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THE AUTHOR, THE BEGGAR, AND THE BUFFOON

IN CORYATE'S *CRUDITIES* (1611)

presented by

GEOFFREY A. JOHNS

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THE AUTHOR, THE BEGGAR, AND THE BUFFOON
IN CORYATE'S *CRUDITIES* (1611)

By

Geoffrey A. Johns

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

THE AUTHOR, THE BEGGAR, AND THE BUFFOON
IN CORYATE'S *CRUDITIES* (1611)

By

Geoffrey A. Johns

In the early 17th century, authorship was an emerging identity and vocation that resisted easy definition, an instability epitomized by Author Thomas Coryate. Following his exploits and ordeals, this essay traces the development of his author persona's tenacious climb to fame through its manipulation of the literary patronage system and the appropriation of the travel narrative genre. Mimicking the style of the literary genre and conventions of courtesy language, Coryate identifies and exploits their intersections to achieve his goal of fame. A brief examination of the historical evolution of each of these influences assists in the analysis of Coryate's project. Ultimately, this study illuminates the nature of authority and responsibility currently associated with texts, authorship, and the written word by situating Coryate's project in the context of the unstable categories of genre, preferment, and social/class relations of his historical moment.

Tom Coriat, I haue seene thy   Crudities,
And, me-thinkes, very strangely brude   it is,
With piece and patch together glude   it is,
And how (like thee) ill-fauour'd hu'de   it is,
In many a line I see that lewd   it is,
And therefore fit to be subdew'd   it is.

—John Taylor, *The VVorlds Eighth VVonder*

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Though *(I confesse, candid reader)* it is a fairly common move to express thanks to one's thesis advisor on the acknowledgements page, let not this seem a rote, political maneuver that would diminish the gratitude I owe to my own, Sandra Logan, without whose uncommonly sincere and thoughtful advice this work—and, indeed, what is to follow it—may not have been.

Equally grateful am I for the kind support of my partner, Jason Moon, whom I drove, surely, to the brink of insanity with my own, and to whom, finally, the bulk of these pages must rightly be dedicated.

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Figure 1: Coryate crossing the English Channel toward Calais. Emblem A from the frontispiece to the Crudities.

Introduction: An Author, Vomiting

Upon compiling his notes for the construction of the now-infamous 1611 travelogue *Coryate's Crudities*, Mr. Thomas Coryate christened both his journey and his travelogue—to say nothing of the ship on which he rode—not with champagne, as was customary for sea voyages, but rather with his own vomit. The first stop on his voyage was France, and so the multi-lingual, classic-rhetorically trained Coryate set out across the English Channel, and it is here that his story, his book[1], and his "Observations of France" begin:

> I was imbarked at Dover about tenne of the clocke in the morning, the fourteenth of May, being Saturday and Whitsun-eve, Anno. 1608, and arrived in Calais (which Cæsar calleth Ictius portus, a maritime towne of that part of Picardy, which is commonly called le pais recquis; that is, the recovered Province, inhabited in former times by the ancient Morini.) about five of the clocke in the afternoone, after I had varnished the exterior parts of the ship with the excrementall ebullitions of my tumultuous stomach, as desiring to satiate the gormandizing paunches of the hungry Haddocks (according as I have hieroglyphically expressed it in the front of my booke[2]) with that wherewith I had superfluously stuffed my selfe at land, hauing made my rumbling belly their capacious aumbrie. (I.152)

The vomiting author is a striking image for more than just its novelty; he is in fact a *producer* of sorts, vomiting so as "to satiate" an audience of "hungry Haddocks," eager as

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[1] N.b. the singular; the *Crudities* originally appeared as a single volume and it wasn't until it was reprinted that the division into two volumes was made.
[2] i.e., In the frontispiece. Coryate here specifically refers to Emblem A (Figure. 1); n.b. the violently ill figure at the ship's stern.

they are to consume the contents of the author's "capacious aumbrie." The metaphor, more than simply digestive, imparts the notion of exchange value and a crude sort of supply-and-demand relationship. In Lawrence Whitaker's "Opening and Drawing Distiches" that accompany the particular Emblem of the frontispiece depicting this scene from the book, he interprets the event as follows: "First, th'Author here glutteth Sea, Haddocke and Whiting / With spuing, and after the world with his writing. / Or, / Yee Haddocks twixt Dover and Calais speake Greeke; / For Tom fild your mawes with it in Whitsun weeke" (I.xv). Here, "spuing," already associated with "writing" in the previous passage, is further paralleled with knowledge; those who spoke no Greek before now can, like the "Haddock," by virtue of their having consumed the disemboguement of a Greek-speaking author[3]. Thus, knowledge and lived experience are vicariously transferred upon the audience by way of this regurgitative process.

The figure of the author vomiting is a multi-purpose satirical vehicle that comments upon both the state of the Elizabethan/Jacobean printing industry and of the *Crudities*'s own literary genre, the travel narrative. The passage, for example, delays revealing its act and his own historical moment ual subject matter (i.e., the act of vomiting) until the very last moment: instead, it first emphasizes the date and time of Coryate's embarkation from Dover and arrival in Calais, where a brief but thorough historical review is made of the area's name and possession. This rote (one might say *dry*) cataloging of facts is a noticeable idiosyncrasy of many travel narratives contemporary to Coryate, some of whose earliest forerunners were derived from shipping records, merchant reports, etc. These texts often situate their authors as dispassionate

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[3] Extending the metaphor still further, the Greek language in Coryate's use here functions as a synecdoche of Classical Greek rhetorical tradition and historiography. This knowledge, too, was therefore also transferred onto the author's ravenous, aquatic consumers.

transcribers, unmoved by what they record. For this reason, it seems remarkable that the Coryate-persona depicted in the opening paragraph of the *Crudities* is moved to such a visceral reaction at the start of his journey. Similarly, once the passage gets around to divulging its full purpose, the contrast between "high" language and "low" subject matter gives the impression of a text that simultaneously attempts and refuses to be formal. In effect, the pains taken by the passage to describe in excessively ornate and overblown detail a very crude and vulgar act serve to parody the highly formal modes of courtesy language utilized in court and, perhaps most notably, patron dedication letters that would preface most books of this sort. Ultimately, while the classical, rhetorical elements employed situate these introductory lines within the language of the court and the genre of travel narrative, the scatological humor and mock-seriousness of the extended vomit anecdote suggests that perhaps it—and, by association, these constructs themselves— push the limits of formality into the ludicrous.

The *Crudities*, through this introductory passage and countless others like it, manifests and relies upon an unlikely author-as-buffoon charisma; the silly errors and oversights of the always well-intentioned fool persona drive the narrative forward, putting a unique spin on the typical English travelogue. The result of Coryate's buffoonery is an uncanny representation of the early travel narrative that at once *is* and *is not* what it claims to be. The work, ostensibly a guide to travel on the European continent, ultimately falls short in the act of guidance due to the narrator's apparent failure to recognize and record details that would seem important in a more typical text of

this genre. In "The Epistle to the Reader" included among the book's hefty front matter[4],

Coryate acknowledges such a criticism:

> It hath bene oftentimes objected unto me since my comming home [...] that for the short time that I was abroad I observed more solid matters then any English man did in the like space this long time. For I copied out more inscriptions and epitaphes (said a certaine Knight that shall passe namelesse) that are written upon solid peeces of stone, then any judicious traveller would have done in many yeares. For which cause he branded me with the note of a tombe-stone traveller. Whereas it had beene much more laudable (said he) to have observed the governement of common-weales, and affaires of state. (I.11)

The mischievous duality of the "solidness" of subject matter and the "solidness" of stone

grave tablets is indicative of the author's penchant for word play and dissembling that

dances around and inside the spaces between what the focus of a travelogue "should" be

and that which appears in the *Crudities*. In reply to the argument made by this "certaine

Knight," Coryate explains that "because I am a private man and no statist, matters of

policie are impertinent unto me" (I.11-12). This gesture at once fits with the expected

ignorance of the buffoon-traveler and subtly reverses the Knight's argument; it is not

foolish of the author to exclude from description "matters of policie," as he claims—

rather, it would be foolish of him to make such an inclusion without the proper

understanding a "statist" would possess. The *Crudities,* it is implied, is a buffoon's

travelogue, and it would take a buffoon to expect it to contain descriptions that are

beyond the wit of a buffoon to describe. In this, the book performs a sort of double irony:

by producing a narrator who is ostensibly too foolish to write a "proper" travelogue, the

text wins the attention of a wide array of readers, both those who would enjoy laughing at

the narrator's silly "mistakes" and those who, more familiar with courtesy language and

the travel genre, recognize the parody and enjoy it as such.

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[4] See Appendix A for an account of the front matter to the first volume of the *Crudities.*

The spectacle of the buffoon, even one who merely affected such buffoonery, could be a valuable and saleable commodity, as Coryate ultimately proved through the successful effort to get his *Crudities* published. As it was very difficult for authors in Tudor and early Stuart England to sell their manuscripts and earn a profit, they would often appeal to members of the court or otherwise wealthy individuals according to the system of literary patronage for funding and support. This was especially true of those who, like Coryate, had never before produced work. Securing a patron was no small task, as to do so, one needed to set oneself apart from the throngs of other social climbers clamoring for the esteem and regard such an alliance would provide. The higher the social standing of the patron, the more difficult and competitive the task of achieving their patronage—and the more prestigious the alliance once attained. And so it was, in an age when new authors had very limited control over the publication of texts they wrote, Coryate succeeded in attaining a patron through the creation of this author-persona, this Coryate-the-fool. It is remarkable enough that he achieved success at all; more remarkable still is the fact that the patron he acquired was none other than Henry Frederick Stuart, Prince of Wales, heir apparent to the throne of England.

To examine the construct of the buffoonish narrator-persona that lives in the pages of Coryate's *Crudities* from its creation through its various uses and successes, it is necessary to investigate certain facets of the printing industry and the evolution of the travel narrative through which the persona operates. The following pages will discuss the fluidity and instability of the notion of copyright from its earliest inception through the legal systems of patent, licensure, and patronage. Ultimately, this discussion will address emerging trends of authorship present in Coryate's timeframe that influenced his project.

Further, tracing the emergence of the travel narrative genre from its genesis as a "historical" and/or "scientific" mode of writing through its appropriation by the English and its eventual colonial implications will help lend the discussion of the *Crudities* a cultural and temporal context within which to situate Coryate among his contemporaries. Ultimately, by manipulating the expectations associated with the authorial roles in the publishing industry and the genre of travel writing, Coryate was successful in his campaign for the popularity of his own work, and the *Crudities* emerges as a text that manages to successfully generate support for its own publication and success in an age where the market was anything but hospitable.

Figure 2: Coryate begs for gold in Germany in order to fool potential thieves. Emblem N from the frontispiece to the Crudities.

Part One: Print History and Copyright

The notions of copyright and authorship have historically been very fluid; within the print era, laws that protect authors' rights to retain ownership of and distribute their work are a fairly recent development. The modern notion of "intellectual property" was a laughable suggestion to English law makers as late as 1774. During the *Donaldson vs. Becket* copyright case of that year, Tory Attorney General Edward Thurlow—later Lord Chancellor of Great Britain—scoffed at the use of the term *literary property*, which he claimed "signif[ied] nothing but what was too abstruse and chimerical a nature to be defined" (qtd. in Loewenstein 14). Though Thurlow was known for his conservative tendencies and resistance to reform, his comments provide a revealing insight into contemporary anxieties in the copyright debate that persisted well after the introduction of the English press. His focus on the absence of substance that could be attributed to the written word was a fundamental concern in the post-Gutenberg English imagination. This was especially true of the moment of exchange between authors and publishers. As author and Renaissance print historian Leo Kirschbaum's "Author's Copyright in England before 1640" explains, "the sole control the author had over his manuscript was physical ownership. [...] Once the manuscript was sold, all his rights in the work ceased" (44). Thus, the abstract, "chimerical" properties of an unpublished manuscript noted above are nonetheless easily reduced to the physical dimensions of commodity in a

mercantile exchange. An author might then sell a stack of such manuscripts in much the same way as heads of cabbage brought to market; after the initial sale, the author's labor and the process of cultivation was, if not rendered totally invisible, largely ignored. It was only after the manuscript left the hands of the author and came into the possession of a publisher that it was seen as more than a raw commodity and was thence granted any protection under the law (Kirschbaum 44-5).

Despite perceptions that ideas embodied in texts lacked an easily-quantifiable substance, the process of publishing incited much anxiety from both the Crown and the Church since it made possible the production and dissemination of subversive and/or heretical documents. In an effort to regulate the creation and diffusion of print materials, numerous royal licensing restrictions were placed upon the process of granting approval for materials going to print. This ultimately led to the formal establishment of the Stationers' Company in 1557 under the tumultuous reign of Mary I. In his *The Author's Due: Print History and Copyright*, author Joseph Loewenstein describes the function of the guild as well as the circumstances surrounding its inception (28-29). At the most basic level, the Stationers were a guild of skilled tradesmen that included publishers, printers, and booksellers who sought to standardize the system of licensure mandated by the Crown. They introduced what is perhaps the earliest forerunner of modern copyright—the concept of "entrance" into the Stationers' Register. While this move was partially an attempt to assuage royal and ecclesiastical anxieties over illicit publications, another of its functions, as Loewenstein explains, was to assert an "internal order" onto the members of the guild. This order would "control competitive pressures within the printing industry" by granting the holder of a stationers' copyright the sole privilege of

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printing, distributing, and selling copies of a work once it had been registered, or "entered," into the Company's record (28-9). The manuscript then became the legal property of the individual for whom the copyright was named, regardless of its actual author(s).

Thus was established the monopoly of the Stationers' Company, which regulated and oversaw the entirety of the publishing process from the initial sale of the manuscript to the final production and dissemination of finished copies. By law, only registered members of the guild had access to the printing process, and only then within the London city limits[5]. Under this system, a publisher would first purchase a manuscript from its author at a one-time fee they would negotiate privately. After purchase—the author having forever relinquished any future claim to the work—the publisher would then apply for stationers' copyright in order to license it for publication. Once granted, it secured his or her rights as its sole owner and beneficiary of any future profit made from its sale. The publisher would then seek out a printer, a skilled craftsman in the trade of typesetting, to negotiate the price for the production of a given number of copies. After printing, the copies would be distributed to and sold by booksellers[6] to the public. Throughout this process, the division of labor within the guild was typically hierarchical: printers were generally regarded as manual or industrial laborers, booksellers stood in a service capacity that often represented the guild to the public as its primary point of contact, and publishers managed the process from beginning to end to ensure that a profit

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[5] This was an important limitation included in the original Stationers' Company charter. In London, as Loewenstein claims, "the smooth functioning of licensing and the commercial efficiency of the registration system" could be made possible in this centralized location (53-4).

[6] Let the term "bookseller" not give the reader the false impression that the final products generated by the printer and sold to the public were books in the modern sense of the word. In fact, most publications, including (though not limited to) "short quartos and other ephemera," were sold unbound to defray costs (Voss 743-4).

could be made on their investment[7]. Working according to this hierarchy, all decisions concerning which manuscripts could be printed and which could not were essentially made by the publishers as their initial investment was necessary to begin the process.

Numerous factors worked to complicate the organizational process and control of the Stationers' Company, however, the first and perhaps most vexing of which was royal patent. These patents, usually granted to courtiers and other favorites of the crown, gave exclusive right to publication of certain kinds of texts within the country (Loewenstein 29-30). In 1553, for example, a seven-year patent was issued by Mary I to the publisher Richard Tottel, granting him the exclusive right to produce law books. In its final year of efficacy, the patent was then extended by Elizabeth I for the remainder of Tottel's lifetime. Due, perhaps, to the assured success the lucrative law patent secured him, Tottel began to venture into other interests outside of his new specialization[8]. In addition to his legal publications, he would become known for his influential anthology of English poetry, *Tottel's Miscellany*, as well as widely-used editions of literature, including Sir Thomas More's *Works* and translations of his *Utopia* and Giovanni Boccaccio's *Treatise*[9], among others (Kirschbaum 34). The patent remained valid until Tottel's death in 1594, even though he had since retired and conferred use of it onto his son. Through the enforcement of patents, the status quo could theoretically be maintained by restricting

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[7] There are numerous examples that, though outside the scope of this project, illustrate the delicate, sometimes volatile nature of the relationship between these three guild factions. Ultimately, discontent within the guild would serve to fuel the phenomenon of individual authors attaining control over their work. For more information, see Loewenstein, esp. 82-9, 132-52.

[8] A brief survey of titles published by such guild members reveals that it was not uncommon for members of the Stationers' Company to author and publish their own works after achieving such status in the guild. It is tempting to think of this as a form of authorial ownership, but it is important to remember that said ownership could only be achieved incidentally as a result of gaining status within the guild, and was thereby not accessible to common authors. Importantly, these individuals were stationers first; their status as authors functioned only as an extension of that role.

[9] *Tottel's Miscellany, or, Songes and Sonettes*: STC #13861; *The VVorkes of Sir Thomas More*: STC #18076; More's *Vtopia*: STC #18095; Boccacio's *Treatise*: STC #3177.

the right to publish to particular individuals, which at once assured their allegiance and stood as testament to the rewards of loyalty to the crown. The effect of the royal patent in Tottel's case was a 40-year monopoly on the potential market profit that such texts could generate. As patent holder, not only were Tottel and, later, his son the sole publishers of these works, but only those printers and booksellers personally selected by them were granted access to the related profits from their printing and sale. As Loewenstein notes, what instances like this indicate is that the royal concern over the printing industry has generally been motivated ideologically, rather than economically (29). This fact has always been a source of strain on the relationship between the guild and the crown since the former was primarily a business. Royal patents and other legislation mitigating free enterprise of the book trade worked to obfuscate the guild's more central objective of maximizing profit.

Another challenge to the authority of the Stationers' Company was the system of literary patronage. This was a common means through which authors encouraged the publication of their books when they either couldn't sell a manuscript directly to a publisher or didn't wish to surrender all claim to it in doing so. Often, as Jan van Dorsten suggests, authors' reasons for seeking patrons extended beyond economic concerns, constituting "an attempt to improve their own social position through 'preferment'" (192). Frequent targets of literary patronage, therefore, were often more than simply "enlightened connoisseurs" of the arts. These included members of the nobility, the landed, or otherwise wealthy individuals of some social esteem who might be convinced to support their projects and to whom they were dedicated[10]. The relationship between a client and his or her patron simultaneously benefited both parties. The patron gained the

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[10] This support was sometimes financial, but *always* social and ideological.

esteem of having his or her name affiliated with the text, while the client, in addition to the increased access to publication the patron's influence afforded, also similarly enjoyed a heightened esteem through association[11]. A residual benefit of the association between a book and its benefactor was an increased sales prospect, as an alliance with a particularly well-liked patron could often serve as a selling point for potential buyers of the finished product. An important distinction, however, is that neither the author nor the benefactor of a manuscript published via the patronage system gained final "ownership" of the work. Publishers typically retained the legal copyright of any materials printed by the guild, and it was only with their permission, therefore, that future printings could be requisitioned[12]. Publishers would, however, be more willing to meet the demands of authors who had acquired support from patrons because it decreased the risk of investment in a particular manuscript—finally, there was a greater likelihood of the finished book's success in the marketplace. The immediate benefit for an author in the patronage system was a greater control over logistical matters such as to whom the manuscript was sold, for how much, who would print and distribute it, etc. In this way, "control" of one's manuscripts was always mediated by economic concerns since the relationship between authors and stationers, whether or not a patron had entered the equation, was necessarily fiduciary.

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[11] This relationship could also be dangerous for both parties, however. The suppressed 1599 edition of John Hayward's *The Life and Raigne of King Henrie IIII*, for example, implicated its author in treason due to its dedication to Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex, when the latter was brought up on charges of the same in August 1600. Hayward, it was suggested, had written the account of Richard II's overthrow in support of Essex's alleged insurrection. The dedication also proved harmful to Essex, whose patronage of the Hayward account, it was claimed, signified a desire to be associated with his ancestor Henry IIII, and was further evidence of his treasonous intentions. For more details on this case and its implications, see the introduction to John J. Manning's edition of the work, esp. 17-34.

[12] It should be asserted, however, that patrons, though holding no actual legal claim to works dedicated to them, were still seen as having a sort of textual ownership granted through the use of their name. In this way, a patron could have continued influence over the future of the work (Loewenstein 82-3).

Another function of the patronage system was the (at least ostensible) elevations in status of the individuals upon whom favor was conferred. For example, an author with a manuscript unlikely to be selected by a member of the Stationers' Company could acquire a temporary boost in status if he or she could capitalize on the notoriety of a well-known or otherwise established patron. With this backing, the likelihood of attracting the interest of a publisher increased, as would the sum of money negotiated for the sale of the manuscript. In this way, the patronage system functioned to make somewhat permeable the distinctions between social and professional strata. Over time, this also served to elevate the status of common readers since their potential as consumers grew. Elizabeth Eisenstein, in her seminal study *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, notes that one function of such trends was to make the process of public address more "atomistic" through the encouragement of individual readership (105). With the widening of the book trade that this system made possible, it became more and more common for an author and publisher to appeal directly to the end consumer when composing and designing material for print[13]. One of the foremost examples of this practice, as outlined in Peter Voss's "Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England," is the proliferation of frontispieces. Often printed with a blank verso, the page could double as an announcement or poster of sorts to be produced in excess of finished copies and posted in public spaces[14]. When prospective buyers came across these posted advertisements, they could learn from them the titles of new works and the various names of individuals involved in their printing, including to whom they

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[13] As Paul Voss notes, this was especially true of the 1590s onward (733).

[14] Consequently, Voss argues, woodcut illustrations became more and more common inclusions on frontispieces as attention getters. This introduced new a importance to the role of the printer within the stationers' guild and, as Tessa Watt claims, further opened the printing market to include those individuals "on the fringes of literacy" (qtd. in Voss 738).

were dedicated. Perhaps most importantly, the posters also described where copies were being sold and persuaded buyers seek out these vendors to make purchase (Voss 737).

Although the meaning of "copyright" was still limited by modern standards, the shift in early print culture from the complete monopoly of the Stationer's guild to the patronage system constituted a shift in authorial access to the means by which an individual could address a literate, educated reading public. Equally important is the implication that this shift constituted a reassessment of barriers that blocked the dissemination of information, thereby questioning the assumptions of who was authorized and/or credible enough to make or have access to records of such an address— what Eisenstein refers to as a "democratizing aspect" of print culture (90). Literary patronage, then, while by no means supplanting the roles of the publishers in selecting texts for publication, functioned to somewhat soften the absolute control they exercised on the printing process and granted authors a greater amount of control over the final, printed product (Loewenstein 205). Thus, patronage ultimately made accessible a wider scope and circulation of information by allowing for the publication of materials in which publishers might previously have been unmotivated to invest.

One example of the sense of importance that developed concerning the patron's role in the success of a publication appears in the first printing of William Shakespeare's *Othello*. Widely thought to have been written in or around 1603, this play didn't make its appearance in print until 1622—11 years after the author's death. Though four other plays of Shakespeare were published the same year, these were all subsequent editions to originals previously published[15]. Readily noticeable in each of these other publications is

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[15] *King John, 1 Henry IV, Romeo & Juliet,* and *Richard III* ; STC #s 14647, 22285, 22325, and 22305, respectively.

the complete lack of any front material: the text of each play begins on the leaf immediately following its frontispiece. The publisher Thomas Walkley, perhaps *because* it was the play's first edition, saw fit to include a prefatory "dedicatory" statement in a section he titled "The Stationer to the Reader."

> To set forth a booke without an Epistle, were like to the old English prouerbe, *A blew coat without a badge,* & the Author being dead, I thought good to take that piece of worke vpon mee: To commend it, I will not, for that which is good, I hope euery man will commend, without intreaty: and I am the bolder, because the Authors name is sufficient to vent his worke. Thus leauing euery one to the liberty of iudgement: I haue ventered to print this Play, and leaue it to the generall censure. (A2)

While not especially common, it is also not altogether unheard of for a publisher to make an address at the start of a work he or she commissioned, especially in the absence of the author or another benefactor[16]. What *is* remarkable, however, is Walkley's insistence that, even as "the Authors name is sufficient to vent his worke," he is still apprehensive about publishing a new work without the customary patron dedication. By endeavoring to simultaneously introduce and *refuse* to introduce the play, Walkley reveals a peculiar anxiety regarding the authority and viability of print material in Early Modern England. Although Shakespeare was fortunate enough in his lifetime to enjoy a renown that would ensure continued market demand for printed versions of his plays even after his death, the printing industry of the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods did not recognize authorial fame as sufficient to justify publication. Just as the proverbial police officer or "blew

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[16] Single quarto versions of dramatic works, however, didn't commonly have dedications at all. As plays were primarily written for performance, printed copies were not viewed in the same way under the system of theatrical patronage as with the literary (Loewenstein 83-4). It is thus all the more significant that Walkley found it necessary to include his "epistle" to the edition in question. Though speculation, one might imagine that his reasoning had something to do with this publication being among the first original editions of the author's works printed since his death.

coat" is distinguished by the official "badge" of law, so too did publications require the "badge" of support and authority of a dedicated patron.

While the role of authors in the publication process began to expand somewhat over time, it was still difficult for them to achieve recognition when their work became successful and/or profitable. The same cannot be said, however, in cases of scandal aroused by their publications, as can be seen in the following 1643 Order of the Commons:

> [T]he Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers shall be required to take especiall Order, that the Printers doe neither print, nor reprint any thing without the name and consent of the Author. [...] If any Printer shall notwithstanding [do so] he shall then be proceeded against, as both Printer and Author thereof [...]. (qtd. in Loewenstein 162-3)

The order, as Loewenstein suggests, is evidence that the term *author* refers not to one who *produces* materials—a definition he attributes to more modern attitudes—but rather one who must be held responsible for publication. Hence, the author constitutes "a potential object of punishment" in the event such materials are found to be seditious (162). Importantly, the order seems to designate responsibility for published texts to the producer of copy—which allows for the address of the widening reading public—and not the producer of content[17]. A prominent example of punishment over such a "seditious" text and its proliferation was the 1579 case of John Stubbs's brief tract *The Discouerie of a Gaping Gulf,* a condemnation of the marriage negotiations of the Protestant Elizabeth and the Catholic Duke of Alençon in which Stubbs ostensibly prayed for God to "[let] her Maiestie see the sin and punishment thereof" (A1). In addition to the subject matter, the copyright is remarkable in its being entered into the register as "to be printed 'at the peril'

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[17]   These identities potentially, but not necessarily, overlapped as authors and printers occasionally worked together to disseminate published materials.

of the registrant" (Loewenstein 29). The queen and her court were outraged at the publication and Stubbs was subsequently brought to Westminster along with his publisher William Page and printer Hugh Singleton under charges that the pamphlet was "seditious, if not treasonous." While Singleton, partially owing to his advanced age, was eventually pardoned, Stubbs and Page were found guilty and sentenced to the amputation of their right hands (Mears 644-5; Ray 23).

What makes the affair particularly noteworthy is its illustration of the decisive and harsh consequences that could befall members of the Stationer's Company who violated the relationship between the guild and the crown by publishing subversive, "seditious" texts. Throughout the affair, Stubbs maintained that his advice had been well-intentioned, and that he was "genuinely shocked" at both the severity of queen's sentence and her refusal to give clemency. Finally, at the public execution of his sentence in Westminster marketplace, Stubbs dramatically declared atop the scaffold, "[...] my greatest greffe is, in soe many weekes and dais of imprisonment, her Majestie hath not once thoughte me worthie of her mercie, which she hath often times extended to divers persons in greater offences" (Mears 630). For her own part, Elizabeth "declared that she would rather lose a hand herself than mitigate [... the] punishment" (qtd. in Ray 23). Elizabethan historian Natalie Mears suggests that *The Gaping Gulf* may have been the target of such harsh censure owing not to its content but rather the fact that "Stubbs and Page had deliberately attempted to disseminate [it] to a [...] socially diverse and geographically dispersed readership" outside London (648). As a target of punishment, then, Stubbs's authorship of the tract was of less concern to the queen than his participation in the process of its publication and dissemination. Examining the public

proclamation against the pamphlet, Mears finds that it was "explicitly condemned for 'offering to every most meanest person of judgement ... authorite to argue and determine, in every blinde corner, at their several wills, of the affaires of publique estate'":

> The social inclusivity of debate and counsel this represented was, Elizabeth considered, "A thing most pernicious in any estate." Unlike her appointed "counsellors" and "faithfull Ministers," ordinary subjects did not have the access to "true information," the ability to examine it and offer constructive advice, nor her own "motherly or princely care" to evealuate what was "honorable to her Majestie, profitable to the state of the Realme, and not hurtfull to the continuance of the peaceable government of the same, both in the state of religion and policie." (648-9)

Complicating this account is the fact that Stubbs and Page could not have hoped to reap great profit from the dissemination of such a tract. Theirs was a task conceived and executed solely for the purposes of disseminating a tract that attempted to shape public policy. As such, it can again be asserted that the royal interest in this case arose from ideological concerns owing neither to legal licensure nor patent and, additionally, to the perceived appropriateness of access granted individual subjects of the crown to "affaires of publique estate."

However "abstruse and chimerical" the notion of literary property may have seemed to law makers throughout the early years of printing, it is evident that this did not affect their perceptions of the press as a very real potential threat. Thus, they were quick to use every means within their power to limit, censure, and deflect possible injury to the established authority of crown and church. What may seem remarkable is the tenacity of the individuals involved in the printing trade despite the various obstacles and dangers entailed. In spite of royal, ecclesiastical, and legal censure, for example, the publication of political pamphlets persisted that variably advised certain individuals in authority, condemned or lauded measures taken by them, and suggested further actions. In spite of

the overwhelming opposition authors faced when attempting to have their works published, to say nothing of reaping financial benefits from such endeavors, there still was no shortage of print throughout this era. Perhaps it was the romantic notion of public address that kept the industry alive. Perhaps it was the opportunity it afforded social climbers to exercise their skills at "promoting reputations, establishing expertise, advancing knowledge, and encouraging investment" (Voss 734). In any case, the trade did persist, ever challenging those in authority to recognize it as more than simply a potential threat.

Figure 3: Coryate carried in a chair by "certaine poore fellows" over the Alps between France and Italy. Emblem D from the frontispiece to the Crudities.

Part Two: Evolution of the Travel Narrative

As long as there has been knowledge of lands and cultures outside the boundaries of a "home" space, there have been travel narratives. Though "historical" and "travel" writings are often regarded as separate genres in a modern sense, it is difficult to distinguish them from each other in their earliest manifestations since many of the first "historical" narratives were exploratory in nature. The earliest work of "history" in the Western canon is the massive nine-volume *Histories* written by the Greek Herodotus in about 440 BCE. The work chronicles the author's travels around the Mediterranean Sea—notably throughout Egypt, Persia, and other areas largely unexplored and unknown to his contemporaries. For this reason, Herodotus is regarded by many as the "father of history" (Adams 3). The purpose of the work, as he claims in its introductory passages, was "to preserve the memory of the past by putting on record the astonishing achievements both of our own and of other peoples; and more particularly, to show how they came into conflict" (Herodotus 41). The work is more than a simple record of political happenstance, however. Herodotus includes in his account a sort of rudimentary journal of his travels as he set out from his homeland to report on nations, cultures, and lifestyles outside of his own. Some scholars for this reason regard *The Histories* as the first piece of travel literature. The narrative deviates, as scholar Percy Adams claims, from simple historical record by devoting space to "descriptions of buildings and cities

and battlefields [Herodotus] saw, of roads he traveled, and of religious practices he encountered" (3).

What seems to distinguish "travel" from "historical" writing in Adams's account is the subject of the author's gaze and attention on topics that might be considered mundane. About halfway through his second volume, however, Herodotus pauses to record a noteworthy change in his methodology that might offer a more complete insight into the genre. In the midst of documenting the lifestyles and habits of the Egyptians encountered on his journey, he declares the following:

> Up to this point I have confined what I have written to the results of my own direct observation and research, and the views I have formed of them; but from now on the basis of my story will be the accounts given to me by the Egyptians themselves—though here, too, I shall put in one or two things which I have seen with my own eyes. (165)

Herodotus here defines two different types of historical narratives. The first of these is a rote cataloging of facts and eyewitness accounts by a narrator detached from his or her subject. For the second, the narrator interacts with surroundings and locals to derive facts that cannot be obtained by observation alone, weighs them against his or her own observations and experiences, and passes judgment on their validity. Both types of narratives concern travel, but the latter's deviation from the standard "historical" mode of record is what initially distinguishes it. The motif of melding various perspectives with one's own is key, the result of which is the development of a unique narrator persona that extends outside of the individual author's role as subject of the dominant culture[18]. The author's perspectives, while still prevailing and distinct, are joined to and informed by others, giving the final account the impression of omniscience. By assimilating

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[18] That is, dominant in the narrative because it is the culture through which the author perceives and expresses experiences abroad and, ultimately, through which intended readers will interpret the account.

information in this way, the final written narrative produces a unique knowledge base that, while certainly dominated by perceptions of the author, nevertheless includes perspectives and information relating to another culture that would be otherwise inaccessible to an outsider[19]. As a medium through which such lived experience may be shared and understood by proxy, the travel narrative constitutes a powerful epistemological tool for cataloging and defining cultural difference and selfhood. It is perhaps this functionality, more than the descriptive nature Adams notes, which distinguishes it from more classically "historical" writing.

Curiously, with the exception of various English translations of works from other countries[20], there is a notable lack of English travel writing until about the final quarter of the 16th century[21]. While it is true that English international exploration prior to this time was limited when compared to the rest of Europe, it was not nonexistent. Similarly, documentation of voyages and exploration was certainly produced, These included, as Jack Beeching, editor of Richard Hakluyt's *Principle Navigations*, notes, "ships' logs, salesmen's reports to head office, secret economic intelligence, captured enemy papers"

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[19] This is especially important considering the historical roles such documents often played. In her work on Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Annabel Patterson asserts that "a national history should not and could not be univocal, but must shoulder the responsibility of representing diversity of opinion [...] expressed as multivocality" (7).

[20] Translation of such works played an important role in the encouragement of the later English travelogue. One important forerunner of this trend was John Frampton in the 1570s, who will be discussed shortly. Another is Richard Eden, who published a wide array of translations in the 1550s concerning the West Indies. Though his task appears generally similar to Frampton's, there is a notable absence of scholarship devoted to him.

[21] A notable exception is Sir Thomas More's political satire *The Common-VVealth of Vtopia*, a work which appeared in a 1516 Latin edition but was not published in English for another 40 years. Though sharing many of the same observational and speculative functions key to the genre, this work deviates from more mainstream travel narratives given its principally satirical nature and third person frame narration. Also of note is Sir John Mandeville's *Voyages and Trauailes*, which appeared in Norman French ca. 1357 and went to the English press in 1582. Recent scholarship, however, has determined that "Mandeville," despite long held belief to the contrary, was actually a persona developed by the French author Jehan de Bourgogne (Seymour 15). In addition, it is now believed that Bourgogne was actually a "fireside traveler"—one who "conflates and inflates [existing] accounts into his own allegedly first-hand report"—and had probably never actually traveled to the places he describes (Seymour 15).

etc., but were simply not disseminated (9). In 1582, a writer by the name of Richard Hakluyt published a collection of such travel literature titled *Diuers Voyages Touching the Discouerie of America.* Upon the favorable reception of this work, he set to compiling a greater body of such texts for publication as *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation.* This new work was an encyclopedic attempt to chronicle the presence of England in the discovery and exploration of foreign lands. By collecting and publishing these sorts of documents, Hakluyt intended to reveal a history of English exploration that had been largely invisible as well as to encourage further interest in exploration and travel for the profit of the nation[22] (Beeching 11-12).

As his works would for many be their first encounter with a text on travel and exploration, Hakluyt treats the familiarization of the people with his *Discoveries* as a learning experience. He begins the Epistle Dedicatory of his first edition by reminiscing on the genesis of his own interest in travel and geopolitics. Hakluyt describes an occasion that he as a young man visited one of his relatives—an elder Richard Hakluyt:

> [...] I found lying open upon his board certain books of Cosmography, with a universal Map: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance, by showing me the division of the earth into three parts after the old account: he pointed with his wand to all the known seas, gulfs, bays, straits, capes, rivers, empires, kingdoms, dukedoms and territories of each part, with declaration also of their special commodities, and particular wants, which by the benefit of traffic, and intercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. (31)

One cannot help but notice the allegorical implications of the older, learned Richard Hakluyt instructing his young namesake and protégé, who is at once ignorant of and

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[22] Hakluyt's notion of preserving neglected documents as a way to assert a national heritage is akin to a similar methodology utilized in the assemblage of Holinshed's *Chronicles.* According to Patterson, "one of the functions of a national history was to discover, salvage, and preserve in print ephemeral, manuscript or otherwise endangered records." Such projects, she continues, "were conceived from the start as 'documentary history,' as much a part of the national archive as the enrolled statutes stored in the Tower of London" (7).

fascinated by the world that surrounds him. The features of the maps he lists parallel the expanding and maturing interests brought on by instruction; bodies of water and other geographic features transform into political boundaries that define the edges of nations, each with their own potential merchandise and position in mercantile exchange. Finally, the elder Haklyut proffers a segment of biblical verse as religious justification for both travel and mercantile contact with other nations: "[…] turning to the 107 Psalm, [he] directed me to the 23 and 24 verses, where I read, that they which go down to the sea in ships, and occupy[23] by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord and his wonders in the deep, &c." (31). Instructed thusly, the younger Hakluyt would go on to set himself to a similar task of instruction for the English nation at large. His rationale is apparent in his accusation of English "obloquy" in their "sluggish security and continual neglect" to make public such histories as those he had "both heard in speech and read in books [of] other nations [that were] miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea" (32).

Hakluyt's enterprise would enjoy much popularity in and even after his lifetime, expanding to three volumes in the second edition of 1598 and finally inspiring interest in the relatively new genre of travel writing. In both *Principall Navigations* and the earlier *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt privileges eye-witness accounts of information from his own countrymen, building up his text as very much for and by the English nation. "For the benefit and honour of my country," he claims in his preface to the second edition, "[I have] zealously bestowed so many years, so much travail and cost, to bring antiquities

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[23] The phrase "and occupy by the great waters" as it appears here, probably culled from *The Book of Common Prayer,* would later be emended in the first edition of the King James Bible, 1611, to read "that do business in great waters." It is likely that *occupy,* as young Hakluyt read it, retained this connotation.

smothered and buried in dark silence, to light and [...] do (friendly reader) presume to offer unto thy view this discourse" (34-5). In this statement, Hakluyt identifies his task as one that provides a sort of proxy eye witness to the subjects of the realm, making available to all "certain memorable exploits of late years by our English nation achieved, [and preserve them] from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion" (34). Though he does not expressly identify it, he implies here a use for travel writing beyond the historical: enriching the individual lived experience of his readers. Ultimately, as Beeching claims, "the real function of [Hakluyt's] book is to promote national confidence" by revealing a history of travel and exploration—a knowledge base—extant in English society in light of the general appearance that none existed (11).

Though the proliferation of *Principall Navigations* clearly indicates its poplularity as reading material, its principle intent, as stated in the Epistles Dedicatory, was to advocate royal investment in further foreign exploration and discovery. Hakluyt held these endeavors to possess three "great and unlooked for effects" for the nation: to "increase her dominions, enrich her coffers, and reduce many pagans to the faith of Christ" (37). Many of the narratives contained in his collection include proposed methods of attack to accompany descriptions of a nation's resources. In this way, the tales were as much military assessments as they were accounts of discovery. As Beeching mentions, this practice also occasionally included providing detailed assessments of enemy possessions: which were vulnerable, which were strong, which might be susceptible to capture, etc. (17). By reducing exploration in this way to a means of acquirement, Hakluyt identifies travel writing by association as a hegemonic discourse that necessarily views other nations and cultures only as resources to be

exploited. Ultimately, this frames travel and contact in terms of desire for territory and resource acquisition.

Though certainly the most prolific, Hakluyt was not the first Englishman to encourage travel and exploration through the publication of travel narratives. A decade earlier, the merchant John Frampton attempted a similar task by translating various popular travelogues of other nations into English. "Translation," as Donald Beecher explains, "was the only means of access [in Frampton's time] to news about remote countries that might prove useful to merchants and the organizers of expeditions" (321). The most well known of Frampton's translations was Marco Polo's famous travels (ca. 1300), with which he hoped to "introduce English readers to the exotica and riches of the Orient," thereby inciting interest in expanding mercantile relations (Beecher 323). In his own words, Frampton translated the work in order to "giue great lighte to our Seamen [...] and otherwise delight many home dwellers, furtherers of trauellers" (Frampton ii). That this passage recognizes the importance of readerly intrigue to the encouragement of travel is hardly accidental. Here and elsewhere, Frampton seems to couch an "ideological and mercantile intent" in his selections of texts to translate (Beecher 323). Invariably, these works served the "historical" aims of an early travel narrative by cataloging various commodities available in foreign lands then unavailable to the English. In Beecher's estimation, this sort of "publication in English could only suggest utility and need, and raise the troubling question of supply once a sense of demand had been raised in the reader's mind" (324). While Hakluyt's work was intended largely to build a sense of national pride, Frampton's texts use pride as leverage to encourage exploration and expansion through the recognition of commodity deficit.

Because of the travel narrative's investment in the representation of the self and the cultural Other in various international social and economic exchanges, it has become of particular interest to many postcolonial scholars. One such scholar is Mary Louise Pratt, whose *Imperial Eyes* focuses on the role of travel narratives in the proliferation of 18th century colonialism. In addition to bringing several relatively unknown travel narratives to light, Pratt's book develops a working terminology for the genre that has become widely used by other scholars in various fields. One of the terms that she introduces is the "contact zone" of colonial encounters, or the spaces "in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations" (6). Pratt characterizes contact zones as sites of "coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict." It is here, she argues, that the colonial narrative begins, as it works to produce "the rest of the world" for European readership (5). The sense of "production" mentioned here is important to Pratt's analysis, as she portrays the origins of travel writing—as in the case of Herodotus—principally as a learning tool through which European science could explore, catalog, and create the world outside of its own borders.

The metaphor of exploration as learning, as in Hakluyt's context, carries with it implications of a certain naiveté on the part of common citizens who are either unwilling or unable to recognize the consequences of hegemony and colonialism implicit in such narratives. This same naiveté finds its way into travel writing in what Pratt calls the "anti-conquest" narrative, which she defines as "the strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony" (7). The narrator persona of this sort of travelogue is

referred to in her analysis as the "experiential unhero," one who appeals to sentimental ideology by depicting themselves as the main character in the narrative—a layman, as opposed to "his scientific counterpart" (78). Pratt uses the example of Mungo Park's 1860 travelogue, *Travels in the Interior of Africa,* to characterize trends in such narratives. She explains that in Park's work and others like it, "There is no landscape description at all. Nature is present [only] in so far as it impinges on the world" (76). In other words, the subject of the text is the author; everything encountered on the journey functions merely as an immediate catalyst for reaction. This is a marked shift for the travel narrative in terms of its original fashioning as a vehicle for the creation of historical knowledge. Instead of fusing the perspectives of the author with those of the subjects of the gaze, the colonial travel narrative privileges the dominant culture's perspectives through the use of sentimentality, which Pratt suggests "both challenges and complements the emergent authority of objectivist science" (9).

Regardless of the various agendas to which many of these works catered, the genre became very popular as reading material. Much of the travel narrative's allure was the vicarious lived experience to be gained through reading. Subjects who could not afford to dedicate fiscal or temporal resources to travel could share the travels of another through such a text with very little energetic or financial expenditure. The motif of eyewitness accounts that permeate many such narratives situates them in such a way as to make it easier for readers to imagine themselves as participants of the narrative. This has important implications in terms of the viability of source materials. As has been mentioned, one of the original tasks of travel writing was to meld various pieces of information and knowledge into the dialect of the dominant culture. This feature,

couched within the frame of the eyewitness account, gave the genre a sense of objective empiricism. Clearly, this may not always have been the case, and it was invariably difficult for readers to determine—if they would even wish to—whether the lived experiences expressed in published travel accounts could claim to adequately synthesize non-dominant experiences and viewpoints.

Figure 4: Coryate flees the Jewish ghetto of Venice after attempting to convert its residents to Christianity. Emblem G from the frontispiece to the Crudities.

Part Three: A Buffoon Abroad

Returning now to the spectacle of Coryate vomiting off the stern of his ship as it sailed the English Channel, it perhaps becomes all the more apparent how peculiar and unique a figure he struck against the prevailing traditions of travel writing, courtly life, and publication. By opening the *Crudities* in this way, Coryate introduces a metaphor of digestion that will be further utilized throughout the work. In turn, this will refer to both the consumption of foods from various cultures encountered on the journey as well as the metaphorical "consumption" of texts by an audience upon his return home. Digestive double meanings abound; the "crudities" mentioned in the title refer literally to raw vegetables and to the unrefined quality of the "greene fruits of [Coryate's] short travels" (I.1). The frontispiece advertises the book as "Coryate's *Crudities,* hastily gobbled up in five Moneths trauells [...] Newly digested in the hungry aire of ODCOMBE in the County of Somerset & now dispersed to the nourishment of the trauelling Members of this Kingdome" (I.x, insert). Thus rendered as roughage, the title suggests both the ease of the text's "digestibility" and the beneficial, "nutritive" value to be found in its reading and, by extension, in the act of travel, which is one of the principal arguments made in the prefatory materials. Coryate, then, having "superfluously stuffed [him] selfe at land" with the formal court language and the methodical, "historical" travel writing of his predecessors, begins his own narrative by loudly and crudely expelling the indigestible

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language "varnish" into the sea. A passage parodic of the language and style native to the genre, it is at once a nod to and a defiance of convention, both elegant and course, clever and uncouth.

At times, Coryate himself makes it but too easy to dismiss his buffoonery as idle silliness worthy only of cursory attention. Behind the fool figure, however, is a calculating mind that condescends to such spectacle because he recognizes the value of popularity within the court and London society, however it may be attained. Born in Odcombe, Coryate would come to be known with some affection as "the Odcombian legge-stretcher" and "the Perigrine of Odcombe" for the voyage he proposed that would later constitute the *Crudities*. Both of these epithets he encouraged even in his own Epistles Dedicatory where he uses them as part of his closing signatures (I.6, 15). The fondness many bore him was only due in part to his foolish affectations; Coryate was in fact also a great wit, able to rival any member of the courts of Prince Henry, which he frequented. Of his relationship to the court, historian Thomas Fuller would write in 1662 that Prince Henry "kept him for his servant" (qtd in Strachen 13). The extent of the literality of Fuller's term "servant" has long been a point of contention for those interested in Coryate, particularly in light of Fuller's further claim that the prince "allowed him a pension." While it is tempting to conclude that Coryate was then employed as a professional fool in the prince's house, Michael Strachen refutes this claim[24], concluding that a more apt description of the role he held was that of an "unofficial court jester" (13). It seems more probable, then, that the "pension" Coryate received was less a wage than it was a token of patronage and esteem. "Sweetmeats and

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[24] As Strachen claims, "Coryate does not appear in either of the lists of the Prince's Household drawn up in 1603 or 1610" (13).

Coryate," writes Fuller, "made up the last course at all court entertainments. Indeed, he was the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon; and sometimes this anvil returned the hammers as hard knocks as it received, his bluntness repaying their abusiveness" (502).

While, again, it is tempting to think of Coryate as the fool of Prince Henry's courts, it is similarly appealing, upon reading Fuller's extended account, to imagine him a courtier, or at least as socially comparable. In truth, however, Coryate was largely outclassed among those of the court whom he entertained. As the family of a country reverend, the Coryates were, while certainly respectable, by no means noble. In addition, it seems as though the family was often strained for money after, and even before, the death of Coryate's father in early 1608. As R.E. Pritchard explains, this may have been one of the reasons Coryate left Odcombe to pursue his career of social climbing in London, where he "established himself, not only as a comic but also as someone to be taken notice of, remarkable and independent, with a place among them, whilst not being altogether of them" (7). Given his humble beginnings, it is remarkable to note how far his machinations took him in his tenuous ascension of the London social ladder. Even this was not enough, however, and so he began to conceive of his infamous peregrination that would take him through France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany—much of it on foot—before heading back home five months later.

So popular was Coryate with the wits of London society and the royal court, and so amused were they with the news of his enterprise, that he was faced with a dilemma upon the publication of the *Crudities*. Wanting for a number of dedicatory panegyrics[25] for the front matter of his book, Coryate put out a request for some among a few of his

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[25] From the *OED*: "A public speech or published text in praise of a person or thing; a laudatory discourse; a eulogy, an encomium."

acquaintances. Usually, the purpose of panegyrics in this sense was a sort of mini-endorsement of the work to which it was appended. Like that of the patron, the esteem and popularity of the panegyric's author was affixed to the work and might thence become a valuable asset in promoting the sale of printed copies. In the case of the *Crudities*, however, news of his request spread and Coryate received so many dedicatory verses—over half of which were unsolicited, if his account can be believed—as to render them of little or no practical value. Ultimately, he includes 55 of these panegyrics in the pages prefacing his own travel account[26]. In his introduction that precedes them, Coryate suggests that he was compelled to include "such a great multitude of Verses" by Prince Henry who, agreeing to serve as the book's patron, "gave me a strict and expresse commandment to print all those verses which I had read to his Highnesse" (I.20-1). Written variously in English, Latin, Greek, and French, the panegyric verses to the *Crudities* represent the engagement of nearly every English wit of the day with Coryate's project and his buffoon persona, including Ben Jonson, Lawrence Whitaker, Inigo Jones, John Donne, and Michael Drayton, among others. Alternately flattering and derogatory—sometimes scathingly so—the "panegyrics" mocked nearly as often as they praised. Ironically, the result of this scenario is the complete reversal of what the panegyric's task is supposed to entail. Individuals fancying themselves wits and intellectuals clamored to write verses for the *Crudities*, not to offer their support to the manuscript, but in order to be associated with the great fad that Coryate's fool persona

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[26] As can be seen in Appendix A, these are divided after the 45th entry in the series by an apology from the author in which Coryate reveals his anxiety that his readers will "censure [him] for a most absurd writer to adde unto these precedent verses" (I.99). Nevertheless, ten more panegyrics follow, the last of which is written by the author himself. Continuing, his account explains that "after all these former verses were printed, I was most importunately perswaded by them that have no small interest in me, to adjoyne these ensuing unto the rest, by way of a supplement or overplus." While it might certainly seem characteristic of a buffoon to go overboard in prefacing his book, what this development suggests is the possibility of Coryate's own underestimation of and surprise at the extent of his renown.

had become.   In this way, the *Crudities* in many ways had become a forum for intellectual vanity and showboating that mirrored the spectacle of Coryate as the "courtiers' anvil."

In addition to his famed quick wit, what perhaps had made Coryate such a popular oddity was the uniqueness of his humble beginnings—exactly the thing against which he had to struggle in order to gain repute. The figure of the country buffoon, who was nonetheless able to hold his own in bouts of repartee with the greatest wits of the age, would have seemed quite a novelty indeed to those who fancied themselves in the upper echelon of London society. Capitalizing on this novelty, Coryate carved for himself a distinctive market niche in the publishing industry through his popular role as a sort of rustic intellectual who was not above enduring mockery and even self-deprecation. Ultimately, it was his creation and fulfillment of this market demand that paved the way for a success that ironically arose from his willingness to lower himself to being the target of jokes. This particular aspect of the "Odd Tom" persona[27] is manifested in Emblem N of the *Crudities*'s frontispiece (Figure 2) that corresponds to a "notable accident" that befell him outside of Baden, Germany (II.198).

> It was my chance to meete two clownes commonly called Boores, who because they went in ragged cloathes, strooke no small terrour into mee [and because] I found them armed with weapons, my selfe being altogether unarmed. [...] Whereupon fearing least they would eyther have cut my throate, or have robbed me [...] I undertooke such a politike and subtile action as I never did before in all my life. For a little before I mette them, I put off my hat very courteously unto them, holding it a pretty while in my hand, and very humbly (like a Mendicant Frier) begged some money of them [...] in a language that they did but poorely understand. [...] And so by this begging insinuation I both preserved my selfe secure & free from the violence of the clownes, and withal obtained that of them

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[27] So named by Ben Jonson in his "Character of the Author" appearing in the *Crudities*'s front matter (I.19).

which I neither wanted or expected. For they gave me so much of their tinne money [...] as paid for halfe my supper that night. (II.198-9)

Given Coryate's unique social positioning, he is able to function in and through normal class barriers and can therefore partake of the illusion of beggary here described. Begging in order to avoid being robbed, the "fool" exhibits a survival instinct that reveals his penchant for quickly assessing and adapting to given situations. In this case, he very literally plays the role of the supplicant in order to attain (or in this case, retain) his desires. Simultaneously, however, the scene also functions as a manifestation of the buffoon traveler who *mis*reads the situation. For example, the narrator persona is overly proud of his deception, calling it "subtile" when one might actually think it rather blunt. Ultimately, the scenario proves to be innocuous given the generosity of the supposed thieves, but "Odd Tom" is so proud of himself in his "politick" that this fact does not seem to register.

The different levels of engagement in this situation and others like it create multiple readings. Some of these connect with Coryate "the intellect," some with "Odd Tom" the buffoon traveler. Some readings are able to fuse both into an aggregation of narrative meaning. In any case, the result of readers' "consumption" and "digestion" of the *Crudities* will vary depending on their level(s) of engagement. Throughout the text and front materials, Coryate seems to intentionally promote these multiple levels of interaction. In the Epistle Dedicatory to Prince Henry, he describes his book as containing only "silly observations" of a voyage that will, lest Henry "deigne to protect them with [his] favorable and gracious Patronage," expose the author to "the severe censure at the least, if not the scandalous calumniations of divers carping critics" (I.1). By representing himself and his work as timidly vulnerable to the disparagement of

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obstinate "Momi"[28], Coryate panders for advocacy at the same moment that he promotes his public image of the buffoon persona who, above all else, takes himself too seriously and is the object of scorn from his social betters.

The patronage and public esteem he could acquire through the continuance of his "Odd Tom" persona were not, however, the sole aims of his enterprise. The Epistle continues, suggesting that Henry, by endorsing the *Crudities*,

> may perhaps yield some little encouragement to many noble and generose young Gallants that follow your Highnesse Court, and give attendance upon your Peerlesse person, to travel into forraine countries, and inrich themselves partly with the observations, and partly with the languages of outlandish regions, the principall meanes (in my poore opinion) to grace and adorne these courtly Gentlemen. [...] Thereby they will be made fit to doe your Highnesse and their Country the better service when the opportunity shall require. (I.1-2)

Coryate here situates himself alongside famous individuals like Richard Hakluyt who wished to promote the security and strength of the English nation through travel. Notably unique in Coryate's case is his assertion that the observation and learning of these "courtly Gentlemen" will—more than simply preserve a heritage of national presence abroad—actually serve as a testament to their worthiness as subjects.

Devoted to supporting the idea of travel for citizens of the English crown, Coryate was careful not to allow the buffoonery of his narrator persona to prevent this message's importance from being considered seriously. Invested as he was in being "no scholar," "Odd Tom," however beloved, did not have enough authority to properly posit travel and travel writing as essential practices for the betterment of the realm. As such, Coryate supplements his book with his own translation of two orations by German scholar

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[28] That is, followers of Momos, the Greek god of derision and satire, known for his malevolently unfair ridicule and criticism.

Herman Kirchner[29]. Kirchner's sentiments largely echo those of Coryate as expressed to Prince Henry in the Epistle Dedicatory, especially in terms of travel being an enriching experience that gives the traveler certain qualities that will prove useful to the homeland upon return. A striking difference in the tone of the orations—and one that Coryate neither mimics nor addresses in his own writing—is the decidedly unfavorable descriptions of subjects who do not travel as compared with those who do. At one point, for example, Kirchner (via Coryate[30]) rails against those who persist in their habit of staying homebound in spite of the numerous benefits he describes. Even the negative aspects of travel, he claims, are of value, for "who is so tender, effeminate, & cowardly, whom the heat of the sun, cold, snow, raine, hard seats, stony pillows, and such infinite inconveniences of travels, so many wailayings, and dangers of theevs, wil not make more coragious & valiant?" (I.131). Thus, for Kirchner, the decision to travel or not has broader ramifications than Coryate's suggestion of giving "better service" to king and country; travel, in fact, is a distinguishing factor of nationhood and, finally, *man*hood[31]. While Coryate is content to posit the increased worth of individuals who venture abroad, Kirchner goes so far as to cast doubt upon the value of subjects who do not travel.

Another element of Coryate's buffoon persona is the very nature of the journey he chose to undertake and record in his travelogue. Many contemporary travel narrative destinations, such as Hakluyt's Americas and the Indies and "Orient" of Frampton and Eden, were decidedly more "exotic" than Coryate's proposed trudge to Venice and back.

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[29] See Appendices A and B for his inclusion in the *Crudities*.

[30] And, it should be mentioned, it is unclear to what extent Coryate's translation is filtered through his own agenda. This is especially suspicious given the largely identical assertions both men make in their encouragement for their fellow countrymen to travel abroad.

[31] For more on a gendered reading of Coryate and Kirchner-via-Coryate, see Katharine Craik's "Reading *Coryats Crudities* (1611)."

The project of the *Crudities* was different than those that came before it, however; this was not advocacy of travel for mercantile or political gain, but for the increase of an individual's learned experience. As such, the *Crudities* constitutes one of the earliest records of travel-for-pleasure and was among the more important factors in popularizing what would later be called the "Grand Tour" of Europe (Pritchard 8). Additionally, Coryate's decision to mark out the European continent as the subject of a travel narrative functions to demonstrate the relative insularity of the English nation and a general feeling of reserved superiority in the mock exploration of Europe as though it were as "exotic" a destination as the more standard travel narrative fare. Such dominance is implied graphically in Emblem D of the frontispiece wherein Coryate is carried over the mountains near Savoy in a chair affixed atop planks that rest on the shoulders of two men (Figure 3). Upon arriving with a company of travelers at the base of the mountain, Coryate was approached by several "certaine poore fellowes" to negotiate transportation up the mountain and down the opposite side. Carrying the travelers thusly in chairs, these individuals made a living out of serving the growing culture of travel, and with it an influx of individuals from strange, foreign lands. The image of Coryate's ascension up the mountainside, cradled in a chair borne by two drivers, is certainly a testament to the affluence and dominance of the English subject while abroad.

Interestingly, Coryate's account of the trip up the mountain is devoid of much description. Before his climb, he remarks only that it is "a mile and a halfe to the toppe" and that "the wayes were exceeding difficult in regard of the steepnesse and hardnesse thereof, for they were al rocky, petricosæ & salebrosæ[32], and so uneven that a man could

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[32] "Stony and rugged" (Pritchard 31).

hardly find any sure footing on them." Having reached the summit, his comments relate

not to describing his surroundings, but rather his position relative to the mountain's base:

> When I had tandem aliquando[33] gotten up to the toppe, I said to my selfe
> with Æneas in Virgil: / ——— Forsan & hæc alim meminisse juvabit[34]. /
> then might I justly and truly say, that which I could never before, that I
> was above some of the clowdes. For though that mountain be not by the
> sixth part so high as some others of them: yet certainly it was a great way
> above some of the clowdes. For I saw many of them very plainly on the
> sides of the Mountaine beneath me (I.216-7).

That Coryate's descriptions of the mountain and his no doubt spectacular view from the

top are so underwhelming is a particularly interesting feature recurrent in the *Crudities*'s

narrative tendencies. As Pritchard notes, "the romantic pleasure in the sublime, in

dramatic vistas or wild nature, are after his time and unknown to him" (31). When

Coryate *does* give description of natural surroundings, it is typically couched either in

terms of impediments posed to his journey or in dry, mathematical measurement of size

or distance. In this way, Coryate can perhaps be seen as an early forerunner of Mary

Louise Pratt's "experiential unhero," for whom "nature is [only] present in so far as it

impinges on the world" (76).

Though written more than 100 years before the time period on which Pratt

focuses, the *Crudities* functions in many ways as a precursor to her concept of the anti-

conquest narrative. This is especially evident in scenes that showcase Coryate's religious

beliefs. Early in his observations of Calais, for example, he describes his experience in

observing "a great prophanation of the Lords supper" in a Catholic mass, which he

regards as a "mutilated Sacrament [given] to the lay people under one kind[35] only,

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[33] "At last" (Pritchard 31).

[34] "Perhaps one day this too will be pleasant to remember" (Pritchard 31).

[35] Communion "in one kind" was a Catholic practice adopted in 1551 by the Council of Trent. It was
hotly contested by proponents of the Protestant Reformation because it denied the consecrated wine to

namely that of bread, defrauding them of the Wine, contrary to the holy institution of Christ and his Apostles" (I.154). While Coryate's Catholic-slamming is hardly remarkable for its mere inclusion—it was only a matter of time, after all, before a subject of Protestant England traveling through France and Italy would make mention of it—it is, however, interesting that he partakes of it as early as the third page of the *Crudities* proper. Coryate's religious hegemony escalates as he travels deeper into Europe, and it comes to its climax in Venice. Venturing into the Jewish ghetto, "I casually met with a certaine learned Jewish Rabbin that spake good Latin, I insinuated my selfe after some fewe termes of complement into conference with him, and asked him his opinion of Christ, and why he did not receive him for his Messias" (I.374). The two get into what no doubt quickly became a heated discussion, and "in the end he seemed to be somewhat exasperated against me, because I sharpely taxed their superstitious ceremonies. For many of them are such refractory people that they cannot endure to heare any reconciliation to the Church of Christ" (I.375). Finally,

> [...] after there had passed many vehement speeches to and fro betwixt us, it happened that some forty or fifty Jewes more flocked about me, and some of them beganne very insolently to swagger with me, because I durst reprehend their religion: Whereupon fearing least they would have offered me some violence, I withdrew my selfe [...] with an intent to flie from them [... and so] conveighed mee safely from these unchristian miscreants, which perhaps would have given mee just occasion to foreswear any more coming to the Ghetto. (I.376)

Emblem G of the frontispiece illustrates Coryate's flight from the "insolent Jewes" in this scene (Figure 4); the accompanying verse "Explication" by Lawrence Whitaker concludes with the advice for him to "flie from the Jewes, lest they circumcise thee" (I.xvii).

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the laity whilst allowing the priest or "celebrant" to partake. It is hence unsurprising that Coryate, the son of a parson of the Church of England, would find it unusual and worthy of his scorn.

Remarkable in his account of the scene is his ostensible astonishment at the reactions of the residents in the Jewish neighborhood into which he has encroached. The veracity of this astonishment is questionable, however, since several of such accounts appear throughout the text of the *Crudities* with varying results[36]. Instead, what seems more likely is that Coryate realized the spectacle of religious diversity and conflict as popular and interesting reading material for the largely uni-religious English nation, and so sought out to incite such conflict with persons of other nations and faiths whenever he could so as to record the results in his travel account[37]. The cultural naiveté of "Odd Tom" the buffoon and his stubborn assertion of his own faith served at once as a spectacle for laughter and mockery and as a warning for other travelers to avoid potentially dangerous religious conflicts that included, according to Pritchard, "imprisonment by the Inquisition, or, worse, conversion to Catholicism" (10). Though Coryate expresses no such anxiety of religious conversion, interestingly enough, Whitaker's Explication of the corresponding Emblem from the frontispiece expresses it for him—"[...] lest they circumcise thee"—even as Coryate has just himself attempted the conversion of the Jews in the Venetian ghetto.

When Coryate began writing the *Crudities* in 1610, it was true that, as he laments in his Epistle to the Reader, "we want rather readers for bookes than bookes for readers" (I.7). It fell to him then, a well-liked but relatively poor buffoon, to figure out how, in an inhospitable marketplace, he could make himself a noted author. Ultimately, he seems to

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[36] Though the situation described above is portrayed as the most dangerous to Coryate's person, he has several less notable arguments with various people he encounters throughout his travels that typically end in his assertion that they are too obstinate to acknowledge Christ as "the onely true God" (I.212).

[37] Coryate would later record a similar encounter while abroad in India on his last voyage. In a letter home to his friends and mother, he includes a "copy of a speech that I made to a Mahometan [Muslim] in the Italian tongue" upon being called a "Giaur" by the same. In it, he harshly "quits" the offending Muslim and rails against the Islamic faith (*Mr Thomas Coriat to His Friends Sendeth Greeting* D). No reaction to this speech is disclosed.

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have achieved this through widening the scope of the audience for his book through multi-layered readings to include courtly aristocrats, London intellectuals, and the common reader. Each of these groups had their own levels of interaction with the sites of engagement offered in the text: the courtly language, the intellectual banter, and the comic buffoon persona. In working this way, Coryate succeeds in the creation of a new type of travel narrative that caters to and flies in the face of audience expectation. The aristocrat is made the object of humor in passages that parody court language; the intellectual is the subject of ridicule in the mock-panegyrics that serve to expose the vanity and overbearing self-promotion of the role; and the common everyman is embodied in the character of the buffoon who travels from place to place with only his high opinions of himself as protection from danger. By working inside of and defying convention, Coryate fulfills a unique market niche that greatly intrigued all levels of London society. Ultimately, what he created both *was* and *was not* a travelogue in the conventional sense. Ostensibly a guide for travel, the *Crudities* on repeated occasions fails to guide its readers as its attention is so drawn to matters other than what "had beene much more laudable" to address. Similarly, the frontispiece both functions and fails to function as a table of contents for the book; while it does index its events in a more or less chronological matter, both the Emblems and the accompanying Explications of Whitaker and Jonson are largely unhelpful to the first-time reader. In these and many other ways, Coryate ultimately mirrors his situation as a subject both inside and outside the goings on of courtly activities—both *belonging* and *not belonging* there. Utilizing the genre of the travel narrative and the conventions of the London press and patronage system, therefore, Coryate is able to communicate various messages to different potential

audience members depending on their own previously learned knowledge and subsequent

levels of engagement with his text. He produces new meanings for travel writing and

patronage through his alternating personae of the author, the beggar, and the buffoon.

Finally, Coryate is able to make novel a genre and a topic that, for all intents and

purposes, would otherwise be *crambe bis cocta*[38].

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[38] "Cabbage boiled twice"; a criticism that Coryate anticipates for his account of Venice when "we have the historie of Venice [...] already translated out of Italian into English" in Gasparo Contarini's *The Commonwealth of Venice* (I.2-3).

APPENDIX A

Table of contents to *Coryate's Crudities,* Vol. 1

APPENDIX B

Table of contents to *Coryate's Crudities*, Vol. 2

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