, as well as central to travel. In these discourses, the abstracted body variously falls over, meets obstacles, or simply stands still. As the example of *Smithes voyage* suggests, travel writing is concerned with such frustrations of movement, and frequently employs these terms.

Further sections of the *Model* help to explain why peripeteia is so well-suited to the demands of accounting for one’s travels. Following Julius Caesar Scaliger, Scott claims that there are four ‘virtues’ of poetry: ‘*proportionableness* or uniformity’, ‘*variety*’, ‘*sweetness*’, and ‘*energeia*, force, effectualness, or vigour’.<sup>349</sup> His discussion of the third virtue, sweetness, is most pertinent. One of the best ways to achieve the quality of ‘sweetness’, according to Scott, is the narration of ‘strange accidentes’. He explains that when the development of a narrative goes against the reader’s expectations, they will respond either with ‘gladness’ to a ‘more glad and welcome’ turn of events, as in comedy, or with ‘astonishing admiration’ if events are ‘more sad and unworthy’, as in tragedy.<sup>350</sup> To elicit these responses, the poet should deploy ‘smooth and cleanly alterations’ which work by ‘cozening the expectation’. Scott expands on this point, citing an episode from Sidney’s *New Arcadia* as an illustrative example:

Such are those *peripeteia*e, as you would say indirect compassings of matters, when the strange, unexpected issue of things falls out otherwise than the direct tenor or purport of that went before and there is something properly and handsomely brought about contrary to the bent of the matter or expectation of the reader or beholder, as when friends by some unlooked-for accident fall from one another or enemies are reconciled, which is ordinarily by revealing of something which before was unknown or covered and disguised, as, when the two friends Daiphantus and Palladius combated one another, by

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<sup>347</sup> OED, s.v. ‘peripatetic’, *n.* and *adj.*, and ‘peripeteia’, *n.*

<sup>348</sup> OED, s.v. ‘incident’, *n.* 1a, 2a. The later sense, under 3a, is also relevant: ‘A distinct piece of action in a play or poem [...] an event subordinate to the main design’.

<sup>349</sup> *Model*, 33.

<sup>350</sup> *ibid.*, 39.

the striking of Palladius his helmet from his head Daiphantus knew him to be his entire Musidorus – which accident, so to see friends meet, makes the readers, as they are said thereupon to be, full of wonder and yet fuller of joy than wonder.<sup>351</sup>

‘Indirect compassings’ reinforces Scott’s conception of poetic creation as a form of travel that requires prudence. The term ‘compass’ is etymologically linked to the Latin *compassare*, ‘to pass or step together’. Compasses are instruments used in the contexts of both navigation and architecture, which means that ‘indirect compassings’ also reinforces the governing architectural metaphor of the *Model*. In addition to referring to the acts of planning, devising, or measuring, ‘compassing’ can also refer to travels, in which expanses of land or sea are ‘compassed’.<sup>352</sup> The phrase ‘indirect compassings’ thus suggests that peripeteia is what happens when things do not go as the reader – or, in drama, spectator – would expect. Scott’s chosen example of peripeteia is apt, in that it takes place in the context of travel. It refers to an episode in Sidney’s *Arcadia*, in which Musidorus, who had lost his friend Pyrocles ‘upon the Sea’, unexpectedly finds him again when they recognise each other in battle.<sup>353</sup> Thus in Sidney’s romance, as in *Smithes voyage* and the *Model*, peripeteia is associated with travel.

Scott’s account of plot is fairly conventional. His elision of reversal and recognition follows John Harington’s, who describes ‘*Peripet[e]ia*’ as ‘an agnition of some unlooked for fortune either good or bad, and a sudden change thereof; his notion that ‘strange accidentes’ will bring about affective responses from the audience, especially ‘joy’ and ‘wonder’, is also well established.<sup>354</sup> What comes next is more revealing. Scott uses reversal (‘turns’ of the plot) as an analogue for certain tropes or ‘turnings’ of language, explaining that another way to attain the quality of ‘sweetness’ in poetry is to use conceits that are ‘most nicely drawn and, as it were,

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<sup>351</sup> *Model*, 39. By spelling it ‘peripeteiae’, Scott Latinizes the Greek term. See Alexander’s editorial note on this passage on page 164 of this edition.

<sup>352</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘compass’, v<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>353</sup> See Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia (the new Arcadia)* ed. Victor Skretkovicz (Oxford, 1987), 38.

<sup>354</sup> Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* trans. John Harington (London, 1607), ‘A Preface, or Rather A Briefe Apologie of Poetrie, And of the Author and Translator of this Poeme’.

beyond expectation'; these 'pretty turnings', he continues, are 'models of the *peripeteia*'.<sup>355</sup> These stylistic 'turnings' recall Francis Bacon's discussion of the rhetorical trope of *praeter expectatum*, which is, he says, the equivalent of a 'False Cadence' in music.<sup>356</sup> Tropes shape language in playful, unexpected ways that parallel the effect of reversal in narrative. In Scott's view, peripeteia thus operates at all levels of a work: from individual trope to overarching structure, inflecting the domains of invention, elocution, and disposition.

Peripeteia is mentioned again towards the close of the *Model*, in a discussion of 'the parts of poetry' and the 'particular kinds', or genres, to which these parts belong: heroic, tragedy, comedy, pastoral, satire, and lyric. The 'heroic kind' is said to consist of an '*argument or proposition*', '*invocation*', and 'the *narration* itself'. The first part of the narration is a 'collection' of episodes, and the second its 'resolution', containing both reversal ('some change and issue') and recognition ('some notable end and conclusion'). Similarly, tragedy must include 'one turn of the wheel of imagined providence' that brings about 'one *peripeteia* or change of fortune'.<sup>357</sup> As these passages from the *Model* suggest, peripeteia is central to Scott's poetics. Paradoxically, it is related to his emphasis on proceeding 'orderly': peripeteia enables the writer to produce certain responses in the audience, and provides an instrument with which to navigate or 'compass' the matter at hand. The following section of this chapter will examine how Scott's precepts are put into practice, by discussing the handling of narrative in his travel letter to Robert Cecil.

### The Cardenall Accident: Scott's Letter to Cecil

The opening of Scott's letter, like the note to the reader prefacing *Smithes voyage*, describes his travel in the conventional terms of civic humanism that we encountered in chapter 1, by positioning him as a proxy eye in service of the Crown. Scott writes that it is his 'Duty' to

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<sup>355</sup> *Model*, 39.

<sup>356</sup> *Novum organum* in Bacon (1996-), 1: 294-6. There does not seem to be a source other than Bacon for the locution '*praeter expectatum*'.

<sup>357</sup> *Model*, 40.

present ‘the discourse to yowr Lordships eye’. He explains that this letter is simply a ‘summery’ of a longer, more detailed ‘discourse’ that is still to come. Using the image with which he opened the *Model*, Scott describes this letter as ‘a Clew to lead yowr Lordshippe oute of the Darke Laberynth toward the light’.<sup>358</sup> The ‘Clew’ reads as follows:

the Image of the ambassadors negociacion, the discription of the Landes and Territories under and adjoining to the Russe Empier, the mappe of their mannors and facions and last the story of theis Two last confercions in governmente, or rather in the governers, of all which (dedicated to yowr Lordshippe in private) I thought good to offer this summery following Comprizing the breefe of the mayne or Cardenall accident that fell out betwene theis turns (as understanding by Sir Thomas Smyth yowr Lordships desire that waye) till the larger Can be trancescribed [*sic*].

Here, he promises an account with the properties of rhetorical *evidentia*, an ‘Image’, ‘discription’, and ‘mappe’ that Cecil would mentally ‘see’. But, unlike Coryate, who prioritises the accumulation of particulars over narrative design, Scott constructs his images through a focus on narrative, or ‘story’. As in the *Model*, he emphasises the significance of plot ‘turns’, and recognises that it is Cecil’s wish to hear immediately about the ‘mayne or Cardenall accident’ (the death of Boris Godunov) that occasions the letter’s composition.

Stylistically, Scott’s letter imitates the ‘turns’ and ‘accidentes’ of its narrative content. The form of the following sentence is representative of the letter as a whole:

Some Twelve daies after Sir Thomas his arrivall at Moscua Citie, and Fowre after his magnificent receipt for Audience, the quelling newes of this newe Challenger *Dmetree Ivannowich* (as he is called) of the howse of *Bealla*, thought to be murdered, Comes to Courte, that he hath invaded the kingedome out of the partes of *Letto* supported (as it after proves) with some Three Thowsand *Powles* joyned with Sixe Thowsand *Russe Cassacks* [...] some fewe *Chiurkasse Tarters* etc; all noe great strangth, The Duke sendes out an Army of one or two hundred Thowsand men against this Competitor; two incounters are; th’one before Christmas wherein Borise had the worst, not much, by reason the batle was fought before a besiedged Casstell, which sallied on the Enemyes trenches, so as in the heate of execucion they were called back, which made the Battell litle better than doutfull, and the losse almost equall, this salley was the worke of *Pewter* [*sic*] *Pheodorewich Basman* (after mencioned).<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> *Model*, 251.

<sup>359</sup> *ibid.*, 250.

This sentence is constituted by a series of contradictory elements. It is rich in detail, drawing on the circumstantial topics of time, place, and person ('Twelve daies', 'Fowre', 'Christmas', 'Sir Thomas', '*Dmetree Ivannowich*', 'Borise', '*Pewter Pheodorewich Basman*', 'Moscuia Citie', '*Letto*'). The circumstances are topics of argumentative proof, and help to make actions – and the way in which these actions are narrated – intelligible.<sup>360</sup> In this context, however, they are embedded in a syntax that takes some work to follow. Each clause functions as a unit of narrative in its own right, reporting on an individual scene or episode in the drama (arrivals, invasions, and battles) that are all significant to the story arc as a whole. The sentence seems endless, its clauses hard, fast, and compressed, a form that simulates the bewildering nature of the events under description. It halts only in the brief pauses afforded by comma, semi-colon, or parenthesis, stopping just before the boundary line of syntactic sense. Scott's use of the historic present ('Comes', 'sendes') gives past events the feel of immediacy and currency. At the same time, he points forward to a future in which certain lingering ambiguities are resolved ('after proves', 'after mencioned').

After this tightly compressed narration of events, Scott progresses to the aforementioned 'mayne or Cardenall accident', or reversal, the 'death of *Borise*' and the rise of his challenger, '*Dmetree I Ivanowich*'. The identification of this accident as the 'mayne or Cardenall' suggests a hierarchy of significance within plot: this accident, and not the many other strange things that happened during the voyage, is the one most worthy of account. This may be equivalent to the idea of the 'catrastrophe' in ancient drama. To tell Cecil about it, Scott shifts to an appropriate register, using what classical rhetoricians termed the 'high' or 'grand' style. The challenge for any writer tackling strange subject matter was to communicate this strangeness whilst still maintaining some standard of plausibility: that is, to persuade the reader that it could be true. In order to do so, Scott follows his own advice to poets in the *Model*, using 'pretty turnings' of 'sentences' as a

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<sup>360</sup> See Hutson (2015), esp. 1-5. I discuss the topics of circumstance at greater length in chapter 5, below.

formal analogue to the tragic ‘turn of the wheel’ that was Boris’s death. To reveal the cause of death, Scott juxtaposes the two phrases ‘*Peior est, mortis modus ipse, morte*’ [sic] (‘The mode of death is itself worse than death’) and ‘*Conscivit sibi mortem*’ (literally, ‘he resolved death against himself’). The flexibility of Latin syntax means that in each of these, ‘death’ (mortis, morte, mortem) makes a delayed appearance, falling at or close to the end of the phrase. Another example of sentence ‘turning’ occurs later on in this section of the letter, with an adaptation of Julius Caesar’s ‘*Veni, Vidi Vici*’: ‘Nowe is *Dmetree I Ivanonich of all Russia selfe-upholder* arived to the throne roiall, and if it were well said of him *Veni Vidi Vici*, I may saye, he pretended (I should have saide) Challenged, came, and possessed’.<sup>361</sup> The textual authority connoted by ‘sentences’ and other testimonies, including this tag from Caesar, help to ground Scott’s otherwise unbelievable narrative in the realm of the plausible.<sup>362</sup> The last section of the letter is a litany of unanswered questions. These knots in the narrative cannot be resolved, or, in Scott’s words, ‘will hardly be aunswered’. But this lack of resolution has a purpose: Scott uses it to remind his correspondent that the letter is a work-in-progress (‘slight drauftes and lineamentes’) that needs to be revised and completed, integrated into a fuller narrative, and combines this claim with a modesty *topos*, suggesting that Cecil is better suited than he at dealing with such ‘slight’, provisional writing:

of all this and much more I am reddy to give account, and this is all I Can suddenly saye referring to yowr Lordships high Judgment, that Can make more out of theis slight drauftes and lineamentes of so great an affaire, then I Can; drawe it to parfecter forme.<sup>363</sup>

Here, the quality of ‘Judgement’ (often used as a synonym of prudence) is attributed to the reader, rather than the traveller and writer. Scott offers Cecil the basic structure of the story and its main ‘accident’, but not a complete resolution, expecting him to use his judgment to ‘drawe it to parfecter forme’. This is typical: early modern readers, particularly those involved in or preparing

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<sup>361</sup> *Model*, 251.

<sup>362</sup> I discuss the rhetorical topic of ‘testimony’ in chapter 4, below.

<sup>363</sup> *Model*, 252.

for a public role, were expected to read prudently and actively, to make sense of a text by ‘plotting’ their way through it.<sup>364</sup> Although Scott’s letter to Cecil and *Smithes voyage* emerge from the same embassy, and describe the same events, they differ in terms of emplotment. In the *Voyage*, the reader receives the events emplotted, while in the letter to Cecil, these events are not yet emplotted, but given to Cecil to emplot himself: the letter thus offers up the raw material of *inventio*, which await Cecil’s dispositional reading. However, the texts share the sense that there are two ways of presenting Smythe’s travels, as a selection of ‘accidents’ or a ‘knitted together’ narrative, and that the latter is to be preferred, where possible. The final section of the chapter returns to *Smithes voyage*, to focus specifically on its description of the accidents that befell the Godunovs.

### **Accidents and Occurrents in *Smithes voyage***

Halfway through *Smithes voyage*, the narration of the accidents named in the account’s title (‘the tragicall ends of two EMPERORS, and one Empress’ and ‘the miraculous preservation of the now reigning EMPEROR’) begin. The narrator explains that during a stay in ‘*Vollagde*’ (Vologda), the ambassador received ‘Newes’ of the tsar’s ‘suddaine and untimely death’. Characteristically, Smythe responded with ‘mature deliberation’, in order to decide his next move.<sup>365</sup> Smythe’s ability to cope with a crisis is all the more meaningful because, by this point in the account, the reader has already been given ample evidence of his prudence, and learnt that he is a man ‘both willing and ready at all houres’ to act.<sup>366</sup> As the strange events unfold, however, Smythe begins to fade into the background, as the narrator draws extended comparisons with poiesis. One particular example stands out. Describing the death of Boris’s son, Feodor II, he imagines that Feodor had anticipated his death, knowing

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<sup>364</sup> See Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, ‘Studied for Action: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy’, *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 30-78.

<sup>365</sup> *Smithes voyage*, sig.H1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>366</sup> *ibid.*, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>.

that his fathers Empire and Government, was but as the *Poeticall Furie in a Stage-action*, compleat yet with horrid and wofull Tragedies: a first, but no second to any *Hamlet*; and that now *Revenge*, just *Revenge* was comming with his Sworde drawne against him, his royall Mother, and dearest Sister, to fill up those Murdering Sceanes; the *Embryon* whereof was long since Modeld, yea digested (but unlawfully and too-too vively) by his dead selfe-murdering Father

The narrator's choice of language is compelling. '*Poeticall Furie*' recalls the *furor poeticus*, a classical theory of poetic inspiration that was picked up and reinvigorated by neo-Platonists such as Ficino, Du Bellay, and Ronsard. Poetic fury had a secondary, less specific set of connotations that included creative madness, passion, and possession, which, as '*Stage-action*' suggests, found particular purchase in early modern drama.<sup>367</sup> There may also be an implicit pun on 'fury' as the tragic revenging force, as dramatised in Aeschylus's *Eumenides*.<sup>368</sup> Further evidence of the writer's familiarity with contemporary literature – seen earlier, in his references to Sidney, Du Bartas, Greville, and Jonson – are his fleeting reference to *Hamlet*, and his personification of Revenge, a figure which occasionally appeared as a character in early modern plays, as well as in woodcuts and tapestries.<sup>369</sup>

These allusions are fairly straightforward, but the rest of the passage is more difficult. Of particular difficulty is the interweaving of biological, architectural, and dramatic terms in 'the *Embryon* whereof was long since Modeld, yea digested'. This vivid, albeit unsettling image of embryonic cannibalism refers to an earlier murder of a young person, one that Boris Godunov had arranged in an attempt to gain power nearly fifteen years previously. His victim was the nine-year-old Dmitri Ivanovich, then the legitimate heir to the throne. Ironically, Feodor II, Boris's son, later died a similar death, strangled by agents of a political opponent; in this sense, Boris 'Modeld' his son's death. The narrator's claim is more than a simple appreciation of historical

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<sup>367</sup> See Duncan Salkeld, *Madness and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Manchester, 1993), 26.

<sup>368</sup> OED, s.v. 'fury', sense 5a.

<sup>369</sup> For references to this *Hamlet* allusion see, e.g., Tom Matheson, 'Hamlet's Last Words', *Shakespeare Survey* 48 (1996), 113-122, 114-115; Margreta de Grazia, *Hamlet Without Hamlet* (Cambridge, 2007), 45-8. On *Hamlet's* engagement with diplomatic *relazioni* and other modes of foreign intelligence, see András Kiséry, *Hamlet's Moment: Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2016), 89-133.

irony, however. By presenting Boris as a playwright, designer of the ‘*Embryon*’ of ‘Murdering Sceanes’, he invokes the analogy of poetic creation and reproduction that is commonplace in early modern writing: recall Sidney’s Astrophil being ‘great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes’, his pains eased only when he heeds his muse’s call to write, delivering words into the world. Like Astrophil, Boris has a ‘pregnant wit’, but his pregnancy is at an earlier stage: the scripted ‘Sceanes’ are in embryo and not a fully formed baby.<sup>370</sup> This sense of the early or preliminary, a work *in potentia*, is reinforced by ‘Modeld’. Most obviously, ‘Modeld’ recalls the title of Scott’s *Model*. Borrowed from French and Italian, the term ‘model’ is new to English at this time, possessing several interrelated senses, including the representation of a structure, such as the designs for a building, a small-scale representation of a person or thing, or an exemplary object of imitation. It could also denote scale, measure, or proportion, as in the Latin *modulus*, a unit of length used in architecture.<sup>371</sup> A further sense of ‘model’ is ‘mould’, and thus womb: this passage therefore combines the architectural and biological senses of ‘Modeld’, in making a case for the unnaturalness of Godunov’s actions.

Sidney uses the term ‘model’ twice in the *Defence*; I discussed the first usage, on the notion of a ‘house well in model’, in chapter 1. The second appears at the start of a section which sets out Aristotle’s theory of the dramatic unities, in which Sidney gives an assessment of the current state of English drama. He singles out Thomas Sackville’s *Gorbuduc* as the best of its kind, full of ‘stately speeches and well-sounding phrases’ that teach ‘notable morality’ in the style of Seneca. Sidney issues a caveat, though: despite its many merits, *Gorbuduc* breaks some of the fundamental rules of tragedy, namely the unities of time and place. Because its ‘circumstances’ are deficient, ‘faulty both in place and time’, it ‘might not remain as an exact model of all tragedies’. All the various senses of ‘model’ are active here – the play falls short as a model

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<sup>370</sup> Compare with the description of Prometheus as being ‘of a most pregnant wit’ in Richard Haydocke’s translation of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo’s *Trattato dell’arte de la pittura, scoltura, et architettura* (1584/5). Lomazzo trans. Haydocke, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge, carvinge and buildinge* (Oxford, 1598), 7.

<sup>371</sup> OED, *model*, n. and adj., especially 1a, 1b, 2a, 4a, 4b, 9a, and 10.

(exemplar, object of imitation) because its model (design, structure, proportions) does not fulfil the necessary formal requirements.

Like Sidney, *Smithes voyage* uses ‘model’ in reference to tragedy. The unusual verbal form ‘Modeld’ shifts emphasis from play to playwright, such that ‘modelling’ is presented as a fundamental component of the writer’s craft as well as, given the context of the metaphor, of statecraft. ‘Digested’ continues the writing theme, recalling Hamlet’s memory of ‘an excellent play, well digested in the scenes’.<sup>372</sup> As I explained above, the originary meaning of digestion is disposition. Hamlet’s memory of the play that he saw suggests that it was ‘excellent’ because it was well disposed. In *Smithes voyage*, the language of digestion suggests that Boris drew on his already ‘digested’ experience of writing scenes to murder in order to write several more. The more literal, alimentary sense of the word is at work here, too, reinforcing the text’s portrayal of his hunger for power, an appetite that is constantly consuming but never satisfied, which ‘digests’ young male competitors in their early, embryonic stages. By stating that ‘the *Embryon* whereof was long since Modeld, yea digested’, the narrator thus places the blame for Feodor’s murder squarely on his father, who outlined the ‘Sceanes’ that Revenge would go on to ‘fill’. As this passage makes clear, in the early modern period, drama provided a rich conceptual framework with which to understand political crises. Metaphors of dramatic plot could be used to delineate plots of a material sort.

The best illustration of this poetical-political joining is the text’s reference to Boris’s ‘modelling’ as ‘too-too vively’. ‘Vively’ means ‘vivid’ or ‘lively’, and, like the other language used in the passage under discussion, often featured in the context of aesthetics. For example, the Prologue in Ben Jonson’s *The Magnetic Lady, or Humours Reconciled* speaks out against the use of defamation in plays, instead preferring depictions that were ‘vively’:

It is the solmne [*sic*] vice of interpretation, that deforms the figure of many a faire *Scene*, by drawing it awry; and indeed is the civill murder of most good *Playes*: If I see a thing

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<sup>372</sup> William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* ed. Harold Jenkins (London, 1982), 2.2.436.

vively presented on the *Stage*, that the Glasse of custome (which is *Comedy*) is so held up to me, by the Poet, as I can therein view the daily examples of mens lives, and images of Truth, in their manners, so drawne for my delight, or profit, as I may (either way) use them.<sup>373</sup>

Jonson's 'Glasse [...] so held up to me' draws on the commonplace notion that imaginative works could serve a didactic purpose, display (or *model*) exemplary ways of being, and act as prompts for self-reflection. In both classical and early modern writing, vividness is a highly praised quality. But according to *Smithes voyage*, Boris's plotting takes vividness too far, exceeding the boundaries of both life and art. These lines from Jonson are instructive in another respect. That is, they share the travel account's concern with the structure of dramatic scenes: libel 'deformes the figure / of many a faire *Scene*, by drawing it awry'. 'Figure' is used in a sense cognate with 'model': form, shape, or outline.<sup>374</sup> Meanwhile, 'awry' – like the 'wry-transformed travellers', including Amorphus the 'deformed', discussed in the Introduction – signals a failure of modelling, the result of which is a scene that is uneven or crooked, and (by implication) both formally and ethically improper.<sup>375</sup> The persistence of dramatic language in *Smithes voyage*, and the ideas underpinning its account of how to describe 'accidents' and how to 'knit' them together, thus corresponds with the language and precepts of contemporary discourses of poesy.

Later in *Smithes voyage*, the writer makes yet another comparison of Russia's political problems to the structure of tragedy, explaining that

as it happens for the more part with such unusuall and rare accidents (as the deposing of Princes and States-men) Tragicall events fall one in the necke of another so necessarily here: for now whilst the good were in consulting for the well ordering of this yet perplexed state, the evill were plotting more mischeefe by new stratagemes and pollicies: for the verie soule of Envie was crased in this body, that the twins of Tirannie and Crueltie, strove for prioritie of byrth.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> Jonson, *The Magnetic Lady, or Humours Reconciled* (1640–41 folio text) in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*, 2.7.27–31.

<sup>374</sup> OED, s.v. 'figure', n. 1a, 3a.

<sup>375</sup> OED, s.v. 'awry', *adv.*, *adj.*, and *v.*

<sup>376</sup> *Smithes voyage*, sig. L2<sup>v</sup>.

The description of ‘accidents’ as ‘Tragicall events’ which ‘fall one in the necke of another’ recalls the etymology of accident as a ‘falling’ of events. As in the earlier parts of the account, on the deportment of ambassador Smythe, the writer characterises prudence, the ‘well ordering’ of the state, as a quality of the ‘good’, and associates its opposite, the ‘plotting’ of ‘mischeefe’, with ‘evill’. His reference to the state as ‘perplexed’ recalls Scott’s conception of peripeteia as a clew: related to the Latin *plecto*, ‘I plait, weave, braid’, or ‘I twist, bend, turn’, perplexed connotes a situation, or a material object, that is intertwined, tangled, or confused.<sup>377</sup> Peripeteia is, in a word, complicated: a word which ultimately comes from the same root as intertwined, tangled, and confused.<sup>378</sup>

By comparing the ‘unusuall and rare accidents’ of politics to those of the dramatic stage, and suggesting that the Russian state is tangled, in need of proper plotting, the writer reinforces the association of prudence, disposition, and narrative that we have repeatedly encountered. Further, his image of the ‘twins of Tirannie and Crueltie’ recalls the earlier reference to the ‘*Embryon*’ that had been ‘Modeld’ by Boris Godunov, as well as the preface’s comparison of defective texts, in which events are ‘torne in peeces’, to a ‘child of a Bastard’. Like the images of the ‘*Embryon*’ and ‘child of a Bastard’, the ‘twins of Tirannie and Crueltie’ associate particular dispositions of plot with illegitimacy and monstrous birth. By contrasting ‘good’ and ‘evill’ kinds of plotting, this passage, like the account’s other descriptions of the ‘strange accidents’ in Russia, shows the prudence of Smythe’s plotting in sharper relief: unlike most the other political figures described in *Smithes voiage*, Smythe does not act out of self-interest, but in order to provide for others.

After describing these accidents, the writer briefly records Smythe’s departure from Russia, and his safe arrival ‘uppon the sweet shores of our owne native Countrey *England*’.<sup>379</sup>

*Smithes voiage* does not end there, however: in keeping with his insistence that accidents must be

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<sup>377</sup> OED, s.v. ‘perplexed’, *adj.* and *n.*

<sup>378</sup> OED, s.v. ‘complicated’, *adj.*

<sup>379</sup> *Smithes voiage*, sig. M1<sup>v</sup>.

‘knit together’, its limbs ‘wrought’ into a body, the writer includes a further section which explains how the situation in Russia developed after the conclusion of the English embassy. Specifically, it tells the reader that the real heir to the throne was found in Poland, and that this ‘Prince of *Rushia*’ subsequently returned to take his rightful place on the throne. In this section, as before, the writer conceives of his narrative as a journey. Addressing the reader, he says ‘*Our Voyage* is ended, yet must I now intreate your immaginations [*sic*] to be carried backe againe into *Rushia*, where you shall receive so much and such perfect Newes, as will make up the precedent matter into a pleasing History’.<sup>380</sup> ‘Perfect’, from the Latin *perfectus*, stands for something that is ‘fully realized’ ‘complete’, ‘finished’, or ‘fully accomplished’.<sup>381</sup> The writer thus suggests that the ‘perfect Newes’ provided in this section will illuminate retrospectively the ‘precedent matter’, and give the reader a fuller understanding of the events that have been described. It is a providential structure, which justifies confusion by pointing to the clarifying end that is in view. Further, he suggests that this perfection of narrative will change the generic identity of the material in question, transforming it from ‘Tragicall ends’ to a ‘pleasing History’. Tragic peripeteia is enthralling: as Scott explains in the *Model*, it provokes ‘astonishing admiration’, or wonder. But the writer of *Smithes voiage* suggests that wonder is not enough. For him, as we have seen, travel writing that exclusively focusses on wondrous accidents does a disservice to its reader, as well as to the voyage it describes.

This chapter has considered another aspect of the early modern traveller’s ‘eye’, by situating travel writing within contemporary ideas about the interrelationships of providence, prudence, and plotting. In doing so, it has explained that travel writing is preoccupied with questions of disposition, and that its apparent artlessness is informed by the theoretical precepts of contemporary poetics. It has suggested that travellers thought carefully about where to ‘place’ their invented material. As the example of *Smithes voiage* suggests, this ‘placing’ does not

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<sup>380</sup> *Smithes voiage*, sig. M1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>381</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘perfect’, *adj.*, *n.*, and *adv.*

necessarily have much to do with geographical place – rather, it relates to the ‘places’ of narrative, and the way in which writers and readers proceed through it. Further, the chapter has offered a new perspective on the writings of William Scott, by reading his precepts, as well as his own travel writing, alongside *Smithes voyage*. In doing so, it has revealed the productive traffic of language and ideas between travel writing and poetics, and the ways in which travel writing could function as a site of literary criticism. Finally, it has established connections between travel writing and the conceptual frameworks of humanist moral philosophy, by revealing that travellers, like governors and military captains, were held to particular ethical standards. They needed to know how to deal with contingencies; to find ample provision or entertainment for readers, even when their resources were limited; and, at all times, to be prudent in their disposition.

The following chapter turns to consider the rhetorical topic of testimony in the writing of John Cartwright. Like the writers I have considered thus far, Cartwright understands and describes his travels through books; but unlike Coryate, Blount, and Scott, Cartwright is preoccupied with the power of citation and the establishment of ethos, employing short, commonplace forms including fables, proverbs, and sentences in order to enhance the credibility of his text. Above all, he is concerned with persuading his reader that he is telling the truth.

## Chapter 4

### John Cartwright and the Acquisition of Credit

In 1611, John Cartwright published *The Preachers Travels*, an account of his experiences in Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Hircania (part of modern day Iran and Turkmenistan). The book's prefatory material includes the following note to the reader:

It was my purpose to have added to this Journall, some observations touching our Northwest Passage; with many reasons to have proved the great probabilitie thereof. But I am perswaded by some friends to make stay thereof, untill the truth of the news: *That it is already discovered*, be thoroughly examined. In the meane time moderate thy opinion of our former proceedings. And though some malevolent tongues have especially shot out their venemous poyson against me, upon what ground they cannot justly say, when they have beene pressed thereto, yet God is my wisse that my Conscience is cleare, either from wronging the Companie that then was; or any wayes from hindring the full proceeding of that Voyage, which I purpose shortly to make good unto the world. And for this small discourse, if it passe currant [*sic*] in thy judgement, I shall thinke my selfe to have gained enough, in lieu of all the Travels, of all the dangers, & perils, that I have sustained in those places.<sup>382</sup>

Cartwright's mention of the possible discovery of the Northwest Passage is probably in reference to the expedition undertaken by Henry Hudson in 1610-11. I will explain the circumstances of Cartwright's own Northwest Passage journey below; for now, we should note the emphasis on credit in this letter. Cartwright begins by referring to a different journey from that described in the *Preachers Travels*, indicating that there are further 'observations', and another 'Voyage', that he intends to 'make good unto the world'. The defensiveness of his tone suggests that Cartwright's involvement in that voyage was contentious. Conceiving of the reader as a judge, he asks them to 'moderate [their] opinion' and insists that his 'Conscience is cleare'. At the same time, he undermines the legitimacy of his adversaries by stating that their arguments are groundless, implying a contrast between himself and those 'malevolent tongues' by taking God as his 'wisse'. Finally, he turns to the *Preachers Travels* itself, 'this small discourse', expressing the

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<sup>382</sup> John Cartwright, *The Preachers Travels* (London, 1611), sig. A3v. Hereafter '*Preachers Travels*'.

hope that the book will ‘passe curreant’; the reader’s praise will be sufficient compensation for the travails that he has experienced. This sentence is especially compelling. Something that ‘passes current’ is thought to be genuine; this idiom derives from the now obsolete sense of the adjective ‘current’ as ‘having the quality of current coin’, as opposed to that which is counterfeit.<sup>383</sup>

Cartwright thus figures his travails as a financial venture, and suggests that the risks he took (‘Travels’, ‘dangers, & perils’) will be worth it if the *Preachers Travels* is received positively. The economic language of currency, profit, and risk, coupled with the legal and rhetorical framing of the earlier part of the note, points to a preoccupation with questions of credit, or belief. Further, Cartwright indicates that there is a reciprocal relationship between the credibility of the book and the perceived credibility of its author. He asks the reader to judge the book on its own terms, rather than being prejudiced by their knowledge of Cartwright’s ‘former proceedings’; but he also implies that the book, if it ‘passe[s] curreant’, might *change* the reader’s perception of him.

Cartwright’s need for credit, and the rhetorical strategies he uses to acquire it, is the subject of this chapter.

It was not unusual for a traveller to be concerned about his credibility. As we saw in the Introduction, travellers or ‘travel-liars’ were said proverbially to ‘lie by authority’, abusing their status as eyewitness observers to disseminate tales that were difficult, if not impossible, for others to verify. In response, travellers developed various strategies to persuade their readers that they were telling the truth, assuming a direct connection between the rhetorical construction of a travel account and its perceived ethical and epistemological value. The previous chapter showed that the writer of *Sir Thomas Smithes voyage* thought along analogous lines. Informed by the precepts of William Scott, and of contemporary rhetoric and poetics more broadly, he emphasised the truthfulness of his account of Smythe’s embassy, suggesting that it was more credible than those produced by other writers because of the particular way in which its narrative

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<sup>383</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘current’, *adj.*

had been disposed. Beyond their shared concern for credibility, there is a major difference between Cartwright and the writer of *Smithes voyage*, however: Cartwright, unlike the writer of *Smithes voyage*, is not anonymous. On the contrary, as the above prefatory note suggests, he is not simply worried about the credibility of his travel narrative, but also about his reputation, and had a need for credit above and beyond that of the average traveller. Unlike, for example, Anthony Sherley, who fears that he ‘may be held a liar...because [he is] a traveller’, John Cartwright fears that he will be viewed as a liar because he is John Cartwright: his reputation had been damaged during a previous voyage and he needed to repair it.<sup>384</sup> Cartwright’s character, and the need to defend it, is thus central to the *Preachers Travels*.

Upon reading the *Preachers Travels*, the claim that I have just made will seem dubious. This is because the account reveals surprisingly little about Cartwright’s character. In contrast to the travel writing by Coryate and Blount, which records the states of the travellers’ minds and bodies from Coryate’s overboard vomit to Blount’s experience of indigestion – and which relates each traveller’s attitude to self-regimen to their approach to rhetorical digestion – the *Preachers Travels* tells us nothing about Cartwright’s personal regimen. The only references to health in the book are in the abstract, framed as advice to other travellers. For example, the air of Aleppo is said to be ‘much pleasing and delightfull to a sound and healthfull body, but very piercing and dangerous for such as have received any contagion [...] therefore it is not good for any passenger to lie long at that roade, but to hasten at his first arrivall so soone as he can up farder into the Countrey’.<sup>385</sup> Further, although the book is titled *The Preachers Travels*, there are no references to Cartwright’s preaching in it. As Kenneth Parker notes, ‘Cartwright not once makes mention of preaching either in any of the places to which he went, or to any congregations’.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> William Parry, *A New and Large Discourse of the Travels of Sir Anthony Sherley Knight* (London, 1601), 11.

<sup>385</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 8-9.

<sup>386</sup> Parker (1999), 106. Nineteenth-century critics made similar remarks about the *Preachers Travels*. See, e.g. John Payne Collier, *A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, 2 vols. (London, 1865), 1: 110-112; C.N. Robinson, in Edward Geoffrey Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel: including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions* 3 vols. (Seattle, 1935-1949), 1: 205-206.

Boies Penrose goes as far as to conclude that Cartwright was not, in fact, a preacher, but someone who travelled for the purpose of sight-seeing.<sup>387</sup> Cartwright's account is, then, paradoxical: it is a defence of character that seems empty of character, a document of a 'preacher's travels' that shows no obvious interest in preaching.

This chapter will resolve these paradoxes in two ways. First, it reveals that the *Preachers Travels* has an overtly theological theme, in that it sets Cartwright's travel experiences, and the ongoing conflict between the Turks and the Persians (the Ottomans and the Safavids), within a providential framework. Second, it shows that Cartwright is closely engaged with the concepts of ethos and goodwill, as understood in the rhetorical tradition, and that he employs a series of strategies to achieve credit and, in so doing, to repair his reputation. I begin by giving an overview of Cartwright's biography, explaining the significance of his reference to the Northwest Passage in the prefatory note discussed above. I outline his account's formal and generic features, and introduce its emphasis on providence. Then, I look at Cartwright's prefatory material, and show that it closely follows rhetoricians' advice for the *proboemium*, the opening of a speech. Next, I discuss rhetoricians' theorisations of the topic of testimony, also known as 'authority' or 'witness', and show that Cartwright uses testimony to support, and sometimes replace, his eyewitness observations. In the latter part of the chapter, I turn to consider Cartwright's engagement with the *conquestio*, a part of the peroration of a speech in which the orator induces sympathy in his audience through lament. I explain that the *conquestio* enables Cartwright to achieve both of his aims: it tropes the modern Ottoman Empire as a site of decline and decay, a shadow of its former accomplishments, reinforcing the account's providential arguments about the inevitable end of all empires; at the same time, it enhances the credit-building work carried out elsewhere, in implicitly presenting Cartwright as a person capable of feeling pity for others. This chapter thus adds to the previous chapters' discussions of rhetorical

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<sup>387</sup> Boies Penrose, *Urbane Travelers, 1591-1635* (Philadelphia, 1942), 40.

invention and travel writing, by turning to focus on questions of ethics and epistemology, and the various ways in which the traveller-rhetor could win the goodwill of his readers.

### **The Preacher and the *Preachers Travels***

Cartwright left few biographical traces behind.<sup>388</sup> Although the title-page of *Preachers Travels* states that it was ‘Penned by J.C. sometimes student in Magdalen Colledge in OXFORD’, he is nowhere to be found in the College archives, absent from both its biographical registers and domestic accounts.<sup>389</sup> The account itself, described as ‘a true Journall’, tells us only a little more. In it, Cartwright mentions the names of a number of the Englishmen he encountered in the Levant, in person, through correspondence, as well as by word of mouth, making it possible to date his travels to around 1600. He writes that he and his travel companion John Mildenhall were ‘well entertained by Mr. Richard Col[e]thrust worthy Consull then to our worthy English nation’ in Aleppo.<sup>390</sup> Colthurst had been sent to Aleppo in 1597. Cartwright lived with him for over two months, and interacted with ‘many of our English merchants’ during his travels.<sup>391</sup> Mildenhall belonged to this cohort: two letters by ‘John Mildenhall of London Merchant’, describing his travels in ‘the Indies’, were published by Samuel Purchas. The first of these mentions Mildenhall’s departure from Aleppo in 1600 in a caravan of hundreds of people, including one other Englishman, ‘M. John Cartwright, Preacher’.<sup>392</sup> The travellers parted ways in Parthia (now north-eastern Iran); it is unclear who accompanied Cartwright during the rest of his travels – he refers to himself and his companions using the unspecific pronoun ‘wee’ – but, given his pre-existing connections to the Levant Company, it is likely that they were merchants.

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<sup>388</sup> The only extant biography of Cartwright is Anthony Wood’s: ‘JOHN CARTWRIGHT, who seems to have been descended from the Cartwrights of Washbourne in Gloucestershire, received his Academical education in Magd. coll. but whether he took a degree in this University, it appears not. Afterwards he travelled, as it seems, in holy Orders’. Wood (1691-2), 1:321.

<sup>389</sup> I am grateful to Robin Darwall-Smith, previously Archivist at Magdalen College, for this information.

<sup>390</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 4.

<sup>391</sup> *ibid.*, 4.

<sup>392</sup> See Maclean (2004), 67-70.

Cartwright also features in an account of a voyage by the English navigator George Weymouth, also published by Purchas. With the support of Sir Thomas Smythe – the diplomat discussed in the previous chapter – Weymouth had received sponsorship from the East India Company to lead an expedition to discover the Northwest Passage, and sailed from London in May 1602 for this purpose.<sup>393</sup> Weymouth records that the ‘right Worshipfull Merchants of the Muscovie and Turkie Companies’ provided him with ‘a great travailer and learned Minister one Master John Cartwright’. This expedition was ill-fated: plagued by ice, strong currents, and mutiny, they failed to find the passage. The role Cartwright played in the voyage is not entirely clear. According to Weymouth’s account, he acted as a mediator, and had ‘conference’ with the mutinying crew. Other accounts of the voyage tell a different story, however, suggesting that Weymouth and the other participants of the expedition turned on Cartwright at the East India Company’s court later in the year, blaming him for inciting the mutiny.<sup>394</sup> The mention of the Northwest Passage voyage in the *Preachers Travels* suggests that the failed expedition, and the need to set the record straight, still preoccupied Cartwright nearly a decade later as he put the finishing touches to the account ‘From mine House in Southwarke’ in late 1611, presumably due to Hudson’s contemporary journey, mentioned earlier.<sup>395</sup>

The reference to Southwark points us to a final possible biographical clue: the Clergy of the Church of England database records a John Cartwright, MA, as curate at St George the Martyr, Southwark, in 1603-1605. However, as this entry does not give any further details, or identify a university, it is not certain if this person is the author of the *Preachers Travels*. Cartwright’s travel account thus simultaneously invites and frustrates biographical readings.

Although it is true, as Parker and Penrose note, that the *Preachers Travels* does not document the traveller’s preaching, it is nonetheless preoccupied with religious topics,

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<sup>393</sup> Purchas (1625), 809-814.

<sup>394</sup> William J. Mills, *Exploring Polar Frontiers: A Historical Survey* (Santa Barbara, 2003), 55, 177.

<sup>395</sup> *Preachers Travels*, sig. A3r.

particularly the question of providence. The book's providential theme is not immediately obvious from its title-page, which describes its contents as follows:

THE PREACHERS TRAVELS. Wherein is set downe a true Journall to the confines of the East INDIES, through the great Countreyes of Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Hircania and Parthia. With the Authors returne by the way of Persia, Susiana, Assiria, Chaldea, and ARABIA. Containing a full survuew of the Knigdom [*sic*] of Persia: and in what terms the Persian stands with the Great Turke at this day: Also a true relation of Sir ANTHONIE SHERLEYS entertainment there: and the estate that his Brother, M. ROBERT SHERLEY lived in after his departure from Christendome. With the description of a Port in the Persian gulf, commodious for our East Indian Merchants; and a briefe rehearsall of some grosse absurdities [*sic*] in the Turkish ALCORAN.

Judging by this list, the reader of the *Preachers Travels* seems to be confronting not one work but several. Accordingly, Anthony Wood's entry on Cartwright in *Athenae Oxonienses* lists the book's various parts – 'Journall', 'relation', 'description', and 'rehearsall' – as discrete 'books' or 'Treatises' themselves, suggesting that the *Preachers Travels* is a compilation or miscellany.<sup>396</sup> But the sense of fragmentation in both Cartwright's title-page and Wood's entry belie the book's underlying thematic coherence. Cartwright spells out his intention for the work – and, in the process, indicates what unites the 'books' by which it is constituted – in his preface. The preface begins with an anecdote. Pompey, defeated at the battle of Pharsalia by Julius Caesar, asks the philosopher Cratippus 'what should be the event of the warres betweene *Caesar* and himselfe, demanding of him, *an sit Prouidentia?* whether the purpose & decree of God were vnchangeable without alteration?' The sententious response given by Cratippus, as Cartwright makes apparent, captures the thematic interests of *The Preachers Travels* as a whole:

*Fatales esse Imperiorum periodos*, the prouidence of God is most sure and certaine; which *Pompey* found most true, in a small time after, when *Caesar* was created the first Emperour of the Roman Monarchy; and which shall also be verified (God willing) in the discourse of this Journall; wherein is principally shewed, how all humane affaires, and the greatest Cities of renowme have had their Periods in their greatest perfections; to which though

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<sup>396</sup> Wood (1691-2), 1:321.

they have ascended *gradatim*, yet they have forthwith fallen into a retrograde of declination, till they have beene brought to the lowest degree which misery can allot.<sup>397</sup>

The Latin phrase at the beginning of the anecdote, *Fatales esse Imperiorum periodos*, can be translated as ‘the duration of empires is fated’, though Cartwright opts for a more tendentious rendering. Like Scott, and the author of *Sir Thomas Smithes voiage*, Cartwright is concerned with the providential and narrative structure of governance. He presents his book as a further testament to the workings of providence, claiming that the ‘providence of God’ will ‘also be verified [...] in the pages of this Journall’. The providential emphasis of the *Preachers Travels* has a specific political inflection. This is indicated by the promise, stated on its title-page of a discussion of the relationship between ‘the Persian’ and ‘the Great Turke’, or, as the dedication puts it, how ‘two of the most mightie and most warlike Princes among the *Barbarians*, the great *Turke* and the *Persian*, are now in armes one against the other’.<sup>398</sup>

Cartwright uses the doctrine of providence as a lens through which to view this long-standing military conflict, insisting that the rise of Turkish domination and the concomitant decline of the Persians is inevitable, orchestrated by God and unquestionably beyond human control. At the same time, he explains the relevance of this conflict to ‘*the Christians of the West*’ and the need for Christian princes to unite against Turkish expansionism. He argues that in failing to resolve their ‘civill dissentions’, ‘discorde and mortall warre’, they have inadvertently aided the Turks’ conquest, feeding the ‘canker’ that has consumed the Christian world for centuries.<sup>399</sup> The different parts of this argument are clearly contradictory, and Cartwright’s stance on the extent of human agency difficult to determine: it is inevitable that the Turks will dominate, yet also essential for Christian princes to unite against them. These contradictions are useful for Cartwright, enabling him to present the Persians as passively acted upon by fortune,

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<sup>397</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 2. This anecdote, which is first given in Plutarch’s *Lives*, appears frequently in early modern writing. The version used here seems to have been lifted almost verbatim from Lodowick Lloyd, *The Consent of Time* (London, 1590), 106.

<sup>398</sup> *Preachers Travels*, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>399</sup> *ibid.*, sig. A2<sup>v-r</sup>.

and the Christians of the West (particularly the English) as active, and able to change the course of history.

In reading the Turkish-Persian conflict within the terms of divine providence, Cartwright followed the footsteps of figures like Richard Knolles, author of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603), an important source of much of the historical material in the *Preachers Travels*.<sup>400</sup> Knolles's account of the Ottoman Empire anticipates the philosophical outlook of the *Preachers Travels*, in that it also describes the workings of providence in the specific context of the Turkish-Persian conflict in order to make a case for united Christian action. Cartwright's discussions of this conflict are sometimes paired with polemical attacks on the Prophet Mohammed and Islam, in which 'Turkie and Persia', renowned lands of 'Mabometisme', are clearly demarcated from the Christian West.<sup>401</sup> However, he is typically more careful to distinguish between the two 'great Countreys' in which he travelled. Indeed, Cartwright is not a detached observer of the ongoing conflict. The *Preachers Travels* invariably takes the side of the Persians, and denigrates the Turks to such an extent that Gerald Maclean calls Cartwright's writing 'Turcophobic'.<sup>402</sup> To be sure, Cartwright does occasionally describe the Persians using reductive stereotypes, and suggests that they are as capable of violent 'conquest', 'razing', and 'terror' as their Turkish counterparts. But these descriptions pale in comparison to the vitriol with which he describes the Turks, the 'scourges' of the world.<sup>403</sup> Cartwright's travel writing is thus placed within a tragic narrative, in which the Turkish dominance over Persia is inevitable, yet lamentable.

This narrative shape, which recurs throughout the *Preachers Travels*, leads the reader to expect certain things from any given description of a region or city: namely, references to ruin and decline, in which Cartwright tells of how places have been 'Eclipsed by the Turkes',

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<sup>400</sup> On the 'Turkish histories' produced in early modern England, including Knolles's work, see Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2015). See also Linda McJannet, "'History written by the enemy': Eastern Sources about the Ottomans on the Continent and in England", *English Literary Renaissance*, 36.3 (2006), 396-429.

<sup>401</sup> See, e.g., *Preachers Travels*, 105.

<sup>402</sup> Maclean (2004), 233, fn. 4.

<sup>403</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 22.

undergone ‘divers changes and sundry alterations’, or been ‘ruinated and wasted’ by ‘the Turkish warres’.<sup>404</sup> Take, for instance, Cartwright’s description of Armenia. It begins by noting Armenia’s classical significance, explaining that its founder, Armenius, was ‘one of the companions of *Jason*, who wonne the golden Fleece and *Colchos*’.<sup>405</sup> Then, it explains that Armenius instituted ‘many good and wholsome lawes’, and that Armenia was ‘governed by Kings of their owne Nation, until such time as the house of the *Ottamans* [*sic*] subdued the same’. The Turks, Cartwright claims, were ‘stirred up no doubt by the hand of the Almighty’, the ‘Authour of all Kingdomes upon earth’. After situating Armenia in this providential and tragic narrative, Cartwright’s description examines its individual cities in closer detail. Although these city descriptions attend to issues of geographical situation (‘This City standeth in a pleasant valley, by which runneth a little River’) and architecture (‘a strong Castle mounted on an [*sic*] high Rocke’), they, too, primarily focus on the conflict between the two empires, and the destruction brought about by the Turks, as I discuss further below.<sup>406</sup> Cartwright’s sympathy for the Persians is representative of broader English sentiment. The Persians enjoyed an unusual status in the English imagination and were, for the most part, distinguished from the Ottomans and North Africans.<sup>407</sup> There are several reasons for this; perhaps the most significant is the fact that universal histories identified the Persian empire as one of the ‘Four Monarchies’ that had paved the way for Western Christian kingdoms.<sup>408</sup> The *Preachers Travels* thus engages with existing networks of allegiance and affect, and participates in a tradition of writing about Ottoman history in providential terms, as in the example of Knolles.

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<sup>404</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 7, 9, 14, and *passim*.

<sup>405</sup> *ibid.*, 22.

<sup>406</sup> *ibid.*, 27, 30.

<sup>407</sup> For discussions see, e.g., Jane Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549-1622* (Basingstoke, 2014); Ladan Niayesh, ‘Shakespeare’s Persians’, *Shakespeare* 4.2 (2008), 127-136. See also Chloe Houston, ‘Persia and Kingship in William Cartwright’s *The Royall Slave* (1636)’, *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 54. 2 (2014), 455-473.

<sup>408</sup> See Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks* (Basingstoke, 2006), 4.

In claiming that divine providence will be ‘verified’ in the *Preachers Travels*, Cartwright thus suggests that his travel writing is not just about the experiences of an individual traveller but about the shifting fortunes of humankind, a topic as relevant to the English reader at home as to the cities of Armenia, buckling under the Turkish ‘scourge’. The providential emphasis of the *Preachers Travels* also reinforces Cartwright’s presentation of himself as a devout person who has God as his ‘witness’; insofar as the *Preachers Travels* verifies the workings of providence, Cartwright is, at the same time, God’s witness. To consider Cartwright’s establishment of *ethos* in greater detail, the following section of this chapter reads the prefatory matter of the *Preachers Travels* alongside rhetoricians’ advice about the beginning, or *proboemium*, of a speech.

### Leaving the Harbour: Cartwright’s Preface as *Proboemium*

Explaining the importance of a good beginning, Quintilian compares a faulty *proboemium*, in yet another analogy with travel, to a pilot who ‘runs his ship aground while leaving harbour’.<sup>409</sup> The beginning of a speech is the point at which the orator established his *ethos*. Thomas Wilson explains that it is ‘the former part of the Oracion, whereby the will of the standers by, or of the Judge is sought for, and required to heare the matter’.<sup>410</sup> Performing it successfully is essential to securing the goodwill of the audience.<sup>411</sup> Goodwill, in turn, is a prerequisite to bringing the audience’s minds to a state of belief. According to Wilson, goodwill could be won through a combination of ‘beginnyng to speake of our selves, or els of our aduersaries, or els of the people, and company present, or last of all, if we begin of the matter it self’.<sup>412</sup> Cartwright uses all four of these strategies in his prefatory materials, drawing on the conventional vocabulary of ‘credit’ and ‘money’. His readers are analogous to ‘the people, and company present’ at an oration, and his first move is to flatter: he begins by praising the generosity of his patron, Sir Thomas Hunt, with

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<sup>409</sup> Quintilian (2001), 4.1.61. For a detailed discussion of the *proboemium*, see Skinner (2014), 66-141.

<sup>410</sup> Wilson (1553), fol. 4r.

<sup>411</sup> *ad Herennium* (2014), 5.8.15-16.

<sup>412</sup> Wilson (1553), fols. 55r-56v.

the Biblical phrase – the source of which I discuss below – ‘Milke without silver, and bread without money’. By this, Cartwright means that Hunt’s generosity is unconditional. Hunt’s ‘zeale for Religion’ and ‘love for Schollers’ map neatly onto Cartwright’s own professed identity as preacher ‘of some place in the Church’ and as ‘sometimes student’ of Magdalen College, Oxford.<sup>413</sup> If all went to plan, such statements would have the effect of making Hunt a more receptive reader and, in addition, enhancing the overall ‘credit’ of the account through his patronage.

Rhetoricians emphasise the importance of asserting the value of ‘the matter it self’, the *res* of a speech. Using a conventional humility *topos*, Cartwright claims that his work is ‘no great matter of learning or ingenious invention’ but a ‘simple relation of a simple truth’. It contains much of interest for both the ‘learned’ and ‘indifferent’, but is limited in scope. Cartwright promises that for the sake of length, this account does not contain ‘worthy collections’ comparing the past and present states of the Turkish and Persian empires. This characterisation of the account is misleading: its defining characteristic is in fact its use of ‘worthy collections’. Similarly, his claim to have avoided commentary on ‘times past’ is inaccurate; he turns to ‘matters of antiquity’ frequently to pinpoint the extent of the empire’s decline.<sup>414</sup> Cartwright distances himself from ‘ingenious invention’ in a passage that uses several precepts of invention, and conceals his deployment of learning in the work in favour of a simplicity designed to win credit.

Equally ironic is Cartwright’s emphasis on eyewitness, in which the *Preachers Travels* is described as ‘a true relation of what mine eyes have scene’.<sup>415</sup> As in Henry Blount’s introduction to the *Voyage*, Cartwright’s claim to prioritise eyewitness over ‘collections’ is embedded in digested textual material. This contradiction is, by now, familiar to us: as previous chapters have shown, seventeenth-century travel writers were habituated to use the techniques of invention, and material from their reading, to supplement and structure their experiences, even if they

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<sup>413</sup> *Preachers Travels*, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>414</sup> *ibid.*, 58.

<sup>415</sup> *ibid.*, 3.

began their accounts by insisting upon the primacy of eyewitness. Cartwright's presentation of his account as 'a simple relation of a simple truth' is thus another example of this conventional, yet contradictory, gesture. His letter to Hunt uses material from the dedication to John King's (*d. 1621*) *Lectures upon Jonas* (1599), to Hunt, including the 'Milke without silver, and bread without money' expression, a paraphrase of the 'Invitation to the Thirsty' in Isaiah 55:1. In the King James Version, this verse reads: 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price'. After alluding to the verse from Isaiah, King notes that all write 'to purchase the credite of writers' and attributes the 'credite' of his lectures to his 'intelligent auditory'. Conceiving of knowledge as water, King acknowledges the extensive use of existing testimonies in his lectures, figuring this as drinking 'the waters of other mens welles'.<sup>416</sup> Like Cartwright, King anticipates the judgements his text will receive and hopes that it is given 'good acceptance' by the world. Ironically, in the same paragraph that promises the intentional avoidance of too many 'worthy collections', Cartwright also draws substantially on Abraham Hartwell the younger's (1553/4-1606) translation of John-Thomas Minadoi's Italian *History of the Warres Betweene the Turkes and the Persians* (1595).<sup>417</sup> Like Cartwright's description of his work as the 'simple relation of a simple truth', Hartwell terms his translation 'trulie and faithfully doone' with 'plaine and significant' language.<sup>418</sup> These sources are credit-building in two ways. They are themselves credible, written by men who were prominent in ecclesiastical and academic communities. They are also *about* credit, announcing it as one of their main themes.

The next two strategies that are used to obtain credit tend to appear in tandem: the orator needs to establish that his adversaries are contemptible, and, in contrast, to position

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<sup>416</sup> John King, *Lectures upon Jonas* (London, 1599), 204-205. For King's biography, see Peter McCullough, 'King, John (*d. 1621*)', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>417</sup> *Preachers Travels*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>418</sup> John-Thomas Minadoi, *History of the Warres Betweene the Turkes and the Persians* trans. Abraham Hartwell (London, 1595), sigs. A2<sup>v</sup>-A3<sup>r</sup>.

himself as trustworthy.<sup>419</sup> We saw both of these earlier in Cartwright's note to the reader, which contrasts the 'venemous poyson' of 'malevolent tongues' with his own clarity of conscience. Regardless of its biographical accuracy, the title of the *Preachers Travels* might also have been designed to establish *ethos*. Drawing inspiration from such figures as St. Paul and Jonah, early modern England understood the ideal preacher as a travelling and travailing man. Under James VI and I, the episcopal office took on a heightened importance and status in the reformed Church that in many ways returned bishops to their traditional roles as ecclesiastical statesmen, tasked with travelling both within and without their dioceses to preach.<sup>420</sup> Whether or not he was actually a preacher, then, Cartwright's title would have carried particular cultural resonances, and suited his self-presentation as a person who had God as his witness. The paratextual and prefatory material in the *Preachers Travels* thus performs the function of a technical *proboemium*, establishing Cartwright as a person deserving of his readers' goodwill. Having left the harbour successfully, and hopefully acquired credit for himself, Cartwright needed to ensure that his travel observations, too, seemed credible. The following section of the chapter gives the theoretical background of one of the main rhetorical strategies he uses to do so: the topic of testimony.

### Theories of Testimony

Thomas Wilson's *Rule of Reason* (1551) offers the clearest vernacular account of the theory of testimony. Wilson locates testimony under the heading of 'authoritie, otherwise named sentences of the sage'.<sup>421</sup> As is conventional in treatments of rhetoric throughout the sixteenth century, Wilson conflates the terms 'testimony' and 'authority'.<sup>422</sup> Textbooks written by Melanchthon and

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<sup>419</sup> See *ad Herennium* (2014), 1.5.8.15-17; Cicero, *De inventione*, in *De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, Topica* ed. and trans. H.M. Mortimer (Cambridge, MA, 2014), 1.15.20.

<sup>420</sup> See Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford, 1990), esp. 16, 115.

<sup>421</sup> Wilson (1551), fol. MV<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>422</sup> Thomas Blundeville states that authority is 'any testimony worthy of credite'. See Blundeville, *The Art of Logick* (London, 1617), 121.

Ramus reintroduced the Ciceronian term *testimonia*, but testimony and authority remained interchangeable terms for some time.<sup>423</sup> Recognising this equivalence is crucial: to argue from testimony meant to argue from authority. Wilson's heading for testimony features another synonym, 'sentences' (or 'sayings').<sup>424</sup> These terms all bear the residue of rhetoric's origins in oratory. They also indicate the intersection of the testimony topic with the humanist practice of keeping a commonplace book. In Wilson's exposition, testimonies are 'taken out of olde authors' in a process analogous to the gathering of textual fragments for later use.<sup>425</sup> Further, a number of the forms that Wilson identifies as 'testimonies' are the principal forms of commonplace culture, including 'quicke saynges', 'prouerbes', and 'the judgements of learned men'.<sup>426</sup> Understood as an 'inartificial' or 'external' proof or argument, testimony was a kind of ready-made material (brought in from the 'outside' and, in this respect, 'artless', lacking the orator's own 'art').<sup>427</sup> Testimony and other inartificial proofs were 'a kind of raw material for general use'.<sup>428</sup> Their abstract nature meant that they could be brought into the service of a range of arguments. It enabled the orator to reason 'not so much by his owne force, as by the power of other reasons'.<sup>429</sup>

There are, broadly, two kinds of testimony. The first carries a sense of 'authority' that might attach to a singular and authoritative source, as suggested by Wilson's 'sentences of the sage'. The second refers to authority or testimony as that which corresponds to general compounded wisdom. This latter, Aristotelian, conception of testimony understands the places

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<sup>423</sup> Serjeantson (1999), 204.

<sup>424</sup> *ibid.*, 204.

<sup>425</sup> Analogous guidelines were given for the use of testimony in written text in the early modern period. Serjeantson (2006), 186: 'the manuals on good Latin style that proliferated in the Renaissance commonly devoted space to teaching their readers how to 'bring in' (*citare*) textual witnesses'.

<sup>426</sup> Wilson (1551), fols. MV<sup>v</sup>-MVI<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>427</sup> Aristotle, '*Art*' of *Rhetoric*, 1.2.2: 'all those which have not been furnished by ourselves, but were already in existence, such as witnesses, tortures, contracts, and the like'. Cicero, in *Topica* (2014), 19.73 goes further, subsuming *all* forms of 'inartificial' proof under the heading of testimony: 'This form of argumentation, that is said not to be subject to the rules of art, depends on testimony. For our present purpose we define testimony as everything that is brought in from some external circumstance in order to win conviction'. See also George Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton, 1994), 57: 'Nonartistic [...] means are forms of evidence, such as the testimony of witnesses and contracts, that the speaker uses but does not invent'.

<sup>428</sup> Cicero, *De inventione*, XXIV.34, 71.

<sup>429</sup> Dudley Fenner, *The Artes of Logike and Rhetorike* (London, 1584), sigs. B4<sup>v</sup>-C<sup>r</sup>.

of invention as recognisable landmarks in the mental space of the *doxa*, or shared beliefs of a culture.<sup>430</sup> Wilson's inclusion of 'the commune opinion of the multitude, olde custome, auncient fashions' as forms of testimony is indebted to this tradition. The argumentative power of testimony does not come from any direct relevance it possesses to reality, but in the stamp of approval it gives to a writer's claims.

Not all testimonies are the same, however. Wilson states that testimonies from God, via the Holy Ghost, are 'vndoubtedly true' and as a result qualitatively distinct from those of man. Testimonies from men, in contrast, may be cast into doubt if the argument so requires. Wilson's distinction between divine and human authority is just one example of numerous guidelines for the classification of testimony in rhetoric and logic, which sorted forms of testimony according to 'which bee sound, and which bee weake'.<sup>431</sup> Henry Ainsworth's meticulous guide includes thirteen 'Canons of humane Testimony'. Most apposite to Cartwright's use of testimony is Ainsworth's privileging of 'Publike', 'long-lasting', and 'Old' testimony over new, and authors 'grave', 'Wise men and Famous', and 'skillfull' over the 'obscure' and 'unskillfull'. Human testimony came in varying degrees of sufficiency, with 'approved Historians' and 'ancient Fathers' reigning supreme. Ainsworth's tenets also observe that there is strength in numbers, with the testimony of 'many', particularly the wise, dominating that of 'one'.

A further guiding principle for the use of testimony was the evaluation of its ethical or moral dimension. This principle marks most clearly the proximity of rhetoric to moral philosophy. It is most obviously prominent in the Aristotelian tradition though, as we will see, it appeared in new configurations in early modern poetic theory and practice. One of Aristotle's three 'modes' of persuasion was *ethos*, establishing the 'personal character' of the orator.<sup>432</sup> The other two were *pathos* (putting the audience into a receptive state of mind) and proof. To

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<sup>430</sup> Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society* (Princeton, 1993), esp. 17-18; Evans, 77-79. See Sell (2006), 27-29 on the concept of 'consensual truth' as developed by Giambattista Vico and others.

<sup>431</sup> Blundeville (1617), 121.

<sup>432</sup> For a discussion see Vickers (1988), especially 19-20.

maximise his capacity to persuade the audience, Aristotle directed the orator to ‘show himself to be possessed of certain qualities’; these qualities were ‘good sense, virtue, and goodwill’, and the orator had to have them all.<sup>433</sup>

A diluted version of this appears in Cicero’s *Orator*. Here, *ethikon*, the topic used to illustrate ‘men’s nature and character’, is recommended to arouse the audience’s admiration. A similar impulse was present in the judging of testimony. The moral content of a given testimony, as well as the ‘goodness or evilness’ of the person witnessing, were further criteria used to assess its value.<sup>434</sup> Witnesses of indisputable morals reflected positively on the orator’s own *ethos* and honour of his case, in turn. The ethical components of rhetoric manifest slightly differently in the early modern texts. The commonplaces were still considered speeches in miniature used to amplify virtue and deprecate vice.<sup>435</sup> But in the early modern period, this emphasis on moral edification found its fullest expression in the revival of epideictic poetry, which sought to teach through the praise of virtue, as well as texts developing Theophrastan ‘character’ in the seventeenth century. Cartwright’s concern for ethics owes allegiance to both of these strands: the notion that the orator must demonstrate the good character of both himself and his witnesses to be effective, and the sense that literature, in its didactic capacity, should act as a repository of ‘virtue’ and ‘vice’.

Testimony is remarkably supple: as rhetorical theory teaches us, it could be used to either confirm (*confirmatio*) or reject (*confutatio*) a given argument, the parts of the speech on which the ‘entire hope of victory and the entire method of persuasion’ rest.<sup>436</sup> If used to confirm, testimony could give faith, authority, and strength to a case.<sup>437</sup> But as any human testimony, however noble, could be disputed, its credibility was never entirely secure. Wilson’s stance on this point is

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<sup>433</sup> Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric*, 2.1.5-7, 170-171.

<sup>434</sup> Blundeville (1617), 123.

<sup>435</sup> Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces: An Historical Investigation* (Westport, Connecticut, 1974), 2-3.

<sup>436</sup> *ad Herennium*, 1.x.18, 33.

<sup>437</sup> Cicero, *De inventione*, 24.34, 69: ‘Confirmation or proof is the part of the oration which by marshalling arguments lends credit, authority, and support to our case’.

straightforward: unless persuaded by ‘reason’, it is his choice ‘either to admit, or to refuse such authorities’. If one disagrees with the testimony used by one’s opponent as confirmation, Wilson advises, it is best to explain why this is so with ‘a modest answer’ and ‘some good reason’, not rashness. Strategies for this included undermining the authority of the witness, as well as rejecting the content of their assertion as ‘extreamly absurd, impertinent, false and by no means to be admitted’.<sup>438</sup> We have seen Cartwright rejecting the words of other witnesses already, and will see further examples below.

In the rhetorical tradition, eyewitness testimony, as opposed to the textual testimony I have discussed thus far, also plays an important role. The figure of *martyria* (etymologically, ‘witness’) is defined as when ‘the Speaker confirms what he saith by the Testimony of his own knowledge’.<sup>439</sup> The combination of eyewitness and textual witness (what Cartwright calls ‘collections’) in the *Preachers Travels* thus inheres in the rhetorical tradition itself. Having outlined the precepts of rhetorical testimony, the following section of this chapter will turn to consider how Cartwright puts these precepts to use in his travel writing.

### Cartwright’s Witnessing

One of the clearest illustrations of Cartwright’s engagement with the topic of testimony is a description of the island of Eden, part of his account of ‘Assiria’ (Assyria, located in what is now northern Iraq and southeastern Turkey). Part of the description reads as follows:

This Iland lyes at the heart of the river *Tigris*, and is (as we could guesse) in circuit ten English miles, and was sometimes walled round about with a wall of strong defence, as appears by the ruinous foundation of bricke which there remaineth [...] Now whither this Iland were the very *Eden of Paradise*, is not probable: but certaine it is, that, that garden of Pleasure, which God chose out to set *Adam* into, was seated in the lower part of the Region of *Eden*, afterward called *Aram fluniorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, a country which Southwards stretcheth it self over the great river *Euphrates* [...] That there was such a *Paradise* as the garden of Eden, upon earth, is without all dispute, because the Scriptures tell us of it [...] The Prophets likewise doe often make mention of the land of *Eden* and

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<sup>438</sup> Smith (1665), 215.

<sup>439</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 216.

the inhabitants thereof [...] And that the very *Eden of Paradise* was in this countrey is plaine by the relation of *Moses*, who saith that it was *eastward in Eden* [...] and we find by experience, that *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, running through this country of *Eden* doe joyne in one [...] And therefore they that make the river *Pison* to be *Ganges*, doe contrary both Scripture, experience, and reason. [...] *Strabo* maketh mention of the South-part of *Armenia*, which is the North border of *Eden*, or a part thereof [...] And *Q. Curtius* writeth on this maner [...] *Herodotus* speaketh as an eye-witnesse [...] So that by these few collections we may gather, that they are farre besides the truth, which have sought *Paradise*, either beyond our knowne world, or in the middle region of the aire; or nere the Moone; or as far as the South-line; or the North-pole, beeing meere vanities imagined in mens fancies.<sup>440</sup>

The description begins with a focus on the travellers' eyes. They 'see' what the island looks like, 'guesse' its parameters, and draw inferences about its past based on how it 'appears'. But these eyes quickly give way to the words of others; it is apparent that Cartwright is less interested in describing the place that he saw than in determining the location of a place that he did not see, and which no longer exists, through the weighing up of textual authorities. The subordination of travel experience to textual authorities in the Eden passage characterises the *Preachers Travels* as a whole, in which textual witnesses surround, and often crowd out, the traveller's eyewitness. Cartwright's frequent and extensive citation of witnesses recalls the etymology of 'citation', derived from the Latin *citare*, 'to summon': the witnesses in his account, like witnesses summoned to a court of law, testify to the truth of his relation.<sup>441</sup> This strategy is similar to that used by Richard Hakluyt in the *Principal Navigations*, which, as Nandini Das observes, 'makes the citation of witnesses' its 'central narrative principle', bringing together 'textual witnessing' and the 'witnessing of praxis'.<sup>442</sup> Like Hakluyt, Cartwright senses that the testimony of many writers is better than that of one, and that reading them together will give the reader access to the truth. As we have seen, Cartwright had a very particular need to establish the truthfulness of his account. His use of the topic of testimony, in the Eden passage and throughout the *Preachers*

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<sup>440</sup> *Preachers Travels.*, 91-5.

<sup>441</sup> OED, s.v. 'citation', *n.* and 'cite', *v.*

<sup>442</sup> Nandini Das, 'Richard Hakluyt', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640* ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford, 2013), 292-308, here 300-301. For a study of testimony in French travel writing, see Andrea Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France* (Chapel Hill, 2004).

*Travels*, is thus an attempt to restage the East India Company trial, bringing in his own set of witnesses in order to clear his name. In the travel account, he brings in textual testimonies to act as a cloud of witnesses which testify to his credit in a way that he may not have been able to do in the context of the court of the East India Company.

Despite the centrality of the concept to Cartwright's writing, he uses the word 'testimonie' only once. The context in which this single use appears is, however, revealing. The description of Hispaan, a city in Parthia (north-east Iran) gives Cartwright the opportunity to explore his study of legal customs further, and he explains the structure of the hierarchy that maintains law and order across the region. Although Hispaan has a rigorous legal system, which prioritises the examination of witnesses as a mechanism through which to find out the truth, the people of that city are, according to Cartwright, deceitful. These people are said to be 'full of craftie strategems' and 'breakers of their promise'; parenthetically, Cartwright adds, 'a vice that is very inbred in all *Barbarians*'. As expected, after making these claims Cartwright turns to the topic of testimony for proof:

For testimonie whereof wee may avouch those ancient poysonings & wicked treacheries which were plotted not onely by subjectes against their soveraignes, but also by children against their naturall parents, for the name of father were in so small estimation with those fiftie sons of *Artaxerxes*, that with one consent, they all conspired to murder him. The which monstrous impietie ever since hath beene practiced in this nation, sometimes the father with the children sometimes the children with the father, and sometimes the children with one another.<sup>443</sup>

In this passage, Cartwright turns to examples from Turkish history, using previous incidents of 'poysonings' and 'treacheries' as testimony of the Parthians' inherently deceitful disposition. The scrutiny to which Cartwright subjects Parthian legal systems suggests that a concern to distinguish truth from lies sits at the heart of his own writing practice. In fact, his investigation of legal systems earns him a citation in John Selden's (1584-1654) *Titles of honor* (1614) as one of the

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<sup>443</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 63-4.

‘*more speciall* Autors, whose testimonie we have vsed’, giving Cartwright’s collection of testimonies its own testimonial afterlife.<sup>444</sup>

Cartwright’s focus on truth, and the value of testimony, also informs his treatment of ‘*Mahometisme*’. One passage of the *Preachers Travels* uses the topic of testimony to stage an attack on Mohammed’s ‘superstition’. Cartwright channels his energy into a damning critique of the ‘Alcoran’ [*sic*]. Of particular importance to this passage is the figure of *apodioxis*. Usually the figure used for the ‘rejection or an expelling’ of arguments other to one’s own, in the context of testimony it could undermine the value of witnesses produced by the opposition by stating that they were ‘by no means to be admitted’.<sup>445</sup> Part of the passage reads as follows:

And concerning his *Alcoran*, wherein hee hath inserted the precepts of his invention, there is no truth in it. For first upon paine of death, it may not bee disputed upon, whereas the truth loves trial, so that though the *Arabians*, *Turks*, and *Persians* will not spare to say, and that vauntingly, that the doctrine of *Mahomet*, is divine & conformable both to the old & new Testament, yet as good as they make it, you may not examine it or call it into question; as if a man should say, behold you are paide in good money; but you must not weigh it, neither looke upon it by day-light. [...] Besides his *Alcoran* is pestered with a number of fables and falsities, as nine hundredth untruths [...] And is it not now a wonder, that the people of the *Turks* and *Persians*, being both warlike and politicke, magnificent and stately, and to say in a word, the very hammer of the world [...] should be thus ledde away with these wild inchantments of their wicked Prophet *Mahomet*.<sup>446</sup>

Seeking to discredit both Mohammed and his ‘Alcoran’, Cartwright condemns Mohammed as ‘wicked’, and denigrates his doctrine as ‘fables and falsities’, ‘nine hundredth untruths’, and ‘wild inchantments’. After this, he turns to Juan Luis Vives as a witness: ‘We may conclude with *Ludovicus Vives*, who compareth *Heathenisme* and *Mahometisme*, to glasse’. Although glass is bright,

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<sup>444</sup> John Selden, *Titles of Honour* (London, 1614), Appendix, ‘The more speciall autors’. Cartwright is also referenced in a travel account by Adam Olearius, 166, in the 1660s: ‘though I took abundance of pains to find out that great Tower, whereof *John Cartwright* an *English* Gentleman speaks, in the relation of his *Travels into Persia*, where he says it is built of Flint and Free-stone, and that they have thrust many dead mens skulls between the stones, yet could not find any such thing, or learn any news of it’. See Adam Olearius, *The Voyages and Travells of the Ambassadors Sent by Frederick, Duke of Holstein*, trans. John Davies (London, 1699).

The tower in question is described on page 39 of the *Preachers Travels*.

<sup>445</sup> For definitions of this and related figures, see Smith (1665), 215-217, and Cornelius Norwood, *Divine Eloquence, or, an Essay upon the Tropes and Figures Contained in the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1694), 106. The use of the term *apodioxis* is most prominent in English rhetorical theory the latter decades of the seventeenth century. See, e.g. John Newton, *Introduction to the art of rhetorick* (London, 1671). However, the figure is regularly in use long before this.

<sup>446</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 104-05.

it is also brittle, and thus ‘cannot endure the hammer’. In contrast, the gold of ‘*Christianisme*’ can endure anything, ‘do you melt it, or do you rubbe it, or do you beate it, it shineth still more orient’.<sup>447</sup> The testimony from Vives serves to reinforce Cartwright’s earlier claim that the ‘truth loves triall’. It also implicitly works as a defence of Cartwright himself: if, as I have suggested, the *Preachers Travels* allows Cartwright to restage the East India Company trial, then the account’s repeated association of ‘triall’ and truth extends to Cartwright, too. The following section of this chapter considers the other key credit-building strategy in the *Preachers Travels*: the *conquestio*.

### **The *Conquestio*: Cartwright’s Lament**

When their aim was ‘movying pitie and stirryng men to mercie’, Wilson argued, rhetoricians would do well to make a lament.<sup>448</sup> Known as the *conquestio*, a ‘lament or complaint’, the orator could use this kind of speech by ‘bewailyng the miserable misfortune’ of men at the hands of capricious fortune. Holding forth on the tendency of fortune to subject men of honesty and virtue to defeat by the ‘might of vice’, he could work his audience into empathic tears of grief.<sup>449</sup> Capricious fortune subjected men of honesty and virtue to defeat by the ‘might of vice’. Ideally, the *conquestio* would persuade the audience to denounce the individuals that the orator described as wicked, and to treat wronged, virtuous men with kindness. Most pertinently for Cartwright, one of the effects of the *conquestio* is to establish the quality of the orator’s character. As Cicero puts it, passages of *conquestio* allow orators to show ‘that our soul is full of mercy for others, but still is noble, lofty, and patient of misfortune and will be so whatever may befall’.<sup>450</sup> The *conquestio* thus implicitly reveals something about the orator himself.

Cartwright adapts the classical *conquestio*, which is a lament at fortune, to a religious context in which the tragic outcome is lamented but (because of the workings of providence)

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<sup>447</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 105-06.

<sup>448</sup> Wilson (1553), fol. 73<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>449</sup> *ibid.*, 74<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>450</sup> Cicero, *De inventione* (2014), 1.56.

also deserved or inevitable. In one instance, he mournfully describes the sacking of the city of Tauris (in present day western Iran) by Ottoman forces under the command of Murad III in 1585. Using the figure of *aporia*, he proclaims his inability to speak on the subject: ‘who is able eyther by writing, or by speech, sufficiently and liuely to lay open the treachery, the couetousnesse, the wrath, the crueltie, the impietie, the wickednesse of these triumphing Turks?’<sup>451</sup> By moving his reader to pity the ‘crying of infants’, ‘gronings of the wounded’, ‘teares of parents’, ‘teares’ and ‘griefes’ of the people of the city, Cartwright concludes that this is evidence of ‘the vncertaine state of the world, sometimes vp, and sometimes downe’.<sup>452</sup> This commonplace, both in rhetorical theory in general and in this text in particular, sought to universalise the human experience. It thus could assist Cartwright’s English readers in empathising with the grief of a people distant in both time and space.

The rationale for its use in relation to Tauris is less straightforward than this, however. Cartwright moves swiftly from this *conquestio* (remembering the proverb loved by rhetoricians, ‘nothing dries more quickly than tears’), to a study of a more recent event in the city: its calm takeover by the Persian Shah Abbas.<sup>453</sup> Living under Turkish slavery, according to Cartwright, made the Taurisians easily inclined to surrender to Abbas.<sup>454</sup> Recalling that the Shirleys’ embassy sought to persuade Abbas to lead the Persians in war against the Turks, a pattern begins to emerge. Cartwright’s use of the *conquestio* is yet another strategy to pit the Turks against the Persians in reader’s mind.

Cartwright’s next major use of *conquestio* is even more dramatic than the first, and takes advantage of one of its main purposes: petition or entreaty.<sup>455</sup> With ‘a minde pierced with grieffe’, Cartwright asks Christ to look at those under the Turkish yoke with ‘pitifull eyes’. Christian

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<sup>451</sup> On *aporia* as ‘the Doubtful’ figure, sometimes used to describe unspeakable cruelty, see Puttenham (2007), 311.

<sup>452</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 45.

<sup>453</sup> Wilson (1551), fol. 74r: ‘as Cicero doth saie, nothyng drieth soner, then teares, especially when we lament another mans cause, and be sory with him for his sake’. See Cicero, *De inventione* (2014), 1.56.109, 163.

<sup>454</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 45-46.

<sup>455</sup> Cicero, *De inventione* (2014), 1.56.109, 161.

Princes are urged to lay aside ‘endlesse and fruitlesse contentions’ with each other in order to revenge the lives of Christian captives subjected to slavery, punishment, and death.<sup>456</sup>

These ideas appear in the *Preachers Travels* in subtler ways, too. Images of waste and ruination are conjured up to describe almost every city in a manner consistent with the text’s master paradigms of cruel misfortune and unstoppable providence. Cities across the region are ‘much ruined and wasted’, ‘very ruinous’, a ‘wonderfull ruine’.<sup>457</sup> In his perspective, the modern Ottoman Empire is ‘scarce a shadow of the antique Government’, much of it now retaining ‘no shew of the ancient majestie’.<sup>458</sup> This decline is often, as in the Tauris case, attributed to specific historical events, providing further fuel for Cartwright’s claims about the peoples of the region, especially the Turks. Cartwright’s Tauris passage is entirely conventional, partly composed of material taken *verbatim* from contemporary historical accounts, as in a lengthy passage on God bringing ‘the proud devises of Princes to nought’ from Knolles’s *Historie of the Turkes*.<sup>459</sup> Cartwright’s writing on ruins recalls that of Thomas Coryate, whose *Crudities* was published the same year as the *Preachers Travels*. Like Coryate, Cartwright turns to ruins for the purpose of rhetorical copia. But whereas Coryate’s ruins are places of pleasure, for Cartwright, they are evidence of decline, to be lamented rather than celebrated.

As we have seen, Cartwright’s use of the *conquestio* maps the political conflict between the Turks and the Persians onto a broader providential narrative. The overall bent of his account is in favour of a Persian assault on the Turkish, ideally with the assistance of Christian monarchs. The *Preachers Travels* thus combines the image of the wheel of fortune, alluded to in the opening anecdote on Pompey, with a protestant providentialist superstructure. In doing so, it resonates with the writings of Samuel Purchas, who fuses together the structural elements of pilgrimage narratives and heresiologies to offer a Protestant conception of history, one distinctly Calvinist in

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<sup>456</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 75-6.

<sup>457</sup> *ibid.*, 14, 48

<sup>458</sup> *ibid.*, sig. A3r, 48.

<sup>459</sup> Knolles (1603), 652.

emphasis. Purchas, like Cartwright, accepts the existence of religious difference, while also anticipating the return of all people to the protestant faith at the end of time.<sup>460</sup> Cartwright's providential plotting is also in sympathy with the focus on disposition in *Sir Thomas Smithes voiage*, discussed in the previous chapter. Like *Smithes voiage*, the *Preachers Travels* makes Cartwright's travel experiences comprehensible, and meaningful, by setting them within a narrative structure that his readers would immediately recognise, what Cartwright describes as 'how unavoidable destruction doth alwaies attend on the succession of greatness'.<sup>461</sup>

This chapter has offered a new interpretation of the *Preachers Travels* by focussing on the question of credibility. First, it has suggested that Cartwright had a particularly pressing need for credit, due to the reputational damage he experienced on Weymouth's expedition to the Northwest Passage. Second, it has shown that, despite the absence of preaching in his writing, Cartwright is actively engaged with the subject of providence, and frames his travel observations in providential terms. There is thus not as great a mismatch between the title and contents of the *Preachers Travels* as has previously been assumed. Third, it has identified the three strategies that Cartwright uses to acquire credit: he models his prefatory material as a *proboemium*, draws on textual testimony to complement his eyewitness observations, and models several passages of the account on the *conquestio*, adapting that classical form to the religious and geographical particularities of his own account.

The following and final chapter offers a different perspective on the figure of the travelling preacher by considering the use of scriptural application, and the rhetorical topics of circumstance, in the writings of Edward Terry. Like Cartwright's *Preachers Travels*, Terry's account is dense in citation and providential in outlook, and also seeks to draw connections between his own experiences and received truths; unlike Cartwright, however, Terry's credentials as a preacher are not in doubt. His account testifies to his training in sermon composition, and

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<sup>460</sup> Dimmock (2014).

<sup>461</sup> *Preachers Travels*, 2.

attempts to re-imagine travel writing *as* a sermon, presenting his observations of India as material that readers can apply to their own lives.

## Chapter 5

### Edward Terry and the Uses of Scripture

In a note ‘To the READER’ prefacing *A Voyage to East-India* (1655), Edward Terry (1589/90-1660) sets out the origins and goals of the account, which is based on his ‘eye-witness’ experience as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe at the Mughal court of Jahangir in 1616-19.<sup>462</sup> Acknowledging the ‘very great space of time ’twixt the particulars then observed, and their publication now’, Terry insists that ‘those remote parts’ have changed little in the intervening years; the reader should thus ‘look upon’ his observations as if they had ‘been taken notice of, but immediately before it was here communicated’. Something else *has* changed, however: the ‘Original Copie’ of the account has been ‘revised’, and now includes ‘digressions’ that are ‘pertinent’ but often ‘very long’, leaving it significantly ‘enlarged’. The digressions are on matters of scripture, ‘Divine truths that lie scattered up and downe in manie places of this Narrative’, intended to capture those ‘who fly from a sermon, and will not touch sound, wholesome, and excellent treatises in divinity’. As they travel through these pages, Terry says, readers will experience the ‘passage to East-India’, and be ‘brought [...] thither on shore’ to ‘see’ and ‘behold’ the ‘riches and splendour’ of Jahangir’s court, as well as unexpected displays of ‘temperance, justice, and unwearied devotion’ by ‘Pagans and Mahometans’ alike, sights that should prompt Christians to ‘turn their eyes inward’ to examine the depth of their own faith. For this reason, he has designed the book ‘like a well form’d picture, that seems to look stedfastly upon everie beholder, who so looks upon it’.<sup>463</sup>

The *Voyage* is thus fundamentally concerned with ‘looking’. It originates in eyewitness, is subsequently revised (literally, looked at again or repeatedly), and then looked upon by readers, a

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<sup>462</sup> For Terry’s biography, see Michael Strachan, ‘Terry, Edward (1589/90-1660)’ in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.); Wood (1691-2), 2:164-5. For Roe’s own account of the embassy, as well as discussions of Roe’s biography and diplomatic activities, see Sir Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615-19: As Narrated in his Journal and Correspondence* ed. William Foster (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Delhi: Munishiram Manoharlal, 1990); Michael Strachan, *Sir Thomas Roe: A Life* (Salisbury, 1989).

<sup>463</sup> Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East-India* (London, 1655) sigs. A2<sup>r</sup>-A6<sup>v</sup>. Hereafter ‘*Voyage*’.

looking which enables them to see India and, in turn, themselves. Not only is the text looked at, but it seems itself to look back, staging a moral interrogation that matches the reader's own. Terry's emphasis on the participation of the reader, the need for them to 'look stedfastly', suggests that we are in markedly different territory from Thomas Coryate's ekphrastic tourism, discussed in chapter 1. Although Terry also conceives of his writing in visual and topographical terms, and relocates his observations from a position of spatial and temporal alterity to the 'here' and 'now', inviting the reader to 'see' and 'behold' the 'passage' and 'shore' that is described, he nonetheless makes it clear that they must carry out the most important part of the journey themselves: the contemplative turn 'inward' that translates sight into insight and focusses their 'meditations' and 'thoughts' on 'the glory of Heaven'. But different readers will respond to the book in different ways, and Terry has little control over the world's 'interpretation' of the *Voyage*. All he can do is hope that it is put to 'good use'. Rather than figuring readers as passive spectators 'led around' by the force of *enargeia*, then, Terry thinks of them as active *users*. Yet, at the same time, he indicates that some uses are better than others, positioning the *Voyage* as a spiritual exercise that reveals as much about 'everie beholder' as it does about its author.

The opening of Terry's *Voyage* recalls aspects of John Cartwright's *Preachers Travels*, discussed in the previous chapter. Both travellers position themselves as witnesses of divine truths, and draw connections between their travel experiences and the words of the Bible. However, whereas Cartwright's witnessing is ultimately subordinated to the question of *ethos* and reputation, Terry's relates to his formal training as a preacher, the significance of which I discuss below. Although the title of Cartwright's account suggests that there is an intrinsic relation between his preaching and the travel account, that relation emerges more clearly in Terry's writings. Indeed, as we will see, Terry combines the topical approaches of preaching and travel writing in order to design a travel account that could perform a spiritual function.

The previous chapters of this thesis have examined the rhetorical strategies developed by travel writers through their engagements with the discourses of ekphrasis and architecture,

natural philosophy, poetry and drama, and the practice of commonplace-keeping. In this chapter, I turn my attention to theology, in order to consider the relationship of travel writing to religious prose. As a preacher attached to a trading company, or, in Samuel Purchas's words, a 'Scholar-Christian-Preacher-Traveller', Terry occupies a formally and epistemically unusual position, one that enables him to mobilise the resources of eyewitness and scriptural witness, geographical place and the places of the Bible.<sup>464</sup> His textual navigation of India, England, and the Bible is informed by his specialist training as a preacher, and he conceives of the *Voyage* as an extension of his ministry, which is made most explicit in his reference to those 'who fly from a sermon'.<sup>465</sup> In this respect, his account differs from Cartwright's, which, although it is entitled *The Preachers Travels*, does not treat the topic of preaching directly or draw on the techniques of sermon composition.

As we saw above, Terry claims that his digressions offer 'Divine truths'; it is these digressions that will perform the sermon's work of 'instruction and use' and 'profit' the reader. For modern readers of the *Voyage*, on the other hand, Terry's digressive style produced an account that is 'exceedingly wearisome', full of 'extraneous' material 'too tedious to be palatable' which 'probably deserved to be condensed'.<sup>466</sup> The shorter versions of Terry's account (namely, an earlier version published in Purchas's 1625 volume *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, and a reprint in a 1665 volume of Pietro della Valle's travels) have received strikingly different treatments in modern

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<sup>464</sup> Purchas (1625), 2:1464 (chap. 6).

<sup>465</sup> See George Herbert, 'The Church-porch': 'A verse may finde him, who a sermon flies, / And turn delight into a sacrifice'. Herbert, *The Temple* (London, 1633), 1. These lines were widely quoted and adapted in the 1650s, which saw a revival of interest and investment in Herbert, who represented a version of the English Church for which suppressed Anglicans were nostalgic. See, e.g., Richard Whitlock, *Zootomia, or Observations of the Present Manners of the English* (London, 1654), 469; Joshua Poole, *The English Parnassus* (London, 1657), sig. 7v.

<sup>466</sup> William Foster, ed., *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619* (London, 1921), 290; Ram Chandra Prasad, *Early English Travellers in India: A Study in the Travel Literature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods with Particular Reference to India* (Delhi, 1965), 293; Donald Lach and Edwin J. van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1993), 1: 567; 2: 605n7. For other discussions of Terry, with a specific focus on the proto-colonial outlook of the *Voyage* see Corinne Lefèvre, 'Entre despotisme et vertu: les représentations de l'Inde dans *A Voyage to East-India* d'Edward Terry' in *Rêver d'Orient, connaître l'Orient: visions de l'Orient dans l'art et la littérature britanniques* ed. Isabelle Gadoin and Marie-Élise Palmier-Chatelain (Lyon, 2008), 131-47; Pramod K. Nayar, *English Writing and India, 1600-1920: Colonizing Aesthetics* (London, 2008), ch. 2; 'The social monstrous, 1600-1720', 40-62; Sapra (2011); Jyotsna Singh, 'History or Colonial Ethnography? The Ideological Formation of Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East India* (1655 & 1665) and *The Merchants and Mariners Preservation and Thanksgiving* (1649)' in *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* eds. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (New York, 2001), 197-210; Teltscher (1995), 18-20.

criticism. Motivated by their belief that the religious material in the 1655 *Voyage* is irrelevant, a number of critics have referred primarily or exclusively to the earlier text printed by Purchas. According to Ram Chandra Prasad, this version is more representative of Terry's 'natural way of writing'.<sup>467</sup> The idea that any way of writing is 'natural' is, however, questionable, as is the notion that religious writing is less 'natural' or characteristic than writing based on observational writing deriving from eyewitness. This is certainly not how Terry would have understood matters: he primarily thought of himself as a preacher, rather than a traveller, and, as we will see, approached the task of travel writing using topical approaches drawn from sermon composition. Furthermore, Purchas's interventionist approach to editing means that it is highly unlikely that the pages from Terry included in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* are in any way more 'natural' than the authorised version that appeared in 1655. Terry thus offers another example of a travel writer who has been only partially read, with little acknowledgement of the textual issues that inflect this reading. I addressed the question of 'tediousness' in chapter 1, on Coryate, and showed that dilatoriness has a significant theoretical and practical role to play in the rhetoric of travel writing. Below, I explain the particular uses to which Terry's own tediousness is put.

It is important to note that Terry's digressions have not been totally denounced: critics have recently set out to defend his style. Daniel Carey argues that Terry's use of digression enables him to engage with his experiences in India as a 'moral text'.<sup>468</sup> Similarly, Richard Raiswell sees the comparative thrust of the *Voyage* as underpinned by a 'decidedly Calvinist understanding of the world' which thought of the universe as a 'text' that could move and transform.<sup>469</sup> In this respect, Terry's account is in sympathy with the providential plotting practiced by John Cartwright. The readings by Carey and Raiswell are astute: as we will see, Terry does conceive of the world in peculiarly bookish terms, using digressions for didactic purposes.

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<sup>467</sup> Prasad, 306.

<sup>468</sup> Daniel Carey, 'Edward Terry's *A Voyage to East-India* (1655): A Chaplain's Narrative of the Mughal World', *Études Anglaises* 70.2 (2017), 187-208, 200.

<sup>469</sup> Richard Raiswell, 'Edward Terry and the Calvinist Geography of India', *Études Anglaises* 70.2 (2017), 167-186.

Yet, despite Raiswell's emphasis on the importance of Terry's rhetorical training to the composition of his text, we still know little about the specific techniques and strategies that define his style. Furthermore, in this critical work, the terms Terry consistently uses to describe his writing – 'profit' and 'use' – have fallen by the wayside.

Accordingly, this chapter will investigate Terry's decision to frame digression as 'profitable' and 'useful'. I begin with the figure of digression as theorised by rhetoricians and poetic theorists, and explain its relationship to 'application', a technical term in preaching. I suggest that Terry's writing subverts stylistic expectations by employing a figure typically associated with profligacy, idleness, and wastage for profitable salvific purposes. I then offer a close-reading of Terry's 1649 sermon to the East India Company, published that year as *The Merchants and Mariners Preservation and Thanksgiving*, placing particular emphasis on Terry's concern with 'looking' and 'thinking' about God. In doing so, I show that Terry made use of, and theorised, the practice of application in his address to the East India Company merchants, and that he drew on his own experiences of India to establish the relevance – or applicability – of his chosen scriptural text. Next, I return to the *Voyage*, attending to Terry's ideas of inference, insinuation, applicability, and self-knowledge. I explain that for Terry, travel wearied the body but also transformed the soul. By reading the *Voyage*, and putting it to 'good use', Christian readers could walk alongside the 'foot-steps of the Almighty', finding their God in strange places.<sup>470</sup>

### **Taking the Bible to the World**

Terry's preoccupation with the terms 'profit' and 'use', which recall the Horatian sense of the poet's duty to profit and delight, is important. These terms signal his commitment to profitable teaching, and knowingly gesture toward his affiliation with the East India Company. They also

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<sup>470</sup> *Voyage*, 452.

enable him to make a case for the profitability of travel. This is significant because, as previous chapters have discussed, seventeenth-century travellers wrote at a time in which the very point of travel was under heated debate. The terms ‘profit’ and ‘use’ feature prominently in these debates. In *Quo vadis*, Joseph Hall weighs the ‘benefits’ and ‘inconveniences’ of travel on a ‘scale’, arguing that knowledge may be ‘purchased’ by sitting still with a book at home, making no less ‘profit’ than those who take to the seas.<sup>471</sup> In contrast, in the view of the Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius, whose work of travel advice was translated into English in 1592, both ‘pleasure’ and ‘profit’ could be gained if individuals prioritised ‘inrich[ing]’ themselves with learning during their time abroad.<sup>472</sup> The profit of travel remained a concern later in the period. Thomas Neale’s *A Treatise of Direction* is subtitled ‘how to travell safely and profitably into forraigne countries’, and Francis Osborne’s *Advice to a Son*, published in the same year as Terry’s *Voyage*, warns that impassioned travellers in search of ‘deare-bought vanities’ do not receive any ‘return of profit’.<sup>473</sup>

In conceiving of his digressive style in terms of profitability and usefulness Terry draws on a similar set of language and ideas to those employed in debates about travel. His writing exploits a productive tension between different economic models, exploring the relationship of travel to risk and hazard, as opposed to the security of home. This economic language recalls the prefatory material in Cartwright’s *Preachers Travels*, which articulates the hope that the book will ‘passe currant’ with readers and, as a result, compensate for the various travails that Cartwright has gone through. Terry’s *Voyage*, as well as his *Merchants* sermon, make a more explicit connection between their economic metaphors and the realities of merchant trade., reminding us that it is through speculation on voyages that modern systems of credit and futures speculation ultimately develop: these nascent ideas are an important context for the *Voyage*. As we will see, digression – etymologically, a step or swerve away from a given course, like the ‘wry’ travellers

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<sup>471</sup> Hall (1617), 22 and *passim*.

<sup>472</sup> Justus Lipsius, *A Direction for Travailers* (London, 1592), esp. sig. A3v-D1r.

<sup>473</sup> Neale (1643); Francis Osborne, *Advice to a Son, or, Directions for your Better Conduct through the Various and Most Important Encounters of this Life* (London, 1655), 79, 67.

discussed in earlier chapters – is a particularly apt figure with which to explore questions of profit and use.

Thomas Wilson explains that digression (a ‘swarvyng from the matter’) is a useful figure to use when drawing cultural comparisons. If one wishes to make an invective against ‘rebelles’, for instance, a digression on ‘what a noble countrie England is, how great commodities it hath, what trafike is here used, & howe muche more nede other Realmes have of us, then we have neede of them’ will serve to illuminate the ‘filth’ of the rebels’ offence.<sup>474</sup> In making this claim, Wilson draws on an aspect of classical tradition, which identifies the praise of persons and places (*laus hominum locumque*), as well as the description of regions (*descriptio regionum*) as some of digression’s key functions.<sup>475</sup> I discussed these categories of speech in chapter 1, and explained that they are examples of epideictic oratory, the branch of rhetoric most closely associated with the exercise of ekphrasis. Wilson’s sense that digression could facilitate cross-cultural comparisons and, in the process, praise or denigrate a place or group of people, is equally prominent in preaching manuals. In his *The Practice of Preaching*, translated into English by John Ludham in 1577, Hyperius explains for example that the orator may occasionally ‘take witness & tryall of those whom we know to be estraunged from our relygion’. By drawing contrasts between ‘christian hearers’ and ‘the heathen and prophane sort’, even the most ‘stifnecked and hard harted’ of the auditory will be ashamed of their ignorance.<sup>476</sup>

George Puttenham prefaces his discussion of digression by glossing the figures of *commoratio* and *metastasis*. The first is defined as ‘the figure of aboade’, used when the ‘perswader’ wishes to ‘dwell’ upon a ‘substantial point’ for a longer time than those which are ‘lesse assured’. A similar principle applies to *metastasis*, the ‘flitting figure, or figure of *remove*’: in this instance,

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<sup>474</sup> Wilson (1553), fol. 96<sup>v</sup>.

For a study of digressions in early modern literature with specific reference to the political connotations of the figure, see Anne Cotterill, *Digressive Voices in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford, 2004).

<sup>475</sup> See, e.g., Cicero, *De oratore* (1942), 3.53.203, and Quintilian (2001), *Institutio oratoria*, 4.3.12.

<sup>476</sup> Andreas Hyperius, *The Practice of Preaching, Otherwise Called the Pathway to the Pulpit* trans. John Ludham (London, 1577), 31.

rather than ‘tarry upon’ an argument, the orator will ‘flit from one matter to another’ at his own discretion. The figure of digression involves more than a brief ‘flit’ away from the topic at hand. Rather, it is employed when the orator wishes to ‘talke farre from the principall matter’ or ‘range aside’ in a significant fashion, in order to ‘induce or inferre other matter’ relevant to his ‘purpose’. This figure is ‘extraordinary’, *extra ordinem*, in that it ventures beyond the usual order of a text.<sup>477</sup>

Writers emphasise that digression should be used in moderation; if it deviated too far from the main ‘purpose’ of a text, it could confuse more than clarify. For example, Wilson discusses the figure’s potential to impair cognition, cautioning that it must ‘well agre to the purpose and be so set out, that it confounde not the cause, nor darken the sense of the matter devised’.<sup>478</sup> Similarly, John Smith – who calques digression as an ‘excursion’ or ‘a wandering’ – insists that this figure ‘ought in some respect to be agreeable, and pertinent to those matters which we have in hand, and not to be strange or remote from the purpose’. Abuses of this figure, such as ‘going forth abruptly’, or ‘tarrying too long abroad, and returning [...] overthwartly’ will only serve to ‘darken’ and ‘deform’ the speech, leaving listeners tired, bored, distracted, or confused.<sup>479</sup> Wilson offers an apt anecdote that specifically associates indulgent digression with the activity of preaching:

I knew a preacher, that was a whole houre out of his matter, and at length remembering himself, saied, well, now to the purpose, as though al that, whiche he had spoken before, had been litle to the purpose, whereat many laughed, and some for starke weariness wer fain to go awaie.<sup>480</sup>

The Lutheran theologian Niels Hemmingsen tackles this problem directly, explaining that digressions should appear to emerge organically from the preacher’s chosen text: it ‘maye seeme to flowe out of the Doctrine, and not to bee fetched anye where els’. Failing to observe this

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<sup>477</sup> Puttenham (2007), 3:318.

<sup>478</sup> Wilson (1553), fol. 97r.

<sup>479</sup> Smith (1665), 225-6.

<sup>480</sup> Wilson (1553), fol. 97r.

precept will cause ‘great injurye’ to the ‘woord of GOD’, as well as ‘hurte’ to the listeners. To mitigate this danger, rhetoricians advise orators (and writers) to clearly signal when they are moving from one ‘place’ of argument to another, to ‘declare our returne, and shew that whereas wee have roved a litle, we will now kepe us within our boundes’.<sup>481</sup>

As Katrin Ettenhuber has discussed, it is typical for early modern writers to think about rhetorical composition in these topographical terms; in particular, they conceive of the work of comparison as a navigation between familiar and exotic ‘place’.<sup>482</sup> Terry adapts the technique of digression, and the language of literary geography, to the context of travel. Unlike the authors of preaching manuals, he does not restrict himself to the ‘places’ of scripture, but ranges between scripture and the places to which he travelled. Following the advice of rhetoricians and preachers, he takes care to avoid ‘going forth abruptly’; instead, he explicitly indicates his movements from place to place, marking out the beginnings of digressions (‘Let me digress here a little’, ‘Pardon [good Reader] my length and language in this digression’), as well as their endings (‘I would not here more digress [...] I will leave it’, ‘I will not here any longer digress’, ‘But to return to the place where I began my last digression’).<sup>483</sup> In itself, this is far from unusual in a seventeenth-century travel account. Examples abound, including Fynes Moryson’s *Itinerary* (1617) – an account which, like Terry’s *Voyage*, underwent extensive revision in the years following the travels described – in which Moryson frequently asks the reader for ‘leave to digresse’, either ‘a little’ or ‘so much’ from the ‘purpose’.<sup>484</sup> As the treatments of the different versions of Terry’s *Voyage* suggests, the prominence of digression in early modern travel writing has been an obstacle to modern critics: indeed, it is likely that travel writing would have received

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<sup>481</sup> Niels Hemmingsen, *The Preacher, or Methode of Preaching* trans. J.H. (London, 1574), 51, 96. Hemmingsen’s topographical language recalls writing on the ‘far-fet[ched]’ – *catachresis* – in the rhetoric of the period.

<sup>482</sup> Katrin Ettenhuber, ‘Comparisons are Odious: Revisiting the Metaphysical Conceit in Donne’, *The Review of English Studies*, 62.255 (2010), 393-413, esp. 395-99.

<sup>483</sup> *Voyage*, sig. A7r, 83, 224, 25, 113, 117.

<sup>484</sup> Moryson, (1617), e.g., 2:68, 84, 88; 3:240.

more attention in literary studies if it were less digressive.<sup>485</sup> Ironically, digression, the figure which ‘goes away’, is perceived as a problem in studies of travel writing.

Although digression is a defining feature of the travel writing produced in this period, Terry thinks about digression in a way that sets him apart from his fellow travellers. For him, digressions do not simply offer an opportunity to amplify or expand on a given point, or to insert information of tangential relevance. On the contrary, he specifically linked them to ‘use’ and ‘application’, the latter of which is a technical term from preaching. The application was the part of the sermon in which the preacher explained the relevance of his chosen scriptural text to the present auditory, helping them to understand how they might *use* or *apply* it in their own lives. Some uses of the term ‘application’ link it to the alimentary language, and the digestion of observations, that I have explored in previous chapters. For example, the preacher and political writer Samuel Purchas explains that the reason ‘why mens hearts are not wrought upon the Ministry of the word, is because many Ministers labour not the right way to shew men their sinnes, and to convince their consciences’; they ‘insist only in generals, whereas a particular application brings every man his part and portion, and not only sets the dish before him, but cuts him [*sic*] meate and carves it for him’.<sup>486</sup> The preacher’s application, like the digestion of observations in travel writing, thus involves a negotiation between particulars and generals. Purchas’s sense that ‘every man’ should have his own ‘part and portion’, a ‘dish’ of his own, recalls Henry Blount’s claim, discussed in chapter 2, that different ‘dishes’ of travel writing will suit different mens ‘stomacke[s]’. Blount’s travel writing uses Baconian natural philosophy and the Montaignian essay as its primary points of reference. Terry’s approach to composition, on the other hand, is aligned with those of preachers. Other accounts of preaching affirm Purchas’s claim that ‘a particular application’ is needed to endear men to ‘the Minstery of the word’. In a preaching manual first published in 1646, for instance, John Wilkins defined application as ‘the

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<sup>485</sup> For a discussion of digression in early modern travel writing, see Ord (2008), esp. ch.5.

<sup>486</sup> Samuel Purchas, *A Theatre of Politicall Flying-Insects* (London, 1657), 290. This Purchas does not seem to have been linked to the travel editor of the same name.

life and soul of a Sermon, whereby these sacred truths are brought home to a mans particular conscience and occasions, and the affections ingaged unto any truth or duty'.<sup>487</sup> Terry himself spoke of application in similar terms in *Pseudeleutheria, or Lawlesse Liberty*, a sermon preached before the lord mayor at St Paul's in August that same year: 'The life of Preaching is *application*, and the life of Application, is the applying of truths unto our particular selves', 'bringing home' the truths heard in the course of the sermon.<sup>488</sup> The printed text of this sermon is structured into paragraphs dealing with 'observation', 'reason', and 'use' (the latter used synonymously with 'application'). As the explicitness of the sermon's structure suggests, Terry is not only concerned with application as a theme, but also keeps it in mind when considering questions of form.

Like Terry, Wilkins, and Purchas, Hyperius also speaks of the need to 'accommodate' the sermon's message to the particularities of a given auditory, its 'maners and conditions' as well as the 'Citie' in which they live.<sup>489</sup> Like digression, application has both a formal and cognitive aspect. William Perkins explains that application is either 'Mentall', that 'which respecteth the minde', or 'Practicall', pertaining to 'life and behaviour'.<sup>490</sup> As we will see, Terry is primarily concerned with the latter. His writing and preaching do not dispense advice on how to deal with the trials of everyday life; rather, they aim to bring about major shifts in perspective. In a sermon, digressions typically involve briefly going *away* from the scriptural place at hand in order to exhort or chide the auditory, but in Terry's *Voyage*, to digress is to make a *return* to scripture, pausing the travel relation in order to consider – through the mediation of scripture – its pertinence to the English reader at home.

As I suggested in the opening of this chapter, Terry is keen to stress that the reader has a role to play, too. It is ultimately *their* task to establish connections between the travel account and the interpolated scriptural matter. The full title of the *Voyage* states that it includes descriptions

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<sup>487</sup> John Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes, or, A Discourse Concerning the Gift of Preaching* (London, 1646), 19.

<sup>488</sup> Terry, *Pseudeleutheria. Or Lawlesse liberty* (London, 1646), 26. Hereafter 'Pseudeleutheria'.

<sup>489</sup> Hyperius (1577), 31.

<sup>490</sup> William Perkins, *The Arte of Prophecyng* trans. Thomas Tuke (London, 1607), 122-4.

of Terry's 'passage' and 'abode' in India, 'Mix't with some parallel observations and inferences upon the storie'. In the context of preaching, the use of 'parallel places of Scripture' is one way in which a proposition can be confirmed.<sup>491</sup> By definition, parallel lines do not meet: when Terry asks the reader to 'run and make application', he is, in effect, asking them to join the dots between the 'observations', 'inferences', and 'storie'. Terry claims, as we have seen, that he has 'endeavoured to so contrive [the *Voyage*] for every one (who shall please to read it through) that it may be like a well form'd picture, that seems to look stedfastly upon everie beholder, who so looks upon it'.<sup>492</sup> In practice, however, this is not possible: there is no way to make the particular circumstances of a text immediately relevant to every single reader; this means that it is necessary for each reader to 'apply' Terry's observations to themselves. The experience of reading Terry's account is (as he presents it) thus a spiritual and intellectual exercise, operating via inference and insinuation. This notion of an active, 'applying' reader is informed by the emphasis on self-application in the context of sermon delivery. As Arnold Hunt discusses in his study of the 'art of hearing', audiences were expected to analyse the sermons they heard according to their 'doctrine' and 'use', repeating and 'enlarging' them in order to commit their key points to memory and, if need be, to share them with others.<sup>493</sup> Inference is also an important aspect of early modern drama, as Lorna Hutson has shown. Because 'belief is a critical and active thing', requiring us to 'infer and imagine', writers must make matter 'probable' by giving the audience or reader circumstantial detail to work on, to 'prove', or, to use Terry's preferred term, 'improve'.<sup>494</sup> In addition to its legal and exegetical uses, the verb 'improve' could refer to expenditure or investment that is carried out in order to make a profit.<sup>495</sup> By implying the existence of a reader

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<sup>491</sup> See William Chappell, *The Preacher, or the Art and Method of Preaching* (London, 1656), 122-3.

<sup>492</sup> *Voyage*, sigs. A3<sup>v</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>493</sup> Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge, 2010), 19-59.

<sup>494</sup> Lorna Hutson, *Circumstantial Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2015), 24. For Terry's use of 'improve', see *Voyage*, 452, 460, 498.

<sup>495</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'improve', *v*<sup>2</sup>.

tasked with ‘improving’ the text, Terry suggests that the *Voyage* could both profit and be profited, a suggestion reinforced by the etymology of ‘infer’: ‘to bear, bring, or carry in’.<sup>496</sup>

The topics of circumstance and the exercise of application thus both rely on inferential procedures. Circumstances are fundamental to the success of application in that they enable preachers to make a case for the pertinence of their chosen scriptural text, often in the language of ‘season’.<sup>497</sup> Terry thus explains, in a pun on ‘season’ and seasoning, that preachers must ‘make a full proof of our ministry by speaking and pressing truths in season, *rightly dividing the word of God*’ by choosing between ‘honey’ and ‘salt’ as occasion demands.<sup>498</sup> Similarly, in a sermon on 2 Timothy 4.2 (‘Preach the Word, be instant in season, out of season’), John Brinsley enjoins ministers to ‘observe, and watch, and apply ourselves to these seasons’, working with ‘a due concurrence and observation of all circumstances, of time, place, person, and the like’. Opposing two different kinds of preacher, he compares the first to ‘Jonas’, inclined to fall asleep ‘in the hold of the ship [...] when he should have been praying for himselfe and those that were with him’. In contrast, the ideal preacher will ‘play the Marriners part’, attentive to his duties to others in the midst of a storm.<sup>499</sup> Brinsley’s figuring of the Mariner as a symbol of Christian devotion is suggestive; Terry drew on a related set of language and imagery in a sermon titled *The Merchants and Mariners Preservation and Thanksgiving*, delivered at St Andrewes Undershaft in 1649. It is here that his commitment to the practices of application is first put on display. I will now turn to a close reading of this sermon, in order to contextualise the techniques that Terry later employed in his composition of the *Voyage*.

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<sup>496</sup> OED, s.v. ‘infer’, *v*.

<sup>497</sup> For a discussion of ‘seasonableness’ and application in the context of sermon composition, see Kathryn Murphy, ‘The Look and the Like: Lancelot Andrewes’s Real Words’, in *The Tottering Universal: Metaphysical Prose in the Seventeenth Century* (forthcoming).

<sup>498</sup> *Voyage*, 382.

<sup>499</sup> John Brinsley, *The Preachers Charge, and Peoples Duty about Preaching and Hearing of the Word* (London, 1631), 18, 27.

### Good Tydings: Terry's Sermon to the Merchants

This 'Thanksgiving' sermon was occasioned by the safe return of seven ships belonging to the East India Company, Terry's former employers. Terry's dedicatory epistle to the Company's governor Sir William Cokayne presents the printed sermon as a gift for the 'eyes' that will 'sinke further, and not rest, neither *returnd voyd, but prosper in the thing for which it was intended*, the implication being that things perceived by the eyes reach greater depths than those heard.<sup>500</sup> He concludes this letter with a similar emphasis on the visual, counselling Cokayne to 'keepe God alwayes in your eye, ever in your sight'. Terry's prefatory letter to the merchants combines this focus on the eyes with mercantile language. Beginning by defining 'Thankfullnesse' to God as a 'debt' that is 'ever owing' and 'alwayes paying', forever 'due', he reminds the merchants that 'truely this is a time of good tydings for you'. Terry's 'good tydings' is a witty pun: etymologically linked to 'time', 'tiding' can refer to an event or incident, as well as to the tidal waves of the sea. It is also a calque for 'gospel', the good news of the evangelists; both 'good tidings' and 'gospel' are calques of *evangelium*. In this instance, the tiding (event) is the tiding (tides): God's control of the seas brought the men safely home. Returning to the language of vision, Terry instructs the merchants to 'turne and fix your eyes' on the portion of scripture on which the sermon is based.

Terry's choice of text is Psalm 107.30-31. This Psalm is a *locus classicus* in early modern travel writing. One of its earliest and most memorable appearances in the period occurs in the first edition of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, published in 1589. Here, Hakluyt tells of his introduction to 'certeine bookes of Cosmographie' by his cousin, who showed him 'an universall Mappe', pointing to all known 'Seas, Gulfs, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories', before moving 'From the Mappe' to 'the Bible' and directing his attention to Psalm 107.23-4. Quoting from the Geneva Bible, Hakluyt read 'that

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<sup>500</sup> Terry, *The Merchants and Mariners Preservation and Thanksgiving* (London, 1649), sig. A2<sup>r</sup>. Hereafter 'Merchants'.

they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe'. Hakluyt's encounter with this 'Mappe' and biblical place took on the status of a personal mythology, a conviction that it was his calling to 'prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature' with God's assistance.<sup>501</sup> In Terry's sermon, the thirtieth and thirty-first verses appear as follows:

Then are they glad because they be quiet; so he brings them to their desired Haven, [*or to the Haven where they would be.*] Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodnesse, and for his wonderfull workes to the children of men: [*Or as it is more properly to be read from the Original.*] [Let men praise the Lord for his goodnesse, &c.<sup>502</sup>

The variations in typography present two different versions of the text under discussion: the first set of words in roman font is drawn from the King James, and the first set of words in italic appears to be translated from the Vulgate; the next words in roman font, after the bracket ('[') appear to be Terry's own parsing of the Hebrew. For each verse in the King James, Terry selects or proposes an alternative rendering that foregrounds its pertinence to the present auditory: in the first, there is a shift from a 'desired Haven' that has already been reached, to one still to come, '*where they would be*'; in the second, a shift from a wish ('Oh that men would praise the Lord') to an imperative ('Let men praise the Lord'), something that must be done now.

Terry begins by setting these verses in context, explaining that they are preceded by mention of 'four kindes, or sortes of men' who thank God for deliverance: those who have been saved from famine; prisoners who have been set free; those who have recovered from illness; and, finally, 'Seamen, delivered out of some fearefull and hideous tempest'.<sup>503</sup> Terry amplifies the importance of this final category, the 'Merchants, Mariners, others whose businesse is in the Seas' by weaving together a series of Biblical texts with nautical themes. He then returns to his main text, noting that the second verse ('Let men praise the Lord for his goodnesse, and for his

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<sup>501</sup> Hakluyt (1588-1600), 1: sig. \*2r.

<sup>502</sup> *Merchants*, 8.

<sup>503</sup> *ibid.*, 8-9.

wonderfull workes to the children of men’) is repeated four times in the Psalm, ‘set up as a Standard at the end’. In the sense in which Terry uses it here, a ‘standard’ is a flag, figure, or other object raised to indicate a rallying-point of an army, fleet, or, less frequently, a group of merchants.<sup>504</sup> It is designed to capture attention, to be looked at, and, by being looked at, to orient. Terry’s description of scripture as a ‘standard’ or (as he says elsewhere) a ‘banner’ is apt, given the origins of the church’s name: it is called ‘Undershaft’ because it was located underneath a maypole until 1517. Like travel writing, sermons emphasise the importance of place: preachers sought to draw connections between the venue of the sermon’s delivery and their chosen scriptural text. There is thus possibly a direct connection between Terry’s preoccupation with the ‘standard’ and ‘banner’ of scripture, and St Andrewes Undershaft.

The ‘standard’ of scripture enables Terry to speak, in initially very general terms, about the value of adversity; famine helps us gain a new appreciation for food, as captivity does for freedom, illness for health, and tumultuous seas for calm. In part, this is because adversity can act as a pathway to self-knowledge. Citing Job 36.8, Terry explains that ‘*When men are bound in setters of iron, and holden in the cords of affliction*’, then ‘they will come to know, and remember, and consider themselves’. Then, Terry turns to speak more ‘particularly’ of the members of his auditory, the ‘Merchants and Mariners’ whose travails are ‘layd downe at large’ in the Psalm. Affirming the importance of trade, he describes the merchants’ profession as ‘profitable and usefull’, one that acts to bring ‘Europe, Asia, Affrica, America, I meane all parts and places the World over’ back ‘home’. At the same time, trade is a hazardous pursuit. Recalling the ‘manifold perils’ and ‘variety of dangers’ from which the merchants have been delivered, Terry minds them of their duty to give thanks. But how? The first step, he says, is to ‘keep in mind the streights, fears, dangers, and deliverances spoken of in the Text’. By using the text as a mnemonic device, and contemplating God’s mercies, the merchants and mariners will be ‘better furnished’ to praise

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<sup>504</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘standard’, *n.*, senses A.I.1a-b, A.I.2a-b.

him. They must ‘observe’, ‘take notice’, ‘remember’, and carry out a ‘meditation’ of God’s works. In other words, to thank God, they must first think of God. This formulation is apt: ‘thank’ is etymologically related to ‘thought’, making thanks-giving a kind of thought-giving.<sup>505</sup>

Chapter 1 explained that Coryate’s use of ekphrasis, and his conception of himself as a pilgrim, recalls ancient practices of pilgrimage and sightseeing and their emphasis on the imagination. Terry’s writing, too, has a share in these ancient practices, but it resituates the language and concepts of pilgrimage within an explicitly religious context. In this respect, his preaching recalls the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes. In a recent study of Andrewes, Kathryn Murphy has discussed his evocation of the ancient practice of ‘*theoria*’ – in which pilgrims journeyed abroad to witness unique events and spectacles, before returning to narrate these sights to their communities – in his sermons. By employing the multiple senses of the term ‘*theoria*’, Andrewes translates this act of physical pilgrimage to one of mental contemplation.<sup>506</sup> Writing along similar lines, Joseph Ashmore has explored the ways in which Andrewes figures his listeners as witnesses to scriptural events, employing the topics of circumstance in order to make scenes from the Bible both relevant and believable.<sup>507</sup> Like Andrewes, Terry speaks of ‘seeing’ God in the world, revisiting the ‘places’ of scripture in insistently topographical and experiential terms; and, like him, Terry proposes a move from the visual to the mental, asking his listeners to contemplatively turn their eyes ‘inward’ (that is, to ‘theorise’).

Andrewes’s earliest extant sermon, delivered to London’s Court of Aldermen at the Spital in 1588, anticipates Terry’s emphasis on the ‘profit’ of application, and draws similar connections between application, self-examination, looking, and trade. The Spital sermons were associated with the collection of charity, most frequently for the ransom of merchants and

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<sup>505</sup> *OED*, s.v. ‘thank’, *n*.

<sup>506</sup> Murphy (forthcoming). For another mention of ‘theory’ in Andrewes, see Peter McCullough, ‘Lancelot Andrewes’s Transforming Passions’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.4 (2008), 573-589, 587. For Andrewes’s ‘theory’ sermon, see Lancelot Andrewes, 1605 Passion sermon in *XCVI Sermons* (London, 1629) 365-82.

<sup>507</sup> Joseph Ashmore, ‘Faith in Lancelot Andrewes’s preaching’, *The Seventeenth Century* 32.2 (2017), 121-138. For a related discussion, see Ashmore, ‘Reimagining Scriptural Places in the Writing of Henry Vaughan’, *Scintilla* 19 (2016), 34-51.

mariners. Quoting 2 Timothy 3.16, the sermon opens with the declaration, ‘The commendation of the Word of GOD is, that *Every Scripture is profitable for our instruction*. Every Scripture is profitable: yet, not every Scripture, in every place alike’. In language dense with mercantile terms, Andrewes goes on to explain why his chosen text from 1 Timothy is ‘seasonable’ and ‘pertinent’ for that day’s ‘Place’ and ‘Auditorie’. Noting that the ‘*Harvest of the water*’ is more dangerous than other kinds of trade, he claims that the ‘*rich men*’ gathered ‘in this place’ are especially well-equipped to ‘*lend*’ their support to the merchants, and, in turn, the merchants can teach the rich a lesson about the ‘*uncertainty of riches*’. This discussion of ‘*uncertainty*’ exploits a productive tension between different economic models, exploring the relationship of merchant trade to risk and hazard, as opposed to the security of home. As Terry would do in his own merchant sermon decades later, Andrewes enjoins the auditory to ‘examine’ themselves, and to ‘thinke’ about their attitude to their ‘riches’, and tells them that they will only find ‘certainty’ if they ‘*Trust*’ in God by ‘looking to Him first’, and by ‘looking to Him last’.<sup>508</sup>

Andrewes came from a sea-faring mercantile Essex family, and even owned boats. However, unlike Terry – and the merchants to whom Terry’s sermon is delivered – Andrewes did not travel himself.<sup>509</sup> Unlike Andrewes’s, not all of the ‘looking’ in Terry’s sermon takes place in the mind’s eye. He occasionally deploys his and the merchants’ status as physical eyewitnesses to enhance the sermon’s persuasive power, recognising that ‘they are sweete arguments which are drawne from experience’.<sup>510</sup> This happens most explicitly towards the close, where he takes the opportunity to ‘tender my owne particular thankefull acknowledgements’ for the aforementioned deliverance from shipwreck, making specific reference to the circumstantial details of his journey, including the topics of person and time (‘*Sir Thomas Row* [...] thirty Yeares since’). Even so, Terry needed to handle the theme of travel (and, specifically, the kind of travel

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<sup>508</sup> Lancelot Andrewes, *Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. Peter McCullough (Oxford, 2005), 40-81, 40, 52-3, 59.

<sup>509</sup> See ‘Andrewes’s Life and Works’ in Andrewes (2005), esp. xv.

<sup>510</sup> *Merchants*, 32.

that focussed on ‘looking’) with care. He resolves this, at least in part, by rendering the world as a book or text.<sup>511</sup>

There are several examples of this in the sermon, the most illustrative of which appears at its beginning. Here, in Terry’s wide-ranging discussion of Psalm 107, he references the sixth verse of that chapter, ‘*They mount up unto the Heavens*’ as ‘an Hyperbolicall speech’. Like the figure of hyperbole, which Wilson calls a ‘Mountyng above the truthe’, this verse mounts above the truth to describe the way in which these mariners were ‘carried up very high’.<sup>512</sup> A term of rhetoric is thus used to describe a text which Terry uses, much more literally, to describe the merchants’ recent rescue from the tides. Here, too, Terry momentarily turns from scripture to parenthetically share a remark based on his own eyewitness testimony: ‘(There is no such lively comment on this place, as the seeing or enduring of a hideous tempest)’. ‘Lively’ can refer to the living or animate, or, particularly in the context of rhetoric, to an image or description that is vivid, compelling, and rendered visible in the mind’s eye not because it is *alive*, but because it is *life-like*, achieving the status of verisimilitude.<sup>513</sup> ‘Comment’ refers to an expository treatise, annotation, or commentary, often in specific reference to scripture. The phrase ‘lively comment’ thus describes the world in terms typically reserved for the word, presenting physical (as opposed to an exclusively inner, mental) vision as a form of reading that ultimately brings the traveller back to scripture.

Terry’s sermon also plays on the multiple senses of the term ‘employ’. To ‘employ’ is to ‘imply’: explaining the ‘general use’ to be made of the Psalm text, Terry identifies the event of ‘preservation or deliverance’ that is ‘first employed’ in the verse that precedes it.<sup>514</sup> But ‘employ’ also stands for ‘employ’; Terry thus enjoins the ‘owners and employers’ of the mariners to thank

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<sup>511</sup> See Carey (2017) and Raiswell (2017), though their discussions of the textual aspects of the *Voyage* are less immediately connected to rhetorical terms.

<sup>512</sup> Wilson (1553), fol. 97<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>513</sup> See *OED*, s.v. ‘lively’, *adj.* and *n.*, especially senses A1. and 4. The term ‘lively’ is very common in Sidney. See Sidney (1973), 85, 103, 119. For other examples, see, e.g., Puttenham (2007), 1: 93, 95, 121-22, 129, 150; Sherry (1555), sigs. xliiii<sup>v</sup>-xlv<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>514</sup> *Merchants*, 11.

God for their preservation, urging them to think of those who have been made orphans or widows ‘by your employments’, and encouraging them to ‘imploy’ only the most devout men.<sup>515</sup> The concluding passages of the sermon ask the merchants to undertake a different form of ‘employment’, engaging with the implications of the text in order to find in it a particular ‘use’ for their own lives: ‘*We come now to Application*’.<sup>516</sup> Terry refers to Psalm 66.12, ‘*Wee went through fire and through water, and thou broughtest us out into a resting place, transivimus per ignem & aquam*’, noting that they should ‘literally apply that to our selves’. To perform this application, Terry draws a series of analogies between the circumstances of the text and those of the merchants; the ‘*fire*’ is like the ‘exceeding hot and parching Climates’ they have endured, and the ‘*water*’ like the ‘very great part of the vast Ocean’ they have traversed. And, as in the Psalm, the merchants ‘went through’, but did not ‘abide’ in that fire and water: ‘*transivimus, non mansimus*’.<sup>517</sup>

Exploiting a conventional metaphor, Terry casts life as a journey, in which all are ‘like Passengers in a Shippe under sayle’. The ‘earthly Harbors, and Havens’ in which the merchants have found refuge merely ‘poynt at’ something much greater: the City of God. Similarly, all of the toils and troubles they have endured will give way to eternal rest. To prepare for the ‘great businesse’ that is death, we must ‘looke further’ to what is still to come. The final paragraph of the sermon ties together the themes with which Terry has been preoccupied: seeing and salvation, thought and thanks. In heaven, he claims, we shall ‘not onely see light, but be light; not see light as we see that brightnesse of the Sunne by our eyes, but as if wee were all eye throughout, our bodies shall receive light on all sides’. In the final analysis, physical sight is rendered subordinate to spiritual insight, in which the Christian is able to *be* ‘all eye throughout’; the sermon thus performs the ‘turn’ from the world to ‘thoughts’ and ‘meditations’ of heaven, a turn that Terry would call for years later in the *Voyage*.

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<sup>515</sup> *Merchants.*, 16, 29.

<sup>516</sup> *ibid.*, 24.

<sup>517</sup> *ibid.*, 26.

### Application, Circumstances, and the 'Unscene'

Terry's sermon to the East India Company thus combines the topics of circumstance and mercantilist language in order to draw a series of analogies between Psalm 107 and the merchants' safe return, and, as a result, to help the auditory to 'apply' the Biblical text to their particular situation. Terry evokes a conventional association of mariners and Christian steadfastness to suggest that they will be especially well suited to the 'impoyment' of application. In these respects, his sermon recalls Andrewes's 1588 Spital sermon to the aldermen. But, as we saw above, it also draws on Terry's own experiences of travel as a member of Roe's embassy to India, affirming his personal connection to the Company as well as enhancing the authority with which he can speak about the hazards of the sea. That is, Terry achieves a conventional preacher's goal (applicability, or pertinence) through unconventional means, adapting the tropes and conventions of travel writing – namely, giving the details of his 'owne particular' journey including distance, climate, and mention of the person of '*Sir Thomas Row*' – to a different generic context. This section of the chapter will explore a further example of Terry's experiments with genre: the use of application in the *Voyage*, his work of travel writing.

The *Voyage* is divided into three parts. First, Terry describes his outward journey through the Canary Islands ('the Grand *Canaries*'), the Cape of Good Hope and the Comoros Islands before finally arriving at Suvali ('*Swally*'), a port in India. The second section is the most substantial, dedicated to the description of the 'large Territories under the subjection of the great *Mogol*', including details of 'the chief Cities, the Principal Rivers', 'the Soyl', 'the chief Merchandizes', 'the Inhabitants', 'their buildings', 'their diet', 'their Language, their books, their learning', 'their Religion', and the '*Mogols* policy', 'pastimes', and 'wives'. A 'Corollarie and conclusion' makes up the final portion of the book. A detailed contents page breaks the book down into smaller sections, delineating the places and themes treated in each. Like Henry Blount's *Voyage*, discussed in chapter 2, Terry's account executes shifts between 'particular' and

‘general’ observations, and is structured accordingly: the ‘Corollarie and conclusion’ thus builds on the particulars of the parts that precede it.

Terry enables the reader to navigate India with him in a further, subtler way: through the topics of circumstance, already seen in his sermon to the merchants. Lorna Hutson’s discussion of the rhetoric of circumstance in early modern drama emphasises the practical limitations of stage mimesis. By making use of circumstances, dramatists could communicate action from ‘extramimetic, *imagined* or *conjectured* locations and temporalities’, or what Hutson calls the ‘unscene’, ranging over space and time without sacrificing narrative coherence.<sup>518</sup> The places Terry describes are not literally imagined, conjectured, or unseen; they exist, and can be found on a map. But they are ‘unscene’ in the same sense as Shakespeare’s places, in that they are not seen by his readers, and thus need to be made vivid in their absence. Unlike Shakespeare, Terry did not have to contend with the difficulties of constructing a unified dramatic action. In a relevant passage of the *Defence*, Sidney discusses the distinction between representing and reporting such shifts in scene. In ‘reporting’, Sidney explains, ‘I may speak (though I am here) of Peru, and in speech digress from that to the description of Calicut; but in action I cannot represent it without Pacolet’s horse’.<sup>519</sup> Sidney’s point is that in speech (‘reporting’) digression can travel from Peru to Calicut in a single sentence, while representation (‘action’) requires fantastical invention to cross that distance in that time. To borrow Sidney’s distinction, Terry’s writing is a form of ‘reporting’ rather than ‘representing’, telling rather than showing.

But, as we have already seen, Terry is not only interested in digressing from geographical place to geographical place. Rather, like Cartwright’s writing on the Ottoman Empire, Terry’s descriptions of India are put to the service of a bigger argument about the workings of divine providence in the world. The introductory passages of the *Voyage* say this in no uncertain terms: by reading the following relation, the reader will ‘observe’ God’s ‘works of Creation &

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<sup>518</sup> Hutson (2015), 7.

<sup>519</sup> Sidney (1973), 114.

Providence'.<sup>520</sup> Like the sermon to the merchants in 1649, the *Voyage* begins with a 'Tempest', also in reference to Psalm 107. Terry describes the storm in terms that recall that earlier work, as 'the most lively and reall Comment, that I ever observed on that place recorded in *Psal. 107.23. verse, &c.*'<sup>521</sup> 'Comment' is an explicitly textual way of thinking of event, as if the whole world is simply a comment on the text of scripture. As in his sermon to the merchants, Terry's description of the storm, and of his ship's passage to India more generally, is rich in circumstantial detail. He notes dates of departure and arrival ('third of *February* 1615', 'ninth of *March*', 'the 31. being Easter day', 'the seventh of *April*'), longitude and latitude ('12. Degrees of North Latitude', 'two Degrees Southward of the Equinoctial', '34 degrees and a half of South Latitude') and weather ('enduring extreme heat', 'severall winds', 'much Thunder and Lightning and with extreme rain').<sup>522</sup> Viewed in isolation, these details are meaningless. But together, they enable the reader to mentally map the progress of Terry's ship as the narrative progresses, and to imagine the conditions the crew encountered in the course of their passage to India. More significantly, the progress of Terry's ship re-enacts the near-shipwreck described in Psalm 107: here, as in the sermon, he couples his own testimony of divine providence with that of the mariners in the Psalm.

Terry's addresses to the reader are more typical of a sermon than of a work of travel writing: indeed, they recall the frequency and directness with which he addressed the merchants and mariners in 1649. Here, too, Terry is concerned with mental action, asking the reader to imagine or 'suppose' the scenes being described: 'And now, *Reader* I would have thee to suppose me setting my foot upon the *East-Indian* shore at *Swally*', 'And now *Reader*, thou mayst suppose us almost settled in *Mandoa*'.<sup>523</sup> To 'suppose' is to assume, to hypothesise, or to take something to be true. Its etymological root, in the Latin *supponere*, to 'place under', reinforces Terry's emphasis

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<sup>520</sup> *Voyage*, sig. A5v.

<sup>521</sup> *ibid.*, 2.

<sup>522</sup> *ibid.*, 2, 4-7, 13.

<sup>523</sup> *ibid.*, 57, 195.

on place in the *Voyage*. By asking the reader to ‘suppose’ him to be in a particular place – ‘at *Swally*’, or ‘in *Mandoa*’ – Terry is, in effect, asking them to imaginatively put or ‘place’ him, in the different stages of his journey, and in different parts of India.<sup>524</sup> He aims to ‘put my reader in mind’ of certain truths, to ‘let my Reader see’, to ‘acquaint my *Reader*’ with information, to ‘give my Reader a tast’, and even to make ‘my Reader smile’.<sup>525</sup> Often, Terry issues remarks to guide the reader’s journey through the account. For example, in the section on ‘Soyl’ and ‘what it produceth’, Terry moves from a description of India’s agriculture and husbandry to a denouncement of pride. Their pride, he says, is the reason that no ‘*Exhortations, Intreaties, Perswasions*’, not even the ‘strongest Arguments’ will succeed in saving their souls. Quoting from Psalm 73.6, ‘*their Pride [...] compasseth them as a Chain*’, he concludes, ‘I would intreat my *Reader*, when he comes to this digression, to read it over and over again’.<sup>526</sup> By placing the Psalm text within a highly localised passage – on foreign ‘Soyl’ in more senses than one – Terry makes an implicit argument for its global, and eternal, applicability, while a request to the reader to return to this part of the text ‘over and over again’ anticipates a reading experience that is both contemplative and iterative, analogous to the practice of a listener repeating the ‘use’ of a sermon to themselves at home. As Terry explained to the merchants, to ‘profit’, one must be ‘employed’ in the work of application.

Application is discussed most explicitly in the final section of the *Voyage*, which is titled ‘THE COROLLARIE AND CONCLUSION’. A ‘corollary’ is a proposition appended to another. Figuratively, from its etymological root *corolla*, ‘little crown’, the corollary was the ‘crowning’ part of an argument.<sup>527</sup> The term frequently appears in the theological writing of the period, including in Terry’s sermon *Pseudeleutheria*.<sup>528</sup> As Terry does in the *Voyage* and *Pseudeleutheria*, other writers use the term as a synonym of ‘conclusion’ or ‘the summe’ when

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<sup>524</sup> OED, s.v. ‘suppose’, *v*.

<sup>525</sup> *Voyage*, e.g. 83, 120, 271, 279, 342, 435.

<sup>526</sup> *ibid.*, 108-9.

<sup>527</sup> OED, s.v. ‘corollary’, *n*.

<sup>528</sup> *Pseudeleutheria*, 26.

making an argument, often with specific reference to what which one should ‘infer’.<sup>529</sup> Terry’s seventeenth-century readers acknowledged the length, theological heft, and formal distinctiveness of this section of the *Voyage*, with Anthony Wood including the ‘corollarie’ as a work separate from the *Voyage* in his list of Terry’s publications.<sup>530</sup> In it, Terry elaborates further on the theme of self-knowledge:

It cannot be denied, but that there is a special use to be made in a clear sight or interview of Nations Persons, Things. Yet he is the best observer, who strictly and impartially so looks about him, that he may see through himself [...] the onely way for a man to receive good, is by reflecting things upon himself.<sup>531</sup>

Terry’s phraseology is suggestive. ‘Interview’, from the French *s’entrevoir*, ‘see each other’, stands for a face-to-face meeting or conference, as well as an act of introspection, or a view, glance, or glimpse of a thing or place.<sup>532</sup> The sense that travel should involve looking at oneself, as well as at the world, is reinforced by Terry’s use of ‘impartial’. In the seventeenth century, the nascent concept of impartiality had an important ethical aspect: it did not connote impersonality, or ‘objectivity’ as we now understand it, but a mind that is well-regulated and thus suited to participating in a community of inquirers.<sup>533</sup> Like ‘observation’, impartiality assumes that the acquisition of knowledge requires self-knowledge.<sup>534</sup> By claiming that observation is best carried out ‘impartially’, Terry foregrounds – as he does throughout his corpus – the importance of self-examination, ‘reflecting things upon’ oneself. The ideal observer, however clear-sighted, must turn within. Terry’s presentation of ‘Nations Persons, Things’ in the *Voyage* performs an analogous move, looking ‘about’ him – to ‘Mahometan precepts’ as well as the ‘Rules’ of

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<sup>529</sup> See, e.g., Thomas Adams, *The Sacrifice of Thankfulness* (London, 1616), 10; Thomas Blake, *Vindiciae foederis, or, A Treatise of the Covenant of God* (London, 1658), 135.

<sup>530</sup> Wood (1691-2), 2: 164.

<sup>531</sup> *Voyage*,

<sup>532</sup> OED, s.v. ‘interview’, *n.* esp. 1a-b, 2, and 3.

<sup>533</sup> Kathryn Murphy and Anita Traninger, ‘Introduction: Instances of Impartiality’, in Murphy and Traninger, eds., *The Emergence of Impartiality* (Leiden, 2013), esp. 9-10.

<sup>534</sup> Sorana Corneanu, *Regimens of the Mind: Boyle, Locke, and the Early Modern Cultura Animi Tradition* (Chicago, 2011), 79-113, esp. 106-110.

‘Heathens’ – before ‘reflecting’ these things upon himself, that is, on the ‘Reformed Churches’ in dire need of improvement.

This chapter has set Terry’s writing within the contexts of the art of preaching, and, in doing so, explained the salvific function of his digressions. It has revealed unexpected sympathies between travel writing and the genre of the sermon, including a shared preoccupation with place. Further, it has shown that Terry’s ideas about cross-cultural encounter are fundamentally informed by the techniques of sermon composition, and by the preacher’s responsibility to make scripture applicable to, and thus profitable for, his listeners. It has also offered a different perspective on the legacy of Roe’s embassy by bringing Terry into the foreground. Because Terry wrote about the embassy over thirty years after it took place, and over a decade after Roe’s death in 1644, the practice of application was essential to his effort to establish the continued relevance of his experiences. Further, as we have seen, Terry’s engagement with the practice of application is not restricted to cross-cultural encounters and the act of describing them – as we saw, he also speaks of application in his *Pseudoleutheria* sermon, which is on a different topic. But application is particularly pertinent in the *Voyage*. First, it allows Terry to reconcile his various identities as a ‘Scholar-Christian-Preacher-Traveller’, by bringing his training as a preacher to bear on his travel writing. Second, application enables Terry to argue that his travel observations, gathered over 35 years earlier, are still relevant, because of the ways in which they testify to the timeless truths of scripture. Third, by working in tandem with the topics of circumstance, application helps to make Terry’s experience in India vivid and real to the English reader at home. Finally, the emphasis on application in the *Voyage* makes an implicit argument for the importance of application more generally: Terry’s claim is that the Bible can throw light on any and all experience, and that it is the Christian’s task to ‘run and make application’ wherever they go in the world.

Terry’s *Voyage* thus draws together the different themes of this thesis: observation, note-taking, and the digestion of particulars to universals; self-knowledge and self-regimen; testimony

and witness; and the formal and generic experimentalism of travel writing. The conclusion offers a review of these themes, by turning from Terry's 'Tempest' to Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

## Conclusion

In Act 4 of *The Tempest*, Prospero celebrates the betrothal of Miranda and Ferdinand by instructing Ariel to bring the other spirits 'here to this place' so that he can 'Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple / Some vanity of mine art' (4.1.40-1).<sup>535</sup> This 'vanity' or magical illusion takes the form of a masque featuring the mythological figures of Iris, Ceres, and Juno, as well as a group of dancing nymphs and reapers. The masque ends, suddenly, when Prospero remembers that Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano are plotting to kill him, and orders the spirits to depart. Ferdinand is visibly concerned by his new father-in-law's change of demeanour, but Prospero assures him that all is well. In doing so, he delivers some of the most famous lines in the history of English literature:

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,  
As I foretold you, were all spirits and  
Are melted into air, into thin air;  
And – like the baseless fabric of this vision –  
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,  
And like this insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff  
As dreams are made on, and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep. (4.1.148-158)

Prospero's renunciation of magic, what he calls his 'art', has been read as an analogy for Shakespeare's farewell to the theatre, and the character of Prospero viewed as a portrait of the dramatist himself, contemplating the end of his career.<sup>536</sup> Although that autobiographical interpretation is now discredited, the analogies with the theatre, recurrent in the play, seem to insist upon Prospero's association with the stage. This speech, which was probably first performed towards the end of 1611, also resonates with writing published earlier that year in a

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<sup>535</sup> *The Tempest*, ed. Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (London, 1999). All subsequent references are to this edition.

<sup>536</sup> See, for example, Alvin Kiernan, *Shakespeare, the King's Playwright: Theatre in the Stuart Court, 1603-1613* (New Haven, 1995).

different genre: the prefatory material in Thomas Coryate's *Crudities*, discussed in chapter 1. Prospero's reference to 'cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces' recalls Coryate's argument for travel as an opportunity to see 'beautifull Cities, Kings and Princes Courts, gorgeous Palaces, impregnable Castles and Fortresses, Towers piercing in a manner up to the cloudes'.<sup>537</sup> Whether Shakespeare had read this passage of the *Crudities* by the time he wrote the *Tempest* is uncertain, though entirely possible. Coryate's prefatory material circulated widely prior to publication, and the writers shared a number of biographical connections, including an association with Ben Jonson, who may have brought the account to Shakespeare's attention.

There is no particular need to prove that Shakespeare had read Coryate, however: the congruities of their works are significant not necessarily because one influenced the other, but because they draw on a common stock of language and ideas inherited from the rhetorical tradition. Prospero's masque and Coryate's travel writing have a great deal in common. Both are fashioned as a 'vision', 'exhibite', or 'view' that enables others to 'see'; both achieve these visual effects by engaging spectators' imaginations, the 'eye' of the mind; and both are emphatically deictic, concerned with bringing other worlds 'here to this place'. Further, both compare their compositional processes to 'gorgeous palaces' and thus align them with ekphrasis and enargeia, which, as we have seen, are often conceived of in architectural terms, as in Sidney's insistence that a 'gorgeous palace' should be described in such a way that the reader can see the 'house well in model'.<sup>538</sup> To be sure, the magician and the traveller have their differences. For Prospero, towers and palaces, like everything else on the 'great globe' including his own 'pageant', are 'baseless' and 'insubstantial', destined to 'dissolve' and vanish 'into thin air'. For Coryate, by contrast, architectural features are 'solid thing[s]', ruined, depleted, and fragmented materials that supply the matter of his book, a collection of 'solid Observations'.<sup>539</sup> Despite the differences in

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<sup>537</sup> *Crudities*, sig. b2<sup>v</sup>. This possible allusion has been noted previously, but its significance has not been explored. See R.E. Pritchard, 'Shakespeare and Thomas Coryate', *Notes and Queries*, 51.3 (2004), 295-6.

<sup>538</sup> Sidney (1973), 85.

<sup>539</sup> *Crudities*, sigs. c7<sup>r</sup>-c7<sup>v</sup>.

their attitudes to the substantiality of manmade things (architectural, magical, or observational), it is clear that Shakespeare's Prospero, like Coryate, has some share in the discourses of rhetorical invention.

That Shakespeare had travel writing in mind when he composed *The Tempest* is indisputable. Although the island on which the play is set is located in the Mediterranean, this 'brave new world' (5.1.183) is often read through the lens of English travel to North America. Various sources and analogues have been proposed, including *A True Reportory* by William Stratchey, a member of the Virginia Company who, like Shakespeare and Coryate, knew Jonson.<sup>540</sup> The commonalities of *The Tempest* and the *Crudities* suggest that critics studying the play's sources should expand their geographical scope to consider accounts of the Old World; indeed, one of the goals of this thesis has been to establish the literary importance of that largely underexamined body of work. But as I have argued throughout, and as the aforementioned parallels between Shakespeare and Coryate make clear, the significance of travel writing to the literature of early modern England cannot be reduced to its use as source material. *The Tempest* not only mines travel writing for information – the nautical terminology in the opening storm scene, place names, such as Ariel's reference to Bermuda, as well as Caliban's mentions of Setebos, a Patagonian god, to give a few examples – but also, more compellingly, engages with its conceptual structures and preoccupations.<sup>541</sup> These engagements provide a useful vantage point from which to review the central themes of this thesis.

Prospero's 'art' is fundamentally concerned with disposition, and with the virtue of prudence, or foresight, that is disposition's prerequisite. The shipwreck with which the play begins is described in these terms; as Prospero explains, he has 'with such provision in mine art, / So safely ordered' (1.2.28-9) the storm so that everyone on board survives. This attention to order also determines the specific sequence of events that follow. Following Prospero's

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<sup>540</sup> On the sources and analogues of *The Tempest* see Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (London, 1957-75), 8: 275-99.

<sup>541</sup> See *Tempest*, 1.1.1-68, 1.2.229, 1.2.374, 5.1.261.

instructions, Ariel ‘dispersed’ (1.2.220) and ‘disposed’ (1.2.225) the mariners ‘bout the isle’ (1.2.220), placing Alonso’s ship in the harbour, and organising the rest of the fleet in a way that enabled them to meet again and return home to Naples. Later, Prospero ‘foresees’ (2.1.298) the danger facing Gonzalo and intervenes, using Ariel to warn him. Keeping Gonzalo alive is essential because, as Ariel puts it, ‘else his [Prospero’s] project dies’ (2.1.300-02). Chapter 3 explained that the travellers of this period were encouraged to act prudently, with an ‘end’ in mind that would ensure their good fortune, and to cope with the ‘strange accidents’ that occurred during their time away. As we saw, this ethical ideal is closely connected to the task of disposition, which deals with the ‘placing’ of plot, including narrative accidents. Prospero acts with an end, or ‘project’, in mind. His ‘dispersal’ of the ship and of the mariners, which involves literally placing them around the island, activates the spatial connotations of rhetorical disposition, and his prudence is suggested by his name, which means ‘I make happy’, ‘I render fortunate’. In these respects, his role in the play parallels those of the prudent travellers idealized in travel advice literature, the wise ‘Uliesses’ lauded in Thomas Elyot’s work of moral philosophy, the prudent poet described by William Scott in the *Model of Poesy*, and of the prudent ambassador Sir Thomas Smythe, the central figure of *Sir Thomas Smithes voyage*.

If Prospero is prudent, Gonzalo is a ‘spendthrift [...] of his tongue’ (2.1.26), extravagant and wasteful in his rhetorical performances. Although Antonio, mockingly, subsequently calls him ‘Sir Prudence’ (2.1.287), in practice Gonzalo consistently prioritises invention over disposition, the discovery of matter over its apt ordering. At the beginning of Act 2 he will not stop talking, even though his listeners repeatedly ask him to desist, because he wants to describe everything that he has experienced in detail, with no omissions; as Antonio says, Gonzalo ‘misses not much’ (2.1.58). Whereas Prospero shares Coryate’s interest in ekphrasis and enargeia, Gonzalo’s copious, amplificatory speech brings to mind other aspects of the *Cruditie*s that were examined in chapter 1: the heaping up of particulars and the associated issue of indigestion, as well as the significance of ingenuity, the handmaiden of invention. Like Coryate, Gonzalo is

associated with rhetorical indigestion, and accused of overfeeding his listeners: Alonso protests, 'You cram these words into mine ears against / The stomach of my sense' (2.1.107-08). This opposition of 'words' and 'sense' is another version of Jonson's characterisation of Coryate as a logodaedale, a speaker of words, not things.<sup>542</sup> Furthermore, like Coryate, Gonzalo is defined by his ingenuity. In terms that recall Coryate's passage on the Strasbourg clock, which is 'so ingeniously made', Sebastian claims that Gonzalo is 'winding up the watch of his wit; / by and by it will strike' (2.1.14-15). As we have seen, Coryate's indigested writing was a deliberate strategy, designed to mitigate the temporal limitations of his travels by guiding the reader around in a circuitous, dilatory fashion; his 'superficial description' of the Strasbourg clock is, ironically, highly particularised, consequently transforming the reader's sense of time.<sup>543</sup> In Act 2 of *The Tempest*, too, rhetorical indigestion serves a purpose. Gonzalo's monologues, which offend the 'stomach of [...] sense', prompt dialogue between the other shipwrecked characters. Together, the monologues and dialogue give background information about Claribel's marriage, the event that indirectly caused the nautical and narrative accident with which the play begins, and also offer an opportunity for the characters to reflect on the accident itself. Gonzalo's 'spendthrift' speech, a mass of gathered particulars, fulfils a function analogous to Coryate's passages of ekphrasis, in that it acts as a guide to the audience, and enables them to vicariously participate in the characters' journey to the island. Gonzalo, like Blount, quotes Montaigne, drawing on passages of 'Cannibals', the essay that is most preoccupied with ideas of encounter, in the form of a utopian discourse and set speech.<sup>544</sup>

Gonzalo stuffs his listeners full of words, but Alonso, Sebastian, and Antonio, deemed the 'three men of sin' (3.3.53), are only interested in feeding themselves: Ariel claims that they are so evil that even 'the never-surfeited sea / Hath caused to belch' (3.3.55-56) them up. In Act 3, Prospero exploits their greed (for power, as well as for food), by ensnaring them with a

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<sup>542</sup> *Crudities*, sig.b2v.

<sup>543</sup> *Crudities*, sig.b2v.

<sup>544</sup> See *Tempest*, 2.1.42-76; Montaigne (1603), 100-07.

banquet. The sight of this banquet, brought in by Prospero's spirits in 'strange shapes', prompts the men to reconsider their views of the credibility of travellers' tales. Previously, in the aforementioned scene at the start of Act 2, they had dismissed Gonzalo as a liar, describing his words as 'vouched rarities' (2.1.62) and implying that he had 'falsely pocket[ed] up his report' (2.1.69). The banquet changes everything. Looking at it, Sebastian exclaims, 'Now I will believe / That there are unicorns' (3.3.21-22), while Antonio insists that he will 'credit' and take as 'true' (3.3.25-26) any and all reports that come his way. Elaborating the point, Antonio subverts the saying that 'travellers lie by authority', claiming instead that 'Travellers ne'er did lie, / Though fools at home condemn 'em' (3.3.26-27). Gonzalo occupies a higher moral ground than the 'men of sin', but he, too, is taken in by the illusion, and expresses similar sentiments about the truthfulness of travel writing.<sup>545</sup> When Alonso and Sebastian rise to 'taste' (3.3.42) and 'feed' (3.3.49) on the banquet, it vanishes, revealing that the sight which had caused them to entirely re-evaluate their ideas of credibility and truth was itself an illusion.

Shakespeare thus recognises that travel writing is the ideal locus for questions of epistemology and testimony: the resonances between the *Tempest* and travel writing are not just parallels, but an explicit association. As we saw in chapter 4, travel writing is preoccupied with the kinds of epistemological questions *The Tempest* raises. In order to be believed, and to reassure themselves that they had seen accurately, travellers like John Cartwright combine their eyewitness accounts with textual witnesses in the form of proverbs, commonplaces, as well as the opinions of authorities. The banquet scene in *The Tempest* explores the consequences of relying exclusively on eyewitness testimony. All of the men are convinced that what they see is real, but they are mistaken; the banquet is merely a figment of their imaginations, engineered – or disposed – by Prospero. For Henry Blount, discussed in chapter 2, the fickleness of the imagination, which distorts the data received from the eye, presents a major obstacle for

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<sup>545</sup> See *Tempest*, 3.3.43-48.

travellers. As we saw, Blount navigates this obstacle by following two closely related courses of action: first, he prioritises self-regulation by noting the effects that his diet and the climate has on his mind and body; second, he digests his observations, including his reading, in order to produce general knowledge from the particulars of their experience. The characters in Shakespeare's banquet scene do neither of these things. They are led by the appetites of their 'stomachs' (3.3.41) rather than by the strictures of a regimented diet, and make no attempt to produce knowledge that will be useful to others. Indeed, there is not a single reference to note-taking in *The Tempest*, even though – as readers of this study will by now understand – note-taking was the most important aspect of travel in the early modern period. A number of the characters in *The Tempest* thus resemble the wry-transformed travellers we encountered in the Introduction, who travel without direction or discipline, and, for that reason, are rendered particularly susceptible to delusions.

*The Tempest* begins with a storm, continues with the 'preservation' (2.1.7) of those on board, and ends with a sense of self-discovery. Gonzalo's awe-struck summary puts it best:

Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue  
Should become kings of Naples? O, rejoice  
Beyond a common joy, and set it down  
With gold on lasting pillars: in one voyage  
Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis;  
And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife  
Where he himself was lost; Prospero his dukedom  
In a poor isle; and all of us ourselves,  
When no man was his own. (5.1.205-13)

The play's narrative arc, which turns from the accident of shipwreck (recalling those in *Smithes voyage*) to a plot resolution in which the characters find the things that they needed – a better fortune, a spouse, a dukedom, and, perhaps, themselves – anticipates the writings of Edward Terry, discussed in chapter 5. As we saw, Terry similarly describes the 'preservation' of 'Seamen, delivered out of some fearefull and hideous tempest', and conceives of the travails of travel as a

path to self-knowledge, and as an opportunity to get closer to God.<sup>546</sup> Drawing on established convention, Terry uses the figure of the mariner to represent Christian devotion, and explains that his own experience of deliverance at sea is a testament of God's providence. His travel writing shares preaching's commitment to application, a practice in which the words of scripture mediate between particular experience and general knowledge. Shakespeare's mariners, too, are distinguished by their devotion, and summon the others 'To prayers, to prayers!' (1.1.50) But unlike Terry's *Voyage*, which aims to make an individual's travel experience accessible to others, available for subsequent use and reuse, *The Tempest* insists upon its own singularity. Gonzalo's call to 'set it down / With gold on lasting pillars' suggests that the 'one voyage' portrayed by the play should be commemorated because its results are so unusual, 'Beyond a common joy'. In Terry's hands, by contrast, the tale of the mariners' preservation at sea stands for something more than itself: it proves that God is in all places, at all times, thus bridging the distance between the 'places' of the Bible and the places of the world.

In the final act of *The Tempest*, Prospero promises that he will explain how he ended up on the island. This cannot happen immediately, 'For 'tis a chronicle of day by day, / Not a relation for a breakfast, nor / Befitting this first meeting' (5.1.163-5). He will, he claims, 'resolve of you / (Which to you shall seem probable) of every / These happened accidents' (5.1.247-50), at a designated time. As the play draws to a close, he invites Alonso and his men to stay in his 'poor cell'

For this one night, which (part of it) I'll waste  
With such discourse as, I not doubt, shall make it  
Go quick away – the story of my life,  
And the particular accidents gone by  
Since I came to this isle – (5.1.302-07)

'I'll deliver all' (5.1.314), he adds. Like the writing examined in this thesis, Prospero's 'story' deals in particulars, giving an account of the 'day by day', is exhaustive in detail ('I'll deliver all'), and

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<sup>546</sup> *Merchants*, 9.

contains a number of ‘accidents’ in need of resolution. Most importantly, like the writing I have discussed, his ‘discourse’ promises to capture the imagination of his listeners. Just his introductory remarks are sufficient to excite Alonso, who says ‘I long / To hear the story of your life, which must / Take the ear strangely’ (5.1.312-14). Shortly after this exchange, Prospero releases Ariel. Although this is significant, it is not Prospero’s last act on the island: after all, he still has a story to tell. So, after wishing Ariel well, he turns to the others, and leads them off stage, with ‘Please you, draw near’ (5.1.319). As the play ends, a tale of travel begins. Prospero is not just a playwright, but also, in his approach to storytelling, a travel writer.

The purpose of this thesis has not been to offer up a new reading, informed by travel writing, of Shakespeare’s *Tempest*. On the contrary, as the Introduction explained, my aim has been to centre travel writing, and thus to offer a new perspective of the early modern literary landscape. However, the fact that it is possible to interpret Shakespeare’s play in novel ways through travel writing is suggestive for the arguments of this thesis, in that it demonstrates that the formal, cognitive, and ethical preoccupations of travel writing shaped those of the wider culture. *The Tempest* brings together the larger questions which have animated this thesis, which I will now briefly review.

This thesis has shown that seventeenth-century travel writing was closely connected to humanistic learning in general and to the precepts of rhetorical invention in particular. In doing so, it has revealed that travellers drew on the same set of topical approaches found in a number of other genres, and thus made a case for travel writing’s ‘literariness’. Beyond its efforts to examine aspects of that writing’s formal and generic features, this study has contributed to early modern literary and intellectual history in a number of other ways. In particular, it has demonstrated that travel writing had close ties to a number of other discourses, including architecture, natural philosophy, natural history, moral philosophy, and theology. It has shown that placing travel writing at the centre, rather than the periphery, of our research can complicate and enrich our understanding of this period. I hope to have provided an original, if necessarily

partial, study of a body of writing that has thus far received inadequate treatment in literary studies; to have shown that writers' engagements with classical rhetoric were more creative, and more eclectic, than has previously been recognised; and, finally, to have laid the foundations for further studies in this field.

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