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From Wonder to Curiosity in Early Modern Travel Writing.

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by David Jones.

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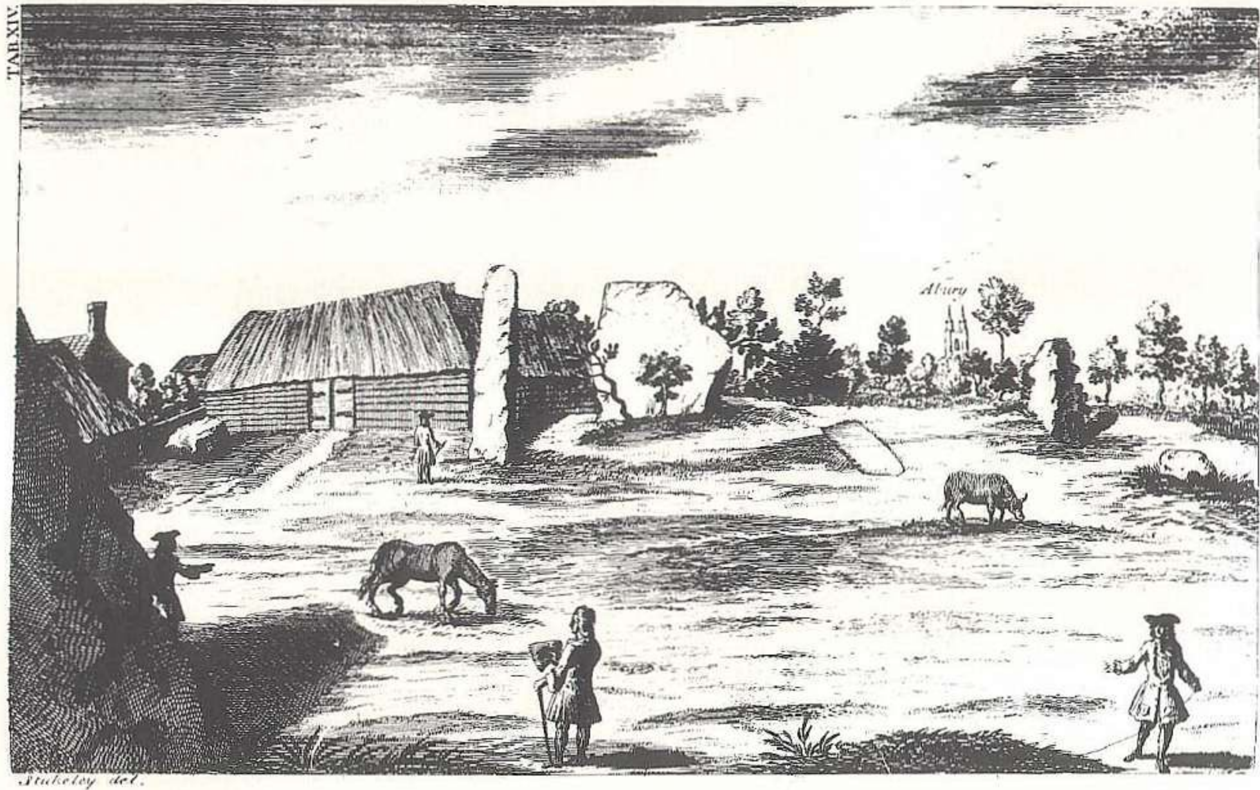
Abstract.

The early modern period saw an unprecedented rise in travel and travel writing. As voyages brought travellers to new and scarcely recorded parts of the world, this in turn led to encounters with what we might term the ‘wondrous,’ phenomena apparently defying all explanation and evoking a wonder reaction in those witnessing it. At the same time there existed ‘curiosities,’ interesting or intriguing objects sometimes displayed in large collections, or kept for personal pleasure. Wonders and curiosities, especially in regards to travel, were interlinked. This thesis examines how the process was one of transition, with the wondrous often being lowered to the level of the merely curious. The discussion encompasses in part an analysis of the terms ‘wonder’ and ‘curiosity,’ and argues that a separation of the two is essential in understanding how knowledge was constructed during the period. A careful analysis of how wonder was, and still is, transformed into curiosity, illuminates how new information is incorporated into existing knowledge structures. The thesis traces this development with reference to a wide range of source material including medicinal texts, legal records and dramatic works, but travel remains the crux of the discussion. I argue that the nature of travel writing and the associated methodologies of collection and classification, were a catalyst for the transformation of the wondrous into the merely curious.



Chapter One - Introduction: Wonder and Curiosity.

Section One - An Introduction to Wonder.

The above image, *A Prospect of the Cove Avebury,* was produced in 1723 by William Stukeley. It is perhaps the best illustration of the complex relationship between wonder and curiosity that so characterised the early modern period, the relationship which will form the crux of this thesis.[1] On the far right of the image we see a man in a pose suggestive of wonder, and undergoing what we might term a wonder reaction. He stands in awe, experiencing what Cohen described as a 'wonderpause,' whereby a person is 'so captivated by sensory input that they become unaware of where they are physically,' and remain frozen to the spot, firmly in the grip of wonder.[2] There is something inquisitive about the figure's pose, too. He has adopted a bemused yet questioning stance. Over the course of this thesis we will explore how wonder was almost always linked to mystery, and how the resolution of that mystery affected wonder as a category. On the left, another man observes the stones more carefully, with a book in his hand. He is intrigued, but he is working to gain more knowledge of the site. This man is curious, but he is not struck with wonder, and he is combining his curiosity with study. This is an important process, and will in fact form the central core of this thesis, suggestive as it is that curiosity could become a useful category as opposed to wonder struck stupor. Elsewhere in the image, another man stands directly before the stones, perhaps a surveyor with a staff in his hand, taking his curiosity one step further and actively studying the site to build some knowledge of it. Another man stands, partially in shadow, observing from a distance, and his reaction is perhaps somewhere between the wonder of the first man and the

1 William Stukeley, *Avebury, A Temple of the British Druids* (1740) (W. Innys Press: London, 1740) p.12.

2 Adam Max Cohen, *Wonder in Shakespeare* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2012) p.173.

more curious attitudes of the others. All the men are staring at the same thing, but one seeks to understand while the other, apparently wrapped in wonder, does not. Stukeley believed that curiosity was a natural progression from wonder. His writings variously suggest that 'upon observing the beauty and wonder of nature and the stars' it is an innate human reaction to question, and attempt to learn about their mysteries.[3] Wonder led to a desire to learn. Wonder led to curiosity, although the relationship between the two was, and still is, far from simple.

A great deal of scholarly work has been done on both wonder and curiosity in the early modern period, but this thesis takes a different approach. Rather than studying the two in isolation, it seeks to more accurately disentangle the two terms and trace the development of the wondrous into the curious. To be more precise, this is a process whereby early modern wonders become taxonomies within the wider category of the curious, and are thus stripped of their wondrous connotations. It is a matter of transition whereby the mysteries of the wondrous are categorised and organised by the curious, rendering that which was previously beyond comprehension as intelligible or mundane. Travel and travel writing are essential to this process, and to this thesis, for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most obvious is that travel brought people face to face with the wondrous on a routine basis. The explosion of travel and travel narratives in the early modern period meant that accounts of the strange, the marvellous and the outright wondrous were increasingly common. How travellers treated these encounters in literature, how the wondrous encountered abroad was collected, categorised and brought home, is essential in understanding not only early modern conceptions of the wonderful, but how wonder could and often did transition into the separate category of the merely curious. There is, too, a separation of knowledge structures implied in this process: the wondrous from the curious, and this has implications which will also be important later in the thesis.

This will be the crux of the thesis: the relationship between wonder and curiosity, and more precisely how the wondrous is transformed into the curious, how the two knowledge structures are separated, and what this means for curiosity. We will consider how curiosity, once separated from the wonderful, could be useful, and what purpose it might serve. The study will be conducted through the lens of travel, as this was essential to the process. We will adopt a case by case study of this process, each of them offering a different perspective on the transition process. This chapter will offer a brief overview and introduction to the terms 'wonder' and 'curiosity,' before moving on to the *kunstkammer* in the next chapter. The *kunstkammer*, or cabinet of curiosity, consisted of items gathered from around the world, categorised and displayed. Obviously this is important, as we will examine how wonderful objects could be transformed into curious objects put on display for entertainment or further study. The chapter will also consider literary collections of curiosity, again amassed through travel, and how they treated the apparently incomprehensible and wonderful. The chapter will be especially useful in establishing the difference between the wonderful and the curious, and the important role of travel, collection and categorisation in the re-classification of the once wonderful into the merely curious.

The third chapter is concerned with witchcraft, both at home and abroad. Witchcraft is an important example because it represented a type of wonder supposedly embedded within the domesticity of the home country. The chapter will open by giving an introduction to how witchcraft was treated at home, how it was categorised by court records and also as a sensationalist tale in curiosity collections. Either type of categorisation helps to reduce witchcraft to something which is at least comprehensible. The chapter then proceeds to compare the treatment of witchcraft at home to witchcraft abroad, a vital difference in conceptualising how travel framed wonder, and how the supernatural encountered through travel differed radically to that at home. This chapter in part justifies travel's place at the heart of this thesis, as it shows the problems associated with categorising wonder abroad, but also reveals most starkly the split in knowledge structures between

3 David Boyd Haycock, *William Stukeley: Science, Religion, and Archaeology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002) p87.

the wonderful and the curious. The third chapter then examines the wonder/curiosity transition in relation to hell-mouths and supposed gateways to the afterlife encountered through travel, with special reference to Mount Hecla in Iceland, perhaps the most famous example of the period. This chapter explores what we might consider the ultimate source of wonder: the afterlife, something so incomprehensible that it could not be understood in life. Despite this, travellers were brought face to face with supposed gateways to the afterlife, and how they recorded information about them, categorised them and eventually studied them, will prove vital in understanding how wonder can transition into curiosity. This chapter will present perhaps the most linear example of the process.

After a study of hell-mouths, we will move on to consider how the category of the curious could be useful, once it has been stripped of any wonder. This will occur through the lens of medicinal remedies and herbal practices encountered through travel. Chapter four explores how travellers would often gather medicines and accounts of surgery, before bringing them home for further study. Many of these cures were considered miraculous, but they were nonetheless collected, curated and studied so that they might be useful at home. This chapter highlights the potential for curiosity, once separated from wonder, to be a useful knowledge structure. To conclude the thesis we will look at Brome's *The Antipodes*, how curiosity and travel might actually be useful, and finish on an examination of curiosity's fate once separated from wonder. By this point I hope to have answered the question of what the difference is between the man who is wondering, and the one who is merely curious. Moreover, I will seek to establish what the shift in knowledge structure implied by a transition of wonder into curiosity actually meant, especially in relation to curiosity, a type of enquiry which was frequently discouraged, even disparaged as unproductive.

Before continuing to specific case studies, it is useful to use this chapter as a brief introduction and overview to the terms wonder and curiosity, as well as their history and varied meanings. To do this, it is worth returning once more to Stukeley and the image of the stones, and the psychological processes operating behind wonder and curiosity. The picture was published in Stukeley's 1740 *Avebury: A Temple of the British Druids*, and it is an excellent starting point in considering wonder and curiosity. Stukeley was an archeological investigator whose studies also encompassed Stonehenge and several other sites around the country. He undertook a wide-ranging study, including minute physical details such as the size of the stones, but also a historical examination of their purpose and the surrounding landscape. David Boyd Haycock describes how Stukeley 'made his first visits to Stonehenge and Avebury' and was at once 'fascinated by both stone circles, and made repeated visits over the next seven years,' sometimes remaining at Avebury for 'weeks at a time.'[4] These were long term as well as wide-ranging studies, and already we can see how curiosity might lead to learning and knowledge. Stukeley did not just seek knowledge, though. He wanted to order that knowledge. He was a landscape gardener who wanted knowledge of Avebury to be structured like a well-ordered stroll around an equally well-ordered garden. In Stukeley's opinion 'Avebury and Stonehenge were theatres and pictures to be toured around in circuit walks.'[5] This of course reflects the eighteenth century interest in picturesque landscapes, but it also represents a desire for order. Study is connected not only with the gaining of knowledge, but with the careful ordering and structuring of that knowledge too. This will be useful later. Nearly all of the collections of curiosity, be it the *kunstkammer* in chapter two, the records of witches in chapter three, the hell-mouths or the medicinal remedies in chapters four and five - any collection of the curious demanded order.

In the image of the four figures we can see the difficulty of separating the wondrous and the curious. The image shows both wonder and curiosity operating in unison, with one man stood in rapt awe while another reads what might be a book on the stones. The two are not separate terms.

4 Haycock, p.121.

5 Haycock, p.121. See also Terence Meaden, *The Secrets of the Avebury Stones: Britain's Greatest Megalith Temple* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2000) for further reading on the history of the Avebury stones, and Stukeley's research methods.

They can easily occur simultaneously. The man who is reading a book, perhaps a guide to the stones, might still be experiencing wonder, while the man apparently stood in rapt awe might eventually go away to study the stones in more detail, and thus we might consider his reaction as more curious. All the while the surveyor is attempting to build knowledge. Several aims and impulses are occurring in unison. This is the nature of the wonder/curiosity dichotomy, and one challenge of this thesis is balancing the various facets of the two. Wonder and curiosity are not straightforward, completely separate terms. One might experience both at the same time. Even though curiosity was increasingly linked to knowledge building, while the wondrous remained linked to contemplation and divinity, complications remain. As we will discuss later in this chapter, wonder defied knowledge, and yet was often considered the first point of knowledge. Stukeley was apparently struck by wonder when he witnessed the stones at Avebury, but the result was years of study and one of the most comprehensive accounts ever published. Curiosity, on the other hand, was often considered a vice, and writers such as Augustine, whose works were deeply entrenched in early modern thought, condemned it. This chapter will attempt to separate the two terms, and perhaps most importantly of all it will introduce the theme of travel, and demonstrate how travel writing was tightly woven into the debate over wonder and curiosity, as well as the transition of one into the other.

Travel was not straightforward either. Travellers with different motives, different backgrounds and even different methodologies for recording their expeditions, ensured that the very idea of travel was multifaceted.[6] Travellers ranged from Peter d'Martire, who recorded the world through the lens of the Catholic Church, to Richard Hakluyt, a protestant who was not only a traveller but an editor of travel accounts. We will study these figures in much more detail later in the thesis, but suffice to say that their methodologies could not be more different. Such a wide array of travellers meant an equally wide array of travel accounts, each very different in tone and methodology. Understanding how information and knowledge were constructed during the period is essential in gaining an insight into how travellers reacted to the places that they visited, the cultures, the people and the landscapes, an understanding which is in turn vital to conceptions of curiosity and wonder. Wonder was nearly always an intrinsic part of travel accounts. It was of vital importance, not only to travel but to the Renaissance period as a whole. Wonder possessed a linguistic profile - a vernacular which people were sensitive to. There were a whole host of terms including the miraculous, the prodigious and the supernatural, which signified different types of wonder. The language of wonder was a conscious attempt to conceptualise the wonderful, and as such an attempt to categorise and collect it.[7] Peter G. Platt writes that 'encompassing both enquiry and astonishment, wonder followed the early modern period everywhere - into redefinitions of the mind, the body, art, literature, the known world.'[8] This is a bold claim, especially as the nature of wonder itself remained confused and ill-defined. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines wonder as 'a feeling of amazement and admiration, caused by something beautiful, remarkable or unfamiliar,' but over the

6 See Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995) for an overview of the expansion of travel during the early modern period, and the different types of travel which individuals undertook.

7 Pamela H. Smith and Benjamin Schmidt, *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects and Texts,* 1400-1800 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) p.188 gives a good overview of this, and the debates surrounding the use of language in the early modern period, and most notably how 'language should strive for clarity, the servant of things, a lens.' Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining World in Early Modern Europe* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2004) also offers excellent insight into the importance of language in imaginative efforts.

8 Peter G. Platt, *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1999) p.15. See also Jonathan P.A Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560-1613* (New York: Ashgate Press, 2006) for further reading on how wonder was vital to travel writing in particular. Sell notes that where Early Modern travel writing is concerned, 'wonder occupies its centre' (p.116), and he even claims that many travel narratives could be more accurately termed: 'wonder text' (p.67).

course of this chapter we will discover that wonder is something far more complex even than that.[9] Suffice to say, travel was important because not only did it bring travellers into contact with wonder, but it forced travel writers to react to it. They recorded the wondrous, categorised it, studied it, and in doing so were part of the ongoing transition of the wondrous into the curious.

Related to but different from wonder there was also curiosity, an even broader term which could encompass anything from novelty items like rhino's horns to whole countries and entire cultures. In *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800,* Justin Stagl defines curiosity as 'the urge to explore unknown situations,' while an actual curiosity in terms of an object is apparently anything which interests an individual: 'collected items […] arranged according to the owner's private system of classification.'[10] This definition is echoed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, where curiosity is defined first as 'a strong desire to know or learn something' and then, where objects are concerned, 'an unusual or interesting object or fact.' These definitions are both broad and somewhat vague, but this is the nature of curiosity. There is, though, always the sense that curiosity is not as profound as wonder. It is something more down to earth, something interesting rather than awe inspiring. Something novel but, unlike wonder, something *intelligible.* Despite this, the terms are not independent of each other. Robert Evans describes how cabinets of curiosity often included objects which would have been considered wondrous, most notably 'wondrous naturalia and artificialia.'[11] Wonder and curiosity are two separate terms but they are interlinked, and the relationship between the two is a complex one, both practically and linguistically. This chapter will attempt to highlight the difference between a wonder and a curiosity, while offering a brief overview of the various definitions of both, the linguistic profiles associated with them and the types of knowledge which they represented. As we can see, both wonder and curiosity had firm links to travel, especially in terms of collected objects, because travel brought a person into closer contact with previously unknown things.

It is inevitable that any study of wonder and curiosity must also in part be a study of terms. Our area of interest is the early modern, and the period saw an especially large scale attempt to establish a concrete linguistic profile for wonder. This was in part due to the Reformation and the works 'of Lutheran scholars' keen to establish 'distinctions' between the various types of wonder, and especially what constituted a miracle.[12] We will consider this in more detail later, but discussions of wonder have far earlier roots, and any examination must begin in antiquity. The works of early philosophers including Aristotle and Plato examined wonder and its effects on humanity, and we cannot underestimate the importance of these writers to early modern thinkers. Sarah E. Johnson notes that even in the most fundamental of matters, classical philosophers were vital to the early modern understanding, with certain 'theories from Plato (and earlier)' extending well 'into the early modern period.'[13] Steven Nadler stresses the point even more emphatically, describing how deeply entrenched in education Aristotle and Plato were. He writes that there was always 'an emphasis accorded to Platonism' and that universities were just 'as much preoccupied with the study of Aristotle.'[14] He explains that the teaching of philosophy in universities relied very heavily upon the two philosophers:

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9 *The Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

10 Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (London: Routledge, 2012) p.2 and Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) p.13.

11 Robert John Weston Evans and Alexander Marr, *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2006) p.9.

12 Philip M. Soergel, *Miracles and the Protestant Imagination: The Evangelical Wonder Book in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p.41.

13 Dr Sarah E. Johnson, *Staging Women and the Soul-Body Dynamic in Early Modern England* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2014) p.7.

14 Steven Nadler, *A Companion to Early Modern Philosophy* (London: John Wiley & Sons, 2008) p.10.

> Since most students of philosophy in these years received their intellectual apprenticeship in the arts faculties of major European universities, a training which was based on a thorough study of the works of Aristotle, it is unsurprising that those who became professors continued to base their instruction on the Aristotelian corpus.[15]

In this way, classical philosophy was a self-perpetuating force: it was taught, and then taught again by students who later went on to become professors. The new emphasis on humanism during the period also gave Aristotle and Plato a particular prominence, so much so that many thinkers 'believed Aristotle as well as Plato should be part of the formation of Christian theologians.'[16] With classical scholars so deeply entrenched in early modern education and philosophy, it is inevitable that they influenced not only conceptions of wonder, but the linguistic profiles constructed around it. Any study of the term must begin with Plato and Aristotle, and then we will trace its development from antiquity through the medieval period, and then finally into the early modern era. Not only a study of wonder, this examination will represent a study of an entire knowledge structure, which we will then move on to contrast and compare with curiosity. This will set up later discussions of wonder and curiosity relating to the various case studies outlined earlier.

One of the most important statements on wonder is perhaps also one of the most well known. Plato claimed that 'philosophy begins in wonder,' a sentiment which was later echoed by Aristotle who wrote that 'it was their wonder, astonishment, that first led men to philosophise and still leads them.'[17] Aristotle considered wonder the motivating force behind all types of learning, writing in the *Metaphysics* that men 'wondered first at the obvious difficulties and then little by little about the greater matters.'[18] In this way wonder led mankind along a chain of understanding, inviting it to comprehend ever greater matters, developing knowledge along the way. Knowledge leads directly to further knowledge. Wonder asks a question, and by answering that question humanity advances. This was not a new idea. It had already been articulated in earlier works by Plato, who described a 'long chain of association' which guides mankind from 'one point to another' along a path of learning.[19] For these two philosophers, wonder was not only an innate reaction but a galvanising force. This is perhaps best described by Michael Funk Deckard in *Philosophy Begins in Wonder: An Introduction to Early Modern Philosophy* whereby 'if there is wonder in the beginning, what comes after is not more wonder but the dispelling of wonder.'[20] Already we can see the beginnings of some type of transition: an implied separation of knowledge structures. There is wonder, and then there is something after the end of wonder, a type of knowing.

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15 Nadler, p.10.

16 Jill Kraye and M.W.F Stone, *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2000) p.215. See also Euan Cameron, *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 2001) for further reading on the prominence of Aristotle and Plato in early modern thinking and eduction, as well as information on the vast number of translations and commentaries published on those early works.

17 Plato, *Theaetetus* trans. and ed. by John McDowell (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1973) p.120 and Aristotle, *Metaphysics* n.13 trans. by Joe Sachs (Green Lion Press: Santa Fe, 2002) p.176.

18 Aristotle, p.177.

19 Plato, p.71.

20 Michael Funk Deckard and PŽter Losonczi, *Philosophy Begins in Wonder: An Introduction to Early Modern Philosophy, Theology and Science* (London: James Clarke & Co Publishing, 2011) p.312. See also Hagi Kenaan and Llit Ferber, *Philosophy's Moods: The Affective Grounds of Thinking* (London: Springer Press, 2011) for further reading on the 'potential' of wonder as 'the crystallisation of a human will to defy ignorance and to search for knowledge' (p.14).

As a knowledge structure, wonder is self-limiting from the beginning, wonder must either end or transform into something else. As Mark Blitz describes, for Plato wonder was associated with 'the unusual,' but he also notes that 'another meaning of to wonder is to question.'[21] Even this, though, is an over-simplification. Despite the similarities between the Aristotelian and Platonic conceptions, there are differences. In *Practices of Wonder: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, Sophia Vasalou draws our attention to 'a dichotomy' between the two philosophers, and while the nuances of this dichotomy are too multitudinous to discuss in detail here, a brief understanding will be important for the rest of the thesis, especially in understanding productive vs unproductive curiosity.[22] In short, while Aristotle wrote mainly on a type of wonder which was purely for the advancement of knowledge, Plato left more room in his account for what we might term unproductive wonder, or the type of wonder which does not encourage one to learn, a type of wonder which cannot be: 'entirely contained or accounted for.'[23]

Plato described a type of wonder which did not lead to knowledge, understanding, or even negate the initial sense of wonder. It was something more permanent, something more than just that 'temporary goad' to learn.[24] Plato may have termed wonder the 'feeling of the philosopher,' but in *The Republic* he also wrote that 'the philosopher holding converse with the divine order, becomes orderly and divine, as far as the nature of man allows.'[25] At first glance this passage seems to suggest that humanity can elevate itself to the level of the divine, but closer inspection reveals a stark limitation. Man may only venture 'as far as the nature of man allows.'[26] Humanity is limited, and in this way Plato leaves plenty of room for wonders which are unproductive, which will not lead to further understanding. In this way his philosophy can easily accommodate the likes of divine miracles, which we will address shortly and were not expected to lead to any further knowledge. This is important, as it already hints at a split in knowledge structures, even beneath the same umbrella term of wonder. Moreover, Rubinstein points out that Plato incorporated the idea of day to day wonders, the type of wonder inspired by poetry, by art or by music - the type of wonder which one experiences, which delights, but does not lead to further knowledge.[27] The salient point of all this is that wonder can either be productive or unproductive. This will prove useful later when we consider how accounts returned from travel were treated, and whether their contents could be of some benefit to society, or existed simply to delight a readership.

The idea of a type of wonder not explicitly linked to learning was fairly common. In *Plato and Wonder*, David Bollert writes an excellent account of how Socrates identified wonder as something which may be down to earth and does not necessarily have to be raised far beyond the scope of humanity. For Socrates, wonder could sometimes be as simple as wondering at oneself, or wondering at the nature of being.[28] He wrote that before wondering at larger matters, he would first 'rather know himself,' because there was wonder to be found in understanding 'whether I am a more complicated and puffed up creature […or…] a gentler and simpler creature endowed by

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21 Mark Blitz, *Plato's Political Philosophy* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2010) p.125.

22 Sophia Vasalou, *Practices of Wonder: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2013) p.51.

23 T.G Bishop, *Shakespeare and the Theatre of Wonder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.25. See also Peter John Kreeft, *A Study of Wonder in Plato and Augustine* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1966) p.78.

24 Mary-Jane Rubenstein, *Strange Wonder: The Closure of Metaphysics and the Opening of Awe* (Columbia: University of Columbia Press, 2011) p.20.

25 Plato, *The Republic,* trans. and ed. by Alain Badiou (London: Wiley Press, 2013), p.217.

26 Plato, p.217.

27 Rubensein, p.21.

28 David Bollert, *Plato and Wonder* in 'Extraordinary Times,' IWM Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences, Vol. 11: Vienna 2001.

heaven and nature.'[29] Bollert concludes that 'Socrates finds more than enough wonder in the human person to occupy his time.'[30] This is a far more down to earth, distinctly human type of wonder. It is not concerned with lofty or distant concepts. Longinus, too, wrote at length about this type wonder, which he termed the sublime. Perhaps the most telling passage from his work *On The Sublime* concerns love as a form of wonder. Longinus writes that 'love' is 'wonderful' because it is a feeling close to divinity, and also because it involves the 'soul' and 'the body' in 'the same moment.'[31] This type of wonder is termed by Longinus as 'the sublime,' and that is a broad definition which encompasses a wide array of experiences. In *The Theory of the Sublime from Longinus to Kant*, Robert Doran writes that Longinus was describing a range of emotional reactions: 'awe, astonishment, amazement, wonder, admiration and so on,' all of which he considered as part of 'the sublime experience.'[32] These are a wide array of terms, but they are all suggestive of the emotional rather than the intellectual side of the wonderful, and certainly fall into the category of unproductive wondering not geared towards knowledge building. We will see this idea recurring again and again over the course of the thesis, from travel narratives which focus on the awe inspiring wonder of supposed hell-mouths rather than their geographical reality, to miracle cures lauded for their supernatural properties rather than their potential use in everyday society.

Moreover, Longinus grants his wonder a startlingly large vocabulary, a stunning range of terms very similar to the manner in which curiosities were carefully and intricately categorised in the period. James I. Porter puts it best, writing that 'Longinus has some seventy-odd ways to denominate the sublime - among these, terms for grandeur (megethos, megethopois, ogkos, etc) and a host of terms for supreme value and excess (akros, dharma, huper-words).'[33] Wonder demanded categorisation. When encountered abroad, travel writers would collect it under various headings for the sake of order. This meant that large numbers of phenomena were often classified together. This is a crucial part of the wonder/curiosity transition. If the wondrous could be classified alongside the merely curious, as we will discover that it frequently was, then the wonderful was inevitably lowered. Longinus is more interested in the emotional force of wonder, and how it may affect a person who experiences it. In *Reason Diminished: Shakespeare and the Marvellous,* Peter G. Platt highlights an important factor in determining what, for Longinus, defined the wondrous. He writes simply that 'for Longinus there was more to wonder than something convincing and pleasing.'[34] In later chapters we will examine the almost inexhaustible list of curiosity collections, both physical and literary, and the differing purposes operating behind them. While some were to educate, some existed simply for pleasure. This had repercussions for the wondrous. Either it was studied, and study often brought about the end of wonder through understanding, or it was classified alongside other merely curious things, and lowered to their level. This was especially true of the wonderful encountered through travel. Classification and definition, essentially language itself, are not only crucial in building knowledge, but constructing the world as we conceive it. Wonder exists, at least initially, outside this conception. As such, the transition of wonder into curiosity, and the separation of the two knowledge structures, actually represents a bringing of knowledge into human understanding, and a shift in how knowledge could be utilised.

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29 Plato, *Phaedrus and Letters VII and VIII* trans. by Walter Hamilton (London: Penguin Books, 1973) 229e-230a.

30 Bollert, p.4. David M. Johnson, *Socrates and Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) also offers some further background reading on the main philosophical ideas of Socrates.

31 Longinus, *On The Sublime* trans. by W. Rhys Roberts (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Library, 2010) p.57.

32 Robert Doran, *The Theory of the Sublime from Longinus to Kant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) p.10. Michael Funk Deckard and PŽter Losonczi also offer a good overview of Longinus' conception of the sublime, noting that it was above all else concerned with 'aesthetics' and emotional reactions (p.273).

33 James I. Porter, *The Sublime in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) p.15.

34 Peter G. Platt, *Reason Diminished: Shakespeare and the Marvellous* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1997) p.16.

Wonder continued to be a fascination throughout the medieval period. Willenne B. Clark writes of this fascination, and one of its most important manifestations in the form of bestiaries. These collections often blurred the boundaries between wonderful creatures such as 'the unicorn, siren, satyr' and natural ones, with compilers often mingling real-life creatures with 'fantasy animals.'[35] Nonetheless, these collections reveal a tremendous interest in wonder during the medieval period, where it remained firmly linked to knowledge, with Keagan Brewer noting a strong 'correlation between wonder and lack of knowledge.'[36] The less one knew, the more one wondered, with wonder occupying the gap between ignorance and comprehension. Classifying the wondrous became somewhat of a preoccupation for medieval scholars, as did attempting to define mankind's reaction to wonder. Brewer highlights the example of Guillaume le Talleur, a French lexicographer of the fourteenth century, who attempted to establish the following categories:

> 'amazed' (*miratus)* as 'being stupid…stupidly believing' (*stupens…cum stupore credens),* 'stupified' (*stupefactus)* as 'made stupid' *(stupidus factus),* and 'stupefy' *(stupeo)* as 'to be shocked, afraid, full of wonder, terrified, scared, to be or to be made stupid, as though senseless.[37]

The classification of wonder was a pressing concern in the medieval period, and it was an ongoing process. In *Culture and Authority in the Baroque,* Peter G. Platt describes how 'Thomas Aquinas sets out to systematise the marvellous' during the period, and determine the difference between what is a marvel and what is a genuine miracle of God.[38] Aquinas made a diligent and detailed attempt to clarify exactly the definition of wonder, and then to break that definition down into a further series of sub headings and minor classifications. This is a methodology which we will see repeatedly over the course of this thesis. Wonder demanded not only categories but a type of language. The reaction to witnessing something wonderful seems to have been to bring it under human influence, meaning placing it in categories, recording it, labelling it and essentially importing it into existing knowledge structures. This was especially important for wonder encountered through travel, when the act of categorising wonder was also an act of bringing it home. This of course effected wonder, and we will examine in later chapters how categorisation often led to the wonderful being re-classified as the merely curious.

Definition, we will find, is one of the most important aspects of the wonder to curiosity transition. Continuing to trace the development of wonder, it is worth considering the works of Thomas Aquinas, a medieval scholar who wrote at length on wonder, and whose writings were still important during the early modern period. He was keen to define and categorise different types of wonder, and offered the example of an eclipse as instructive, noting that the cause of an eclipse is simultaneously known and unknown - the cause is something which astronomers are aware of, but 'rustics' are not:

> Now the cause of a manifest effect may be known to one, but unknown to others: as an eclipse is to a rustic but not to an astronomer. Now a miracle is so called as being full of wonder; as having a cause absolutely hidden from all: and this cause is God.

35 Willenne B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary: Commentary, Art, Text and Translation* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006) p.36.

36 Keagan Brewer, *Wonder and Skepticism in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge Press, 2016) p.39.

37 Brewer, p.39.

38 Peter G. Platt in *Culture and Authority in the Baroque* ed. by Massimo Ciavolella and Patrick Coleman (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2005), p.16.

> Wherefore those things which God does outside those causes which we knew, are called miracles.[39]

This is a particularly useful explanation as it defines miracles against mere wonders: a true miracle must be something from God, the cause of which is utterly beyond our understanding and utterly hidden. The wonderful might eventually be understood, but a miracle will not. Platt explains that Aquinas considered miracles as 'God's oratory' in that they 'convert and convince by their psychological effects.'[40] The account is also useful because it reveals wonder as a matter of perception, noting that there is a stark difference between 'apparent miracles as seen by the throng and by the theologian or the natural philosopher.'[41] Wonder is a matter of definition and category. Aquinas was keen to categorise miracles separately from natural phenomena. It is a matter of language, a matter of classification: that can be the difference between a wonder and a curiosity. This is a theme which will recur often throughout this thesis. Travel writing complicated matters even further, as phenomenon were often being witnessed for the first time. How these things were categorised, and what they were categorised alongside, often determined whether they were wondrous or merely curious.

Sophia Vasalou's *Wonder: A Grammar*, explores the links between language and wonder quite extensively, and outlines how wonder was often a matter of solving a linguistic problem. She writes that 'wonder must be an event in language,' and new vocabulary or new categories often need to be invented to accommodate it.[42] Vasalou suggests that without its own vocabulary wonder becomes something which can only ever be an internal reaction and thus incommunicable. She writes that 'we reach language through the community in which we learn to speak, mastering the words of wonder to then use them in expressing our own wonder.'[43] Wonder not only demands our attention and our study, but it also stretches and makes demands of our language. John Marmysz writes that 'the very grammar of our knowledge corresponds to the structure of nature, and this is what makes it possible for us to know our world.'[44] The point, once again, is that wonder requires classification, it requires categories, and it needs to be fitted into some kind of linguistic profile. These categories and profiles, as we will discover in the next chapter, are essential to the idea of the wonderful becoming the merely curious.

Wonder is also linked to issues of ownership. Blitz describes this best in *Plato's Political Philosophy*:

> When recognition is uplifted by excellence or beauty, it can be loving or erotic and also, at first, self-forgetting. One can then return to oneself as uplifted (in philosophy or love) but not to possess, use or control the wonderful.[45]

39 Aquinas, p.325.

40 Platt, p.79.

41 Michael Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007) p.20.

42 Sophia Vassalou, *Wonder: A Grammar* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2015) p129.

43 Vassalou, p.129.

44 John Marmysz, *The Path of Philosophy: Truth, Wonder, and Distress* (Boston: Engage Press, 2011) p.75. Marmysz also goes on to examine Aristotle and his works on wonder later in the book, noting that 'wonder is an indispensable part of philosophy' (p.85).

45 Blitz, p.125. In *Practices of Wonder: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives* Sophia Vasalou also writes that Aristotelian wonder especially was associated with 'the pleasures of mastery and control' (p.51), furthering highlighting the issues of controlling wonder through seeking to understand and lower it to the human level.

Wonder is something to be experienced which does not necessarily need to be possessed, controlled or even really exist as something which humans can influence or interact with in any meaningful way. Wonder is something *beyond*. This was not the case with curiosities, and over the course of this thesis we will see travellers taking possession of the wonders that they encounter abroad, be that through physical collection, through categorisation, or the act of recording and explaining. These are all examples of the wonderful being possessed, and in doing so being brought down to earth. This is one of the most profound differences between something wonderful and something merely curious. Something truly wondrous did, after all, defy ownership:

> Just as reason appears to be antagonistic to wonder, wonder, for its part, looks like the arch-enemy of reason. Reason provides us with certain and objective information about our world. Wonder considers that which can never be completely comprehended and systematised - that which is, to some degree, out of this world.[46]

This is why travel, and the wonder encountered through travel, is so important to this thesis, and the idea of a wonder/curiosity transition. Travel wonders existed so far beyond the influence of the individual witnessing them, existing in a different country far from the homeland, that the act of taking ownership through something like physical collection is especially important. If the wondrous can be brought home, surely it is no longer as wondrous.

I have attempted to give a very brief overview of the concept of wonder, the development of the term and the debate which surrounded it. Wonder was part of a desperate scramble for definition and categorisation, and as such the idea of what constituted a true wonder shrunk. Language narrowed the conception of wonder, as did categorisation. The key is that wonder remains linked to something utterly unknown, something so far beyond our comprehension that it demands further study. Both Plato and Aristotle link the wonder reaction to an urge to learn and solve the mystery, but in some cases there is apparently little or no hope of any such resolution, and the wondering is unproductive. When we experience something which we do not understand, the result is a wonder reaction. As Miller states, wonder serves as a constant reminder that we do not know everything, that there are more things unknown than known: 'wonder causes one to realise that the unknown is *more* than can ever be present to us.'[47] In essence, as Hamlet tells Horatio: 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio/Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.'[48] The debate constituting what exactly could be termed a wonder was ongoing throughout the early modern period, but this idea of wonder as the greatest unknown, at least remained in place. Travel brought individuals into contact with new wonders in new places, and how these wonders were categorised, and how they were incorporated into the taxonomy of the curious, is the central point of this thesis, and also the new area of scholarship which it hopes to develop.

Section Two - An Introduction to Curiosity.

Now that we have considered wonder, we can move on to the second important term of this thesis. There has already been a great deal of scholarship on curiosities, their status, and even what could actually be defined as a curiosity. As previously noted, the dictionary definition of a curiosity is simply an unusual and interesting object or fact. In this way curiosity is similar to wonder. It remains linked to something unknown, and there is also the sense of attempting to solve a mystery.

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46 Montague Brown, *The Romance of Reason: An Adventure in the Thought of Thomas Aquinas* (Massachusetts: Saint Bede's Publications, 1991) p.10.

47 Miller, p.175.

48 William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (1603) ed. by Cedric Watts (London: Wordsworth Press, 1992) I.v.349.

One of the most detailed and important critical assessments of curiosity comes in Justin Stagl's *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800*, which ties curiosity very firmly to empirical study and direct, physical involvement with objects of interest: 'an individual with an inquiring mind approaches the objects of its curiosity, explores them through observation, inspection or manipulation.'[49] At once we are presented with something which seems more down to earth, something which is easily accessible. If wonders were by definition 'out of this world' and beyond our ownership, then curiosities appear to be the opposite. They may be unusual, but they are at least accessible enough to study.

Barbara M. Benedict highlights another important aspect of curiosity, and one which is linked to travel: collection. In *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry*, she writes that curiosity leads an individual not only to observe but to actually interact with the natural world through the medium of collection: 'curiosity defines the natural connoisseur who makes his own art from nature by perception and collects - or recollects - it in his memory.'[50] There is certainly an interactive nature to curiosity. It leads to interaction with the world, another suggestion that it is linked to the things which humanity can at the very least reach. There is also plenty of room for curiosity to be a useful knowledge structure. It leads humanity to interact and explore. It is, however, impossible to stress the sheer fluidity of the concept of curiosity. Even now it remains an ill-defined 'fuzzy' concept, and was even more so during the early modern period.[51] Evans and Marr write that curiosity was often interchangeable with a plethora of other terms including 'interest, wonder, marvel, strangeness, subtlety, secret, rarity to name but a few.'[52] The only unifying factor operating behind these terms is that curiosity is associated with something which is at least rare. Evans and Marr go further, venturing to suggest that 'curiosity has much in common with many other concepts which served, in early modern contexts and times, to construct knowledge.'[53] This ties curiosity to wonder, both may lead to further knowledge, but curiosity can stand for something else too. As Ball says, while wonder was very often associated with the grandiose, the same was not necessarily true of curiosities. These did not need to exist 'on a grand scale,' and instead could be associated with 'petty seeking after trivia and things not worth knowing.'[54] As we have discovered, wonder had an unproductive side: curiosity did too. This is perhaps why Ball concludes that curiosity and learning were often opposed, with the latter considered a vice rather than a virtue, and why 'even some of the most innovative thinkers found it expedient to detach learning from curiosity.'[55]

Just as many philosophers wrote on wonder, there also exists a great deal of scholarship on curiosity too, with one of the most important examples being the works of Augustine. For the purpose of this thesis, and the splitting of wonder from curiosity, this account is especially useful. Augustine considered curiosity in an unfavourable light, viewing it as an unproductive, potentially damaging vice. In *Augustine's Confessions: Philosophy in Autobiography,* William E. Mann best

49 Justin Stagl, p.3. See also Neil Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe: World History* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Press, 1998) for further reading on the nature of curiosities, and more specifically the difficulties associated with writing any history of curiosity. He notes that 'any history of curiosity is problematic' because the term itself is so fluid: 'is it a history of a concept (whatever that might be), or of a set of words, or of some extra conceptual and extra-linguistic reality?' (p.17).

50 Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) p.185. See also Mark Zuss, *The Practice of Theoretical Curiosity* (New York: Springer Press, 2012) p.65 for more information on how curiosity was considered a motivating force for learning as it 'motivated mankind towards a more and more comprehensive system of knowledge,' but also invited interaction with the objects of curiosity.

51 Robert John Weston Evans and Alexander Marr, *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2006) p.2.

52 Evans and Marr, p.2.

53 Evans and Marr, p.2.

54 Ball, p.14

summarises Augustine's view of curiosity as 'vain curiosity, idle speculation, futile inquisitiveness.'[56]Allan Fitzgerald clarifies the position further, noting that 'the desire to know is not a vice for Augustine,' but curiosity signifies not simply an urge for knowledge but an unregulated, unfocussed craving for any type of knowledge. Curiosity is indiscriminate, and this is what makes it such a vice for Augustine. It gives people an 'appetite for things other than God.'[57] He writes that 'curiosity makes semblance of a desire for knowledge' but is a futile force because only God can 'supremely know all.'[58] In this way, we are presented not only with the empty nature of curiosity, but a limitation imposed upon all knowledge. Moreover, curiosity disturbs the senses, it is an unsettling force which prevents humanity finding 'stable rest with God.'[59] It is the 'natural enemy of peace.'[60] The idea of curiosity as a desire for *any kind* of knowledge will prove important throughout the thesis, as travellers would often indiscriminately gather everything, anything they could find. The emphasis than fell on how that glut of information was dealt with and processed.

The problem with curiosity, then, is not that it is a pursuit of knowledge, but that it is a pursuit of the *wrong type* of knowledge. In a manner of speaking Augustine is only really referring to that type of unproductive wondering referenced in the previous section, the type of interest which does not lead to knowledge. He offers a summary of his thoughts on the matter:

> [u]nhealthy curiosity that freaks and prodigies are put on show in the theatre, and for the same reason men are led to investigate the secrets of nature, which are irrelevant to our lives, although such knowledge is of no value to them and they wish to gain it merely for the sake of knowing it. It is curiosity, too, which causes men to turn to sorcery in the effort to obtain knowledge for the same perverted purpose. And it even invades our religion, for we put God to the test when we demand signs and wonders from him.[61]

These are the key terms. The use of phrases such as 'irrelevant,' 'no value' and 'merely for the sake of knowing' all cast curiosity as something which is essentially useless. For Augustine these things are irrelevant because they cannot be known, and ought to be left to God. They are also dangerous because they inspire a certain pride, leading one to 'look away from God and results in a desire to know things that give the individual some form of pride.'[62] Curiosity is, too, what Margaret R. Miles terms a 'pleasure of the senses,' something geared explicitly towards delighting the human

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55 Philip Bell, *Curiosity: How Science Became Interested in Everything* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013) p.16. See also Mordechai Feingold*, History of the Universities: Volume XX/2 2005* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) for further reading on the problems with curiosity as an unproductive force, and how, during the Renaissance, collectors who sought to use curiosity as a foundation for knowledge, groups such as 'naturalists, collectors, travellers and antiquarians,' were forced to reshape 'curiosity into something which was usually good,' such was its dismal reputation as vice and waste of time (p.163).

56 William E. Mann, *Augustine's Confessions: Philosophy in Autobiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p.64.

57 Allan Fitzgerald, *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopaedia* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014) p.259.

58 Augustine, *The Confessions of Saint Augustine* trans. by F.J Sheed ed. by Peter Brown (Cambridge: Hacket Publishing Company, 2006) p.31.

59 Augustine, p.66.

60 Augustine, p.66.

61 Mann, p.62.

62 IIhan Inan, *The Philosophy of Curiosity* (London: Rutledge Press, 2013) p.33.

senses, something for pleasure rather than learning.[63] Augustine even argues that curiosity is often focussed on the macabre. He cites a disfigured corpse as being an object of curiosity which nothing can be learned from, which is nothing more than a gross spectacle. We will later highlight the contrasts between types of curiosity account, those that really did gather the most outlandish details they could, the macabre or the strange, and those which sought the more useful information. Both were important in how wonder could be re-categorised as curious, but we can see already that the emphasis falls on the type of information collected, and how it is dealt with.

Justin Stagl introduces the idea of language very early on in his assessment of the curious, writing that 'man differs from other curiosity animals by its possession of language. This greatly enlarges the field of its curiosity.'[64] Simply, mankind's possession of language enlarges its ability to be curious because it enlarges its ability to describe the curious. There are links between curiosity and literature too, and Neil Kenny ties the feeling of curiosity firmly to literary pursuits, noting that 'reading generates curiosity.'[65] He writes that literature was an important part of the collecting impulse, that 'in those institutions and discourses in which the curiosity-collecting tendency was especially prominent' a huge array of 'pedagogical works, how-to books, miscellanies, newspapers, and other periodicals' were generated and read.[66] The collection of curiosities in Cabinets of Wonder, and the burgeoning interest in curiosities from abroad, coincided with what Ken Arnold terms the seventeenth century 'reform of language,' along thought lines that 'language should embody the nature of the world to which it referred.'[67] The ability to give objects of curiosity actual definitions was essential in differentiating them from wonders, which still retained an association with the beyond. Categorisation was essential. Language was a way of giving things a space within human knowledge structures, a way of making them concrete, and also a way of separating the wondrous from the curious. As Arnold wrote, naming things is 'a kind of stamping of […] humanity's mind as if it were a piece of soft wax.'[68] When wonder was encountered through travel, this application of categorisation and language was even more important. It brought wonder home, incorporated and categorised it alongside pre-existing objects and phenomena, reducing it to their level.

Travel was intrinsically linked to curiosity, and the two inspired each other. Judy A. Hayden outlines this relationship best in *Travel Narratives, the New Science and Literary Discourse 1569-1750*, writing that 'if curiosity and the desire to know inspired travel, so too did travel inspire curiosity, particularly owing to the artefacts brought home by previous explorers.'[69] Kim M. Phillips characterises the curiosity associated with travel as 'a condition of fascination, of hunger for what is outside ourselves.'[70] Travel offered ample opportunity for sating that hunger. Travel allowed all manner of new things to be brought home; objects, accounts, even maps. This process itself, the taking of objects from foreign countries and the placing of them into collections at home, is an act

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63 Margaret R. Miles, *Augustine and the Fundamentalist's Daughter* (Oregan: Cascade Books, 2011) p.71.

64 Stagl, p.3.

65 Neil Kenny, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) p.410.

66 Kenny, p.167.

67 Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006) p.192.

68 Arnold, p.192.

69 Judy A. Hayden, *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750* (London: Routledge Press, 2016) p.96.

70 Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013) p.67. Gitanjali Shahani and Brinda Charry, *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission* (London: Routledge, 2009) 'humanist ideals communicated at universities and at court, valued a natural curiosity about the greater world and a desire to know new things' p.131.

of possession, something not normally associated with the wondrous. Moreover, these collections required categorisation, which in turn influenced how the wondrous was perceived. The process is stark. A wonder witnessed far from home is suddenly returned home and categorised alongside other curiosities. Travel, and the idea of bringing the wondrous home, was essential in the process of transforming the wondrous into the curious.

The relationship certainly operated in both directions. Curiosities had a profound effect on travel. They influenced what travellers expected to see abroad:

> The spirit of curiosity that these collections exuded came also to influence the sensibility of travelling itself. Guidebooks began to be structured around the idea, while curiosities brought back from voyages of exploration started appearing as illustrations on maps. And travellers to the lands closest at hand - to Europe - visited such collections as part of an increasingly set itinerary.[71]

Once again we see that desire to use curiosity for something, perhaps as inspiration for travel, perhaps as the starting point for an itinerary. The idea that travellers increasingly sought out the curious is important, and we will see its influence later in the thesis.

Curiosity is, then, a complex and multi-faceted term. Its relationship with wonder, and the difference between the two, is even more complicated, but there are certain distinguishing features. Three of the most defining features setting curiosities apart from wonders are as follows. The first is the association of curiosities with human possession. Secondly, curiosities are deeply intertwined with language: they exist within literary collections, they are categorised and they are collated. Thirdly, and tying together the previous two definitions, curiosities were deeply and perhaps inextricably associated with collection. The impulse to collect meant that the first two criteria of curiosities could be fulfilled. They could be possessed, and they could be given linguistic profiles. Wonder pushes the boundaries of categorisation, curiosities do not. They are wonders viewed through the lens of language, human possession and collection. They represent a second tier of wonder which will one day either be understood, or lose its wondrous connotations altogether.

In its most simple form a curiosity might be considered a toned down type of wonder, a secondary impulse after wonder has been encountered. It is separate to wonder, and has the potential to be used for a wider variety of purposes too. One may even consider curiosity as part of the wonder reaction, part of the inevitable urge to solve the problem of wonder by incorporating it into pre-existing knowledge structures, both linguistic and otherwise. The element of possession and collection is essential. A wonder is something which is basically beyond us, but the same is not true of a curiosity. This is the fundamental, most salient point in the dichotomy, and the one which will prove especially important as we move on to discuss how wonder was transformed into curiosity, and what this process actually meant.

As we come to the end of this chapter, it is worth returning to the stones of Avebury which began it. The very same stones which Stukeley studies were also explored by Philip Sidney in his *The Seven Wonders of England.* The poem focusses on the wondrous, mysterious side of the stones. Sidney begins by stating that 'neither any eye/Can count them just; nor reason, reason try, what force brought them to so unlikely ground?'[72] There is no attempt to study the stones, no attempt to gain knowledge or explain the mystery. Sidney merely perpetuates what Joanne Parker terms 'the traditional view of the stones as mysterious.'[73] Instead of adopting Stukeley's methodology, Sidney utilises the stones as a type of contemplative symbol. In fact, he uses the entire landscape of

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71 Arnold, p.111.

72 Phillip Sidney, *The Seven Wonders of England* in 'The Complete Poems of Philip Sidney, Volume 28' ed. by Alexander B. Grosart (Blackburn: St. Georges Press, 1873) lines 3-4, p.178.

wonders in this way, writing variously of ‘passion, hills; reaching to reason’s sky’ and ‘my lake is sense, whose still streams never run.’[74] Here we see wonder very clearly linked to contemplation rather than enquiry. This is a theme which will become increasingly important throughout the thesis as we seek to explore the separation of the curiosity category from the wonder category, and what became of the latter after this separation. The difference between enquiry and contemplation will prove to be one of the most important differences between the two.

Wonder and curiosity represent different knowledge structures, and if the curious can be viewed as the wondrous lowered to the earthly level, then this study is also in part a study of how things are made available to knowledge. The early modern period saw a type of sorting process applied to the wondrous. As previously discussed, the field of wonder became increasingly narrow as new definitions were drawn up. The end result of this process is very evident in Stukeley’s eighteenth century writings, as he lambasts the idea of Stonehenge being associated with magic. He writes that some of those who attempted to explain the formation:

> [h]ave recourse to magic, as is usual when they would account for anything seemingly so much above human power to accomplish.[75]

This is a theme repeated often throughout this thesis, and over the course of the period. Just because something initially appears beyond the possession or understanding of humanity does not mean that it has a supernatural or wondrous cause. This is one of the most important aspects of the wonder into curiosity transition, and one of the most defining features of the sorting process which separated the two knowledge profiles. Stukeley was not ‘the first scientist to investigate’ the stones, but he was certainly one of ‘the first to produce reasonably accurate plans of the stones and earthen circles.’[76] This impulse, to examine and understand the wondrous, will be crucial throughout the thesis: it is the very impulse which led to the wondrous being transformed into the curious, and the curious into a knowledge form which could be considered useful. In this way there is a sense that the curious, although discouraged as frivolous, could actually serve a useful purpose in developing knowledge. There is also a more general question of the status of curiosity. We want it to be useful, but are not sure how it can be. Over the course of the early modern period this problem underwent various attempts at resolution.

The impulse to collect was obviously vital in all of this, as was travel. In fact, the two went almost hand in hand. Collecting the wondrous from abroad was part of the transition. Wonder and curiosity are two knowledge structures which were deeply intertwined. Over the course of this thesis we will explore the separation of these structures into two, and also the development of curiosity, once separated from the wondrous, into a useful knowledge structure with a legitimate status. We will do this by tracing the transformation of the wondrous into the curious, itself a matter of wonders being taxonomized as curiosities. The process is complex and travel is vital, as wonders from around the world were returned home. How these wonders were treated, and the categories which they were given, illuminates the idea of a wonder/curiosity transition. The next chapter will explore in greater detail the *Kunstkammer*, and what this revealed about curiosity, wonder and the nature of collection during the early modern period. The chapter will begin to explore how wonder could be transformed into curiosity, the processes operating behind this and the ramifications of the transformation. The remainder of the thesis will then explore this process of wonder into curiosity

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73 Joanne Parker, *Written on the Stone: The Cultural Reception of British Prehistoric Monuments* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009) p.53. See also Rosemary Hill, *Stonehenge* (London: Profile Books, 2008) p.101 for further reading on Sidney and his treatment of the stones.

74 Sidney, line 8.

75 Stukeley, p.2.

76 Brian Fagan, *Archaeologists: Explorers of the Human Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) p.19.

in more detail, exploring why it occurred, how it occurred, and the important roles that travel and collection played. This will involve the study of several important and illustrative case studies. We will consider the wonder/curiosity dichotomy and the transformation of one into the other first through the lens of witchcraft and witch trials, before moving on to supposed gateways to the afterlife encountered through travel, and then herbal cures gathered from abroad which were thought to posses wondrous properties, before concluding with a study of Brome's *The Antipodes*, which puts the curiosity of travel on the stage.

Chapter Two - Curiosity and Collecting: The *Kunstkammer*.

If the opening chapter of this thesis established the terms 'wonder' and 'curiosity,' then to further the discussion of the wonder to curiosity transition it is important to look in more detail at collection during the early modern period. Collection, we will discover, was one of the crucial forces operating behind the wonder to curiosity transition, especially when it was linked to travel. Travel and collection were vital as they exposed travellers to the wondrous, but allowed them to bring it home with them, to store, to categorise, to study. We will consider the effects of this shortly, and how collection served to make the wondrous tangible. This chapter will also examine another important part of the wonder to curiosity transition: how language redefined the curious, and what this entailed. As outlined in the previous chapter, language was crucial to the wonder, and the linguistic differences between the wondrous and the curious are vital to the transition. Again, this will be viewed through the lens of travel and collection, both of which demanded their own linguistic structures.

There is perhaps no better symbol of early modern curiosity than the *Kunstkammer.* A *Kunstkammer*, or Cabinet of Curiosity was, according to Horst Bredekamp, 'a programmatic display of art and oddities amassed by wealthy Europeans during the sixteenth to eighteenth century.'[1] Bredekamp goes on to describe the most defining detail of the Kunstkammer: the fact that it could contain anything 'ranging from minerals to exotic plants and animals, statues, and machines.'[2] A more contemporary explanation is offered by Evans and Marr, who trace the earliest definition to 1565, where the words 'kunst' and 'Wunderkammern' were 'defined […] as a collection combining both man-made works of art (artificialia) and objects from nature (naturalia).'[3] The *Kunstkammer* can and did contain anything that its owner saw fit, essentially anything which seemed appealing. Katharina Pilaski Kaliardos even suggests that the overriding purpose of a *Kunstkammer* was to represent as broad a field of interest as possible, noting that the collections were meant to show 'a very broad spectrum of interests and pursuits.'[4] In this way collections were often large in scope, containing items with little or no relation to each other as the following list, written by Thomas Platter regarding a Cabinet of Curiosities owned by Walter Cope in 1599, demonstrates:

> An African charm made of teeth.
> Many weapons, arrows, and other things made of fishbone.
> Beautiful Indian plumes, ornaments, and clothes from China.
> A handsome cap made out of goosefoots from China.
> A curious Javanese costume.
> A felt cloak from Arabia.
> Shoes from many strange lands.
> An Indian stone axe, like a thunderbolt.
> Beautiful coats from Arabia.
> A string instrument with but one string.
> Another string instrument from Arabia.

1 Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art and Technology* (Munich: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995) p.1.

2 Bredekamp, p.1.

3 Evans and Marr, p.4.

4 Katharina Pilaski Kaliardos, *The Munich Kunstkammer: Art, Nature and the Representation of Knowledge in Courtly Contexts* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013) p.73.

The horn and tail of a rhinoceros, is a large animal like an elephant.
A fan made out of a single leaf.
Curious wooden and stone swords.
The twisted horn of a bull seal.
A round horn which had grown on an English woman's forehead.
An embalmed child (Mumia).
Leathern weapons.
The bauble and bells of Henry VIII's fool.
A unicorn's tail.[5]

There is very little to link these items apart from perhaps the element of travel involved in gathering them. Travel is key, and the list is a collection of objects which Cope found interesting, itself further abbreviated by the fact that Platter only included the things that *he* found 'the most interesting.'[6] The fact that these objects exist in a list is interesting. If, as discussed in the previous chapter, the wondrous existed at the fringes of knowledge, as a test of language and really even a test of human knowledge structures, it is interesting to see these items suddenly placed in something as everyday as a list. Especially telling is the fact that they were all gathered through travel. The list represents the wondrous brought home, a process of transition in itself.

The *Kunstkammer* was never intended to present a coherent image of curiosities and objects. Its overriding purpose was to preserve 'their status as exotic,' meaning that very often 'each was seen as an isolated thing, strange and completely cut off from its context.'[7] The *Kunstkammer* was an act of taking control, of bringing the wondrous into a human collection of knowledge. This is important, and it seems to represent a stark contrast to the idea of the wondrous. It brings the wondrous closer to being part of the wider taxonomy of the curious, especially when related to travel. These collections were widespread too. As Karel A. E. Enekal describes, they were common amongst Europe as 'artists, apothecaries, professors, and princes throughout Western Europe demonstrated their keen interest in […] accumulation of exotic and unusual objects.'[8] These are 'cabinets of curiosities,' and they were so prevalent that they even bridged boundaries between universities and the wider world. Neil Kenny highlights a difference between 'university curiosity and culture curiosity.'[9] The curious was finding its way into every corner of life, and the *Kunstkammer* played a vital role. Loraine Daston describes the slow transition of the Cabinet of Curiosities from something which belonged exclusively in the hands of 'kings and high nobility,' who often gained a 'monopoly' over curiosities, into the hands of the wider population.[10] She writes that where once the *Kunstkammer* was almost exclusively used to express 'imperial virtues,' over the course of the sixteenth century 'wonders increasingly fascinated the growing ranks of urban patricians and professionals' who were able to amass their own collections.[11] This is a profound shift in emphasis, and it demonstrates just how widespread the fascination with curiosities had become. It also brought the wondrous closer to more people. When we consider this through the

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5 Thomas Platter, *Thomas Platter's Travels in England* ed. by Clare Williams (London: J. Cape, 1937) p.171.

6 Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing off in Early America* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2000) p.21.

7 Kupperman, p.21.

8 Karel A. E. Enekal, *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts* (Boston: BRILL Press, 2007) p.281.

9 Neil Kenny, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) p304.

10 Lorraine Daston, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150-1750,* (New York: Zone Books, 2001) p.69.

11 Daston, p.69.

lens of travel, there is a dual shrinking of proximity. Items existed abroad, were then brought home, and over time even fell out of the hands of the elites. This is a vital process, decreasing the distance between humanity and the wondrous.

In the *Kunstkammer* we see many traits of the curious described in the previous chapter. *Kunstkammern* represented human control over the strange. There is of course the element of collection and, to a certain degree, categorisation, as objects were often grouped under broad headings such as naturalia and artificilia.[12] The *Kunstkammer* existed not only within the boundaries of language, but it was heavily reliant on language to function. This very different from the wondrous, which often defied language or at the very least tested it. The *Kunstkammer* represented the wondrous given category. The contents of the *Kunstkammer* were grouped, categorised, and even though they were often unrelated and lacked context, they were nonetheless recorded and given a linguistic profile often absent from the wondrous. Line Cottegnies draws an even firmer link between language and the Cabinet of Curiosities in *Women and Curiosity in Early Modern England and France,* noting that 'in the early modern period the word cabinet could also refer to a box of writing.'[13] The idea of a cabinet was itself linked to the collection of written material, language and containment, perhaps the most powerful expression of human influence. As items in the *Kunstkammer* were often linked to travel, it seems that this was part of an ongoing process to categorise the world itself, a crucial aspect of transforming the wondrous into the curious.

These physical collections were not the only way that curiosities could be collected and stored. There existed too a type of a textual collection of curiosities, large compendia which collected and collated accounts of strange phenomena from around the world. If anything, these types of books were even broader in scope than the Cabinet of Curiosities. They could encompass a wider range of examples beyond physical objects. In *Merchants and Marvels*, Pamela H. Smith makes mention of one book in particular, Niccolo Serpetro's *Marketplace of Natural Wonders,* which she claimed 'satisfied the seemingly infinite desire for wonders in the early modern period.'[14] The book included all manner of curious illustrations and accounts, even including 'a dragon,' and consisted largely of lists of 'natural wonders.'[15] The lists were not composed entirely of the curious, though. As Findlen notes 'sandwiched between sheets of perfectly ordinary phenomena - a parrot, a butterfly, a pear or a sprig from a berry tree - were extravagant creatures.'[16] The unusual was included alongside the usual, with little to distinguish them. Of course there were strong links to travel, too. These things were often encountered abroad, and their placing in the book was part of the wider trend of collecting wonderful travel accounts. Sepetro's work was just one of many. Writers such as Antonio Torquemada published large literary collections of curiosity which included accounts of 'monsters which are so many and of so sundry shapes in the world.'[17] These

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12 Julia Teresa Friehs, *The Kunst und Wunderkammer of Emperor Rudolf II* in 'The World of the Habsburgs <http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/kunst-und-wunderkammer-emperor-rudolf-ii> Accessed 1st March 2014.

13 Line Cottegnies, John Thompson and Sandrine Parageau, *Women and Curiosity in Early Modern England and France* (Boston: BRILL Press, 2016) p.87. Barbara M. Benedict elaborates further on this early modern trend, whereby collections of books were often sold in small cabinets as literary containers. Much like the *Kunstkammer*, the contents of these containers were highly eclectic, they were essentially 'accumulations of all sorts of linguistic and literary odds' which could contain almost any collection of books, no matter how unrelated the topics might be. Moreover, this method of book selling was extremely popular, reaching 'a very wide audience.' Intriguingly, Benedict also notes that many of these cabinets were designed to accommodate 'subversive curiosity' (Benedict, p.135). Collecting knowledge purely for the sake of curiosity was increasingly prevalent.

14 Pamela H. Smith, *Merchants and Marvels* (London: Routledge Press, 2002) p.297.

15 Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.67.

16 Findlen, p.67.

17 Antonio Torquemada, *The Garden of Curious Flowers* (1600) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 18th May 2016, p.11 and p.9.

literary collections of curiosities bore many similarities to their physical counterparts, most notably the reliance upon, and the importance of, classification to order and define the curious. Another example of such a work is Ludwig Lavater's *Of Ghosts and Spirits* (1572) which, while not explicitly a wonder book in the same way as the two listed above, nonetheless consisted of a huge collection of ghostly accounts gathered from around the world. One particularly stark example is that of a house in Athens, which was routinely haunted by a ghost that would materialise on the porch and 'shaketh his chains over his head,' until the ground under the house was dug up and the skeleton beneath given proper burial.[18] The physical and literary collections are united by their focus on accounts gathered through travel, by categorisation and by their focus on the unusual.

This chapter will consider these two methods of collecting and collating the curious in more detail, and examine how collections of curiosities, both physical and literary, helped transform the wondrous into the curious. We will also explore the effects that placing the wondrous under human influence had on phenomena, and the important role that language played in redefining the curious and constructing knowledge. To begin with, it is perhaps best to consider one of the most famous and largest *Kunstkammern* of all, that of Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor 1576-1612.[19] His *Kunstkammer* is especially notorious, and contained amongst other things '470 paintings, 69 bronzes, several thousand coins and medals, 179 objects of ivory, 185 precious stones, 403 Indian Curiosa and innumerable other objects of curiosity.'[20] The collection was eclectic indeed, and contained not only objects of curiosity gathered from around the world, but plants and living creatures. As Helmar Schramm notes, the Emperor 'had several stone-walled greenhouses erected to house orange and fig trees and other warm loving plants' as well as building 'a lion's enclosure in which various predators were kept, apart from lions and leopards.'[21] These are all displaced, having been plucked from their natural environment and transported to Rudolf's *Kunstkammer* in Prague, where they existed side by side but without their original context. The emphasis was on acquiring anything and everything, with no specific methodology regarding which objects should be sought out. Rudolf had 'a reputation for acquiring whatever he fancied,' an urge to collect which Marshall ventures as far as terming 'a mania' that incorporated anything from rare manuscripts to precious gems and oddities.[22]

Despite the eclectic nature of the collection, Rudolf did impose a certain order. Marshall describes the layout of the *Kunstkammer* as being divided 'into four large rooms,' and then further organised by 'the antiquarian Daniel Froschl,' who 'arranged it into three sections, starting with naturalia, turning to artificialia and ending with scientifica,' although Marshall concedes that the scale of the collection meant that these categories were often stretched and 'constantly broke down.'[23] These headings, broad as they are, ensured that the collection retained at least *some* categorisation, and that the linguistic element of naming and classifying was ever present. The wondrous was still being granted a linguistic profile. Visitors were often conveyed through the *Kunstkammer* in a specific order, being introduced through 'an antechamber decorated with images of the four elements,' itself

18 Ludwig Lavater, *Of Ghosts and Spirits* (1572) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 2nd May 2016, p.59.

19 Peter Marshall, *The Mercurial Emperor: The Magic Circle of Rudolf II in Renaissance Prague* (New York: Random House, 2013) offers some good background reading on Rudolf, and especially his associations with the arts and sciences. Marshall writes that he was a great 'patron' and established a circle of 'artists and scientists' who worked under his support and encouragement (p.75).

20 Julia Teresa Friehs, *The Kunst und Wunderkammer of Emperor Rudolf II* in 'The World of the Habsburgs <http://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/kunst-und-wunderkammer-emperor-rudolf-ii> Accessed 1st March 2014.

21 Helmar Schramm and Ludger Schwarte, *Collection, Laboratory, Theatre: Scenes of Knowledge in the 17th Century* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005) p.205.

22 Marshall, p.76.

23 Marshall, p.77.

an image of a universe which has order.[24] Indeed, Marshall goes on to note that collection of this type was a method of gaining some semblance of control in a world which was innately 'troublesome and uncontrollable,' and the Emperor himself apparently considered 'the whole world as a precious cabinet of curiosities to collect and classify.'[25] If collection can be considered a way of controlling the world, then it is certainly a way of controlling the wondrous too. It is a way of bringing travel home, and then ordering that travel towards a specific purpose - in this case a tour through a collection.

The scale of the collection transformed Rudolf's court into somewhat of a scientific hub. Schramm describes 'a highly interesting cultural centre where not only many artists of many specialities but also a string of scientists […] gathered to work under optimal conditions.'[26] In this climate all manner of other artisans worked, including in a mint, a foundry and a laboratory.[27] While there is no doubt that a great many of the objects were placed in the collection for the sake of collection alone or, as Horst Bredekamp writes, as a 'type of exhibition,' there was still a sense of ongoing enquiry.[28] There is a sense that curiosity might actually be useful. Roger Cardinal writes that 'the Emperor's holdings aided the intellectual and artistic pursuits of his court scholars and artists' and provided a great deal of 'raw material, as well as examples, for scientific investigation.'[29] Here we see the end point of wondering as referenced by Aristotle and Plato: knowledge. Strange and exotic items were collected, categorised and studied, and in this way they could become known, and the sense of mystery so important in drawing the wonder reaction diminishes. Despite this, the *Kunstkammer* remained part of an ongoing debate over the usefulness of curiosity, and whether it was overly frivolous:

> The seemingly unusual congeries of works of art, books, *naturalia* and scientific instruments present in the *Kunstkammer* for a long time struck sceptical critics as an unsystematic cabinet of curiosities that represented a frivolous past time or refuge from matters of political importance.[30]

In short, Rudolf's *Kunstkammer* might have been associated with enquiry and the arts, but many others weren't, and even his was considered by some as a waste of time. It is important to note, too, that while these objects and phenomena were removed from their context and categorised linguistically, they did not necessarily sacrifice their strangeness or their uniqueness. Existing as curiosities did not always bring them any closer to being fully understood. We see again the idea of unproductive curiosity, and it is clear that some type of separation in knowledge structure is required. Curiosity *can* be useful, but it must be treated in the right way. The criticism directed at Rudolf was that he was collecting only for the sake of collecting, and that this curiosity was distracting him from more important matters.[31] Here we are presented with a second end point to wondering. Either the objects were studied by Rudolf's various visitors and therefore deprived of

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24 Marshall, p.77.

25 Marshall, p.76.

26 Schramm, p.205.

27 Schramm, p.205.

28 Horst Bredekamp, *Leibniz's Theatre of Nature and Art And the Idea of a Universal Picture Atlas* in 'The Artificial and the Natural: An Evolving Polarity' ed. by Bernadette Bensaude-Vincent and William R. Newman (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2007) p.1.

29 Roger Cardinal, *Cultures of Collection* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994) p.19.

30 Cardinal, p.18.

their wondrous connotations, or they were simply put on display as objects of unproductive curiosity. The end results are very different.

The *Kunstkammer* of Rudolf II is important then, not only because it is one of the largest in scope, but because it reveals many defining features of these collections. There is the association with language and categorisation, the element of display, the potential for study, but also the potential for curiosity simply for its own sake: for the unproductive curiosity that Augustine criticised. We see demonstrated too the very human influence of collection, and the bringing of strange and exotic items home. Moreover, if Marshall is correct and Rudolf's *Kunstkammer* was a celebration of 'excess, in so far as it changes the quality of things to which God has assigned a name; it is metamorphosis, which tips from one order to another, in short, in another word, it is transmigration,' then the *Kunstkammer* is almost an act of transformation. It is an act of making and creation, one which shapes several individual objects into a new, different whole. This whole is a patchwork of travel, and seeing so many diverse wonders in one place alongside more everyday objects incorporates them into the taxonomy of the curious.[32] We see too the often contradictory nature of the *Kunstkammer*, at once a source of scientific enquiry but also associated with and apparently drawing no boundaries between, the arts, while remaining linked to concerns over unproductive curiosity. It had political implications, too, as Greenhill describes, representing the Emperor's 'symbolic mastery over the world,' but it was also an exercise in 'memory system' and, perhaps most pertinently of all it could represent 'the world in microcosm,' and therefore the possession of that world.[33] This is important. Wonders cannot, by definition, be possessed, but the *Kunstkammer* was an act of possession.

In general terms this criteria can be applied to almost all collections during the early modern period. As previously mentioned, while the *Kunstkammer* might have begun as a courtly affair, it slowly fell into the hands of classes outside the traditional elite and this, coupled with the burgeoning interest in travel described in the previous chapter, ensured that increasing numbers of people could collect. The fascination with travel also meant that interest in these collections grew too. Travel was an essential component to the *Kunstkammer*. A great deal of Rudolf's collection consisted of objects from abroad, and the collection recorded by Thomas Platter relied heavily upon the inclusion of objects from foreign countries such as the rhinoceros's horn and the felt clock from Arabia. Evans and Marr trace the links between the *Kunstkammer* and travel to their earliest roots by referencing Rafaello Borghini, who 'used the word wonder to describe his reaction to the works of art commissioned and collected in sixteenth century Florence.'[34] The collection contained a vast array of objects, most of them gathered through travel: 'pyramids of precious stones, jewels, medals, masks, petrified fruits and animals and many new and rare objects from the Indies and from Turkey, which amaze.'[35] Cosimo d'Medici, First Grand Duke of Tuscany, similarly filled his collection exclusively with 'artefacts from the New World' which were 'arranged, classified and understood.'[36] It is perhaps entirely natural that if we are to consider curiosity as the end point of wonder, and therefore the *Kunstkammer* as an integral part of this process, that objects encountered

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31 Perceptions of Rudolf's *Kunstkammer* have altered quite radically over time. Eileen Hooper Greenhill describes how it was not until a 'previously unknown inventory' was discovered in 1966 that scholars began to realise that it 'was not a cabinet of curiosities, but that it represented a constantly systematic collection of various objects from the different realms of nature, human arts and human knowledge, founded on an encyclopaedic principle.' See Eileen Hooper Greenhill, *Museum and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Rutledge Press, 1992) p.116 for further reading on the history of research into Rudolf's *Kunstkammer*.

32 Marshall, p.77.

33 Greenhill, p.116.

34 Evans and Marr, p.4.

35 Evans and Marr, p.4.

36 Evans and Marr, p.4.

through travel should thus form such a large part of collections. Travel was a great cause of wonder, and wonder sought resolution. As we will learn in later chapters, there was also an ongoing desire to make travel useful, as a way both of finding new knowledge and utilising that knowledge at home. The *Kunstkammer* was one of the most effective ways of gathering and storing what was encountered abroad.

New countries posed a number of issues for travellers, especially for those seeking to record what they witnessed. Evans and Marr describe this issue best:

> Confronted by previously unknown objects, European collectors faced the pressing problem of how to classify cultural artefacts from the New World. Such objects required assimilation, sometimes even modification, by collectors, with the result that nothing remained of their original meaning but [they] were included in collections less as examples of alien cultures than as further examples of what Europeans considered important in terms of wonder.[37]

In short, the aim was to classify artefacts, but this was not simply an aim, it was a 'pressing problem.' As noted in the previous chapter, the wondrous was part of a desperate scramble for definition, and collection played a vital role in satisfying this need, especially as unknown objects were at first always described using the 'language of the marvellous.'[38] Loss of words, or loss of language, is important in understanding the vital nature of the *Kunstkammer* in transforming the wondrous into the curious. A number of travel writers actually recorded the fact that they were lost for words when encountering new things. Peter d'Martire wrote 'I am at a loss to describe the aigrettes' when confronted with the dramatic feather fans of locals in the New World.[39] David Ingram ties the state of wonder specifically to a type of wordlessness, to the witnessing of a phenomena beyond language. He references 'speechless wonder,' and also notes that the greatest challenge in making sense of an 'unprecedented event' is to 'comprehend' it.[40] The *Kunstkammer* represents the very antithesis of the wondrous, the very opposite of speechless wonder. The *Kunstkammer*, the categories, the definitions and the lists associated with it give language to the wondrous, and this is important. John Sturrock writes that 'far from our world determining the order of our language, our language determines the order of our world.'[41] Robert Scholes echoes this sentiment, writing that language is inextricably connected 'with the human process of organising the world.'[42] In this way, when placed in cabinets of curiosity, objects were brought into the sphere of human understanding and they became comprehensible. They became part of the world order. The unknown was made known.

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37 Evans and Marr, p.65.

38 Evans and Marr, p.64.

39 Peter d'Martire, *Decades of the New World* (1555) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 18th October 2014, p.193.

40 David Ingram, *Critical Theory to Structuralism: Philosophy, Politics and the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2010) p.134.

41 John Sturrock, *Structuralism: With Introduction by Jean-Michel Rabate* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) p.37.

42 Robert Scholes, *Structuralism in Literature: An Introduction* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1974) p.42. For further reading on the role of language in defining and establishing the known world, see Francois Dosse, *History of Structuralism: The Rising Sign, 1945-1966* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) especially with regard to 'language for the representation of things' (p.124).

Another useful example of a famous *Kunstkammer* is the so called *Munich Kunstkammer* collected between the period of 1563 and 1567 on the top floor of a three storey building.[43] A great deal of scholarship has been undertaken on this particular *Kunstkamemer* as it is one of the best documented collections.[44] It was open to visitors, and the contents of the collection were 'displayed openly on about 60 large and smaller tables.'[45] This was a collection very much geared towards what Kaliardos describes as visual 'display' - it was a showing off of the curious rather than simply a matter of collection.[46] At the same time there was a desire to show visitors an ordered, rather than confusing, view of the world:

> The aim was to convey the impression of the breadth of the collector's scope, but not to leave the visitor dumbstruck by confronting him with a 'hodge-podge of disorderly arranged curiosities.[47]

In short there was a dual aim, both to show the power of collection but also the ordering power of categorisation. Visitors were not expected to be baffled or struck wordless by the collection in the same way that they would have been if they were witnessing something wondrous. This is the purpose of order. They are not encountering a new world in the same way as they might through travel, but an ordered, created world organised by the collector. That order was achieved in the same way as in many other *Kunstkammern*, with the objects grouped under broad headings including natural and artificial, and then further categorised into paintings, sculptures, and other objects of interest. Travel once again played a central role, and objects of 'exotic origin' were given their own special place, as were 'prodigies' and objects which were 'deformed or otherwise anomalous.'[48] In may ways a *Kunstkammer* represented the world brought home, and the reaction to the wonders of that world are collection and categorisation.

Perhaps most importantly of all, this collection had special links to literature. It was recorded in detail by Samuel Quiccheberg in a 'systematised' account of collected artefacts which even concluded with a final chapter 'catalogue of collectors throughout Europe whom Quiccheberg had either known or heard of himself.'[49] This particular collection, in the manner it was categorised and then recorded in a catalogue, demonstrates how the *Kunstkammer* could sometimes serve as a beginning for the development of further knowledge, a starting point for more study. Once collected objects were categorised in the manner of the *Munich Kunstkammer*, they were well placed for further study and, as this collection was open for display, study and simple pleasure could be combined. The collection also bridges the divide between the physical and literary collections of the period, and further highlights how seamlessly the wondrous could be transmitted along a lengthy chain of study. In this way the wondrous is not transformed into the curious simply by association, as might be the case in a single, physical collection, but through the way in which it was studied and

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43 Katherina Pilaski Kaliardos, *The Munich Kunstkammer: Art, Nature and the Representation of Knowledge in Courtly Contexts* (Berlin: Mohr Siebeck Press, 2013) p.8.

44 For more in depth reading on the Munich Kunstkammer see Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine* (Berlin: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995) and Geza Von Habsburg, *Princely Treasures* (London: Harry N. Abrams Press, 1997).

45 Kaliardos, p.9.

46 Kaliardos, p.9.

47 Kaliardos, p.10.

48 Kaliardos, p.10.

49 Kaliardos, p.45.

revisited by editors and readers. Wonder is lost through familiarity just as much as it is through association.

In *Travel and Experience in Early Modern and English Literature*, Ord suggests that the *Kunstkammer* actually represented a wider shift in knowledge of how the world ought to be perceived. Noting that collections could include 'both antiquities and natural and artificial curiosities' side by, she writes that this represented a 'cultural shift.'[50] She goes on to describe how 'once dominant forms of comprehending European culture compete with emerging forms.'[51] In essence, antiquity was no longer the primary lens through which Europe could be viewed, and new knowledge in the form of curiosities and travel accounts gained an increasingly prominent position. Again, there is the suggestion that curiosity can be useful if it is utilised in the correct way, and the idea of study, of relying on newly received knowledge, negates the idea of the wonderful as something mysterious and existing beyond the boundaries of knowing. The process of wonder into curiosity involves study, clearly, and is part of remaking the world into something more understandable to Europeans experiencing foreign locales for the first time. Of course, this does rely on curiosity being used for something useful, for productive learning rather than unproductive wondering.

The blurred boundary between entertainment and study was common with the *Kunstkammer*, though. One of the most prominent collections, classified by Barbara M. Benedict as a 'curiosity cabinet' in *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* belonged to the Tradescants. If *Kunstkammer* would often blur the boundaries between enquiry and unproductive curiosity, this particular collection was a perfect example of the two impulses combined. John Tradescant the Younger amassed a 'burgeoning collection of plants and seeds,' and between the years 1629 and 1633 he kept a year by year list of the plants added to his collection.[52] This diligent recording culminated in the publishing of a 'fifteen page pamphlet entitled *Plantarum in Horto Johannem Tradescanti Nascientium Catalogus.*[53] This was a highly organised, encyclopaedic account of the collection, containing as it did the

> Latin names of more than 750 plants, arranged more or less alphabetically, followed by a list of varieties of fruit trees and vines organised by species.[54]

These records culminated in an even more ambitious work in 1656 entitled *Musaeum Tradescantianum*, which listed the collection in its entirety. These works bridged the divide between the physical collections we have studied thus far, and the literary collections which we will consider in more detail shortly. The Tradescants used their collections of seeds to cultivate plants which were not native to England, in much the same way that Rudolf II filled his *Kunstkammer* with all manner of foreign objects not to be found at home. Once more, we see an impulse to remake the world at home. This impulse inevitably makes the world more familiar, and as such deprives it of wonder. Shelley Saguaro writes that the father and son duo 'introduced a phenomenal range of specimens to the gardens of Hatfield house,' and the seeds and plants gathered were certainly put to a useful, botanical end, but this was not all that the collection encompassed.[55]

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50 M. Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Language* (Chicago: Springer Press, 2008) p.94.

51 Ord, p.94.

52 Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2001) p.38.

53 Swann, p.39.

54 Swann, p.39.

55 Shelley Saguaro, *Garden Plots: The Politics and Poetics of Gardens* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2006) p.100.

Alongside the plants and seeds, the Tradescant collection included all manner of more exotic items including ‘spurres from Turkey,’ ‘chains made of the teeth of serpents and wilde beasts’ and ‘diverse transparent ivory cups.’[56]

Tradescant filled his ‘house and garden at Lambeth with oddities and rarities from the far ends of the earth.’[57] So varied was the collection that it became known as The Ark, and eventually formed the foundation of the Ashmolean museum. In this collection we see unified the two impulses of enquiry, and collecting merely for pleasure. The seeds and plants were studied and cultivated, while the rarities and exotic items were simply collected for their own sake. These are almost two separate knowledge structures, the one useful, the other less so. The *Kunstkammer* represented both impulses. It demonstrated how the curious could be useful after it had been separated from the wondrous. Pamela H. Smith and Benjamin Schmidt outline this best in *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts 1400* - noting that there existed ‘two different types of collecting’ - collecting for the sake of curiosity, and collecting for the sake of the advancement of knowledge.[58] We will discover over the course of this thesis how this dichotomy was widespread. Even in terms of travel there was great debate over useful and useless types of knowledge, so it seems natural that collection should be part of the debate.

In this way we can see that collections of curiosities in *Kunstkammern* fulfilled a number of criteria in transforming the wondrous into the curious. We see wondrous, exotic and strange objects collected, classified and given linguistic profiles which the wondrous always lacked. They were also included next to less mysterious items, and therefore become part of the wider category of the curious. Perhaps in its most basic form the *Kunstkammer* transformed the wondrous to the curious simply through familiarity and proximity. Items could not be wondrous if they were there, easily accessible, not far away on the other side of arduous travel. By removing the need to travel, the *Kunstkammer* inevitably made the wondrous seem more everyday. *Kunstkammern* linked wonder and curiosity, but they also linked travel with collection. Travel accounts were collected and collated in the same way as curiosities, and these accounts were often objects of curiosity in themselves. We will consider the works of Hakluyt and Purchas, perhaps two of the most prolific compilers of travel texts, later in the thesis, but for the purposes of this chapter it is worth referencing Claire Jowitt and the example of Pierre Gassendi. Gassendi owned his ‘own cabinet where books and curiosities created the occasion for informal gatherings of friends and visiting scholars.’[59] This in turned formed the basis of the book *Relations de Divers Voyages,* which was

> assembled in this cabinet sent in by numerous correspondents, and then sent out again in the form of printed fascicles that would eventually be bound together in book form.[60]

Travel knowledge, both objects and accounts, were brought home, collected, collated and then redistributed to a wider audience. In this way, accounts drifted ever further from their original source, and the wondrous was repeatedly distanced from its source too.

This occurred because a tremendous appetite for the wondrous remained, especially anything wondrous encountered through foreign travel. The early modern period saw a huge upsurge in the publication of books concerned with the wonderful. *The Stationer’s Register* reveals that between

56 John Tradescant, *Musaeum Tradescantium or a Collection of Rarities* (London: John Grismond, 1656) p.53.

57 Saguaro, p.100.

58 Pamela H. Smith and Benjamin Schmidt, *Making Knowledge in Early Modenr Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts 1400-1800* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007) p.205.

59 Claire Jowitt, *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016) p.39.

60 Joan-Pau Rubies, *The Rise of an Early Modern Genre* in ‘Richard Hakluyt and Early Modern Travel Writing’ ed. by Claire Jwoitt, p.37.

1565-1566, Alexander Lacey was granted license to print an account of 'a wonderful fish' sighted off Gibraltar. A year later, William Coplande printed a 'brief treatise of the strange wonders seen […] in the air,' and Edmond Hally printed a book concerning 'a strange monster which came out of the sea.'[61] An environment developed which fostered curiosity and gave it an especially prominent place, what Stagl terms 'intellectual milieu where curiosity could become a primary motive.'[62] The Aristotelean concept of wonder, where that wonder must culminate in knowledge, seems less prominent. Instead, curiosity became linked to unproductive wondering, the type which Augustine wrote against. Stagl concludes that during the early modern period one could be interested in something not for the advancement of knowledge but simply as 'pure […] curiosity.'[63] This of course increased the demand for the curious and the wondrous, and meant that the latter was ever more familiar.

This was an environment ripe for the publishing of collected wonders, and it was ripe for the transformation of those wonders into curiosities. The most pertinent example of this is *The Garden of Curious Flowers* by Antonio Torquemada, a collection of unusual occurrences from around the world, which was printed for Edmond Matts and sold in his Fleet Street book shop in 1600.[64] The popularity of this book alone is enough to demonstrate the demand for literary collections of curiosity. The book was 'sufficiently popular […] as to demand translations into French, Italian and English,' and was well known enough to be mocked for its 'folly and arrogance' by Cervantes in *Don Quixote.*[65] Moreover, like a physical Cabinet of Curiosities, Donald F. Lach notes that the contents were derived from different places, as the book 'brings together materials' from a number of different sources.[66] Lach goes on to list just some of the writers from whom material is borrowed, and the list is reminiscent of a *Kunstkammer* in terms of sheer volume:

> In the six informative colloquies into which the book is divided, he refers to the following […]: Castanheda, Bergamo, Barros, Mandeville, Marco Polo, Megasthenes, Plutarch, Pigafetta, Ptolemy, and Pliny.[67]

We see the impulse of the collector at work here, and the idea of collecting material from diverse sources is clearly similar to the method of someone constructing a physical *Kunstkammer*. Moreover, the collection of literature in this fashion served a wider humanist impulse. Old knowledge was being revised, updated and combined with new records. The process was especially apparent in universities. Private libraries at Oxford and Cambridge increasingly came to include older texts, either translated or present in their original form. By the mid sixteenth century Aristotle was a common part of a student's collection, as was Virgil, Hippocratis and Pliny.[68] Studying for a B.A in 1540, Thomas Simons' library included works by Aristotle, Galen and Hippocrates alongside the modern works of Erasmus and Thomas More. This collection was large, too,

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61 J. Payne Colliers, *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationer's Company* (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848) pp.131-137.

62 Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 1995) p.29.

63 Stagl, p.43.

64 Antonio Torquemada, *The Garden of Curious Flowers* (1600), in 'Early English Books' Online: http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home [Accessed 1st March, 2014].

65 Keagan Brewer, *Prester John: The Legend and its Sources* (London: Ashgate Publishihng, 2015) p.222 and Michael Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes' Epic Novel: Empire, Religion and the Dream Life of Heroes in Persiles* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2009) p.21.

66 Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume II: A Century of Wonder* (Chicago: Chicago University Press: 2009) p.187.

67 Lach, p.187.

numbering 143 books. The private library was growing in size. Simons' collection contained texts on the Divine, on arithmetic, on philosophy and even medicine. His books ranged from Thomas More's *Utopia* to *Opera Quedam* by Hippocrates.[69] The inclusion of older texts alongside newer books is important. It demonstrates that, while new knowledge was being built, older knowledge was retrieved and incorporated as well. Libraries were growing, both in size and diversity, and the rise of the printing press, which operated as a bridge between past and present, certainly aided this process.

The printing press allowed for the storage and categorisation of past knowledge while, at the same time, new information was being amassed. As Eisentein wrote, the arrangement of knowledge into a book made it possible to 'sort out old records' while at the same time securing 'fresh records and drawings made by careful observers.'[70] Knowledge from the past could be processed and categorised easily once printed, no matter how old it was. Indeed, as Eisenstein points out, the gathering of information had been occurring long before the printing press:

> Well before printing, observations drawn from nature had been made by painters and woodworkers, goldsmiths and stone carvers who were unfamiliar with scribal conventions.[71]

Essentially, these 'observations' are raw information, a glut of unprocessed data lacking the careful categorisation which is essential to the building of knowledge. The collection of this older information and the subsequent adding of it to books acted as categorisation, and the dissemination of those books allowed for study. This process did not exclude the study of new knowledge, which could sit quite easily alongside the old. Botanists proved an excellent example of this process:

> as botanists perfected their techniques for collecting and sharing their data, and increased the geographical range of their botanical explorations, they gradually realised that the ancients, far from being omniscient [...] had named but a small fraction of the plants in the world.[72]

As older information was finally processed, its flaws were exposed, new information was added and newer, more up to date knowledge was built. The printing press allowed for an ideal exchange between old and new, the processing of older information into newer knowledge, as ancient texts were incorporated into the Renaissance copia. The most salient point of all this was that old and new travel texts could exist side by side. The wondrous could be revisited, studied, collected and categorised alongside newer accounts. Knowledge, and the wondrous, is undergoing constant revision. This near endless cycle means that the wondrous is exposed to ever more scrutiny, ever more study and ever more revision. Inevitably this process deprives it of its wondrous connotations

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68 Robert J. Fehrenbach and E.S Leedham-Green, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book Lists Volume II, PLRE 5-66* (New York: Binghamton, 1992), Virgil was present in the library of a scholar simply referred to as 'Bisley' in 1543 (p.173), William Hurde in 1551 (p.198) and Edward Beaumont in 1552 (p.205). Hippocratis appears in the 1529 library of William Woodruff (p.174) as well as that of Thomas Simons in 1553 (p.260.). Pliny can be found in the 1529 library of Edmund Burton (p.154) and the Bisley library of 1543 (p.173).

69 Fehrenbach and Leedham-Green, p.223.

70 Eisenstein, p486.

71 Eisenstein, p.486.

72 Karen Major Reeds, *Renaissance Humanism and Botany* in 'Annals in Science,' Volume 33 (New York: Garland Press, 1975) p.540.

and increases the chance that it will one day be more fully understood. If, as Aristotle suggested, the wondrous was linked entirely to the unknown, then this process is important. Language is vital in redefining the curious, and this constant revisiting of older knowledge means that wonder is often given a linguistic profile. The world is constantly being studied and observed, travel forces its practitioners to learn and record, and the wonderful is exposed again and again to new scrutiny.

In a sense, Torquemada's *Garden of Curious Flowers,* and in fact collections of literary curiosities in general, may be seen as a byproduct of wider trends towards collection. As previously suggested, Torquemada's work is itself a patchwork of past accounts. If the *Kunstkammer* was a way of remaking the world at home, literary travel accounts were also well capable of projecting a specific world view. Armstrong-Roche notes that central to Torquemada's argument is an acceptance of a world which contains marvels, noting that he begins with 'a recognisably paradoxographic insistence on the relationship between knowledge of the world and the acceptance of marvels.'[73] Indeed, the dedication makes reference to the limitations of human knowledge, warns against what Torquemada considers the 'vain conceited pride of our own universal knowledge' and instead reminds his readers that 'yet euery day almost presenteth to our eyes some new matter or other vnknowne and ununderstood.'[74] In a sense Torquemada almost predicts Cervantes' criticisms of the book for its many fabulous tales, but at the same time taps into the idea that there is always more to know. Travel seems especially important in highlighting this point. We can never have a complete understanding of the world. In a celebration of curiosity for its own sake, Torquemada revels in the fact that we cannot know everything, continuing his dedication with:

> One thing onely doe I know, which is, that I know nothing. This proceedeth of the shortnes of our life, the greatnes of the world, the secrets of Nature, the weakenes of our vnderstanding, and the error with which we abuse our selues in thinking that all things to be knowne, are comprehended in that little which we know.[75]

He concludes the dedication with a celebration of 'novelties,' and rather than urging the reader to learn or build knowledge, he seems quite content to celebrate the curiosities which remain in the world, noting that he has collected them for the purposes of 'pleasure and recreation.'[76] There is no suggestion that anything in the collection could serve the purposes of enquiry or learning. This all exists for pleasure, and for the sake of curiosity alone. Again, a separation of knowledge structures is implied: the useful curious and the unproductive.

Obviously the largest difference between physical *Kunstkammer* and these literary collections is the nature of what can be included. By definition, the *Kunstkammer* can only deal in physical objects such as rhino horns or gem stones, whereas the literary collection suffers with no such limitation. This is something apparent throughout *The Garden of Curious Flowers,* as the reader is offered all manner of stories including that of a man named Ayola, who witnessed a spirit which he 'feared should turn upon him, and do him some outrage.'[77] The tale is said to take place in Bologna, and concludes when the governor of the town discovers an area of 'withered grass,' orders it to be dug up and then removes the 'carcass' beneath, finally laying the spirit to rest.[78] The book is full of

73 Armstrong-Roche, p.21.

74 Antonio Torquemada, *The Garden of Curious Flowers* (1600) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th May 2016, p.5.

75 Torquemada, p.5.

76 Torquemada, p.5.

77 Torquemada, p.68.

78 Torquemada, p.68.

such second hand accounts which a physical *Kunstkammer* obviously could never incorporate, including an account of a woman who gave birth to a child ‘representing the very likeness of the devil, in a form so horrible that no devil of hell could be more loathsome or abominable,’ and the story of ‘certain wild men’ who are termed as ‘rather barbarous monsters.’[79] These tales are variously interspersed with more general assertions such as ‘there are many of these monsters in India major’ as Torquemada establishes an image of a world full of the strange, the monstrous and the curious.[80] The aim seems to be not simply to present a series of curiosities for the delight of the reader, but also to present the image of a world where the wonderful was commonplace.

In this way the literary collection of curiosities can offer a far wider scope than its physical counterpart, and its links to travel mean that it can incorporate local myths, legends and stories from all around the world. Another difference is how the contents in these books were treated. As previously discussed, the *Kunstkammer* could serve the purposes of both scientific enquiry and curiosity for its own sake. This was true of collections such as that of Rudolf II, which became a hub for artists and scientists, and certainly true of the Tradescant’s collection, which saw all manner of new plants studied and introduced to England. The same cannot be said of the literary collections of curiosity. It is certainly not the case in *The Garden of Curious Flowers.* There is absolutely no suggestion that anything in the collection could be used for study, or for the furthering of knowledge in the way that Rudolf’s *Kunstkammer* and the collections of the Tradescants were. Indeed, Suzanne Maganini writes that much of the criticism levelled at the book from intellectual circles focussed on the fact that ‘Torquemada’s stories […were…] untrue or impossible according to biological principles.’[81] She singles out several specific accounts from the work, notably ‘three women who copulated with animals - a bear, a dog and a monkey - but delivered perfectly normal human offspring,’ and highlights them as examples of a work which was designed solely with ‘evening entertainment’ rather than enquiry in mind.[82] There is no suggestion that Torquemada intended it to be otherwise. Accounts of ‘tritons or sea men’ and ‘a centaur’ are not elaborated on in any meaningful fashion. There is no analysis, no suggestion that Torquemada even briefly considered the validity of the accounts. Instead, he actively derides the idea of men who go in search of ‘universal knowledge’ when mankind is essentially limited in the scope of what it may know.[83] This is what *The Garden of Curious Flowers* represents. It is not only an extraordinarily broad collection of the curious, but it is a celebration of everything that we cannot know, and in many ways a celebration of not even attempting to know. The accounts were clearly designed to be taken at face value, they did not exist for the furthering of knowledge. They render the whole world as something unknowable and draped in wonder.

Perhaps this is one of the major differences between the literary and physical collections of curiosity. The physical can only really render a world at home, a collection of items gathered through travel and returned, but the literary collection can actually render foreign countries. Literary collections can convey readers on a type of travel which the physical *Kunstkammer* cannot. They are often more descriptive of the world around the actual instance of wonder, whereas a physical *Kunstkammer* will more likely display an object like a rhino horn without context. A physical collection is for this reason often more disordered, or at least has the illusion of disorder, whereas the attached table of contents in a literary collection creates firmer categories. There is the sense that while a physical *Kunstkammer* might exist in the moment as the world returned home, a literary collection of curiosities has more permanence as that world actually re-created. While literary

79 Torquemada, p.16 and p.18.

80 Torquemada, p.11.

81 Suzanna Maganini, *Fairy-tale Science: Monstrous Generation in the Tales of Straparola and Basile* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008) p.84.

82 Maganini, p.85.

83 Torquemada, p.34, p.9, p.130.

Kunstkammer in the main seem to have been collected with the aim of entertaining, the physical *Kunstkammer* might just as easily exist for its own sake, with no specific end point. Even so, there are broad similarities, not least in how the two are inextricably bound to travel and bringing the world home, and therefore how they contribute to the wonder-curiosity transition. Both make the wondrous intelligible through collection, through familiarity and by placing them alongside the curious, so that they are incorporated into that wider taxonomy. This is how the unknown might draw closer to the known. The two types of collection also allow language to redefine the wondrous. As discussed in the opening chapter, the wonderful often pushed the boundaries of language, but by introducing a language to classify it, of course some of that distance and wonder was reduced. Literally collections, often so associated with frivolity, also had a lowering effect on the wonderful, reducing it to the level of mere entertainment.

The same is true of other popular literary collections in the period. In his *A Contemplation of Mysteries,* Thomas Hill includes a huge number of strange accounts from around the world, not least 'two hostes of men of warre' seen to do battle in the middle of the sky, emerging from a fissure in the 'air.'[84] The work is very similar in structure to Torquemada's, listing an array of collected curiosities from around the world without any hint of analysis or suggestion that they may be studied for the advancement of knowledge. The purpose seems wholly to be the entertainment of the reader. In 1615 Henri de Feynes wrote an entire travel account through the lens of curiosity, specifically *An Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies.* The account lists various curious aspects of the East Indies, including a 'certain fish, or rather a kind of sea dragon, a monster.' [85] Curiosity was a fascination, but it was also becoming a lens through which to view the world. Travel was essential to conceptions of both wonder and curiosity.

We will consider witchcraft in more detail in a later chapter, but this was one of the greatest areas of curiosity. Hieronymus Magomastix published a book on a specific instance of witchcraft in 1650, which he entitled 'the strange witch at Greenwich.'[86] The account is littered with sensational language. Magomastix uses the phrase 'wonder working,' and references a specific example whereby 'a spider which she had swallowed came out at her leg by a little scratching.'[87] The tone is very similar to that of Torquemada. There is no mention of locations, of dates, times, of any details beyond the strange. Megomastix includes a further collection of curiosities after the account of the witch, a section which he terms 'curious discussions of walking spirits and spectres of dead men departed.'[88] The same collecting of curiosities without an end point of study is evident, and the manner in which these examples are collected, collated and given language ensures that they are defined and deprived of their wonder. They still remain curious though, and the appetite for this type of book shows that, despite the examples not being classifiable as truly wondrous, they retain their strangeness and air of fascination. The same is true of another account concerned largely with spirits and ghosts. In his 1572 *Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking By Night*, Ludwig Lavater lists a huge number of strange incidents concerning ghosts, including a ghost who 'foresaw' the overthrow of 'Philip Duke of Milan' and even warned the duke in advance, monsters 'half

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84 Thomas Hill, *A Contemplation of Mysteries* (1528) in 'Early English Books Online' <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> Accessed 20th May 2016. p.8.

85 Henri de Feynes, *An Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies* (1615) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 21st May 2016, p.26.

86 Hieronymus Magomastix, *The Strange Witch at Greenwich* (1650) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 21st May 2016.

87 Magomastix, p.2.

88 Magomastix, p.1.

like men and half like beasts' and 'night hags.' [89] The methodology is familiar. A large collection of curiosities from around the world, far larger and wider in scope than could have been included in a physical *Kunstkammer*, are gathered from a wide range of sources and grouped under broad headings. Again, there is no suggestion that these collections should or even could be used for study or the furthering of knowledge. They show that wonders, once collected and transformed into curiosities, can exist simply for the pleasure and entertainment of readers.

In this way, we can see that travel and collection are bound, and the combination of the two was essential in the transition of the wonderful into the curious. I have sought to answer the question of how collection makes the wondrous intelligible, and therefore curious, as well as how language redefined wonder. In answer to this first question we might now argue that several processes at work in collection were essential to the transition. Collection led to familiarity, it led to an increasing of proximity between the object and the person witnessing it, and perhaps most importantly of all, the inclusion of various objects and instances side by side in a large collection transformed wonder by relation. By placing the wondrous alongside the curious, everything is incorporated into the wider taxonomy of the curious. These collections brought the world home, and helped to make the unknown known. Travel brought people into contact with the wondrous, and how they treated it in travel writing is essential in understanding the transition. Linguistics played a crucial role in this, transforming the wondrous from something which existed at or beyond the boundaries of language to something which existed firmly inside those boundaries, something which had a linguistic profile, was definable and classifiable.

Travel situated the wonderful far away. Collection brought it home. Travel distanced it from human hands, while collection reduced that proximity. Collection meant that the wondrous, once existing far beyond human comprehension, was suddenly something which could either be studied further to gain knowledge, or simply collected for the pleasure of the collector and their audience. Either result represents the end point of wonder. Either it is studied, knowledge is gained and wonder is removed, or it is simply put on display and the mystery surrounding it is not necessarily negated, but the sense of wonder nonetheless diminishes. This transit of wonder into curiosity through travel is the crux of this thesis, which will now move on to explore the process with regards specifically to witchcraft and witch trials, which saw an interplay between between court records and curiosity records, a relationship which hints at a separation of knowledge structures. After this we will move on to consider gateways to the afterlife and the treatment of medicine, specifically apparent wonder or miracle cures, before moving on to consider Brome's *The Antipodes* and how the wonder/curiosity transition meant that two structures of knowledge were separated. Finally, we will discuss the implications of this for curiosity, and what the category meant once it was separated from wonder.

89 Ludwig Lavater, *Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night* (1572) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 22nd May 2016, p.67, p.6 and p.91.

Chapter Three: Witchcraft at Home and Abroad.

We have now variously considered the effects of collection on the wonderful, and how it works to transform wonders into curiosities. A slightly different but nonetheless prevalent example of the wondrous during the period was witchcraft. The supposed practices of witches were certainly supernatural, and fulfilled all the criteria of the wonderful. With its links to the Devil and hidden knowledge, witchcraft existed as a form of wonder but also a threat, and as such demanded human intervention in the form of courts, trials and punishment. Of course, this is a type of control, and might be seen as humanity attempting to reign in the wondrous. In this way it is a similar process to collection and categorisation: a way of bringing the wonderful under control. It also represented a linguistic element, and as part of collection witchcraft could be given linguistic categories, again important for the wonder/curiosity transition. This is important for the thesis, and this chapter will also examine curiosity records, collected accounts of witchcraft which were sharply opposed to the court records, and rather seemed keen to collate accounts of the supernatural as one might collect curious objects in a *Kunstkammer*. The contrast between these records, and the highly formalised court records, will form the crux of this chapter, and will help to illuminate many of the processes associated with a wonder into curiosity transition.

Witchcraft was also bound up with travel. As previously noted, travel was all but essential to the wonder/curiosity transition. Travel represented wonder returned home, and the result of this was often categorisation, incorporation and an eventual transformation into curiosity. For witchcraft, the process is slightly different as witchcraft *already* existed at home, albeit in a radically different form. Before discussing witchcraft encountered through travel, it is useful to first consider how it was treated at home, where, much like collections of curiosity, it was subject to two types of collection. There were the legal collections which considered witchcraft in courtroom settings, and then the collections of literary curiosities which treated witchcraft more as something intriguing to delight readers. This of course incorporates a discussion of language, and even more importantly collection, which will be essential in the later discussion of witchcraft when encountered through travel, and how this was involved in the wonder/curiosity transition.

The early modern period saw a large number of developments in the printing and application of law. While these changes are far too multitudinous to go into in any great detail here, it is worth stressing two points. First, there was increasing emphasis on organising, categorising and disseminating law. Raffield notes that prior to the early modern period law had been 'characterised principally by its unwritten nature, unfettered by formal constraints.'[1] This changed during the period, as the rise of print meant not only that law books could be compiled and disseminated, but that laws could be *collected.* The theme of collection has been important throughout this thesis, and it is no different with the law. Law documents were carefully organised and categorised. One very early example of this meticulous ordering is evident in the 1485 printed edition of the *Nova Statuta,* which was widely distributed and contained the statutes of previous monarchs:

> It is made up of an alphabetical table of 40 leaves; The Statutes of Edward III, 66 leaves; of Richard II, 50 leaves; of Henry V, 20 leaves; Henry VI, 83 leaves; and Edward IV, 5I leaves; the last session printed is 22 Edward IV.[2]

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1 Paul Raffield, *Images and Cultures of Law in Early Modern England: Justice and Political Power*, 1558-1660 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.2.

2 Joseph H. Beale, *The Early English Statutes* in *Harvard Law Review,* Vol. 35, No. 5 (Mar, 1922), pp. 519-538, p.519.

The emphasis is on organisation and arrangement. As Beale points out, the rise of print aided the spread of legal frameworks: ‘a demand existed’ for printed law, and statutes were printed en masse in ‘very thick, ponderous foilio.’[3]

Court records were subjected to a similar process. They were collected, compiled and distributed. Alongside this, the second salient point for this chapter is that the printing of curiosities continued at pace too, except now they were legal curiosities. Crimes generally were material ripe for print, and presented printers with ample opportunity for profit. As Beecher suggests, the printing of crimes in pamphlet form was not only successful but highly profitable. Pamphlets proved to be the the cheapest of printing options, and the inclusion of crimes appealed to a large readership:

> The producers and publishers of these crime reports were primarily motivated by the commercial interests of the print market. The unique publication features of the pamphlet form, namely its cost effective packaging of topical crime content, ultimately proved saleable to both established and emergent early modern readership markets.[4]

Crime was the ideal topic for early modern publishers - both cheap and highly saleable. There are obvious similarities between this and the collecting/printing of curiosities explored in the previous chapter, and the parallel is particularly strong in regard to witchcraft and witch trials. Attention grabbing, sensational accounts were printed alongside legal, court records. The crime of witchcraft was especially lucrative to printers as it straddled the boundary between crime and curiosity. This was a boundary which even some court records struggled to successfully navigate. In fact, court records often struggled with their terminology where witchcraft was concerned, as Edwards notes:

> To complicate things even more, court records do not necessarily make a clear distinction between the two categories of witchcraft and magic or superstition; in fact, early modern court records routinely used both terms simultaneously.[5]

Witchcraft crossed a number of different boundaries, and in this way could exist just as easily in pamphlets of collected curiosities as it could in legal records. There are many such examples which we will consider in more detail later in the chapter, but it is useful for the time being to return again to Antonio de Torquemada’s *Garden of Curious Flowers* (1600), and its promise to give the reader ‘many strange and pleasant histories’ in a ‘garden of curious flowers.’[6] Numerous witches are mentioned: one who ‘with her urine caused a cloud to rise in the air,’ and another who was able to take on the ‘disguise’ of a cow.[7] Another account, this time published later in 1650, details the ‘curious discussions’ of ‘walking spirits and spectres of dead men departed’ and includes an account of a witch in Greenwich.[8] The point of all this is that witchcraft *at home* was undergoing

3 Beale, p.520.

4 Donald Beecher, Travis DeCook, Andrew Wallace and Grant Williams, *Taking Exception to the Law: Materialising Justice in Early Modern Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), p.153.

5 Kathryn A. Edwards, *Everyday Magic in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Ashgate Press, 2015), p.38.

6 Antonio de Torquemada, *The Spanish Mandeiulle of Miracles* (1600) in ‘Early English Books Online’ <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 2nd November 2015, p.1.

7 Torquemada, p.81 and p.138.

8 Hieronymus Magomastix, *The Strange Witch at Greenwich* in ‘Early English Books Online’ <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 4th November 2015, p.1.

exactly the same processes as the travel objects and travel accounts examined in the previous chapter. Perhaps this is because witchcraft itself was such a peculiar crime, its practices associated with the wonderful but nonetheless existing in a domestic setting. It is an awkward contrast, and as such, before moving on to consider how witchcraft was treated abroad, it is important to see how it was dealt with at home.

We have, then, two different ways of collecting witchcraft at home, both of which seem effective. A record of the Pendle witch trials, published in 1613, was 'set forth by commandment of his majesties justices' and documented the proceedings of the trial.[9] All the information is ordered and categorised under various headings including a 'declaration' of the practices of the witches, as well as the testimonies of the accused and their confessions, all of which include direct quotations.[10] Everything is presented in extraordinary detail, and included in the account are the names of everyone involved, as well as the dates of testimonies and confessions:

> The Examination of Elizabeth Deuice, Daughter of old Demdike, taken at Read before Roger Nowell Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the Countie of Lancaster the xxx. day of March, Anno xxx. Regni Jacobi Decimo, ac Scotie xlv.[11]

Even more intriguingly, the account is not at all concerned with only the supernatural. While the supernatural elements of the case are clearly stressed, with mentions of 'a spirit or devil in the shape of a boy' and a 'spirit calling himself Tibbe,' domestic details are included too. The court record includes details of foods served at a dinner, noting that 'Butter, Cheese, Bread, and Drinke' were offered, and even the fact that certain individuals drank from 'a dish or a cup.'[12] The level of detail is extraordinary, but so too is the manner in which the supernatural is seamlessly blended with the natural. It is even suggested that there may be a very tangible, very human motivation behind the crimes, namely that 'if Robert were dead, then the women their cousins might have the land.'[13] This is all clearly indicative of trials taking place in an environment where practices of 'witchcraft were an ordinary, every-day reality.'[14] Demonology was, as Clark notes, not an attempt to justify the presence of witches and demons, but to examine them as though they were already very real, active forces - it was 'the study of a natural order in which the existence of demonic actions and effects was, largely, presupposed.'[15] Witchcraft, we see, is *already* understood. Details are collected, ordered and systematised in a way which essentially leaves little room for the wondrous.

On the other hand, there are the collections which treat witchcraft as a type of curiosity. Here, witchcraft is presented as very much removed from the natural world. No longer are we presented with detailed accounts of meals or domestic scenes. Hieronymus Magomastix published *The Strange Witch at Greenwich*, but was not content to offer that account in isolation. He included alongside it 'curious discussions of walking spirits and spectars of dead men departed, for rare and mysticall knowledge and discourse.'[16] The language of wonder is plainly discernible, and the

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9 Thomas Potts, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancashire* (1613) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 2nd November 2015, p.1. Rebecca Stefoff also includes a useful section on the Pendle witch trials in *Witches and Witchcraft* (London: Marshall and Cavendish, 2007).

10 Potts, p.14.

11 Potts, p.14.

12 Potts, p.20.

13 Potts, p.19.

14 Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.71.

15 Clark, p.71.

16 Magomastix, p1.

account that follows bears many similarities to other collections of literary curiosities. There is a form of categorisation and ordering at work, the account is structured in the form of a dialogue between Sceticus and Veridicus, and there is a heavy focus on the wondrous side of witchcraft at the expense of any form of analysis. We are informed that, through 'natural magic' alone, one can achieve 'rare and exquisite things,' and that witches and practitioners of the Satanic arts are able to attain 'mystical knowledge.'[17] The emphasis is not placed on the limiting of witchcraft through court proceedings and subsequent punishment, but on the seemingly limitless scope of the powers its practitioners might possess.[18] Various incidents such as how the Devil encouraged a witch to break up ice and throw it in large chunks against her 'mother's window,' and how other summoned spirits threw 'stools, cushions, candlesticks, dishes' add to the sense of the curious.[19] A description of the spirit of a dead woman seen to rise 'out of her grave,' and an account of a 'malignant' spirit named Samuel,' were printed too.[20] These are all interesting accounts of spirits running amok, clearly included as curiosities and written with the aim of intriguing the public. As Barbara M. Benedict states, during the period 'advertisements, wonder literature, witch narratives and poetry exploit curiosity by manufacturing value for print.'[21] Witchcraft here is a curiosity.

Many such curiosity accounts of witchcraft at home existed. Sir Edward Massey's account of a boy 'who was entertained by the Devil' also includes a discussion of 'strange and wonderful things' relating to witches and the practice of communing with the devil.[22] It contains accounts of how the devil 'carried him up in the air' and was able to take on 'a more terrible shape than that of a flying horse,' and was even able to vanish 'away in the flames of fire.'[23] These are sensational accounts, and the language of wonder is frequently employed too, with the whole account promising to show readers 'unutterable wonders.'[24] These accounts of witchcraft are reduced to curiosities by the same processes we discussed in chapter two of this thesis, namely their inclusion alongside other curious matters, and their incorporation into the taxonomy of the curious. Applying linguistic profiles to witchcraft also helped this process, as it meant that the practice could be categorised.

In this way, then, we can see that there were two very different approaches to witchcraft at home, both of which resulted in a similar outcome. Referring specifically to witch trials, Clark writes that:

> If demonology appealed finally to the ordering power of the magistrate, this is because it was premised on a vision of disorder in human affairs.[25]

Bringing order to witchcraft also meant bringing order to society. This order was brought, as Clark suggests, through the power of the magistrate, but also through the collection of witch narratives as curiosities. Both gave the apparently wondrous practice of witchcraft and all its demonic connotations a place and a category. The first makes it a legal practice. The second reduces it to a curiosity through all the processes discussed in the previous chapter. Either way it is dealt with,

17 Magomastix, p.3.

18 Michael Funk Deckard and Pzter Losonczi, *Philosophy Begins in Wonder: An Introduction to Early Modern Philosophy, Theology and Science* (London: James Clarke & Co, 2011), p.82.

19 Magomastix, p.5.

20 Magomastix, p.9 and p.16.

21 Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) p.70.

22 Massey, p.1.

23 Massey, p.1, p.4 and p.6.

24 Massey, p.3.

25 Clark, p.138.

processed - given a category. It is, after all, linked to Christianity and in a sense already understood, bundled up with perceptions of the devil.

This is important. As discussed in the first chapter, wonder often represented a problem of language, itself linked to a problem of knowing. To make something known, it must be adequately described, and thus giving something wondrous a linguistic profile inevitably deprives it of some wonder. Perhaps it is Clark who best summarises the situation in *Thinking With Demons*, noting that accounts of witches 'existed at the borders between' categories, and therefore 'exposed the categorisation process' itself to scrutiny.[26] He even notes that some scholars considered applying human language, and the language of physical events, to supernatural occurrences a failure of categorisation. Despite this, witchcraft *was* categorised. We have seen this in the court records and the collections of curiosity, and sermons persistently attempted to illuminate the workings of the devil. Language exists to describe the wonderful, but it can be the language of mystery, confusion, even fear. Formal categories are required to give witchcraft a place within human knowledge structures. Witchcraft existed on so many boundaries: the domestic and the supernatural, the Divine and the legal, the natural and the supernatural, that the problem was more of giving it a category than giving it language.

Not only did witchcraft demand classification, but the need to establish 'the rules for categorising' the practice had become 'especially urgent.'[27] Even within the category of witchcraft there were further divisions. Despite acknowledging that the actions of witches were generally placed within the category of 'supreme evil,' William de Blecourt goes on to write that there were many other categories beneath that header due to the different types of magic, ritual and symbolism used by witches.[28] The issue was a complex one. Brian P. Levack highlights the problem posed to categories by witchcraft, noting that:

> If man thinks of his world in categories, he also has to think of the borders between categories. These borders form areas which are variously filled with tension.[29]

Both Clark and Levack agree that witchcraft existed on one such border, with the latter specifically referencing the use of rituals in serving to 'draw our attention to transitions' between categories of classification.[30] Categorisation was a way of reigning in the supernatural powers set loose in the borders between categories. This is especially important for witchcraft at home. We have seen how court records created a firm category for witchcraft, and also how collections of curiosity did too. It is an interesting paradox. Without categories there are no such boundaries between categories, and as such no anxieties over Levack's 'tensions.'[31] However, categorisation is required as a way to order and conceptualise the world, and as such is a solution to a problem which it itself creates. To alleviate the anxiety, categories must either be invented to incorporate that which is on the border, or the knowledge which dwells on these borders must be understood enough to be incorporated into a pre-existing category. In this way, the sense of something out of control, the anxiety of a strange epistemological border between categories, can be removed. Categories must expand or be created,

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26 Clark, p.178.

27 Clark, p.98.

28 William de Blecourt, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe, Volume 6: The Sixteenth Century* (London: A&C Black, 1999), p.133.

29 Brian P. Levack, *Witchcraft, Healing and Popular Diseases: New Perspectives on Witchcraft* (London: Routledge, 2012), p.3.

30 Levack, p.23.

31 Levack, p.23.

and the unknown must be understood and incorporated. This will be important as we move forward to consider witchcraft when encountered through travel.

Perhaps the final proof that witchcraft at home was not wondrous but understood, comes in the form of witch-finder pamphlets. Neither court record nor curiosity collection, these publications instead promised to inform their readers on the methods of spotting a witch and defending against their practices. [32] A 1613 pamphlet entitled 'witches apprehended' promises to inform the reader 'how to know whether a woman be a witch or not,' and goes on to outline the different methods of determining a witch by 'the several and damnable practices' of witches, with special reference to 'Mother Sutton and Mary Sutton.'[33] A witch, it seems, is one capable of calling up 'spirits,' and is able to conjure familiars in several shapes including 'cats, moles etc.'[34] A witch may be in operation if livestock is effected, if animals seem to 'go mad' or 'violently fall to tearing out their guts.'[35] These traits of a witch are not offered without evidence. The account ties them to the actions of the two Suttons. Each assertion is backed by evidence, and the reader is presented with a coherent set of advice. The same is true of a 1617 treatise. Divided into three books, the work offers an ordered list of how to determine whether a person might be a witch. The first book is concerned with the definition of a witch. It considers a witch as someone who can 'work wonders,' albeit with a further distinction 'between true miracles, and Satan's wonderful works,' and with a discussion of the 'diverse kinds of covenants.'[36] The second book details practical advice on how to spot a witch, what is termed 'their detection,' and includes information regarding 'their actions towards others' and how they react to 'the sign of the cross.'[37] The third book concludes with advice on how to behave around a witch, including 'how to behave ourselves in general under the cross' and how to avoid 'such snares as are in this practise of witchcraft.'[38] A later 1625 treatise by John Cotta offers similar advice. Cotta promises to show the reader the 'right and true method' of spotting a witch. He presents a numbered list regarding how to discover where witchcraft is being practised.[39] The list itself is categorised under broader headings including 'the knowledge and power of spirits' and 'good spirits and evil spirits how discerned.'[40]

These pamphlets might be considered acts of collection in themselves; collections of advice. However, they serve to reinforce the idea that witchcraft at home, while still a danger, still a threat, was at least understood. As previously stated, it was an offshoot of Christianity, deeply ingrained within religious life. Every Christian knew what Satan stood for, and mechanisms were in place to deal with the disruption, both social and epistemological, that witchcraft brought. Courts could punish the craft, collectors of curiosity could place it alongside other interesting tales to delight the readership, and pamphlets could educate a person on how best to avoid a witch. Wonder is something which is beyond human understanding, beyond human control and even beyond human

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32 Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2013). Levack offers a wide range of reasons for the increasing fear of witches, including political, social and religious upheaval.

33 Anon, *Witches Apprehended* (1613) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 4th August 2014, p.2.

34 *Witches Apprehended*, p.4.

35 *Witches Apprehended*, p.4.

36 Thomas Cooper, *The Mystery of Witch-Craft* (1617) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 4th August 2014, p.7.

37 Cooper, p.11.

38 Cooper, p.14.

39 John Cotta, *The Infallible True and Assured Witch* in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 4th August 2014, p.1.

40 Cotta, p.2.

categories. Witchcraft at home was none of these things, and this is an important distinction to remember as we move on to discuss witchcraft when encountered through travel.

Travel inevitably complicated matters, especially as travel writing was introduced. Witchcraft is addressed frequently in Samuel Purchas' edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. Indeed, witchcraft in travel seems to be such an everyday occurrence that a traveller might expect to see it regularly around the world:

> Plague hath neuer beene in India, neither is it knowne vnto the Indians, but poisoning, witchcraft, and such like, whereby some lose their healths, and some their liues, is their daily exercise, and very common with them.[41]

The common problem of plague is not encountered, but instead we are presented with witchcraft so endemic that it is a social norm and accepted threat to the health of the locals. Witchcraft at home is a crime and a danger. Here it is no less danger but it does not seem to be a crime. There is no suggestion of anyone being punished for their actions. In fact there is no sense that any of this is even out of the ordinary. Witchcraft is simply accepted. This is a theme which recurs endlessly throughout Purchas' collection. Witchcraft is said to be so widely accepted along the 'Coast of Myna' in Africa that it is part of the baptism of children, who are blessed with 'witchcrafts.'[42] In Loando, witchcraft is so ingrained in society that it has worked its way into the highest echelons, where kings are apparently 'brought up by witches.'[43] This is an image of witchcraft which is part of society and social structures. Perhaps this is because the society itself is an 'other,' and therefore beyond the boundaries of normality. Witchcraft is bound inextricably to otherness and strangeness. It exists beyond traditional structures of knowledge. As we will see, witchcraft increasingly became a catch-all term for any religious practice outside Christianity.

With witchcraft so deeply ingrained in foreign society, a boundary must be established between the traveller and the witches. Witchcraft was fully ingrained in domestic life at home, but abroad it rather seems entirely separate from the traveller, something which they can only record from a distance. Boundaries exist. One particular example of witchcraft which Purchas offers is especially telling:

> Here I was by the men Witches commanded to goe away, because I was a Christian. For then the Diuell doth appeare to them, as they say. And presently he commandeth fiue Cowes to be killed in the Fort, and fiue without the Fort: And likewise as many Goates, and as many Dogges; and the bloud of them is sprinkled in the fire, and their bodies are eaten with great feasting and triumph.[44]

There are a number of important aspects to note in this account. The first is the existence of male witches, who are entirely absent from English court records and english collections of curiosities. Purchas makes numerous references to so called 'men witches' throughout - something which is evidently strange to him because he feels the need to make the distinction of 'men' every single time he mentions them. This is far removed from English witchcraft, which was so strongly focussed on one demographic that John Gaule wrote 'every old woman with a wrinkled face, a

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41 Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrims* (1625) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed December 9th 2015, p.1763.

42 Purchas, p.930.

43 Purchas, p.980.

44 Purchas, p.977.

furr'd brow, a hairy lip […and…] a spindle in her hand' could not help but be 'pronounced a witch.'[45] Abroad, things are very different. Travel narratives seem to suggest that anyone, regardless of age or gender, is capable of communicating with the Devil. The other item worthy of note in this extract is the clear divide established between Christianity and witchcraft. The narrator isn't even allowed to witness what occurs. They are commanded to leave. This is quite literally another world, a border that cannot be crossed. Witchcraft may be deeply ingrained in these societies, but it is impossible for the traveller to be fully immersed. They are segregated by their Christian background. The sense of wonder here is greatly enhanced by the religious divide. The contrast between witchcraft at home and witchcraft abroad is already stark. The former is under control, categorised and systematised, while the latter represents a definitive other, draped in wonder and apparently on the other side of an impassable divide.

It is a strange reversal. At home it is the witch, tried and punished by the law courts and Christianity, who finds herself separate, on the outside. Abroad it is the opposite. Perhaps this occurs because any religion in these countries, not being Christian, is often conflated with witchcraft. Purchas includes in his collection Andrew Battell's account of the Congo which describes 'their priests, or Men-witches.'[46] What follows is not actually a supernatural account of witchcraft or magic, but an explanation of how these priests maintain a 'very hard diet.'[47] These men are called witches not because of spells, incantations or because they communicate actively with the Devil, but simply because they are priests of a religion which is not Christianity. This may be in part due to Purchas' own aims when editing Hakluyt's work, and the Christian imperative which influenced his selection of texts:

> *Purchas His Pilgrimes* sought to use evidence from travel accounts in order to define the place of newly discovered religious diversity in a Christian framework that could no longer simply rely on its Biblical and classical foundations. In particular, Purchas sought to support the idea of a universal instinct towards religion against the possibility of atheism, while asserting the uniqueness of Christian truth.[48]

Purchas sought to define Christianity as the true faith, but also hoped to show that people from around the world were universally inclined towards belief as opposed to atheism. In this way he must establish Christianity as the principle and higher form of religion, but also demonstrate a world which is innately biased towards belief in a higher power. This influenced which accounts he chose to include. Travel writing was prone towards 'catch-all terms,' as Jowitt calls them, and for Purchas witchcraft increasingly seems to be the term for any religion which is not Christian.[49] Wonder here is not associated simply with supernatural practices, but with an almighty other, a religion other than accepted, Eurocentric Christianity. This type of witchcraft is tremendously dangerous. It comes to represent the absolute antithesis of Christianity, and thus carries all the

45 See Jim Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Chicago: Routledge Press, 2014), p.43. See also Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) for further reading on the 'old woman,' image of the witch, p.261.

46 Purchas, p.982.

47 Purchas, p.982.

48 Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey, *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Ashgate, 2012), p.87. See also David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) for further reading on Purchas' methodology, especially the fact that he was considered an 'indiscriminate accumulator of theological compendia' (p.82) and his role in constructing a Christian narrative of travel.

49 Jowitt, p.87.

associated dangers. Perhaps this was a way of simplifying witchcraft. It certainly circumnavigates all the problems of categorisation, but it does ensure that witchcraft remains the very definition of the other: something which is diametrically opposed to the home land. Of course, this is a source of wonder.

Thomas Betteridge suggests that the overwhelming urge of 'early modern travel is a desire to consume, to cross borders,' but witchcraft seems to defy this convention, at least in Purchas' account. Instead it is something which cannot be reconciled, something which the traveller cannot fully gain access to.[50] In this way there is a type of cultural curiosity associated with witchcraft in these countries. Purchas offers all the details of how witches operate. He describes the workings of certain witches who can cause people to be 'possessed by the Devil' to the point where they are beyond curing, and also how certain others would 'dance very strangely at the noise of drums,' but he is equally curious about the place of witchcraft within those societies. He is intrigued at how deeply ingrained in society it is, how it can function as a separate religion in its own right.[51] There is a dual type of wonder at work. Purchas' travel narrative certainly has more in common with the collections of curiosities than the court records. There is precious little analysis, few details, just a sense of an extreme other, a catch-all term for any religion other than Christianity.

Purchas is not the only travel writer to treat witchcraft in this manner. George Best writes of witches encountered during the travels of Martin Frobisher, and in doing so reveals another facet of the treatment of witchcraft during the period. The account of witchcraft in East India is yet another conflation. Best writes of a witch who is encountered on some rocks. Initially she seems to bear much more of a similarity to European witches, appearing 'old and ugly,' and being taken for 'a devil,' but the image is more complex than it initially seems.[52] The witch is mentioned at the end of a paragraph concerned almost entirely with cannibalism and the fear of 'eaters of man's flesh.'[53] Witchcraft and cannibalism are very often linked in travel narratives, and for a very specific reason: old world tales, myths and conceptions of the world still held a grip over the early modern imagination:

> The power of these myths over the European imagination meant
> that Europeans saw exactly what they expected to see: giants,
> wild men, cannibals, and cities paved with gold.[54]

When encountering new countries, travel writers looked backwards to the myths of the old world. Witchcraft retains its wonder in travel narratives because it reflects a whole world of wonder, myth and legend from pre-existing stories. Waite goes on to argue that these old world myths gradually combined into a general sense of the demonic. He writes that 'after the 1530s, however, as Christian missionaries sought to convert New World peoples, a demonological interpretation was applied to their religious practices.'[55] This does, of course, refer explicitly to the New World, but it applies

50 Thomas Betteridge, *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2007) p.11.

51 Purchas, p.796.

52 George Best, *A True Discovery of the Late Voyages of Discovery for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya in the Northwest by Martin Frobisher* in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 10th October 2016 p.23.

53 Best, p.23.

54 Gary K. Waite, *Heresy, Magic and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palsgrave McMillan, 2003), p.100. See also Peter Mancall, *Bringing the World to Early Modern Europe: Travel Accounts and Their Audiences* (California: Brill Press, 2007) for further reading on the relationship between the Old World and the New, and more specifically about how conceptions of the Old World influenced traveller's views of newly discovered lands. Carmine diBiase, *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period* (Milan: Rudopi Press, 2006) also makes extensive mention of how writing on newly visited lands was often concerned with 'representative movements within the Old World,' p.10.

55 Waite, p.100.

very clearly to the works of Purchas too, and a far wider array of places. Travel writers categorise witchcraft so broadly because it reflects old world myths and a type counter-religion: a source of wonder.

Joannes Boemus produced another travel narrative which makes a great deal of witchcraft, and once again conflates it with a different type of supernatural practice. He writes that 'there is a little region bordering upon Prussia and Lithuania, called Samogithia' where 'the people be very much inclined to divination and witchcraft.'[56] A further layer of complication is added when he goes on to link these practices to a type of religion, writing that 'the god in whom they repose most confidence and trust, and which they especially honour and adore, is the fire.'[57] Priests of the fire are said to keep flames burning continually in their temple, and the idea of witchcraft is once again linked with wider ideas of a strange and unfamiliar faith. Categories here are especially ill-defined. There is nothing to distinguish divination from witchcraft, and even less to distinguish between the priests and the witches. This is, of course, far removed from tales of isolated witches punished by courts at home. In travel narratives such as these, witchcraft is an all powerful force, a religion of its own and hardly understood at all: surely a source of tremendous wonder. Boemus goes on to write that these people do not only worship fire:

> Nor did they worshippe and reuerence the fire and woods onely,
> but euery other thing likewise, which vsually remained and abidde
> in the woods, as birds, and wilde beasts.[58]

Even this discussion culminates in witchcraft, and the diverse types of 'witchcrafts and invocations of devils' which cause heads and feet to shrink.[59] This is not small scale local witchcraft as it is in the court records, it is not even isolated cases collected together in curiosity compendia: it is witchcraft on a huge and wondrous scale far beyond the reach of European writers, far beyond the reach of law courts and certainly beyond the understanding of travel writers, who make no attempt to analyse its workings. Travel narratives classify witchcraft in the broadest of terms, it is simply conflated with any number of other non-Christian, unfamiliar practices.

Richard Hawkins makes similar reference to witchcraft, this time amongst 'the Indians.'[60] Again, it is categorised alongside divination, and nothing is offered to distinguish between the two. Hawkins writes 'they have great insight into the change of weather, and besides have secret dealings with the Prince of Darkness, who many times declare unto them things to come.'[61] It is an altogether familiar picture. Witchcraft increasingly comes to signify something far less specific than at home. It becomes a blanket term for the strange, the unknown, the wondrous, the supernatural and, most importantly of all, anything which falls outside the boundaries of traditional Christian faith. There are links to the old world too. Travel narratives like these present witchcraft as something purely wondrous, something far beyond the scope and understanding of writers. The contrast between home and abroad, wonder and curiosity, is clear, and vital for the rest of this thesis. When collected in travel narratives like these, witchcraft does not seem to lose any of its associated wonder, rather we can see the processes which would need to occur for the transition into

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56 Joannes Boemus, *The Manners, Laws and Customs of all Nations Collected* (1611) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 3rd December 2014, p.227.

57 Boemus, p.227.

58 Boemus, p.228.

59 Boemus, p.228.

60 Sir Richard Hawkins, *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins Knight in his Voyage into the South Sea* (1622) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 16th August 2015, p.44.

61 Hawkins, p.44.

curiosity to occur. The difference between accounts of witchcraft abroad and at home is illuminating.

This is not to say, however, that witchcraft encountered through travel was not sometimes treated in the same way as witchcraft at home. At the very least, it was subject to collection as a literary curiosity. Witchcraft enjoyed a prominent place in wider collections of curiosity gathered from around the world, and as such found a place within the wider category of the curious. A good example of this is Ludwig Lavater's *Of Ghosts and Spirits*, a collection of supernatural occurrences from around the world. Lavater simply includes accounts of a witch who could raise a man named Samuel 'from the dead' alongside other phenomena as part of a long list of 'ghostes and spirites walking by nyght and of strange noyses, crackes, and sundry forewarnynges.'[62] There is no study, no sense of threat. The stories are curiosities, and the fact that witchcraft is given a place under such a broad umbrella shows that it can, in some circumstances, be considered a curiosity even when encountered abroad.

Perhaps the most important such collection of the period was that of Antonio Torquemada, his *Garden of Curious Flowers*. Not only was this an extremely popular work enjoying a prominent place in society, but it is extremely important in understanding how curiosities were considered and collected.[63] Donald F. Lack even goes as far as suggesting that there were two types of history during the period, the 'serious history, as opposed to the curious history,' with Torquemada falling directly into the latter camp, interested as he was purely in 'curiosities.'[64] This would fit with the evidence we have studied thus far. Purchas and the previously listed travel writers saw witchcraft as a serious counter-culture, a type of anti-Christianity. Their's was the serious history. Torquemada falls into the other category. Michael Armstrong-Roche describes his work as a classic example of the 'Renaissance miscellany,' a work which contains, in short, everything. The nature of the book is important. Roche writes that its success hinged upon the 'relationship between knowledge of the world and the acceptance of marvels.'[65] This is something which Torquemada insists upon throughout: one may very well have knowledge of the world, but this must also come with the acceptance that marvels and wonders are real. If this is to be presupposed, then the book is a somewhat easier construct. It is a knowledge building exercise concerned with the wondrous and marvellous. In fact, Torquemada goes as far as to condemn the type of scepticism which actively and purposefully excludes wonder from the world, noting in his preface that 'nature is so powerful and various, and the world so large, that everyday many novelties come to light,' and then expressing the hope that he will be protected from 'the judgement of those who speak ill of everything they see or read.'[66]

Torquemada's world view is responsible for this. His was a methodology which left ample room for the curious and the wonderful, one which 'posits a nature that is nothing other than the will or reason of God, in which not even a leaf on a tree may move without divine volition and consent' and therefore 'it is not surprising that the search for natural laws played an insignificant role' in his thoughts.[67] The only law is a higher one far beyond the scope of humanity. Perhaps this is why Torquemada offers so little analysis, instead merely presenting the reader with a long list of

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62 Ludwig Lavater, *Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night* (1572) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 16th November 2016, p.21.

63 Donald F. Lack, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume II: A Century of Wonder* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977) p.3. Lack describes how the book was variously translated into a number of different languages and widely distributed.

64 Lack, p.4.

65 Michael Armstrong-Roche, *Cervantes Epic Novel: Empire, Religion and the Dream Life of Heroes in* p.21.

66 Torquemada, p.1.

67 Andrew W. Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, And the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain* (BRILL, 2005), p.164.

wonders and prodigies. This point of view was by no means a universally accepted one. Torquemada's work was ridiculed in *Don Quixote* as one of the overly frivolous books which withers the mind of the unfortunate hidalgo, and was frequently lambasted by scholars.[68] Despite this, his work was in no way unique. It was, as Lack writes, simply the latest in a long line of 'previous compilations of prodigies,' only distinguished by the sheer number of examples it includes.[69] There are 'a vast array' of sources, even for a work of this type.[70] Quite simply, it is 'a collection of whatever strange and extravagant stories a learned man could make,' and one that was widely read and 'several times printed.'[71]

The methodology is familiar. Phenomena are variously collected under headings such as 'sundry thinges that are in the Septentrional Landes worthy of admiration' or 'the causes of diuers mischaunces that happen in the world.'[72] All manner of curiosities and wonders are collected side by side in a single compendium. Witches are of course included, and they appear in a section alongside various other phenomena:

> The third, entreateth of Uisions, Fancies, Spirits, Ghosts, Hags, Enchaunters, Witches, and Familiars: With diuers strange matters which haue happened, delightfull, and not lesse necessarie to be knowne.[73]

The fact that witches are included alongside these other curious subjects is enough to suggest that they can be viewed simple as curiosities. There is no attempt to distinguish between different types of witch, different types of witchcraft or really even the difference between a witch, a hag and an enchanter. There is no attempt to negotiate the difficult and often blurred boundaries between the supernatural. Everything is simply placed into the wider category of the curious. Here, the problem of categories is less navigated and more simply ignored: the headings are broad, the distinguishing features few and far between. Torquemada seems unsure of the difference between a witch and a hag, only elaborating on the separate terms briefly, and even then simply to say that they are both 'persons who have confirmation and agreement with the devil.'[74] Enchanters are similarly conflated with this, and so too are supposed 'necromancers' who are said to also work 'many such like things, through the help […] of spirits.'[75] The book is simply a parade of curious tales.

Torquemada includes several individual accounts of witches in the book. He writes of 'certain witches' who encouraged a 'young woman' to have 'fleshy conversation' with the Devil by summoning a familiar which adopted the form of 'one of the most beautiful young gentlemen of the

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68 Suzanne Maganini, *Fairy-Tale Science: Monstrous Generation in the Tales of Straparole and Basile* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2008), p.83. Maganini includes a number of contemporary reactions to Torquemada's work, including a great deal of criticism from writers of the period who dismissed and ridiculed *The Garden of Curious Flowers* for its 'credulity' and Torquemada's supposed inability to tell the difference between true stories and fairy tales (p.83).

69 Lack, p.287.

70 Lack, p.187.

71 George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature by George Ticknor: Volume 3* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1849) p.175.

72 Torquemada, p.135 and p.47.

73 Torquemada, p.3.

74 Torquemada, p.60. See Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland: English Renaissance Literature and Elizabethan Imperial Expansion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.92 for an explanation of how the difference between hags and witches was often obscure, and related more to regional discrepancies than differences in practice.

75 Torquemada, p.67.

world.’[76] In the end the young woman was burned at the stake but, realising her communications with the Devil, apparently allowed herself to be burned willingly so that she could die ‘Christianlike.’[77] It is a sensational tale, obviously designed to delight readers. Not a single date is offered, not even a location. Even the names of the victims are omitted. Instead, the focus is on sensational details. Torquemada references the ‘lusts and pleasures’ enjoyed by practitioners of witchcraft, and employs the language of wonder, noting that the whole affair ‘was wonderful’ and many onlookers were ‘amazed.’[78] Another account of a witch describes how she ‘with her urine caused a cloud to rise in the air.’ Other witches were apparently able to ‘change not only their own, but other men’s shapes also, as Cyrce and Medaea did.’[79]

These accounts are all linked to travel. They are gathered from around the world, collected and then brought home. It is a familiar process: it is the bringing of wonder home, a process which requires collection, and with collection comes inevitable categorisation. By placing witchcraft alongside other curiosities, by using it as something simply to delight readers, it finds its place within that category. Travel, again, is essential. It is the act of bringing these stories home, of gathering them into these editions, which works the effect. Perhaps the most dramatic account of all concerns a certain king of Denmark who, engaged in war against another nation, sought the help of witches and sorcerers to bolster his armies’ power in the field. The witches duly intervened:

> raising such terrible tempests, winds, and waters, that through the violent fury thereof, the Riuers ouerflowed and became vnpassable; vpon which of a sodaine they caused such an vnkindly heat, that the King and all his Army were fryed almost to death.[80]

The descriptions of overflowing rivers, violent storms and an entire army nearly scorched to death by the heat of the sun certainly focus on the wondrous side of witchcraft. This is clearly not a domestic craft. It is magic on a huge scale. This is the nature of witchcraft encountered abroad. It is large scale. It is dramatic. It is not individual cases but an entire religion of its own, juxtaposed with Christianity. The fact that Torquemada can take this and transform it into a curious tale is telling. The emphasis is entirely on the effect. Torquemada does not need to include names, dates or any other superfluous details because he is focussed entirely on that which the reader will find ‘strange and delightful.’[81]

Despite this being an example of witchcraft existing as a curiosity, Torquemada remains keen to preserve a sense of danger associated with the practices. He warns that

> with their Witchcraftes and Charmes they binde and entangle men in such sort, that they bereaue them of all power to doe them any harme, yea, and many times of their sences also and lyues making them to dye mad.[82]

Clearly, the sense of danger associated with witches encountered through travel remains, perhaps because witchcraft had become such a catch-all term for any none Christian religion abroad.

76 Torquemada, p.74.

77 Torquemada, p.74.

78 Torquemada, p.74.

79 Torquemada, p.81 and p.91.

80 Torquemada, p.129.

81 Torquemada, p.2.

82 Torquemada, p.129.

Just as there were two ways of dealing with witchcraft at home, so too was there a splitting of approaches in travel writing. There were the accounts of writers like Hakluyt and Purchas, who saw witchcraft as representative of anything which was not the Christian religion. These accounts might be considered more wondrous, but they often neglected to go into the extreme, often sensationalist details of their curiosity counter-parts. On the other hand, accounts like those of Antonio Torquemada classified the actions of witches abroad alongside a whole host of other simple curiosities. Witchcraft in these collections was just part of an ongoing curiosity tour around the world. The wonder/curiosity argument is not so much apparent as a transition, but as an absolute dichotomy. Just as we saw the two different treatments of witchcraft at home, we saw another two wildly divergent approaches abroad, albeit complicated by the idea of witchcraft existing as a type of anti-Christianity, a coverall term for other less understood religions. All four approaches did, however, bring witchcraft into human knowledge structures, be it through legal practices, through its categorisation as a type of religion, or as a curiosity. All of this helped deprive it of wonder by making it more understood. The difference between witchcraft at home, where the workings of the devil were expounded by preachers and punished by courts, is that travel brought writers into contact with far larger scale practices. How they dealt with these, either through categorising them simply as anything outside Christianity, or collecting them as curiosities, contributes to the wonder/curiosity transition. The wonderful was being systematised and categorised. It not longer existed on the absolute fringes of what could be known.

Witchcraft is important, too, because it represents a firm splitting of knowledge structures, which will be useful later in the thesis as we consider how wonder and curiosity were separated, and what the ensuing separation meant for the curious. Witchcraft is not only transformed from wonder into curiosity, rather there is a stark divide created between two types of account. We will discuss this in much greater detail later, but for now it is worth noting that the one type represents what we might term ‘productive’ curiosity, involving study and analysis, and the other ‘unproductive,’ concerned only with intriguing and delighting a reader. This will be important later in the thesis, as we can already see an implied use for the category of the curious.

Over the course of this chapter we have discussed how wonder could be transformed into curiosity. The next chapter will move on to consider another type of wonder linked to the Divine: gateways and portals to the afterlife. It will consider how these gateways could serve as a type of storehouse for different beliefs regarding the afterlife both old and new, Christian and otherwise, and in doing so expose these beliefs to further study, categorisation and scrutiny, ultimately transforming the portals from wondrous locations to curiosities.

Chapter Four - Portals to the Afterlife: Boundaries in Literature, Travel and Knowledge.

Over the course of this thesis I have mentioned several times the idea that wonder existed on the borderline. It was encountered variously at the end of knowledge, as an endpoint for language and more practically at the end the world. It makes a great deal of sense for wonder to exist on the fringes, and for the wonder/curiosity transition to be the process which brought that wonder across the border, into known territory. It is a transition of the unknown into the known. We have seen it with the *Kunstkammer*, where collection brought objects across the border, with witchcraft, and in the next chapter we will see the same process operating with medicinal cures. This is why the wonder to curiosity transition is so innately linked to travel. It is part of returning the world home, be that through travel writing, collection or both. If, then, wonder exists on the boundaries, and the transition involves a return from those boundaries, it is important to consider the greatest border of all: life and death. Portals and gateways to the afterlife were extraordinarily common in medieval and then Renaissance literature. We will consider these representations shortly. What is interesting is the idea that these gateways could be encountered through actual, real world travel. Portals were common in countless travel narratives, ranging from Mount Hecla in Iceland, where tortured souls could apparently be heard, to holes in Africa which would convey a deceased soul on a journey. These portals, with their Divine connotations, are perhaps the ultimate source of wonder, and this chapter will explore those in more detail.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the concept of the hell-mouth, something already present in medieval and Renaissance literature. Journeys into the underworld date as far back as Homer and Virgil, proceed through Dante and Spencer, and appear in countless other works of literature far too multitudinous to go into in any detail here. They are especially important as they occupy a confused and often awkward border area somewhere between the natural, geographically locatable world and the spiritual, supernatural one. After all, the afterlife represented the greatest unknown of all, and by definition represented that which was absolutely and utterly beyond the boundaries of knowing. It bore Divine connotations too, another source of wonder. How these hell-mouths were treated, and how they were incorporated into existing knowledge structures, is important to the wonder into curiosity transition. An encounter without a gateway to the afterlife in travel causes a clash of the wondrous with the impulse of the collector and recorder. These are two apparently juxtaposed ideals. The wondrous vs the human. The 'beyond travel' vs the traveller. A transition does occur, and it is crucial in understanding the wider wonder/curiosity movement.

Travelling to Iceland in 1501, Peter d'Martire encountered Mount Hecla, arguably the most famous of all portals to the afterlife. Long before the sixteenth century Hecla was renowned as a gateway to hell with supernatural properties. Almenna Bókafelagid describes how the mountain was considered a type of hell in 'medieval Icelandic' tradition, a place associated with 'supernatural matters.'[1] Its hellish connotations had been noted many times. 'In an account of the eruption in 1341, the *Flatley Book Annal* relates how people went to the mountain where the lava was being thrown up' to watch an exodus of souls taking flight from the fires.[2] A twelfth century poem by a monk named Benedeit asserts that Mount Hecla is 'where Judas is kept.'[3] The supernatural associations were so strongly felt that an 1104 eruption was thought to be caused by a witch's

1 Almenna Bókafelagid, *Hekla: A Notorious Volcano* (Reykjavik: Almenna Bokafelagid,1970) p.6.

2 Bókafelagid, p.6

3 Sigurður Þórarinsson and Jens Tómasson, *The Eruptions of Hekla in Historical Times: A Tephrochronological Study* (Reykjavik: H.F. Leiftur, 1967) p.26.

charm after a lover tossed one of her keepsakes into the volcano.[4] It was Herbert of Clairvaus, writing in 'Liber Miraculorum' who most firmly linked the mountain to hell:

> This mountain, all burning and belching flame, stands in a perpetual blaze […] Who is now so perverse and incredulous that he will not believe that eternal fire exists to make souls suffer, when with his own eyes he sees that fire of which we now speak?[5]

There was clearly tremendous terror associated with Hecla, a terror which extended well into the sixteenth and eventually seventeenth century. Rosaly M. C. Lopes relates how 'it is likely that an unknown Icelander climbed Hekla in the late sixteenth century' but was so badly disturbed by the effort that 'he got home nearly out of his mind and did not live long afterwards.'[6] Not only was Hecla considered a gateway to hell almost as far back as records began, but its reputation was renowned and enduring. It had, as Chambers describes, gained 'distinction among volcanoes' for its terrifying properties.[7] In the early sixteenth century the German physician Peucer described 'the bottomless abyss of Hekla' as 'hell itself.'[8] He even ventured as far as describing how there would 'rise miserable cries and loud wailings.'[9] Wonder and terror intermingle here, but it is plain that Hecla exists on an absolute boundary between the physical world and the spiritual world. A place like this might be considered the *ultimate* source of wonder. How travel writers and collectors treated it, then, is essential in understanding how wonder could be transformed into curiosity. It is perhaps a question of how the wondrous can be taxonomized as a type.

With Hecla so renowned, Martire must have been well aware of its fearsome reputation when he finally visited the mountain in the early 1500s. With the perils of Hecla so well known, we might consider Martire's trip as danger deliberately experienced for the sake of knowledge. He was aware of the risks, but went anyway, and continually stresses the dangers, writing that in 1341 'people went to the mountain' when it was erupting to see spirits taking flight, knowingly exposing themselves to danger in order to witness the movements of the dead.[10] The emphasis is on witnessing. It is worth danger to witness wonder, but this chapter is more concerned with what comes directly *after* witnessing, and what the traveller might do with the collected information. Martire was a chronicler and humanist. His travels in the world were effectively a 'quest for natural knowledge,' which he duly sent back to the court of Charles V in the form of letters.[11] This is a form of collection like the literary *Kunstkammers* examined in the second chapter. There is an emphasis on going out and amassing knowledge, but as with all collections of literary wonders, there must be an urge to entertain, too. Indeed, as we saw earlier with those collections, great emphasis is placed on exceptional or unusual details:

> There first appear men as though they were drowned and yet breathing forth their souls: who being exhorted by their friends to

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4 David Leffman and James Proctor, *Iceland* (London: Rough Guides, 2004) p.128.

5 Jelle Zeilinga de Boer and Donald Theodore Sanders, *Volcanoes in Human History: The Far-Reaching Effects of Major Eruptions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004) p.115-116.

6 Rosaly M. C. Lopes, *The Volcano Adventure Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p.266.

7 Anon, *The Sea: Narratives of Adventure and Shipwreck, Tales and Sketches* (Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers), p.59.

8 de Boer and Sanders, p.117.

9 de Boer and Sanders, p.117.

10 Bókafelagid, p.6.

11 *The Cambridge History of Science* ed. by Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.818.

> restore to their own, they answer with mourning voice and grievous sighs that they must depart thence from Mount Hecla.[12]

This is stark imagery, and Martire continues with this hell-mouth pageantry, devoting long sections of his text to these details. He diligently records 'the shot of great artillery,' the 'chinks or open places in the earth' and 'repugnance of fire and cold, and brimstone.'[13] We have seen this type of language before in the second chapter. There is, of course, a collection of information, but there is also a desire to entertain. Perhaps this alone is enough to reduce the wonder. It becomes a type of device for entertaining a reader. The account is complicated by hints of allegory, and it does seem to serve a moral imperative beyond simple entertainment. Martire writes that it is only 'evil souls' who are subjected to torment inside the mountain. This is a Christian vision of hell which also seeks to locate and in some way comprehend the workings of the afterlife. We are presented with an elemental breakdown of hell, informed that it is a mingling of 'fire, cold and brimstone.'[14] We even learn that the flames of hell can never be 'quenched with water.'[15] It is a fairly complex account, one that collects information, serves a moral point *and* seeks to give hell a real and definite position in the world. It is the ultimate wonder analysed and systematised.

Perhaps even more interestingly, the account blurs the boundaries between the aforementioned Christian vision of the afterlife, with a far more classical conception. There are hints of an underworld akin to that presented by Homer and Virgil, one where the witness may actually communicate with the dead in a way impossible in a Christian hell. As Martire's earlier account demonstrates, Hecla afforded people a direct view of hell, and actually allowed them to see the souls of the damned. The living can not only communicate with the dead, but the dead can talk back, and talk back in great detail. The communication is a two-way affair, and the dead are fully aware of what is occurring, even though they can do nothing to alter their fate. There are traces of Virgil and the Elysian fields in this particular account, the idea of two types of afterlife, the one accessible, the one beyond reach. Indeed, Martire records that once the dead answer that they must 'depart,' they promptly 'vanish out of sight,' apparently to another part of the mountain beyond the reach of the living.[16] This is interesting. It means that Hecla is able to encompass two types of afterlife, the Christian and the classical. It also means that it is linked to the moral structure of Christianity, and the literary constructs of Virgil and Homer.

This is just another example the hell-mouth existing on borders. Hecla is situated on a number of such boundaries. It is a gateway to the spirit world which is also connected to the physical world and apparently accessible through wide-ranging travel. Martire begins his account by assuring the reader of the geographical reality of Hecla:

> Iceland is interpreted the land of Ice…It is extended between the south and the north almost two hundred schoenes in longitude…It is for the most part full of mountains…But in the plains it hath such fruitful pastures.[17]

Just as the underworld of Homer and Virgil exists in the furthest reaches of the known world, Martire similarly describes Iceland as somewhat removed from the world, noting that it is a 'land of

12 Peter d'Martire, *Decades of the New World* (1555) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 18th October 2014, p.296.

13 Martire, p.294.

14 Martire, p.294.

15 Martire, p.294.

16 Martire, p.294.

17 Martire, p.294.

ice' but also 'uncultured.'[18] His description of the island as magical, as a place made 'famous by the strange miracles of nature,' only further removes it from the rest of the world. Martire plainly associated the area around the mountain, and Iceland in general, with the supernatural. He writes that if any ice is taken from Iceland it will vanish from sight so that 'not so much as one drop of water or ice can thereof be found.'[19] The journey is, again and again, framed as a descent into the unknown, followed by a return which brings collected information. This is, of course, the process of the wonder to curiosity transition. Even his description of the countryside around Hecla, and the fountains which form an intrinsic part of the Icelandic landscape, hints at the very least towards the unusual, if not the outright wonderful. Martire writes of one that 'is sweeter than honey,' and another which is 'plain poison, pestilent and deadly.'[20] This is a wondrous landscape, but the traveller continues to collect that wonder in the form of a narrative. That is why travel writing is so important: it allows the wondrous not only to be collected but brought home, analysed, curated, placed alongside the curious, and exposed to all those processes crucial to the transition.

The volcano and hell-mouth occupied an unusual position in Renaissance geography generally. The idea of a volcano as a gateway to the afterlife was what de Boer terms a 'medieval idea' rather than a distinctly Renaissance one.[21] Despite this, it is clearly carried into the early modern period and mingled with even older ideas of the underworld. Some of the earliest accounts of Mount Hecla are from medieval sources and they are repeated, in some cases almost word for word, in later Renaissance accounts. Martire echoes the twelfth century description of Clairvaux, which includes 'belching flame' and 'the souls of the dying […] daily dragged,' when he refers to Hecla 'boiling with continual fire' and writes of how Icelanders can often see their loved ones as they disappear into the depths of the mountain. Further comparison can be made between Peucer's 'miserable cries and loud wailings' and 'coal black ravens' and Martire's account of a 'wailing and groaning noise' and his images of the same black ravens.[22] There is also great similarity between Martire's account and that of Sebastian Munster, who visited Iceland a few decades earlier, as the following two extracts reveal:

> being required of their friendes and familiars to come home, and to see their friends agayne, with greate sighes and weepinge they answer that they muste go to Hecla the mountayne, and so sodenlye they vanishe out of sight.[23]

And then, describing Hecla later, Martire writes:

> there first appeare men as though they were drowned, and yet breathyng foorth theyr soules: who beyng exhorted by theyr friendes to resorte to theyr owne, they answere with mournyng voyce and greeuous sighes, that they must departe from thence.

The accounts are markedly similar, describing how spirits sadly inform their friends that they must depart for Hecla. It is clear that Martire was influenced by Munster, who himself traces the origins

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18 Martire, p.290.

19 Martire, p.300.

20 Martire, p.296.

21 de Boer and Sanders, p.117.

22 Martire, p.296. For comparison, the accounts of Peucer and Clairvaux can be found in de Boer and Sanders, pp.116-117.

23 Sebastian Münster, *A Briefe Collection and Compendius Extract of the Strange and Memorable Things* in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th March 2015, p.23.

of his learning back to Homer, writing that 'for learning sake' he looked to 'Homer.'[24] He was, though, a Christian scholar, which further complicates the mingling of the two types of underworld. Munster's work was of great importance, and there is little doubt that it worked its influence on later travel writers. Munster's writing was 'a standard work for over a century.'[25] The relationship is complicated even more by the fact that Virgil and Homer were influenced by occurrences in the physical world around them. Their accounts were especially inspired by 'the burning chimneys of Etna, Vesuvius,' and as such it is perhaps little wonder that these accounts in turn came to influence opinions of other volcanoes.[26] Hecla is a peculiar mingling of many influences, and accounts can only exist as collections of previous writer's works and experiences. This will become especially important when we consider the works of later travellers, who approached the mountain with a more analytical eye.

The relationship grows even more complex when we consider the way in which Martire begins his account. He briefly references an ancient tradition associated with Iceland when he refers to the fact that it 'is called of the old writers Thyle.'[27] Thyle, or Thule, was first discovered by Pytheas in 325 BC, and it already had supernatural connotations. It was considered, both literally and figuratively, the end of the world.[28] Thule was synonymous with the very edge of all civilisation, as Friedman and Figg state:

> Virgil coined the phrase 'Ultima Thule' in a passage that defines the breadth of Rome's burgeoning empire. For later authors Thule was no less fabulous than famous […] and marked the end of the known world. The term has since become a synonym for limitation - either a territory practically beyond human kind or a goal almost beyond reach.[29]

The Oxford Dictionary of Reference and Allusion makes a similar statement, likening Thule to 'the limit of what is attainable.'[30] Thule became synonymous with the end of the world, and therefore the end of all knowledge. If travel writers were to suddenly visit this place and bring knowledge back home, where it could be collected and studied, then the wondrous suddenly seems more attainable than ever.

It was not always this simple, though. All manner of strange occurrences were associated with such a place, which Evans suggests would tempt 'even the most practical minds into considering the supernatural.'[31] The afterlife might exist at the end of the world, but it also exists at an endpoint of all knowledge. The fact that Hecla is surrounded by similar wonders and mysteries shows that Iceland itself has become a wondrous location. It ought to be out of bounds, existing beyond all knowledge, and yet travellers went there. These travellers recorded what they saw, collected their

24 Munster, p.95.

25 Nigel Wilson, *Encyclopaedia of Ancient Greece* (New York: Routledge, 2013) p.680.

26 William Hughes and Samuel Maunder, *The Treasury of Geography, Physical, Historical, Descriptive and Political: Containing a Succinct Account of Every Country in the World* (London: Longman and Roberts, 1860) p.273.

27 Martire, p.300.

28 Evans, p.15.

29 *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopaedia* ed. by John Block Friedman, Kristen Mossier Figg (New York: Routledge, 2013) p.602. See also William J. Mills, *Exploring Polar Frontiers: A Historical Encyclopaedia* (California: ABC Clio Press, 2003) and Russel M. Lawson, *Science in the Ancient World: An Encyclopaedia* (California: ABC Clio Press, 2004) p.211 for further reading on the early discoveries of Thule and its associations with the end of the world.

30 Andrew Delahunty, *Oxford Dictionary of Reference and Allusion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p.370.

31 Evans, p.33.

observations and brought them home. As we have seen with Martire, the conception of the afterlife incorporated several different, divergent thoughts: christian and classical being the most prominent. Hecla is not a coherent picture. It is the meeting point of several historically significant conceptualisations of the afterlife which are then complicated even further by Renaissance attitudes to knowledge building. Just as Martire was heavily influenced by that which preceded him, it is impossible to underestimate the importance of his work on later writers. The sheer scope and reach of his writing, which was included 'in all important European travel collections from 1507 onward,' was dramatic. He was almost certainly read by future travellers to Iceland.[32]

Fifty years after Martire visited the country, Richard Hakluyt included in his *Principal Navigations* another account of Iceland. Despite referencing many of the same things as Martire, Hakluyt offers a radically different account of the mountain. Not only does he focus far more on the physical side of Hecla, but he tries to negate the spiritual one completely. The difference between Martire's account and Hakluyt's account is perhaps the best and most profound example of the wonder to curiosity transition. The same location is explored, many of the same details are listed, but something has changed. Hakluyt did not actually visit Iceland, he was an editor who collected other travel narratives and compiled them into what is perhaps one of the most important examples of travel knowledge collection. This process of compilation also allowed Hakluyt to update older knowledge. The wonder of Martire's account is revisited, and replaced instead with information which is clearly interesting, certainly curious, but Hakluyt does his utmost to undermine the supernatural connotations of Hecla. It is a different type of collection. If Martire's work has more in common with those literary collections of curiosity designed to delight and entertain a reader, then Hakluyt's is clearly far more pragmatic. His aim, it seems, is to present facts.

As such, the account does not indulge in the same type of fantastical tales which make up the earlier Martire piece. Instead of descriptions of ravens and references to mystical Thule, Hakluyt offers a far more pragmatic account which attempts to explain the workings of Hecla through the teaching of 'natural philosophers.'[33] He does his utmost to negate the supernatural connotations of the mountain by drawing the reader's attention to the fact that it is not especially different from other volcanoes, notably 'Mount Etna.'[34] If we are to consider Martire's account as a wonderful one, Hakluyt certainly transforms Iceland into more of a curiosity, a novelty - a place of interest which is far from supernatural. The account goes as far as terming the mountain 'no great marvel,' and comes close to actually ridiculing the idea that Hecla is a place for 'unclean' souls.[35] Despite this, Hakluyt does acknowledge that the mountain is somewhat of a curiosity, as it cannot 'be doubted' that many consider it a gateway to hell.[36]

Hakluyt acknowledges the curiosity, but does not indulge in the same type of wonder as his predecessors. Hecla is transformed from terrifying wonder to interesting folk-tale, just another story included in a vast collection of other such travel narratives. While Martire looks backwards for reference, Hakluyt selects an account which considers the natural reasons that the mountain may behave in the way that it does:

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32 *The Cambridge History of Science: Volume 3, Early Modern Science* ed. by Roy Porter, Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.818. Nicholas J. Saunders also makes specific reference to 'the fame of De Or be Novo' (Decades of the New World) in *The Peoples of the Caribbean: An Encyclopaedia of Archeology and Traditional Culture* (California: ABC Clio, 2005) p.181.

33 Arngrimus Ionas, *A Brief Commentary on Iceland* in 'The Principal Navigations' ed. by Richard Hakluyt (1599-1600) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 14th October 2014, p.563.

34 Ionas, p.563.

35 Ionas, p.560.

36 Ionas, p.560.

> Howbeit, suppose that these things be true which they report of firie mountaines: is it possible thereore that they should seeme strange, or monstrous, whenas they proceed from naturall causes?[37]

This is an entirely different perspective. Peter C. Mancall suggests that Hakluyt's aim was always to offer 'readers a scientific analysis,' and Anthony Payne terms the approach as one of 'a higher stage of scientific presentation.' Francisco J. Borges ventures even further, suggesting that Hakluyt included in his collections only that which 'could be of value' to the English nation.[38] This is not an account designed specifically to entertain. It has more in common with a physical *Kunstkammer* than a literary collection of interesting stories. The aim is to build knowledge through travel, and the collection of information. When wonder is exposed to this process, we are left only with vague curiosity. Hakluyt mercilessly destroys the idea of a supernatural Hecla, but nonetheless concedes that it is an object of curiosity because of the folk tales associated with it. Wonder is removed, but curiosity is left behind.

Hakluyt was also a religious man, he took 'religious orders' after all, but this did not really impact upon his writing.[39] As David Armitage suggests:

> Religion shaped little, if any, of Hakluyt's corpus, either generically or rhetorically. All of Hakluyt's printed works derived from his self-appointed task as the compiler of the English 'voyages and discoveries' and none from his position as rector, chaplain or prebendary.[40]

In short, Hakluyt is concerned purely with the workings of nature, not the spiritual. The account laments especially the fact that people have the 'impiety' to 'abuse these and like miracles of nature' by considering them Divine miracles.[41] It ventures even further, and attributes the idea of an all consuming and unquenchable flame to writers with a 'popish' aim.[42] Hakluyt seems to utilise Hecla as a way of examining what is a miracle, what isn't, and what is the false doctrine of the Catholic Church. Certainly, he leaves little room for wonder, but some for curiosity.

In this way the account offered by Hakluyt might be viewed as way to shake off medieval superstitions. Hakluyt goes through a similar process to Martire when describing Iceland. He first references its geographical location in the physical world. The account gives not only a detailed list of longitudes for the island, but for the locations of the seats of bishops including 'Schalholten the seat of a bishop,' before moving on to the spiritual associations of Hecla, including the idea that the mountain is 'a prison for unclean souls.'[43] Hakluyt is clearly referring back to older accounts in the same way that Martire did. He recounts the widely held view of the time that Hecla contains hell, and that it was a place where hell might be witnessed, where a traveller may hear 'miserable

37 Ionas, p.560.

38 See Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2010) p.67, Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to those Associated with Him* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 2008) p53 and Francisco J. Borge, *A New World for a New Nation: The Promotion of America in Early Modern England* (Bern: Peter Lang Publishers, 2007) p.74 and also Peter C. Mancall, *The Atlantic World* (North Carolina: North Carolina University Press, 2007) for further biographical reading on Hakluyt and his methodology.

39 Dale Anderson, *Explorers and Exploration Volume 5* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004) p.324.

40 David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) p.71.

41 Ionas, p.554.

42 Ionas, p.554.

43 Ionas, p.554 and p.556.

yellings,' effectively echoing Martire almost word for word, just as Martire did Munster.[44] Hakluyt may not share the beliefs of previous writers, but he nonetheless includes them, and is part of an ongoing revision of knowledge: an act of collection in itself. In this way, the portal to the afterlife is a nexus for belief, a meeting point where several different schools of thought are collected and examined in unison. This collection leads to the updating of knowledge, and the transition of the wondrous into the curious. Travel is important. It is travel which leads to collection, and collection which in turn leads to an ongoing process whereby knowledge is continually revised and updated. It is this process which dispels wonder in favour of curiosity. Travel and collection are essential to the process.

Hecla may not, for Hakluyt, be a gateway to the afterlife, but it is a gateway to examining and understanding religious matters. He uses Hecla as a way of exploring pertinent religious themes linked to the Reformation. This is why he includes this specific account in his collection. Not only does it attack the idea of Hecla as containing hell, but it attacks the Catholic conception of purgatory and hell. The account attributes false beliefs about the mountain to the 'great wise men in the aim of Popery,' and suggests that Catholic beliefs are not only incorrect, but fundamentally at odds with natural philosophy and the more modern discoveries regarding the workings of the world.[45] It draws upon examples of other volcanoes to reinforce this point, noting that the idea of Mount Aetna as purgatory was due to the fact that 'Pope Gregory feigned it so.'[46] The account even goes as far as suggesting that the Catholic belief system, solely responsible for the idea of Hecla containing hell, is a 'poison.'[47] In this way, the systematic rebuttal of Hecla as a gateway to hell is a rebuttal of Catholicism too, a way of comprehending the faults in papal doctrine and advancing the cause of Protestantism. Hecla is therefore utilised as a type of allegory, or at the very least as a tool for understanding. The portal is utilised as part of an ongoing search for knowledge, albeit this time it is an examination of Church doctrine.

When editing and compiling Hakluyt's works, Samuel Purchas revisited Hecla and those accounts of gateways to the afterlife. Purchas, despite emphasising again and again, both in the preface to his work and in the section on Iceland, that he writes only for the 'glorie of God,' nonetheless draws upon a similar contradiction. He does his utmost to dismiss the idea of Hecla containing hell, but cannot deny the fact that the mountain is a curiosity. He writes specifically of a certain incident whereby:

> A Fisherman sayling by Hecla, met with another ship, both had a prosperous wind, and when (after the manner of Saylers) he was demanded who hee was and of what place, hee answered, that hee had the Bishop of Breme in his ship, whom hee would conuay to Hecla: and it was knowne that the Bishop dyed the same day.[48]

It is important to note that Purchas does not believe the story, rather he offers a firm rebuttal, but he still includes it and obviously considers it a popular enough tale to include in his account. Furthermore, he writes that the people of Iceland:

> know the day of the Battaile fought, although they know not where it be done: for they see (as they report) wicked spirits going forth,

44 Ionas, p.459.

45 Ionas, p.467.

46 Ionas, p.467.

47 Ionas, p.467.

48 Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes in Five Books* (1625) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 2nd March 2015, p.598.

> and returning, and bringing soules with them.[49]

Both of these accounts are clearly indicative of the classical underworld rather than the Christian vision of the afterlife. The Bishop of Breme is sentient and capable of communication with the fisherman. The idea of the bishop being ferried across to the underworld recalls to us Charon and thus to the likes of Orpheus, Theseus and Dionysus. These are classical images, far removed from any Christian perspective. However, Purchas goes on to complicate matters by describing how the souls trapped inside the mountain are said to be tortured by 'the cruel master Devil,' and it is only the 'wicked' who are delivered there.[50] This is, again, a mingling of different visions of the afterlife, but it is also a folktale, composed of curious accounts gathered from around Iceland. Wonder is reduced in part to literary construction, part folk tale. The sense of danger apparent in Martire's account is long gone, and instead we are presented with an interesting story, an object of curiosity which Purchas explicitly states he does not believe in.

Indeed, Purchas is quick to write that 'no man in his wits' will believe that 'hell is in this mountain,' but he still makes plenty of room for tales of Hecla as hell.[51] He does, in fact, offer many *more* of these tales than Hakluyt, and his rebuttals are less frequent too. While Hakluyt goes to great lengths in dismissing Hecla, listing natural philosophers and citing the reasons for the mountain's behaviour, Purchas simply takes it as a given that no man in his 'wits' will believe that hell is in the mountain. Wonder has already gone. There is no need to argue, and thus Purchas does not feel the same urgency to dismiss Hecla as his predecessor. There is no hint of religious controversy either, and Hecla is less a tool of religious understanding, more a simple curiosity enveloped in interesting folk tales. Hecla has transformed from the very literal hell offered by Martire, somewhere both wonderful and terrifying, to a matter of curiosity, a place where old and new beliefs, old legends and stories, can be brought together and recorded. It is, more than anything, a focal point for the curious.

It is also interesting to note that the Icelanders themselves did not necessarily grant much credence to the stories of Hecla containing hell. Despite the fact that Martire, Hakluyt and Purchas all suggest that the tales are of Icelandic origin, Karen Oslund points out that several notable Icelanders actually 'objected' not only to this story, but to other fantastical accounts of the island including those regarding 'fabulous monsters.'[52] Arngrimur Jonsson, an Icelandic scholar, wrote at length about how 'Mount Hecla was not the mouth of hell,' and generally sought to undermine the various legends associated with the island.[53] This was in 1592, after Martire's arrival but before Hakluyt, who still wrote that it was the Icelanders who propagated the Hecla mythology. Later still, Purchas reiterated the idea that it was 'the Icelanders' themselves who stressed the idea of Hecla as a gateway to the afterlife, but this does not necessarily seem to have been the case.[54] Besides, the literary history of Iceland differed radically from that of Europe. The types of afterlife 'old Norse-Icelandic offers, of course, are nothing similar to Virgil, Homer.'[55] The portal exists as much as a meeting point of ideas as it does as a meeting point of life and death, of knowing and unknowing. As such it is able to represent all these strands of thought simultaneously without negating any.

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49 Purchas, p.598.

50 Purchas, p.598.

51 Purchas, p.598.

52 Karen Oslund, *Iceland Imagined: Nature, Culture, and Storytelling in the North Atlantic* (Washington: Washington University Press, 2011) p.75.

53 Oslund, p.75.

54 Purchas, p.598.

55 Lauri Honko, *Textualization of Oral Epics* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Press, 2000) p.89.

The same is true of other physically locatable gateways. The boundary between geographical precision and spiritual invocations is always blurred. In his 1590 account of Virginia, Thomas Hariot diligently records all aspects of the landscape, including the types of soil, deer skins and the 'two places of the country specially' where iron can be mined.[56] His account includes all that would be considered essential, including reports on people, culture, all the human imprints on the landscape. Hariot then goes on to include an account of a portal named Popogusso:

> They believe also the immortality of the soul, that after this life as soon as the soul is departed from the body according to the works it has done, it is either carried to heaven the habitude of gods, there to enjoy perpetual bliss and happiness, or else to a great pit or hole, which they think to be in the furthest parts of their part of the world towards the sun set, there to burn continually: the place they call Popogusso.[57]

The portal is encountered through dual travel. Hariot hears the story in a far off land, but those relating it are also describing a place which is far away, in 'the furthest parts of their part of the world,' on the very edge of the horizon where 'the sun set.'[58] Again, we are presented with somewhere at the end of the world, and therefore also at the boundaries of knowledge.

Underworld tropes are obviously present, but as Michael Leroy Oberg notes, the inclusion of Popugusso can in part be attributed to the 'great interest' in 'the active and vibrant spiritual life' of other cultures.[59] The travel occurring around this portal is two way. One who enters may actually return to the world of the living. Another of what Karen Ordahl Kupperman terms 'the out of body experiences,' is related shortly afterwards.[60] The soul of a recently deceased man is said to have risen from the 'grave' and 'traveled far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant fruits' all of which were apparently 'rare.'[61] The distances travelled, the exotic fruits, all of these details are indicative of a far off place, as remote to the native people as Virginia would have been to Hariot and his readership. The tree lined approach with the rare fruits is a spectacle, a pageant of wonders, and is thus similar to accounts in those literary collections of wonder examined earlier. The combination of a far away place, of spectacle and pageantry and a moral imperative (only the bad are sent to Popogusso to 'burn continually') is familiar, it is the same framework adopted in countless other underworld stories.[62] However, the idea of a two way journey is certainly not Christian. It is a mingling of thought concerned with that 'spiritual life' of other cultures, and conceptions of a far earlier variety related to the underworld. It is a disordered picture, with literary tropes mingling amongst real world geography, adding to the sense of curiosity.

Part of the problem is that portals reveal the limitations of knowledge. As Tobin Siebers writes; 'the real world is, after all, the sum of all that exists, at least as far as the human race is

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56 Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th October 2014. p.10.

57 Hariot, p.26.

58 Hariot, p.26.

59 Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism, Native America, and the First American Frontiers, 1585-1685* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2003) p.33.

60 Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke, the Abandoned Colony, Volume 2* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1984) p.55.

61 Hariot, p.26.

62 Hariot, p.26.

concerned.'[63] Location is inevitably and invariably linked to knowledge. Place is, after all, a classification of space based on 'geographical knowledge,' it is space made known, based on human observations including 'the unique conjunction of built environments, cultures, people etc.'[64] Gateways represented not only the end of 'geographical' and cultural knowledge, but the end of 'all that exists,' too.[65] This was a common idea. After all, the trope of the pillars of Hercules representing the very end of the world, the point from which one could venture no further, was very well known, and suggested that there really was a geographical limit imposed on how far one could voyage, and how much one could discover.[66] Where geographical knowledge ends, literary and dramatic tropes begin to take over. The unifying factor of these varied locations; forests, lakes and volcanoes, is the mysterious element associated with them. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century one could no more hope to visit or map the bottom of a lake than the heart of a volcano, and forests were not much better, representing what D.L Ashliman terms 'an obvious symbol for freedom from social conventions and restrictions, but also for risk and danger.'[67] A forest is, as Donald Haase points out, a place of 'wandering and confusion.'[68]

If literary tropes were so deeply imbedded in the presentation and treatment of the hell-mouth, then it is now useful to consider the presentation of the hell-mouth on stage, where it was especially common. Stage representations are important because they represent the portal brought fully under human influence, and in fact fulfilling all of the criteria for a wonder into curiosity transition. Hell-mouths on stage are within the human sphere of knowing. They are brought under human influence and they are, of course, given language. They may serve a moral end, and may be utilised to emphasise the terrors of hell, but they are nonetheless deprived of the wonder associated with something far beyond the scope of humanity. Placing a portal to the afterlife on stage fully completes its transition into something curious. It is something which is safe, something to be marvelled at: something to delight and intrigue audiences.

The stage is useful because it shows how something wondrous was treated when it became an object of entertainment for audiences, and how this helped with the transition of a wonder into a curiosity. The hell-mouth was an important part of early modern stage convention. There was a 'hell-mouth in Henslowe's list of props,' and it was a common sight on stage.'[69] The image has its origins in Christian iconography, and was usually based upon the story of Jonah and the whale. As Rebecca Lemon points out, churches usually showed the 'painted hell-mouth as the gaping jaws of a great sea monster,' and Barroll notes that even on stage the hell-mouth was often linked to the idea of 'devouring,' of being consumed by something

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63 Tobin Siebers, *Heteropia: Postmodern Utopia and the Body Politic* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1994) p.28.

64 John Agnew, *Space and Place* in 'Handbook of Geographical Knowledge' ed. by D. Livingston (London: Sage Press, 2011) p.2. and David Harvey, *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* ed. by Phil Hubbard and Rob Kitchin (London: Sage Press, 2010) p.238.

65 Agnew, p.238.

66 W.G.L Randles, *Geography, Cartography and Nautical Science in the Renaissance: The Impact of Great Discoveries* (New York: Ashgate Press, 2000). Randles notes, too, that as the world was enlarged through travel and voyages, the pillars were seen as 'receding […] thus marking the limits reached on successive voyages' (p.83). Travel pushed not only geographical boundaries, but the boundaries of what could be known too.

67 D.: Ashliman, *Folk and Fairy Tales: A Handbook* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004) p.41.

68 Donald Haase, *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairytales: Q-Z* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008) p.980.

69 C.W.R.D Moseley, *English Renaissance Drama: A Very Brief Introduction to Theatre and Theatres* (Penrith: Humanities-eBooks, 2007) p.40.

monstrous.[70] Just like within Hecla, the dead can actually be viewed 'inside the toothy mouth' where 'demons torture damned souls.'[71] Anderson outlines how this convention was first transferred to the stage as 'the most important piece of scenery constructed for a mystery play,' and that the idea of hell in the jaws of a large monster or beast quickly became an 'essential age old tradition [that] should be followed.'[72] These hell-mouths were not especially advanced, but they served their purpose. Davidson writes that they were often nothing more than doorways through which 'flames could be seen.'[73] The tradition was carried into Renaissance theatre, where the hell-mouth continued to be less about physical representation, and more about what Brian B. Ritchie terms a 'visual emblem,' a perpetual reminder of the dangers of sin: an allegory. [74] As Moseley notes, the hell-mouth could not have been realistic 'in any but the most debased sense, but it was symbolic,' and this is why the hell-mouth on stage was so important. It returns us to the discussion of Erasmus, Calvin and allegory, and also the importance of portraying symbolic meaning as an aid to understanding the afterlife. Obviously there is a stark difference between the wonder of Martire's blazing and perilous Hecla, and these fairly crude stage inventions.

In *A Looking Glass for London and England,* Robert Greene maintains many of the medieval conventions associated with the hell-mouth. He situates it in the jaws of a monster - more specifically the jaws of the whale that swallows Jonah.[75] Once inside, Jonah duly compares the interior of the fish to 'deepest hell.'[76] The whale represents the archetypal hell-mouth, not only a gateway which a person may stumble into, but a very real threat which can actively consume. It has an allegorical purpose, and it is also Christian. The hell-mouth is not passive. When contained in a monster it is a moving punishment. The portal is as much a snare as a gateway, and thus serves the threefold purpose of being a physical reminder of hell, an imaginative place, and also an allegory serving a moral imperative. It is a very human construction, serving a dramatic purpose far removed from somewhere like Hecla, which existed on the very fringes of knowledge.

Over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the hell-mouth became an increasingly broad concept on stage. No longer simply the jaws of a monster waiting to consume, it began to shift in emphasis towards actual gateways existing in locatable places. In *Arden of Faversham* the mouth of hell is evoked at a 'place on the coast' when Will claims that he is 'almost in hell's mouth.'[77] The illusion of being near to hell is in fact due to bad 'weather,' but the reference nonetheless not only locates the hell-mouth as a place in the world, but also suggests that it may be encountered by accident, simply through aimless wandering. The dramatic hell-mouth is dangerous, characters may wander in and out haphazardly. In *The Spanish Tragedy*, the Ghost and Revenge

70 *The Blackwell Companion to the Bible in English Literature* ed. by Rebecca Lemon, Emma Mason, Jonathan Roberts and Christopher Rowland' (London: Wiley, 2007) p63 and Leeds Barroll, *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England Volume 8* (London: Associated University Presses, 1996) p.64.

71 Alixe Bovey, *Monster and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002) p.38.

72 M.D Anderson, *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University 2013) p.127.

73 Clifford Davidson, *The Iconography of Hell* (Michigan: Western Michigan University Press, 1992) p.127. See also Alan E. Knight, *The Stage as Mirror: Civic Theatre in Late Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: D.S Brewer, 1992) for further reading on hell-mouth traditions in medieval plays.

74 Brian B. Ritchie, *The Plays of Christopher Marlowe and George Peele: Rhetoric and Renaissance* in 'dissertation.com' <www.dissertation.com> Accessed 28th December 2014, p.190.

75 Jenny Sager, *The Whale, the Hell-Mouth and the Aesthetics of Wonder in Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene's A Looking Glass for London and England* in 'Postgraduate English' Issue 23, September 2011, p.2.

76 Robert Greene, *A Looking Glass for London and England* (1617) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th March 2015, p24.

77 Thomas Kyd and Christopher Marlowe, *Arden of Faversham* (1592) in 'Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainment' ed. by Arthur F. Kinney (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2005) IV.iii.23.

seem entirely free to wander in and out of hell, before finally descending 'down to deepest hell' at the conclusion of the play.[78] G.K Hunter describes how in *The Jew of Malta* hell exists just beneath the stage, and in *Doctor Faustus* the devils gather to observe Faustus' final moments as an infernal audience.[79] In Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* a 'smokey hell' blazes beneath the stage, and in a 1608 ballet a 'terrible hell-mouth' was erected on the left side of the stage through which the performers passed, making their way on and off.[80] Hell evoked on stage is easily locatable. It serves a moral purpose and makes sense of an otherwise complex concept. It uncomplicated and untangled the problem of the gateway encountered through travel, and it did, too, transform it into a type of curiosity. The wonder encountered abroad is suddenly replaced with stage contraptions for the entertainment of a crowd. The hell-mouth on stage is important not only because it shows that a public fascination did exist, but also because gateways to the afterlife could easily exist as curiosities, once separated from travel. The differences between the hell-mouth on stage and the hell-mouth encountered through travel are almost too numerous to list, but it is clear that while the former is wondrous, dangerous, the latter is a mere curiosity, a spectacle for audiences who never face any real threat.

Portals were not encountered purely through foreign travel, either. They could be found at home in England, and a comparison between portals at home and portals abroad really does shed light on the difference between wonder and curiosity. An account of a series of caves in the Derbyshire countryside initially seems to include details identical to those of supposed portals like Hecla. *The Wonders of the Peak*, written by Thomas Hobbes, was part of a larger collection of works in which he and a number of friends 'all visited, described and evaluated seven sites' ranging from man made structures such as Chatsworth House to hills, wells and the caves of Derbyshire.[81] Hobbes had travelled widely throughout his life. He had 'experienced dangers of travel compared with which the Derbyshire Highlands were only child's play' and, as Nicolson points out, his supposed dread of the place is surely false, nothing more than him 'describing the scenery […] as Latin tradition dictated.'[82] Written in the seventeenth century and translated into English in 1678, the poem is a comic take on the hell-mouth, but it nonetheless draws upon many of the tropes associated with serious accounts.[83]

Hobbes variously describes 'a noble cave between two rocks,' through which one may gain access to 'a furnace,' and 'hell' which 'swallows with open jaws the damned crowd/after sentence is pronounced aloud.'[84] The account ventures even further, employing the word 'abyss' and evoking a sense of foreboding in 'the dreadful shades,' before embarking upon a descent into hell:

> In silence the mean while descends the Stone;
> Through the infernal Spheres it post doth run
> And passes them in order one by one.

78 Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy* (1586) ed. by David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996) IV.v.27.

79 Hunter, G. K. *The Theology of Marlowe's The Jew of Malta* in 'Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,' vol. 27, 1964, pp. 211–240.

80 Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927) p.112.

81 Judy A. Hayden, *Travel Narratives, the New Science and Literary Discourse 1569-1750* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013) p.183.

82 Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain and Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Washington: Washington University Press, 1993) p.65.

83 See N. Heringham, *Rt-Romantic Rocks Aesthetic Geology* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2011) for further reading on 'The Wonders of the Peak.'

84 Thomas Hobbes, *The Wonders of the Peaks* (1680) in 'Early English Books Online <eebo.chadwyk.com> p.10.

Into the confines of dread Dis it goes
And empty seats in Limbo overthrows.
From thence by intense flames it moves in hast,
And Souls red hot in Heaven to be plac'd
(Purge from their dross as are the Pipes by fire
Tobacco er'st had sullied) and the Sphere
Of Infants unregenerate it flyes.
(Unconscious of its fault which tortur'd cryes)
Thence sinking to the utmost hell it goes
And center passes; where the wise suppose
Or Aristotles Sect should top, and so
Ascending to the t'other side does go.
Now the affrighted Ghosts turn back again
Freed from the object which had giv'n them pain.[85]

The section clearly draws upon earlier precedents. As Samuel L. Mintz suggests, 'Hobbes was, […] merely following a classical tradition.'[86] The stone's descent into hell both mirrors and parodies the descent in *The Aeneid*, whereupon 'The gates of hell are open night and day/Smooth the descent, and easy is the way.'[87] The account of Derbyshire is strikingly similar to other accounts of gateways encountered in the real world, too. The 'loud sighs' of Derbyshire could just as easily be the 'mourning voices' of the dead in Mount Hecla, while the 'fierce fires' of the cave's interior could very well be those of the 'fiery' mountain of Masaya.[88] The dark caves from which none can return are akin to the gateway in Heiropolis, where any who enter are immediately struck down dead. Hobbes even includes a reference to Lake Avernus and its 'craggy throat,' establishing a clear and very deliberate contrast between the parody portal and the real.[89]

The framework is identical to accounts of portals encountered through travel. The same classical archetypes are employed, the same imagery recurs and the same linguistic conceits are used alongside tropes such as the descent into hell and the demons thronging about their furnaces. The hell Hobbes offers is the same mingling of classical and Christian, too. The question is, then, why are those accounts filled with wonder, and this one a curiosity? Gone is any real sense of wonder, and instead we are left with what is perhaps the archetypal curiosity. The caves represent a mystery, but they are also interesting and entertaining without posing any threat. Visitors can interact with them, explore them, throw stones into the caves but there is no real mystery. The caves do not exist on the boundaries of knowledge, they are not dangerous: they are in fact the quintessential curiosity. So little wonder is associated with this cave that the locals even frivolously call it 'the devil's arse.'[90] Clearly, a domesticated portal holds no fear.

References to portals in England are scant indeed, with very few existing either in travel accounts or drama. This in itself is indicative of how travel was a vital component to conceptions of the portal. A gateway had to exist far away, on that border between knowing

85 Hobbes, p,10.

86 Samuel L. Mintz, *The Hunting of Leviathan: Seventeenth Century Reactions to the Materialism and Moral Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) p.15.

87 Virgil, VI.124.

88 Hobbes, p.10. and Hakluyt p.540.

89 Hobbes, p.11.

90 John Macky, *A Journey Through England: In Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here, to his Friend Abroad Volume II* (London: J. Hooke, 1722) p.197.

and unknowing. None of the isolated examples are treated with any kind of seriousness or credulity either. St. Patrick's Purgatory, a cave in Ireland, is one such example. Thomas Middleton referenced the gateway in his play *Anything for a Quiet Life*, a city comedy produced in 1621, when Young Cressingham exclaims in mocking tones 'Purgatory!' but the reference is passing, granted no real significance and lacking context even within the play itself.[91] The idea of this particular cave as a gateway was fairly prevalent into the seventeenth century. It was referenced as late as 1685, when it was included on a list of 'pleasant' and 'memorable matters.'[92] The treatment is hardly serious. The play is a comedy, the list is collected to inform readers of 'pleasant' matters which may amuse them. This is a curiosity rather than a wonder. Other examples including Dunmore Cave in Ireland and Hell's Lum in Scotland. They are both considered a type of joke, a light hearted tourist attraction. Compared to the likes of Hecla, Etna and Avernus, the supposed portals are pale imitations, and deliberately so.

It is only the serious gateways which are deemed worthy of further study. No records exist of a traveller attempting to analyse the inner workings of St. Patrick's Purgatory or delve deeper into the Derbyshire caves. The fact that these accounts are so few and far between only serves to highlight how a sense of the far away was required to establish the portal as a serious affair, and as soon as travel is introduced, all the contradictions and problems with the portal become apparent. As we discussed in the first chapters, the wonder into curiosity process was about control, and there is no greater loss of control than being in an unfamiliar place, and no greater control than being in a familiar one. In this way, portals abroad could retain their wonder, but portals at home, where control was greater, could only exist as curiosities. This is an important point, and one which is useful in conceptualising how curiosities differed from wonders as a whole. It shows once again the importance of bringing the wondrous home, of collecting it, recording it and studying it. Portals to the afterlife when encountered abroad were invested with a much greater sense of wonder than those at home, in a similar manner to how objects returned to the homeland lost their sense of wonder entirely. The safety of the homeland, coupled with the greater sense of knowledge and familiarity that being in a known territory brings, diminishes wonder.

The portal is useful for our discussion of wonder and curiosity as it can present the multi-faceted image of hell without having to reconcile any of the differences. It is in this way very similar to a *Kunstkammer,* somewhere where different beliefs can be stored and examined in unison. The problem of hell, as a physically real place which philosophers and cartographers thought could be mapped, but also a place which was, by default, unknowable, is a problem of travel and travel writing. How does one record somewhere which ought to be beyond all knowing? How does one collect that knowledge and return it home? The fact that travellers were able to record, that they did collect and study information on the portals, acted to strip away the sense of wonder. The transition is perhaps most clearly stressed in the comparison of Martire and Hakluyt, the one filled with wonder, the other a more careful analysis, a revisiting and revising of old information. And then after Hakluyt came Purchas, and an account of Hecla which took it as a given that no reader would *really* consider the mountain a gateway to the afterlife. Still, though, Purchas offered curious and interesting tales, and that is the crux of the wonder to curiosity transition. The collection of knowledge and the studying of that knowledge undermines wonder, and what is left in its place is curiosity. This is how travel

91 Thomas Middleton, *Anything for a Quiet Life* (1627) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 30th October 2014, p.19.

92 R.B, *The English Empire in America* (1685) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed October 14th 2014, p.109.

reconciled the problem of the geographically locatable and the ultimate beyond, a 'place beyond all places.'[93]

Hell was linked to the ultimate source of wonder, the Divine, but portals allowed writers to study that final beyond, and this is important. Equally important, as we will examine later in this thesis, is what such studies meant for curiosity, and how it might become something useful. Portals could serve a useful purpose, as we saw with those put on stage designed to serve a moral end, and this hints at the potential usefulness of curiosity as a knowledge structure, something which we will consider in much more detail later on. The next chapter will consider a far more straightforward wonder to curiosity transition in the form of medicine and supposed wonder cures encountered through travel. These medicines were collected, returned home, studied and transformed from wonderful remedies into curiosities.

93 Michel Foucalt, *Of Other Places: Utopias and Heterotopias* trans. by Jay Miskowiec in 'Des Espace Autres' October 1984, p.3. See also Tobin Siebers, *Heterotopia: Postmodern Utopia and the Body Politic* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1994) for further reading on Heterotopias and the boundary between the physically locatable and the place beyond all places.

Chapter Five - Medicine, Travel and Collection.

Section One - Paracelsus, Collection and the Cataloging of Medicine.

In his 1596 *A Hundred and Fourteen Experiments*, Paracelsus expresses not only an urge to learn through 'long travel,' but also to collect.[1] Collection goes hand in hand with travel. It is also part and parcel of learning, and Paracelsus duly outlines a desire to learn 'of every living plant and other living things very diverse, and sundry substances.'[2] It's a wide-ranging impulse; an all-encompassing urge to travel and accumulate knowledge. This is the methodology of a collector. The importance of Paracelsus for early modern physicians cannot be underestimated. Shackelford refers to his 'well established place in the history of medicine,' while Crone describes his influence on Renaissance practices too. Paracelsus was certainly not the only doctor who saw travel as a way to collect knowledge.[3] Writing in the sixteenth century, Leonardo Fioravanti explained 'I continually do travel in practise, have found rare things, as I will set forth to the world hereafter.'[4] What follows is a compendium of illnesses, remedies, surgeries and practices on almost every conceivable topic, divided into three books. Fioravanti's work was eventually published in 1651 in the same collected edition as Paracelsus, which also contained several other medical treatise from Portu Aquitano and Isaac Hollandus. We have already seen how travel narratives were often edited, compiled and combined. Medical texts underwent a similar process, and often contained information on remedies, practices and beliefs related to healing. Travel and collection go hand in hand. The knowledge gathered through Paracelsus' 'long travel,' is recorded for future reference, where it is later edited and studied.

Even Paracelsus' translators made reference to the role of the collector. The importance of the curator cannot be overstated, especially as the Renaissance period saw huge numbers of ancient medical texts translated into the English language, including those of Galen and Siculus.[5] This collection impulse altered how medicine was perceived, and when combined with travel it meant that cures and practices gathered from around the world could be recorded. Remedies, herbs and medical theories were collected and curated, which deprived them of the often wondrous properties associated with practices encountered abroad. The process is a familiar one. The accounts become objects of curiosity for physicians at home. This chapter will examine how this process operated through case studies of specific regions. It will explore not only how wonders were transformed into curiosities, but how collections also acted as a type of nexus for different cultures, religions and places - somewhere to store all manner of knowledge about foreign locales. The chapter will also examine the implied separation of knowledge structures which was occurring here, and how

1 Paracelsus, *A Hundred and Fourteen Experiments* (1596) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 20th June 2015, p.4.

2 Paracelsus, p.4.

3 Jole Shackelford, *A Philosophical Path for Paracelsian Medicine* (London: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2004) p.455. See also Hugh D. Crone *Paracelsus: The Man Who Defied Medicine* (Cambridge: Alberello Press, 2004) for further reading on the influential nature of Paracelsus during the early modern period, and his effects on the practice of medicine.

4 Leonardo Fioravanti, *Three Exact Pieces of Leonard Phioravant Knight* (1651) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 20th June 2015, p.33.

5 In the preface to the collections of both Paracelsus and Fioravanti, the respective editors make note of the importance of a collector of material. In the preface to *A Hundred and Fourteen Experiments* John Hecter writes that he found it 'necessarie to travel, and to go unto far places, to seek out learning and knowledge,' (p.2) while in *Three Exact Pieces of Leonard Phioravant Knight* the editor writes that he has 'reviewed and revived' (p.1) the works of the physicians. The emphasis is on collecting and curating.

remedies could be practically useful once they were no longer considered wondrous. In this way, the chapter goes some way to answering the question of what happens to the curious once it has been separated from the wonderful. We will discover how the category of the curious might prove useful, something which will be elaborated upon in the final chapter.

We have already discussed Paracelsus in brief, and it is impossible to begin any examination of early modern medicine without a more in depth consideration of him.[6] Paracelsus' achievements and advances in medicine are too great to list in any detail here, but in the context of this chapter it is his methodology and approach to medical knowledge which are important. Paracelsus sought to combine the role of the scholar and the doctor, the man of study and the man of action. This was itself a pertinent topic, and at the heart of humanist critiques of pretentious doctors. Both Erasmus and Petrach wrote on what they considered the grandiose desires of physicians to unite both the scholar and the man of action, the one who studies but also attends the bedsides of the sick.[7] Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke describes a medieval system whereby medicine was divided between two types of physician. On the one hand there was 'the learned scholar' who thought it 'beneath their dignity' to attend the sick, and on the other the 'barber surgeons […] uninformed by theory' but actually visiting the afflicted.[8] In seeking to combine these two roles, Paracelsus and other humanist doctors were in effect also unifying the act of collecting and applying knowledge with the act of storing and studying that knowledge. Their methods unified collection and application.

This is a impulse manifest in most of Paracelsus' work. His *Hundred and Fourteen Experiments* consists of many references to individual case studies and patients.[9] These case studies are compiled and placed side by side in what becomes an encyclopaedia of medical knowledge, similar in structure to those literary collections of curiosity which we explored earlier. Paracelsus' experiences with patients suffering from small pox are placed alongside those of patients afflicted with the liver, or with excess bile. The work even opens with a table of contents listing the disparate medical cases contained within. It is small wonder that Phillius Hermanus writes in his preface that, rather than editing the work, he 'compiled' it.[10] The book represents, perhaps more than anything else, a desire to collect knowledge.

These case studies would later be essential to the way that medicine was recorded through travel. Individual examples were collected from around the world, examples such as Daniel Lakin's *A Miraculous Cure of the Prussian Swallow-Knife* (1642), which is very similar in structure to the

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6 The importance of Paracelsus is almost universally stressed. Andrew Weeks gives a good account of how influential Paracelsus was during the Renaissance as one who sought to 'challenge medieval authority' on medicine in *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Modern Reformation* (New York: Suny Press, 2001) p.185. Amanda Richards, *The Influence of Paracelsus on Early Modern Medicine* (South Dakota: University of South Dakota Press, 2001) also gives an online of how Paracelsus influenced changes in how medicine was studied, administered and even perceived in the early modern period, and helped to distance the practice from the medieval period.

7 For further reading on Petrach's various critiques of physicians, see Nancy G. Siraisi *Medicine and the Italian Universities: 1250-1600* (Leiden: BRILL Press, 2001) and for a similar reading on the 'continuous interest in physicians and their craft' displayed by Erasmus, see Jan Sperna Weiland, Willem Th. M. Frijhoff (Leiden: BRILL Archives, 1988) p.133.

8 Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Paracelsus* (Atlanta: North Atlantic Books, 1999) p.16. See also Faith Wallis, *Medieval Medicine* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2010) for further reading on the differences between a university educated doctor and those who were not, as well as how 'those who did not attend universities could still be recognised as physicians' (p.361). Lynne Elliot also offers a good overview of the different ways that medicine could be practised during the Medieval period in *Medieval Medicine and the Plague* (New York: Crabtree Press, 2006).

9 The instances are too great in number to record in detail, but Paracelsus makes reference to a patient who had 'many open holes, very red,' (p.7), one patient who was cured of 'the pocks' through the application of 'quick silver' (p.10) and another who was cured simply by washing, a case which Paracelsus uses to emphasis how washing is a 'very subtle and forcible manner of curing' (p.12).

10 Paracelsus, p.1.

work of Paracelsus.[11] This collection of knowledge was only really possible because of Paracelsus' methodology and the fusion of the scholar doctor, one who would record information while simultaneously venturing out to uncover new knowledge. The doctor scholar divide was not the only one that Paracelsus bridged, either. He also 'built a bridge between magic and science' and even existed as a type of meeting point between Catholic and Reformation scholars.[12] Pagel notes that 'though a catholic,' Paracelsus 'was known for his long record of friendship with progressive scholars and Reformation figures.'[13] Paracelsus was a meeting point between several different strands of thought. Even the image of him as a progressive force eager to banish medievalism from Renaissance medicine is not entirely straightforward. Andrew Weeks writes extensively about Paracelsus' 'progressive insight,' but Williams paints a picture of a man with a 'belief in the reality of elemental spirits such as nymphs and mountain spirits.'[14] Perhaps the most important thing to note for the purposes of this chapter is Paracelsus' desire for a 'unified medical science.'[15] Paracelsus, like his medical texts, incorporated a large number of different practices, schools of thought and debate without negating any. He was a man of contradictions but a collector of beliefs, case studies and practices: a person of action as well study.

This idea of a researcher who is also a practitioner will prove especially important when this chapter moves on to discuss the role of the physician in travel, but even at home it is representative of an urge to collect. Medieval medicine had been largely based on the works of ancient writers. Taavitsainen lists specifically 'Galen, Hippocratus and other ancient writers,' but the list was far longer.[16] Parts of Galen's work were included in medicinal collections by Francisco Arcaeus in 1588, which boasted of using certain sections 'never before set forth in the English tongue,' while George Baker in 1574 and Nicholas Culpepper in 1654 also used parts of Galen's writing.[17] Far larger collections of entirely Galen's work were translated, printed and disseminated in 1521, 1522, 1566, 1586 and almost continually over the course of the following decades. The same is true of Hippocrates, who was translated and printed extensively, and also Diodorus Siculus. Taavitsaeinen notes that during the Renaissance that reliance on ancient writers was gradually supplanted by 'first-

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11 Daniel Lakin, *A Miraculous Cure of the Prussian Swallow-Knife* (1642) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed June 23rd 2015.

12 Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2002) p.8.

13 Walter Pagel, *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine* (London: Karger Medical and Scientific Publishers, 1982) p.20.

14 Andrew Weeks, *Paracelsus: Speculative Theory and the Crisis of the Early Modern Reformation* (New York: SUNY Press, 1997) p.29 and Gerhild Scholz Williams, *Paracelsian Moments: Science, Medicine & Astrology in Early Modern Europe* (Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2002) p.15. These books are useful indicators of the confused and often contradictory assessments of Paracelsus, as is H.C Erik Midelfort, *A History of Madness in Sixteenth Century Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), which examines the deeply Christian way in which Paracelsus operated. The works show that he was not entirely a progressive figure, but nor was he bound by older practices. Many other influences contributed to Paracelsus, and while there is no coherent picture of him, it is important to note that he dismissed nothing, and was a figure concerned with the collection of all types of knowledge.

15 Goodrick-Clarke, p.16.

16 Irma Taavitsainen, *Medical Writing in Early Modern English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p.163. See also Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Textual Healing: Essays on Medieval and Early Modern Medicine* (Leiden: BRLL Publishing, 2005) for further reading on the 'struggles' between ancient knowledge and new observations (p.182).

17 Franciscus Arcaeus (1588) *A Most Excellent and Compendius Method of Curing Wounds in the Head* in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 31st June 2015, p.1 and George Baker (1574) *The Composition or Making of the Most Excellent and Precious Oil Called Oleum Magistrale* in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 31st June 2015.

person observation,' which goes some way to explain why Paracelsus not only saw patients personally, but recorded case studies in his works.[18]

This type of first-hand experience, and the subsequent collection and curation of that experience, was increasingly important, but despite this, the translation of older texts continued. There is no straightforward trade off between old knowledge and new, rather the two blend seamlessly into each other. They are collected in unison. Just as Paracelsus embodied a number of contradictions and seemingly opposing beliefs, medical texts increasingly did the same. Translations of ancient writers were often included in editions alongside modern ones. George Baker's 1574 *Composition on Making the Most Excellent and Precious Oil,* a work about producing a certain type of medicine, was included in 'the third book of Galen on curing of pricks and wounds of sinews.'[19] Not all of Galen is used, only the part which is pertinent to the rest of the work. The collecting is selective. Nicholas Culpepper does the same in his *Pharmacopeia Londinensis,* and the same process occurred with Hippocrates. In 1584 Thomas Cogan printed his *Haven of Health,* which examined medical matters of the period with the aim of assisting 'students,' but he also included tracts from Hippocrates, which he used to 'amplify' current practices.[20] A far wider ranging compendium of medicine collected by Pope John XXI contained various parts of the writings of 'Hippocrates, Galen and Avicen.'[21] Full works are not included, rather these books were patch works consisting of modern observations alongside far older, translated texts. The emphasis is on collection, and hand-picked sections of ancient texts are included in this process. Medical compendia allowed the ancient to exist alongside the modern, and translations alongside first-hand accounts.[22]

For Paracelsus though, there was always a reluctance over received knowledge. Instead, he advocated, as Crone suggests, a 'shift from received knowledge,' and placed far greater emphasis on those first-hand accounts previously discussed.[23] Pagel even describes Paracelsus' stance as a 'revolt against Galen,' such was his eagerness to rely only on modern experimentalism.[24] Howard and Pettigrew go as far as casting Paracelsus and Galen as rival medicinal authorities, the one associated with received knowledge, the other modern and experimental. If Galen was 'the leading classical authority' then Paracelsus was his 'modern rival.'[25] Collection is important here, as it

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18 Taavitsainen, p.163.

19 George Baker, *The Composition of Making of the Most Excellent and Precious Oil* in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com? Accessed 29th June 2015.

20 Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (1584) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo,chadwyk.com> Accessed 29th June 2015, p.1.

21 Pope John XXI, *The Treasury of Health* (1558) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 29th June 2015, p.1.

22 Tania Demetriou, *The Culture of Translation in Early Modern England and France, 1500-1660* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2015) offers more detail about the nature of translation in the early modern period, and how it was bound up with the collection of ancient texts. The book makes special reference to Jacques Amyot, who translated 'Books 11-17 of Diodorus Siculus' *Library* (1554),' as well as a number of other ancient writers (p.2). D.R Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) also offers further explanation of how the impulse of many early modern English collectors was 'collecting the oldest texts available' (p.162).

23 Hugh D. Crone, *Paracelsus: The Man who Defied Medicine: His Real Contribution to Medicine* (Cambridge: Albarello Press, 2004), p.3. Crone also goes on to note the opposing view, the one held by Paracelsus, that rather than relying on received knowledge one ought instead to focus on so called 'found knowledge,' which is 'acquired by the processes of observation, experiment and deduction' (p.4). A.E. Waite stresses a similar point in *The Alchemical Knowledge of Paracelsus* (London: A.E Waite Press, 2015), noting the experimental nature of Paracelsus' search for knowledge.

24 Pagel, p.301.

25 Todd Howard and James Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic: Medical Knowledge on the Early Modern Stage* (Delaware: Delaware University Press, 2007) p.55.

allows old and new to exist side by side. It also makes room for two entirely different knowledge types. This idea of collection as a way of uniting previously opposed schools of thought both old and new is important in understanding how collections of material gathered through travel functioned, as well as how wonder could be transformed into curiosity. This clash of old and new knowledge was of course part of the wider battle of the books, the endpoint of the wonder-curiosity transformation.

Medicine in general was not an isolated field of study. It was often something which practitioners pursued alongside other interests. Nancy G. Siraisi references one particularly telling example:

> The many physicians who turned to biography did not confine themselves to writing medical lives. Giovanni Garzoni (ca. 1428-1505), a medical practitioner and, for almost forty years, a professor of medicine at the University of Bologna, appears to have devoted most of his time to reworking Jacopo da Voragine's *Lives of the Saints* according to the canons of humanist rhetoric.[26]

Medicine was bound up with the wider ideals of humanism. There were links to Neoplatonism, too, and these will prove to be especially useful in a discussion of Chinese medicine later in this chapter. Medicine was a patchwork. Medical practitioners did not operate in the field of medicine alone, and nor were their practices associated entirely with what modern day thinkers would call rational or scientific theory based on empirical evidence. A particularly telling example of the blurred lines between the medical and the supernatural is the example of curative fountains. Alexander Walsham writes an excellent account of the fate of these fountains during the Reformation, which shows just how ill-defined the boundary between the miraculous and the medical could be. Fountains once thought to work miraculous cures were suddenly frowned upon and even outlawed after the Reformation. The backlash was extreme enough that 'a large number of pilgrims were arrested' on their way to one such fountain in 1593.[27] These fountains were eventually transformed in the public consciousness - after the Reformation they were labelled not as miraculous but simply curative. The effect was the same, only the language had apparently altered. In the changing of a single word, the wondrous had become the merely curious, the Divine simply an earthly process. Such is the power of language for wonder and curiosity.

Walsham introduces another intriguing angle to the recording and operation of medicine. During the medieval period, medicine had been intrinsically linked to the Divine. A Church proclamation even attempted to take possession of curative miracles by stating that something could not be declared thus without 'the bishop's permission.'[28] Walsham draws clear delineation between the medieval Church and miracles, and the subsequent Reformation with its focus on cures, even though the change was only a linguistic one. Despite this shift in emphasis, religion and medicine remained deeply entangled, and Paracelsus was perhaps the best embodiment of this link:

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26 Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2007) p.108. Siraisi also goes on to note that Galen, himself translated extensively, wrote accounts which were concerned with far more than just medicine, and actually contained 'his own experiences, books, enemies and triumphs, and his influence on autobiographical and autobibliographical writing extended beyond medicine' (p.108). In this way the practice of recording the medicinal was always bound up with other information, it was always part of a wider urge to collect.

27 Alexander Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p.105. See also Bridget Heal and Ole Peter Grell, *The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy and People* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) for further reading on the fate of 'holy wells' (p.210) and other curative waters after The Reformation.

28 Walsham, p.38.

> Paracelsus also believed that Christ's miracles, including the healing of diseases, implied knowledge of the powers of the firmament. Therefore in order to fulfil Christ's invocation to care for the needy and the sick it was necessary to recognise the primacy of the power of the firmament.[29]

In this way the religious side of medicine led Paracelsus to further study of the firmament. The accounts of Christ's healing in the Bible become the basis for healing during the Renaissance, and Paracelsus even wrote in *His Archidoxis* that 'the mysteries of nature […] have no other foundation or ground thereof then what is manifested unto us by Christ himself.'[30]

We can see quite plainly that medicine in the early modern period was not a straightforward or coherent image. It was a disordered collection combining many different types of study and belief. Perhaps this is why collection was so vital, and so intrinsically linked to the physician. A collection could be all-inclusive and thus incorporate everything that medicine included. The importance of the collecting impulse was manifest in the collection of cures, of medical accounts and ancient medical texts which could be combined with the eye witness accounts of contemporary physicians. The medicinal copia continued to swell. It is important to note, too, that collection often demanded a specific type of knowledge, something which would prove vital when the element of travel was introduced alongside the medicinal. Leah Knight notes that during the Renaissance period the emphasis of the collector lay with the exotic. She writes that a collector often 'exhibits a preference to describe in detail only the most rare and marvellous.'[31] This obviously influenced which particular cases were referenced in medical narratives, but it also likely influenced what was sought out in the first place. A study of medicinal accounts gathered through travel reveals how medicine was developed, collected and studied, and how these processes helped remove any of the wondrous connotations associated with cures and remedies, transforming them instead into curiosities. Medicinal remedies fell under human influence and control no matter how wondrous they seemed to be, and this paved the way for them to be reclassified as curiosities. This chapter will also argue that medicinal accounts unified disparate cultures, geographies and peoples through the lens of collection. Over the course of the rest of the chapter we will consider how all of this contributed to the wonder into curiosity transition.

Section Two - Remedies and Medicines in Africa and the East.

When José de Acosta recorded his visits to the Indies in *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies,* he wrote extensively on the various medicines and remedies that he encountered. Early on in his description he writes that in the country 'all plants are medicinal when they are well known and applied,' and this acts as a prelude to a study which will involve not only the listing and categorising of medicines, but also their effects, their origins and how they might be exported to Europe.[32] He devotes an entire section of his work to remedies, but it is interesting to note where the emphasis seems to lie. Acosta entitles this chapter 'of Amber, and other Oyles, Gums and Drugs, which they bring from the Indies.'[33] The emphasis is not on the remedies for their own sake, but on

29 Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, *Medicine and the Reformation* (New York: Routledge, 2013) p.61.

30 Paracelsus, *Paracelsus, his Archidioxis* in 'Early Modern Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 2nd July 2015, p.7.

31 Leah Knight, *Of Books and Botany in Early Modern England: Sixteenth-Century Plants and Print Culture* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2009) p.90.

32 Jose de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1604) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 3rd July 2015, p.285.

33 Acosta, p.288.

whether they can be brought back from the Indies, whether they can be returned home, collected and perhaps then used as remedies. His accounts include not only the medicines themselves, but how they are applied and their specific effects: how they might be useful to the Europeans. For example, he describes how Vicugnes, a type of sheep, are used medicinally. Suffering with a pain in the eyes, Acosta relates the following occurrence:

> Being troubled with this pain, and out of patience, there came an Indian woman which said to me, Father, lay this to thine eyes and thou shalt be cured, it was a piece of the flesh of the Vicugnes newly killed and all bloody. I used this medicine, and presently the pain ceased, and soon after went quite away.[34]

The work was published in 1604 but written some time earlier, in the mid sixteenth century. This is an early attempt to record a certain remedy encountered abroad, and examine how effective it is. In the same way, Leo Africanus showed tremendous interest in the practice of medicine in Africa. He wrote that the people 'have knowledge of medicinal herbs and deadly poisons,' before going on to reference more specific examples including the fact that 'the flesh of a tortoise […] is said to be the perfect medicine against the leprosy.'[35] Similarly, on a voyage to China, Alvaro Semedo recounts a certain medicine derived from a root which is so effective that it has adopted almost supernatural qualities, as it greatly 'augments their strength and vigour.'[36] This collection of remedies was not just a literary pursuit, either. Botanists began to physically accumulate medicinal herbs for collection and study. The plant collections of the Tradescants and Monardes are especially indicative of this process, as they amassed large collections of herbs, many with medicinal properties, from around the world. This section and the following one will discuss how medicinal remedies were encountered, collected and studied, and how this process affected them. It will pay special attention to travel in Africa and the East, and then the collections of specific botanists like the Tradescants. Many of these medical remedies, when encountered abroad, were considered wondrous or miraculous. They were thought to be capable of working cures far beyond the scope of the natural. How such remedies were treated, and what effect collection had on them, is illustrative of how the wondrous could be brought under human influence, incorporated into existing structures of knowledge, given language and transformed into the curious.

Before examining how medicinal remedies were encountered through travel, it is important to note that the study of medicine was already bound up with traveling to a certain degree. The type of travel which a physician would sometimes undertake was linked less to the gathering of specific remedies such as herbs, but more towards the pursuit of new practices and new knowledge in general. Furdell notes that 'foreign travel, sometimes spurred by religious exile, exposed English medical students to empiricism at iconoclastic continental academies.'[37] The knowledge gathered at these academies was then dispersed through further travel, as physicians 'carried these ideas back with them when they returned home.'[38] Knowledge was part of an ever increasing transit across Europe. There are numerous examples of what Burke terms 'the transfer of medical knowledge' across borders, and over the course of the early modern period the numbers of English students choosing to study abroad before returning home actually increased steadily, peaking between 1661 and 1668.[39] This indicates not only an urge to travel and gain medical knowledge, but also that the urge was growing. Travel was an increasingly viable path to knowledge.

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34 Acosta, p.318.

35 Leo Africanus, *A Geographical History of Africa* (1600) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 1st July 2015, p.38 and p.345.

36 Alvaro Semedo, *The History of That Great and Renowned Monarchy of China* (1655) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 1st July 2015, p21.

It is perhaps inevitable, then, that all travel, regardless of its main purpose, became entwined with medicinal research. It is difficult to find any travel narrative in the early modern period that does not make some reference to medicine in the visited countries, be it cures, types of surgery or even how the infrastructure of treatment was set up. Lists of medicinal herbs are very common, as are accounts of surgeries performed and even of how doctors were paid, how they operated and how their operation differed from European practitioners. It was often the case that these accounts tied some type of wonder to the cures they recorded, and even those which were not regarded as outright miraculous were nonetheless imbued with certain supernatural properties. A particularly telling example of this exists in Acosta's *History of the Indies*, when he records a specific type of herb:

> Above all, Balme is with reason esteemed for the excellent smell, but much more for the exquisite effect it hath to cure wounds, and divers other remedies, as experience hath taught in the cure of diseases.[40]

Acosta does not leave his examination of the herb there, though. He embarks upon a lengthy discussion of whether this is the same type of Balme found in Alexandria and Judea, and which was brought to Rome for Emperor Vespasian. He even mentions Pliny, who wrote extensively on the Balme from Judea.[41] By referencing Pliny, Acosta not only taps into a rich history of botanical study, but he traces the history of the plant back to its earliest origins. Acosta is deliberately mentioning a Holy plant, as the Balme of Gilead is mentioned in Genesis, Ezekiel, the Book of Jeremiah and several psalms, as well appearing in hymns and the Torah.[42] There is absolutely no doubt that Acosta was aware of this history. He was, after all, a Jesuit scholar with strong ties to the Catholic Church.[43] It is telling that, while Acosta makes brief reference to all manner of other herbs,

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37 Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002) p.74. Furdell suggests that the Reformation, and religious strife in England, often encouraged this travel, an opinion echoed in *Medicine and Reformation* ed. by Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell (New York: Routledge, 2013). Cunningham and Crell suggest that many physicians 'opted for exile' in 'search of a place where they might be well received' in the new religious climate (p.165). Lindemann ventures even further by describing how travel induced by religious affairs actually had tangible benefits for localities, noting that physicians ousted from 'Catholic areas for Protestant ones was crucial' as 'when in exile they endowed small hospitals and arranged home visiting care,' see Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) p.231. Travel caused by the disruption of the Reformation ensured that medical practices and medical knowledge were already bound up with movement.

38 Furdell, p.231.

39 Allen G. Debus, *Alchemy and Early Modern Chemistry: Papers from Ambix* (Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills Press, 2004) p.6 offers a complete breakdown of the figures. *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) also offers a number of specific case studies of physicians who studied abroad, and how they applied that knowledge at home.

40 Acosta, p.286.

41 Acosta, p.286. For Pliny's explanation of the Balm see Pliny, *The Elder The Natural History of Pliny Volume 3* (Stanford: H.G Bonn, 1855) p.396. Pliny writes that the plant which yields the Balm will only grow in Judea - in the footnotes Bruce notes that this is clearly a reference to the Balm of Gilead, a biblical herb tied up with the Bible, where it is variously mentioned in Genesis, Ezekiel and the Book of Jeremiah.

42 See David L. Jeffrey, *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (London: W. B. Eerdmans, 1992) p.72 for a full account of the biblical history of the herb.

43 See the introduction to *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* ed. by Jane E. Manga and Valter Mignolo (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2002) for further reading on Acosta's connections to the Church. Claudio M. Burgaleta, *Jose de Acosta (1540-1600)* (London: Jesuit Way, 1999) and Gregory J. Shepherd, *An Exposition of Jose de Acosta's History Natural* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002) for more details on these connections, as well as how they influenced his writing and world view.

he does not delve into any particular detail with any of them, and instead chooses to single out the Balme for special attention. He concedes that almost every herb encountered in the Indies is 'medicinal,' and that they are all variously utilised to make 'liquors, oils, gummes and resins,' but it is the Balme which he gives special attention, attributing to it the most 'exquisite' effect, and evoking the Bible at the same time.[44]

Divine connotations are suggested later on in the account too. Acosta writes of the 'BeZaar stone' which is used 'against poison and venomous diseases.'[45] He notes that it is so effective as a treatment that many people 'hold it for […] a miracle.'[46] These are not natural remedies. They are linked to the Divine, and in this way seem to have been granted supernatural efficiency. Perhaps this is linked to Knight's suggestion that the collector, and Acosta is a collector, always seeks out the 'exotic.'[47] Acosta goes on to note that in Peru they attribute all physical illnesses to 'sins which they have committed' and use 'sacrifices' to drive those sicknesses away.[48] He entwines religion with cures, writing that in Peru the 'Lord did aid them miraculously' by curing diseases after the locals prayed. There seems little to separate the practice of medicine from the practice of religion.[49] Perhaps this is natural, as Acosta was a Catholic scholar. The religious imperative is clearly stressed, but it is interesting to see how Acosta seems prone towards recording the more outrageous cures, revealing the mentality of the collector. In *Collecting Across Cultures*, Daniel Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall suggest an exchange of objects in the name of collection, but note that there was 'a widespread habit of collecting exotic artefacts.'[50] Bleichmar and Mancall are referencing specifically the *Kunstkammer* as referred to in the second chapter of this thesis, but the point still stands: collectors sought out the most exotic and rarest of items.

This is certainly true in other travel narratives which collect medicinal information, too. Records from China and Africa indicate a similar preoccupation with the exotic and the strange. Writing of a certain medicinal herb grown at court in China, Gonzalez de Mendoza noted that its presence was proof that 'this king was a great sorcerer and enchanter.'[51] Medicine is at once bound up with sorcery and magic. Although not overtly supernatural, another account of China by Cristoforo Borri suggests a type of medicine far more efficient than anything previously encountered. He writes that he fell from a 'very high place' and injured his stomach in such a way that he began 'to spit blood.'[52] Several European remedies were tried but to no avail, until 'a certain herb' of Chinese origin was applied, which led to him being 'perfectly healed.'[53] Borri then tests the efficiency of the remedy elsewhere. He breaks a hen's leg in 'many places,' applies the herb and finds that 'the hen's

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44 Acosta, p.286.

45 Acosta, 324.

46 Acosta, 324.

47 Knight, p.90.

48 Acosta, p.398.

49 Acosta, p.581.

50 Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall, *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011) p.38. The same point is stressed again by Marjorie Swann in *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), who notes an urge for collectors to find 'exotic specimens' (p.38).

51 Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China* (1588) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th July 2015. p.99. See Xiping Zhang, *Follow Ricci to China* (Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2006) p.155 for further reading on Mendoza, as well as his importance as the first European writer to print a full history of China.

52 Cristoforo Borri, *Cochin-China* in 'Early English Books Online' (1633) <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th July 2015, p.27.

53 Borri, p.27.

leg was made whole and entire again.'[54] This is a dramatic effect, but such potent cures are not uncommon in travel narratives of this nature. In fact, Borri was writing with the stated aim of recording 'many admirable rarities and singularities' about China.[55] His focus was plainly on the more effective cures, the most potent or the most wonderful.

Leo Africanus associates supernatural properties with medicines in Africa, too.[56] He notes that 'they have knowledge of many herbs […] which they keep secret unto themselves due to their familiarity with the devil.'[57] This assertion comes very early on in the account, it is in fact the very first mention of medicine of any kind, and rather seems to set the tone for what will follow. Africanus often employs the language of the unusual when describing medicinal cures encountered in Africa. He notes that they have 'one remedy which is very strange,' whereby they drink 'some quantitie' of water extracted from the bowels of dead camels, which is said to yield a medicinal effect.[58] A specific illness and cure are also listed, one which certainly evokes images of the supernatural:

> Near unto the city likewise there is a certain bath of hot water dispersing it self among the rocks: in this bath are great store of snails, which the fond women of the city call Devils: and when any one falls into a fever or any other disease, they suppose the snails to be the authors thereof.[59]

The sickness has a supernatural quality, and the medicine does too. Africanus notes that the accompanying 'remedy' is equally strange, as 'they first kill a white hen,' place it on a platter surrounded by wax candles, carry it back to the pool and leave it there for the patient to collect and take back to their home, which apparently cures them of their ailments.[60] The result is a bizarre cure for a bizarre malady, but also one which is completely unique in terms of culture and geography. The pool is only found in one very specific place in the world, as are the snails and the cure. This particular remedy is the ultimate rarity. It is the culmination of the collector's urge to find the most exotic records possible.[61] It is certainly wonderful as there is no suggestion of how it could work, and in a way it is completely useless. There is no suggestion that this medical knowledge could ever be applicable anywhere else in the world. This is not a remedy which can be brought home for further study. Collection was undoubtedly concerned with useful objects and knowledge, but sometimes it was preoccupied with phenomena that were simply strange and apparently wondrous.

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54 Borri, p.27.

55 Borri, p.1.

56 Africanus is an interesting figure as a travel writer. Massari, Orsitto and Spani note that his 'impartiality' was due to his need to appeal to both a Muslim and Christian audience in *Italy, the Mediterranean…And Beyond* (Rome: Case delle Letterature, 2013) p152. For further reading on Africanus see Klaus Koschorke, *A History of Christianity* (Michigan: Wm. B, Eerdmans Publishing, 2007) p139 and Pekka Masonen, *Leo Africanus: The Man With Many Faces* (Munich: GRIN Publishing, 2014). Natalie Zemon Davis also offers an in depth study of Africanus, most notably how his presence was itself considered a curiosity in the Papal court in Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: In Search of Leo Africanus, A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Man Between Worlds* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010).

57 Leo Africanus, *A Geographical History of Africa* (1600) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> p.38.

58 Africanus, p.33.

59 Africanus, p.240.

60 Africanus, p.240.

61 Angela Vanhaelen stresses how the collection of 'rare' objects was often the preoccupation of travellers, sometimes their driving impulse, in *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Geography, Performance, Privacy* (New York: Routledge, 2013) p.133.

Collected items can sometimes exist on their own merits. Africanus goes on to write that in Angola there are physicians who have 'great knowledge' of herbs and medicines. Apparently these physicians are also priests who the people believe 'have in their power […] life and death.'[62] Medicine and religion are inseparable, and so too are the natural and the supernatural. The wonderful exists at every turn.

Perhaps this is linked to something else expressed in the travel narratives. There is an ongoing sense that foreign countries represent a vast, perhaps even complete set of cures which, if they could only be discovered and classified properly, would be able to remedy nearly every disease:

> There be through out all the whole kingdom many herbes that are medicinal […] in such sort that almost there is no infirmity but they have a remedy for the same, and do minister it, by reason whereof they do live very healthful and do sicken very seldom.[63]

This is in no way unique to China, but an opinion which seems to prevail in every single travel narrative of these regions. Acosta suggests that 'all plants' in the Indies are medicinal if they are applied properly. Africanus even goes as far as claiming that the air in Africa is so healthy that it is a type of remedy in itself, it is so 'wholesome' that many 'were restored to their former health' without the aid of a doctor.'[64] Semedo attributes the fact that medicine is in 'a very good condition in China' to the fact that the Chinese themselves are collectors of medicinal knowledge, noting that 'they have abundance of good ancient books of that art, being all their own authors, for ours are not yet arrived thither.'[65] He goes on to note that even the apothecaries are better stocked than those in his home country. The medicine in China is better because the ancient books are better and more advanced than those in Europe. These books have been kept and stored too: the Chinese were better collectors, and therefore their medicinal knowledge is better too. Borri even ventures as far as suggesting that foreign physicians are a source of wisdom far greater than our own, noting that in China 'many unknown maladies, for which the physicians of Europe have no remedies, have been discovered and cured easily by those of that country.'[66] Chinese medicine is, at least as far as Semedo is concerned, in far better shape than its European counterpart. Acosta summarises the situation:

> Doctor Francis Hernandes has made a goodly work upon this subject of Indian plants, liquors and other physical things, by the King's express commission and commandment, causing all the plants at the Indies to be lively painted, which they say are above a thousand two hundred, and that work […] has made a curious extract, sending to him the aforesaid books, that desires more exactly to know the plants of the Indies, especially for Physic.[67]

This survey of plants in the Indies has been undertaken with medicine in mind, because there was the overwhelming sense that every plant could have a curative property. Acosta even references the

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62 Africanus, p.38.

63 Gonzalez de Mendoza, *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China* (1588) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th July 2015, p.323,

64 Africanus, p.38.

65 Semedo, p.56.

66 Borri, p.26.

67 Acosta, p.289.

fact that these are remedies of which ‘the ancients of Europe have had no knowledge.’[68] There is a definite sense of almost infinite knowledge which could be potentially gathered through travel. The countries are Edenic, representing tremendous opportunity for development.[69] These travel narratives stressed an interesting point. The Renaissance period placed a great deal of emphasis on the translation of ancient texts, but travel offered even more opportunity for knowledge: a knowledge missing from the ancient European texts.

This is why collection was so important. It meant that new knowledge could be gathered, stored and studied. Writers viewed foreign locales as an untapped, nearly limitless source of knowledge and cures, and as such it was especially vital to try and tap into those resources through collection. In this way it is perhaps *necessary* for the cures collected to go beyond the usual, for them either to be more effective or outright supernatural. The collector is suddenly given a position of responsibility. They must extract everything that they can from the limitless well of knowledge. It is interesting to note though, that there were still some lingering fears over collection, and a sense that perhaps removing a medicine from its country might limit its effectiveness. In *Cochin-China,* Borri writes that he took a certain medicine back from China, but after two year’s voyage he found it ‘so altered, that I did not know it for the same.’[70] He goes on to warn that ‘so much do the simples lose of their virtue, by being transported out of those countries into our’s.’[71]

He is not alone in his anxieties. Africanus notes the difficulty of extracting medical knowledge from the locals who, while they ‘have knowledge of medicinal herbs,’ tend to ‘keep them secret unto themselves.’[72] These places may well be areas of untapped potential, but there is the tentative sense that they will not always yield up their secrets easily, either because the medicines themselves are difficult to transport, or the people unwilling to give up their knowledge. Of course, this only contributes to the urgency of the collector, but it also grants the remedies themselves a special type of sanctity. If the mentality of the collector is to seek out exotic rarities, then it certainly would make sense for the accounts to contain wonderful remedies with supernatural connotations, all of which are exceedingly difficult to attain. This is why these accounts offer a mingling of remedies which are obviously supernatural, such as the enchanter king cultivating his magical herb in the palace, and cures so efficient that they are almost miraculous in nature and seem to defy the idea of what is possible. The duty of the collector is to take possession of these remedies so that they may be studied and used, and as previously noted, once possession occurs, wonder is removed.

Despite all this, it is not always the case that the accounts contain only the exotic. Alongside the accounts of Biblical herbs, sacrifices and supernatural enchanters, there are descriptions of far more mundane remedies. Acosta offers one such example of a herb which is a useful cure:

> There is another maner of making this Acua or Chicha, which is to champe the mays, and make a leven thereof, and then boile it; yea

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68 Acosta, p.290.

69 The motif of Eden was a fairly common one in early modern travel writing. Houston notes that ‘from the beginning, early modern travellers employed the garden of Eden as a metaphor for describing the new worlds they encountered’ (p.8) in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2013). Tim Youngs ties journeys and travel in general to Biblical tales of exile in *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) and in *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2011) Holly Dugan links conceptions of Eden in travel writing to the senses. Jyotsna G. Singh notes too the ‘Eden-like’ landscape of newly uncovered lands, and goes into further detail about how companies like the Bermuda Company dealt with encountering Eden in *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion* (London: John Wiley Press, 2013).

70 Cristoforo Borri, *Cochin-China* in ‘Early English Books Online’ (1633) <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th July 2015, p.27.

71 Borri, p.27.

72 Africanus, p.38.

> the Indians holde opinion, that to make good leven, it must bee champed by old withered women, which makes a man sicke to heare, and yet they doe drinke it. The cleanliest manner, the most wholesome, and that which least harmeth, is to roast the Mays, which the most civil Indians doe vse, and some Spaniardes, yea for physicke: For in effect they finde it a very wholesome drinke for the reines, so as you shall hardly finde any one at the Indies complaine of paine in the backe, for that they do drinke of this Chicha.[73]

There is nothing especially wondrous here. The drink simply cures back pain and seems to have been effective. Acosta offers a good description of how it is prepared, but does not imbue the cure with anything resembling supernatural properties. He also includes an account of a certain type of medicine which is 'likewise sweet' and turns into a 'paste' when heated.[74] This remedy is said to have a very perfumed smell and is applied to 'wounds, bruises and other necessities.'[75] There is no hint of anything supernatural here, and nor is there when Acosta discovers that of all the fruits in the Indies, 'none come near these Almonds' for working a curative effect, as a 'learned physician' also affirms.[76] Even tobacco is mentioned as a 'counterpoison,' a herb named the Pgnons of Punua which is an effective remedy when 'well applied,' and the 'roots of Mechoacan.'[77] Acosta suggests that 'the oil of fig trees' found in the Indies is 'no less efficient' than any other well known drugs.[78] There is nothing supernatural, wonderful or miraculous about these remedies, but they are nonetheless included in an account alongside those other more exotic and unusual remedies with far stranger properties. This characterises what Hayden describes as the ongoing conflict in the 'ideals of the early scientists,' whose collections often included 'magical relics, natural wonders and scientific loot,' with nothing to discriminate or separate each field.[79] Collection is, as Swann writes 'a point of convergence for a wide range of cultural forces,' in just the same way that the gateway to the afterlife was in the previous chapter.[80] By collecting and placing things side by side, the wonderful alongside the down to earth, there is a certain levelling effect, and the wondrous is lowered.

These collections all offer a place for the supernatural to exist alongside the natural. There is space for the exotic and the wonderful alongside the more down to earth and everyday. Often there is very little to distinguish between them in terms of sectioning and categorisation: they simply exist as part of a long list of other discoveries relating to medicine. At one moment Africanus is discussing those snails said to bring plagues from the Devil, and then he moves on to note that the

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73 Acosta, p.256.

74 Acosta, p.256.

75 Acosta, p.288.

76 Acosta, p.282.

77 Acosta, p.289.

78 Acosta, p.289. In fact, Acosta suggests that there are likely 'a thousand' such plants which could be put to good medicinal use if only they were studied further.

79 Judy A Hayden, *Travel Narratives and the New Science, and Literary Discourse 1569-1750* (New York: Ashgate, 2013) p.270. Peter G. Platt *Wonders, Marvels and Monsters in Early Modern Culture* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1999) also considers how the wonderful and supernatural were treated in early modern culture, not only by collectors but in political, scientific and philosophical circles. He notes that the supernatural was not exactly a separate field of study, rather it often simply represented 'the limits of rational thought' (p.19.) In this way it makes a degree of sense for wondrous and Divine cures to be included alongside natural ones.

80 Swann, p.16.

'flesh of the tortoise' is said to be an excellent remedy against 'the leprosie.'[81] The lard of the crocodile is similarly 'said to be very medicinal for old and cankered wounds,' and another certain type of herb which 'whereof being drunk, serves them in steed of a purgation.'[82] Duarte's account of the Congo similarly lists all manner of remedies and cures which, though effective, are in no way supernatural. He writes of a specific plant named 'Chicongo, whereof they make a powder of a very sweet smell, and diverse medicines.'[83] It is true in the accounts of China, too. Those same narratives which detailed herbs capable of restoring broken bones, and enchanters who cultivate magical remedies in their gardens also contain far more everyday cures. Mendoza records a type of wood called 'Palo de China' which is used as a medicine, as well as the plant 'Magey,' the leaves of which 'are medicinal,' and Semedo records 'a medicine called Tienyo,' which is created using silver as the base ingredient.[84] Borri even ventures as far as describing how medicine functions on a practical level in China, explaining the entire process from the moment that the physician enters 'the sick person's chamber' to the agreement of a price and eventually, if the sick person recovers within the predicted time frame, the payment.[85] This is a very everyday account of the workings and application of medicine. There is nothing wondrous, supernatural or even particularly mysterious about the application of medicine as described here.[86]

In this way the outright wondrous or miraculous is recorded alongside the everyday and the natural, as though the two fields are not especially different. We arrive again at Hayden's assertion that the supernatural was not a separate school of thought. Instead, it was the natural culmination of the knowledge making process. It was arrived at when scholars eventually reached the boundary of what could be known.[87] We see here, too, a practical manifestation of the methods expressed in the first section of this chapter. We see the scholar doctor, one who actually ventures into the world in search of knowledge, as well as the Renaissance urge to collect. It is important to note that Semedo identifies in the Chinese an impulse similar to that of European scholars. He attributes the success of Chinese medicine to the 'good ancient books' which abound in the country.[88] This might even be

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81 Africanus, p.345.

82 Africanus, p.346 and p.23.

83 Duart Lopes, *A Report of the Kingdom of the Congo* (1597) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 22nd October 2015, p.32. Duart records other remedies along similar lines, including 'the bellies and heads' of a type of snake which are 'good remedies against an ague, and against the trembling of the hart,' (p.92). In fact, Duart eventually concludes that for many maladies the people 'simply do heal and cure themselves with natural plants as grow in their own country' (p.185). There is no suggestion that any of these remedies are supernatural, rather they are simply the products of nature.

84 Mendoza, p.9. and p.320. Semedo, p.18.

85 Borri, p.26.

86 Borri, p.26.

87 There is a huge amount of critical work on the nature of the supernatural in Renaissance models of knowledge. Bladen and Harmes write that all knowledge was underpinned by the supernatural, as 'English Christians accepted the possibility of the Devil's preternatural intervention and were assured of God's supernatural presence' in Victoria Bladen and Marcus Harmes, *Supernatural and Secular Power in Early Modern England* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), p.2. This ensured that there was always an underlying sense of the supernatural: the culmination of all knowledge. Jane P. Davidson, *Early Modern Supernatural: The Dark Side of European Culture, 1400-1700* (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio Press, 2012) describes how the supernatural was in no way a separate field of study, as 'it was logical then that the mindset of careful observation and record was part of the study of the supernatural' (p.10) - it was part of any burgeoning field of study. Timothy J. Reiss, *Knowledge, Discovery and Imagination in Early Modern Europe: The Rise of Aesthetic Rationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Pamela H. Smith, *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects and Texts, 1400-1800* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007) also offer good explanations of how knowledge was constructed in the early modern period, its limits, its boundaries, and where the supernatural fitted in.

88 Semedo, p.56.

part endorsement, part encouragement of the Renaissance trend of translating ancient books. Semedo had been at pains, after all, to draw similarities between China and Christian Europe. He had attempted to accommodate Chinese religion with the European as 'the ancient Chinese had worshiped a Supreme Being akin to the Old Testament God.'[89] He wanted to liken China to Europe, and make Chinese culture more familiar to his European readers. Collection seems to be one way of doing this, as does developing the idea that China represents an untapped reserve of curiosities and useful medicines.

Collection in this way helps to unite cultures, or at least bring them closer together. By employing the European methodology of the collector on Chinese culture, Semedo obviously hoped that those two cultures would be drawn closer. His hopes might have been realised, too, because there was a burgeoning interest in Chinese medicine across the early modern period, and several attempts to fit it into the framework of European knowledge. The most notable of these was by Giulio Alenio, who saw links between Chinese medicine and Neo-Platonism. This act of accommodation, of reconciling one culture with another, perhaps has a little in common with the effect that collection as a general force worked.[90] Through collection Chinese culture became more familiar, less distant and strange. Curiosity remained, but much of the associated wonder fell away over time.

With literary collections of remedies so prevalent, it is only natural that collecting also included physical objects. Botanists who collected herbs from around the world were common indeed over the course of the early modern period. This was in fact an increasing trend. As Herzig points out, the botanist was 'supposed to travel and collect diverse specimens.'[91] The work of the botanist was inextricably bound up with travel. Findlen suggests that 'the museum was collected through travel,' and there is the sense that physical objects, just as much as literary curiosities, were bound up with movement and exploration.[92] The collection of physical objects was especially applicable to botanists, who could combine action and study, old and new knowledge, with the collection and cultivation of plants, especially herbs with medicinal properties. Of these botanists perhaps the most well known were the Tradescants. Leith-Ross describes the two as 'remarkable men who traveled to new or little-known lands in search of botanical treasure,' and it is important to consider their collections in any study of early modern botany.[93] The Tradescants collected all manner of plants, not all of them related specifically to medicine. Another famous botanist and collector of the day, Nicolás Monardes, was much more focussed solely on medicinal collections, and was 'very interested in the natural resources of the New World.'[94] Monardes' collections of remedies demonstrate a clear preoccupation with collection as a way of benefiting society through the application of medicine. The nature of these collections, the way they were organised and the types

89 David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins on Sinology* (Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1989) p.74. Mungello notes that Semedo was determined to accommodate China to Europe, and in this way often tried to find links between the two cultures.

90 See Cho-yun Hsu, *China: A New Cultural History* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2012) for further reading on how Alenio traced direct links between the function of Chinese medicine and its conception of a tiered universe which was interlinked from the lowest to the highest levels. As a Jesuit missionary and scholar, his work can be considered as an obvious and direct attempt to link China more firmly with not only Europe, but Catholicism as a whole.

91 Yaacov Herzig, *Knowledge and Religion in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Honour of Michael Heyd* (London: BRILL Press, 2013) p.54.

92 Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (California: University of California Press, 1996) p.158. See also Theodore Arabatzis, *Relocating the History of Science: Essays in Honor of Kostas Gavroglu* (Boston: Springer Press, 2015) p.92 for how travel became 'the sine qua non of early modern botany.' Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swann, *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, 2007) also offers some good reading on the nature of botany and travel in the early modern period.

93 Prudence Leith-Ross, *The John Tradescants: Gardeners to the Rose and Lily Queen* (London: Peter Owen Press, 2006) p.1.

of medicinal herbs they incorporated, are crucial in understanding how herbal medicines were viewed. and how supposedly supernatural or wondrous remedies were incorporated alongside the natural and thus lowered to that level.

Both Tradescant and Monardes employed an extraordinarily methodical approach to their collections, both of which were transformed into encyclopaedias. Monardes classifies and categorises everything that his collection contains. He includes sections on ‘the gum of caranna,’ its effects and where it may be found, alongside information on ‘the oyle of the fig tree of Hhell.’[95] The entire collection is categorised in this way. Physical objects are gathered and then ordered side by side. The same is true of the much later Tradescant collection, which incorporates other items alongside medicinal cures. The Tradescant herb collection has much more in common with the *Kunstkammer* referenced in the earlier chapter. Included alongside plants and medicines are ‘a dolphin’s head,’ and ‘sword fishes, with several swords.’[96] By 1656, remedies supernatural or otherwise were considered such collectibles that they were incorporated into far wider ranging collections. They became curiosities to such an extent that they became part of the *Kunstkammer*. This is a stark example of how the wondrous could be transformed into the merely curious. If remedies could be physically placed side by side in the same way that objects were in the *Kunstkammer*, then it seems only natural that, with the everyday existing alongside the supernatural, those supernatural remedies are lowered to the level of the curious. Collection works a tremendous levelling effect.

The collection of remedies acts to transform the wondrous into the curious. The fact that miraculous remedies, supernatural herbs and even apparently Divine physicians are included in collections alongside everyday, natural remedies is important. It means that wondrous cures are not viewed in any separate way, and nor are they held up as an entirely separate school of study. The wondrous and the natural are contained side by side. They are both taken possession of, given language and brought under human influence. Perhaps this is due to the contrasting views expressed in the travel narratives. On the one hand there is a clear intention from the likes of Semedo and Alenio to accommodate foreign countries to the European worldview and draw out any similarities possible, but on the other hand those same accounts are keen to stress the Edenic properties of unknown lands: mysterious, often supernatural and filled with a potential far beyond the limited scope of European physicians.

It is a seemingly irreconcilable position, but the act of collecting at least in parts helps to bridge the divide. Collection ensures that places such as China and Africa can remain strange and Edenic in their appeal, but the knowledge encountered can be safely removed, stored and brought into the Renaissance knowledge pool. It can be brought under human control. Collections can serve as a nexus for all types of knowledge, all types of belief and all types of culture, and they do this not because they are a unifying force, but an accommodating one. If an account of a herb grown by enchanters to cure all illnesses is placed alongside an account of how something as everyday as rhubarb can be used to work a curative effect, then the former is normalised to a degree. The wondrous properties are lowered to the level of the rest of the contents. Everything becomes a curiosity, something which is interesting, something which is perhaps worthy of further study, but something which is no longer wondrous. This is the nature of collection with medicinal remedies. It preserves and unites remedies from around the world, but in doing so negates their wondrous properties. They are collected amongst the everyday and the natural, but they are also incorporated

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94 Pamela Smith, *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge Press, 2013) p.177.

95 Nicolás Monardes, *Joyful News out of the Newfound World* (1580) in ‘Early English Books Online’ <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th August 2015, p.7.

96 John Tradescant, *Musaeum Tradescantianum* (1656) in ‘Early English Books Online’ <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 12th August 2015, p.8.

into the Renaissance knowledge pool - something which seems almost incompatible with the wondrous, which ought to be mysterious, alien and by definition beyond the sphere of what is known. Literary collections transform the wondrous into the curious by placing it side by side in these collections. The wonderful is inevitably lowered. Of course, collections of this type also brought wondrous cures under human influence and gave them a language, two of the most important criteria in the wonder to curiosity transition.

Section Three - The Collection of Surgical Records.

It is natural that herbal remedies were subject to this type of collection. They were, after all, physical objects, tangible enough to store, transport and possess. They are perfect candidates for the type of *Kunstkammer* discussed in chapter two, the type which transforms the wondrous into the curious. Surgical practices are a different prospect altogether though. A surgery is almost by definition a transient moment: an operation performed on an individual, case by case basis. Generally speaking, two different types of physician served the populous. There was the so called 'community barber surgeon,' with minimal practical training, and then the town 'physician' who was educated. The result of this situation was that a number of surgeries were performed without the type of training suggestive of a cohesive, universally applied system.[97] As Grimsby states, surgery was, at least at the beginning of the early modern period, 'a general craft, not an industrialised specialisation,' making each operation at least in part a unique occurrence.[98] Surgery was, though, still a subject for collection. Like all medicine, it was part of an ongoing knowledge building process. Lindemann writes of how one military surgeon 'published a massive tome' on the subject, and by 1573 Spanish universities had begun to establish compulsory reading lists and primary texts for students, including one compendium of anatomy entitled *Caseta de Antomia.*[99] This also coincides with what Lindemann considers a redevelopment of surgery over the course of the period, namely the division of the surgeon from the barber surgeon, the establishment of public lectures on surgery, as well as practical demonstrations and a general move towards what she terms more unified 'instructional methods.'[100] Albeit slowly, the emphasis was shifting from a general craft towards direct specialisation.

Obviously, this required the collection of knowledge. Surgeons were increasingly attending universities across Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and accessed their knowledge through text books of collected cases. There were still different levels of surgeon, and the 'lowest barber surgeon overlapped the charlatan,' but at the same time 'the graduate surgeon

97 David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998) p.74. See also Fiona McDonald, *Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow, 1599-1858* (London: A&C Black Publishing, 1999) for further reading on how barber surgeons operated, and also Ann Heinrichs, *The Barber* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2010) for a short overview of the barber's role as a surgeon, and how laws were eventually established to separate the two professions.

98 Byron Lee Grigsby, *Pestilence in Medieval and Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2004) p.50.

99 Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) p.132 and Bjørn Okholm Skaarup, *Anatomy and Anatomists in Early Modern Spain* (New York: Ashgate Publising, 2015) p.143.

100 Lindemann, p.135. Scholz and Gunnoe elaborate further on the increasing importance of the role of the surgeon, too, noting that prior to the early modern period there was a stark divide between the surgeon and the physician, with the physician educated at university but the 'learned surgeon not really learned (i.e university trained).' The early modern period increasingly saw the two roles combined, and eventually an 'anatomically skilled surgeon had sufficient learning to act as a physician.' The combination of the two roles is important - it meant that not only was the surgeon's role elevated, but that the role demanded study, education, and the collection of knowledge. See Gerhild Scholz Williams and Charles D. Gunnoe, *Paracelsian Moments: Science, Medicine & Astrology in Early Modern Europe* (Truman State: Truman State University Press, 2002) p.p 86-87.

[…] overlapped with the physician.'[101] Spanish and Italian universities were particularly open to the education of surgeons. Skaarup describes how in 1559 there was only one chair of anatomy in Italy, but by 1563 'five universities within the Iberian peninsula had established a university chair of anatomy, numerous anatomy books were published and the first permanent anatomical theatre had been built.'[102] The important thing to note is that not only was the education of surgeons in Europe rising sharply, but the collections of surgical knowledge in text books was beginning to play a major part in that education. There was a similar situation developing in Spain, where Philip II:

> institutionalised surgical training for physicians in the universities and granted universities the privilege to offer degrees in surgery to students who completed the royally mandated curriculum and requirements.[103]

Philip also decreed that the established curriculum should include the collected works of Galen, most notably those relating to tumours, broken bones and bone setting.[104] The emphasis is on establishing surgery as a deeply institutionalised practice, and in developing a structure of learning which relied upon the knowledge of previous practitioners, collected and collated in the form of a national curriculum. Despite this, it is not quite accurate to suggest that surgery was easily and seamlessly transformed from an unrestricted and haphazard practice to cohesive one. While universities increasingly began to accept surgeons, and surgery was increasingly the profession of an educated graduate, Skaarup points out that 'surgeons continued to be excluded from university education throughout the Renaissance in much of Europe.'[105] Acceptance was sometimes slow.

Of course, this meant that any surgeon seeking an education was effectively forced into travelling to one of the countries where universities would teach the craft. In this way, just as medicinal knowledge was bound up with travel, so too was surgical learning. A surgeon must travel to amass the appropriate knowledge to perfect their craft. This is not the only cross-over between the practice of medicine and the practice of surgery, though. In much the same way that early modern physicians based their medicinal practices off the written work of their predecessors, which were in a constant state of editing, amendment and updating, so too did surgeons. Knowledge making was bound up with collection: the collection of old and new knowledge. One particularly telling example of the surgeon as the collector and editor of medical knowledge is Andreas Vesalius in the years 1514-1564. O'Malley situates Vesalius against a backdrop where 'antiquity, no matter how dimly comprehended, had already amassed all knowledge.'[106] Vesalius challenged this perception however, and in doing so challenged the whole idea of received knowledge as the most authoritative type. One ancient figure in particular had become the defining word in anatomy, and it was Galen.

His authority was so great, in fact, that not only did doctors believe that his conclusions on anatomy were so accurate that 'it was nearly impossible to improve on his work,' but even 'the Church accepted his beliefs, and put a great deal of effort into defending Galen.'[107] Ancient knowledge, and Galen in particular, had achieved such prominence that received knowledge was considered the only way to study medicine and the body. Vesalius challenged this though, and he did so by relying instead upon first-hand knowledge. Stuever and Pender term his methods 'observation […] and direct experience,' and even venture as far as calling his work 'rational,

101 Gentilecore, p.78.

102 Skaarup, p.18.

103 Dr Michele L. Clouse, *Medicine, Government and Public Health in Philip II's Spain: Shared Interests, Competing Authorities* (New York: Ashgate, 2013) p.99.

104 Clouse, p.66.

105 Skaarup, p.18.

106 O'Malley, p.10.

verifiable, in a word, scientific medicine.'[108] To all intents and purposes Vesalius was a collector. In this case a collector of first-hand experiences and accounts which could be recorded, studied and used to inform future practices.

This also led to another important process which will be vital in understanding how surgical practices encountered through travel writing were considered. O'Malley writes of how Vesalius was pivotal in forcing a move towards experimentalism. His role in the development of surgical knowledge was similar in this respect to how Paracelsus affected medicine. By highlighting Galen's errors, Vesalius paved the way for a different type of study:

> From time to time others had pointed to Galenic errors, but hitherto no one had proposed a consistent policy of doubting the authority of Galen or of any other recognised authority until the the only true source of anatomical knowledge had been tested.[109]

In his *On the Fabric of the Human Body*, Vesalius writes extensively on Galen, but he is very keen to correct any errors which he has discovered in the texts. One such example is 'the fifth fibre or lobe of the lung' which Galen recorded as being 'a hollow vein.'[110] Vesalius refutes this completely in an especially telling section of the work:

> This person will ask what has happened to the fifth fibre or lobe of the lung, by which (according to Galen) the hollow vein is supported in the space between the sputum and the wrapping of the heart. Since Galen had found this lobe in apes, he unfairly accused the other experts in dissection of being careless and overlooking it, but Galen himself would have failed to find it if he had undertaken the dissection of human cadavers instead of simian.[111]

The criticism is important. Vesalius critiques Galen not only for the inaccuracy but for his mode of study. The suggestion is that if Galen had relied on the practical, first-hand knowledge of human cadavers instead of simian he would have reached the correct conclusion. The criticism reveals a shift in emphasis from received knowledge to precise and keen experimentalism. Not only is it no longer suitable simply to depend on the received knowledge of Galen, but knowledge itself must be gained and tested through activity and experimentation. The emphasis is suddenly on the practical.

107 *Andreas Vesalius and the Challenge to Galen* in 'St John's College University Online' <http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/andreas-vesalius-and-challenge-galen> Accessed 21st August 2015. See also Mark Jackson, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) which describes in further detail the 'ubiquitous presence of Hippocrates and Galen' in early modern thought' (p.71) and the prevailing belief that Galen had already 'observed perfectly the body and described it' to such an extent that no further work needed to be undertaken (p.175). Nancy S. Stuever and Dr Stephen Pender, *Rhetoric and Medicine in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2012) also offers a good description of the importance of Galen in matters of anatomy and surgery.

108 Steuver and Pender, p.35.

109 Charles Donal O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, 1514-1564* (California: University of California Press, 1964) p.183. Andreas Vesalius, Daniel H. Garrison and Malcolm Howard, *The Fabric of the Human Body: An Annotated Translation* (Basel: Karger Press, 2013) offers an excellent translation and explanation of Vesalius' seminal work, and J.B Saunders and Charles O'Malley, *The Illustrations from the Works of Andreas Vesalius of Brussels* (Dover: Dover Press, 2013) also gives an excellent insight into how Vesalius studies and constructed knowledge of the anatomy.

110 Andreas Vesalius, *On the Fabric of the Human Body* (1533)in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo,chadwyk.com> Accessed 26th August 2015, p.31.

111 Andreas Vesalius, *On Fabric of the Human Body* (Norman Publishing, 1998) p.58.

Knowledge must be actively collected. The influence of Vesalius cannot be under estimated, especially when situated amongst the wider trends of humanism described earlier in this chapter. It is clear, then, that the nature of surgery in the early modern period was complex, trapped somewhere between institutionalised and general craft, physician and charlatan, traveller, practitioner and even collector.

It is hardly surprising, then, that when travellers ventured into foreign countries, they showed a certain preoccupation with surgical techniques, and seemed determined to collect them in the same way that Vesalius collected his own, first-hand experiences of anatomy and dissection. How these accounts were treated reveals attitudes towards new surgical practices and, in much the same way as medicinal remedies, demonstrates how the often wondrous cures encountered abroad were slowly transformed into curiosities through the act of meticulous collection and further study. Surgery was, after all, still an object of fascination for travellers who were only moving between other European countries, as is evidenced by the fact that Thomas Platter the Younger recorded 'the undeveloped state of Iberian surgery.'[112] This fascination increased with wider ranging travel, as it became increasingly common for writers to describe the nature of surgery in a country as a matter of course in their overview. Writers such as Giles Fletcher noted that in Russia 'they also had their physicians, surgeons and apothecaries,' for example.[113] Surgery was an important part of a standard travel narrative, and surgical accounts were often similar in tone to accounts of medicinal remedies, with the outright supernatural blended seamlessly with the natural and the pragmatic.

Many of the accounts seem to deliberately seek out the rarest types of surgical practices, those which have a unique cultural or geographical status. The account of a surgery practised in Bactria, which is included in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations,* is similar in tone to the account of the snails offered by Leo Africanus earlier in this chapter. It is a type of surgery unique to one specific area in one specific country, and also entwined with a specific culture:

> the water there of is most vnholsome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that be not there borne, a worme of aell long, which lyeth commonly in the legge betwixt the flesh and the skinne, and is plucke out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out; the partie dieth, and euery day she commeth out about an inch, which is rolled vp, and so worketh till she be all out.[114]

The removal of the worm is not unique simply because it is associated with one part of the world, rather the customs, laws and cultures of Bactria make is so too. The account goes on to describe how, despite the presence of the worm and requirement of a surgeon to remove it, the locals are forbidden to drink anything else apart from the water, and anyone who is 'found to break that law is whipped and beaten most cruelly.'[115] This is a type of surgery which could only occur in one very specific location, and it is also bound to cultural and legal systems which would have seemed strange and alien to readers in England. It is telling that no other surgeries are included in this account, in fact specific surgeries are rarely mentioned in Hakluyt's entire compilation, which is more concerned with the nature of surgery as an institution in the visited countries. It is this

112 Skaarup, p.23.

113 Giles Fletcher, *The History of Russia* (1643) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk,com> Accessed 16th August 2015, p.112.

114 Anthony Jenkinson, *The Voyage of Master Anthony Jenkinson* in 'Richard Hakluyt: The Principal Navigations' (1600) <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 17th August 2015, p.331.

115 Jenkinson, p.331.

account, the strange, the alien one, which is chosen for inclusion. It is difficult to imagine how this could serve any practical use to surgeons back at home, who will obviously never have to deal with the ailment, and therefore the only reason that it could have been included is for the purposes of curiosity.

The inclusion of only the stranger cases of surgical practice is an ongoing theme. Travelling to Africa with the aim of studying medicinal practices in that country, Leonardo Fioravanti includes an account entitled 'the cure of one that had his nose cut off, and set on again.'[116] Before elaborating further, Fioravanti prefaces the account by stating that 'in that time when I was in Africa, there happened a strange case,' and it is clear that this particular surgical practice has been, like the case of the worm in the water, included because it seems odd and unusual. He offers some background information, noting that two soldiers became embroiled in a dispute, one went to draw their sword but the other, doing so quicker, 'stroke him with the left hand and cut off his nose, and it fell down into the sand.'[117] The slightly alarming surgery then involved the surgeon, who 'pissed thereupon to wash away the sand,' stitching the nose back in place after applying large amounts of 'balsamo artificiato' before binding it tightly back to the face.[118] When the bandages were eventually removed it was found that the nose had healed entirely, and that the soldier was 'perfectly whole' once more.[119] The success of the surgery was so surprising and the case so strange that upon returning home Fioravanti found 'that all of Napels did marvel' at the account.[120] The same work includes other similarly impressive feats of surgery, including 'the cure of a great wound in the head' so large that it 'reached half over the head,' and 'a very strange thing' which happened involving surgery on a man whose stomach had become filled with blood.[121] Interspersed with these extraordinary, but nonetheless natural cures, are more miraculous surgical practices, including a certain type of stone which can apparently 'transinuate a body of one complexion into another,' the properties of which are 'so miraculous that the world will not believe them.'[122] Alongside these accounts of marvellous wonder cures, terrible and strange injuries, and accounts of stones which can apparently transmute bodies and perform 'miracles on this earth,' are far more pragmatic accounts of how much surgeons are paid, how they are supplied to ships and how they operate to cure far more day to day injuries such as poor digestion and sores. It is an odd mix, a mingling of the supernatural, the wonderful, the curious and the everyday but, as was the case with medicinal remedies, this is how travel narratives functioned.

Printed in 1634, William Wood's account of New England offers a similar mingling of natural and supernatural. The account is largely concerned with the difference between what Wood terms 'old England' and New England, and his first mention of surgery is how it was often employed to help those who had suffered with the cold in the newly discovered territory.[123] He records that people not used to the extremes of weather in the country are often prone to 'venturing too nakedly in extremity of cold, being more foolhardy than wise.'[124] This often results in surgical procedures whereby surgeons were forced to perform amputations as the afflicted 'lost the use of their feet,

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116 Leonard Fioravanti, *A Discourse Upon Surgery* (1626) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 17th August 2015, p.58.

117 Fioravanti, p.58.

118 Fioravanti, p.58.

119 Fioravanti, p.58.

120 Fioravanti, p.59.

121 Fioravanti, p.62 and p.63.

122 Fioravanti, p.74.

123 William Wood, *New England's Prospect: A True, Lively and Experimental Description of that Part of America* (1634) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 17th August 2015, p.5.

124 Wood, p.5.

others the use of their fingers.'[125] Wood notes that the surgeries were in the most part successful, and the afflicted often recovered. This is a fairly straightforward, routine account of surgical procedure, but it is followed later by a far stranger type of surgery with its roots in the supernatural. Wood is describing the surgical practices of the Indians, and he is in no doubt that their procedures, with the permission of God and the aid of the Devil, are capable of producing 'effects of wonder.'[126] The incident that Wood records goes as follows:

> An honest Gentle-man related a storie to mee, being an eyewitnes of the same: a patient with the stumpe of some small tree runne thorough his foote, being past the cure of his ordinary Surgery, betooke himselfe to his charmes, and being willing to shew his miracle before the English stranger, hee wrapt a piece of cloth about the foote of the lame man; upon that wrapping a Beaver skinne, through which hee laying his mouth to the Beaver skinne, by his sucking charmes he brought out the stumpe, which he spat into a tray of water, returning the foote as whole as its fellow in a short time.[127]

Wood terms this a miracle cure, and proceeds to explain how the ritual, involving chants and spells, functions in the surgery of the Indians. He uses various words including 'miracle,' 'wonderment' and 'devilish worship' to describe the process, which could not be further removed from the earlier account of surgeons dealing with frost bite.[128]

It seems odd that a travel narrative so concerned with practical, everyday details such as 'the seasons of the year' and 'the birds and fowls,' should also include such a supernatural account, especially next to the earlier description of surgery.[129] It is again, though, simply the nature of travel writing. The wonderful is treated in exactly the same manner as the everyday. The supernatural is reduced to the level of the natural by the manner in which it is treated. Wood treats the Indian surgery in much the same way as he does the English, seeking verifiable witnesses, going into extensive detail of the order in which the treatments were applied, as well as offering a final description regarding the recovery of the patient. The process is radically different, certainly wonderful, but the treatment by Wood, the act of collecting, categorising and examining, is the same as any other account of surgery. This has the effect of lowering the wonderful to the human level. By recording it in this fashion, Wood takes possession of the strange. The fact that the wondrous cure is verified by an independent witness, a 'gentlemen,' the fact that it is examined in intricate detail with every step recorded and, most importantly, the fact that it is included alongside natural, elaborate details, helps to normalise the previously wonderful account. It is lowered to the human level. It may not be fully understood, but it is certainly not outside the human knowledge sphere. It is, rather than wondrous, an object of curiosity.

It is interesting at this point to note the difference in attitude between how foreign medicinal remedies were viewed, and foreign surgical practices. As noted previously, there was the pervasive sense that foreign countries represented an untapped potential for remedies, herbs and cures. With surgery, the opposite seems to be true. It is stressed again and again that foreign surgery is not as advanced as at home. One particularly telling example exists in *The Principal Navigations*, where

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125 Wood, p.5.

126 Wood, p.83.

127 Wood, p.83.

128 Wood, p.83.

129 Wood, p.1.

several sailors attend to a woman and child. One has been 'shot through the hair of her head,' and the other 'pierced' through the arm by arrows.[130] The event takes place in India, and when the European surgeon attempts to apply European methods to help the woman and child, the two are afraid. The mother immediately 'plucked' her child away and, 'not being acquainted with […] surgery' instead attempted to help the child through the 'continual licking' of their arm.[131] The suggestion is that the occupants of this country, entirely ignorant of European surgical techniques, are backward by comparison.

Fioravanti stresses a similar point in his account of surgery in Africa. He entitles this section of his work 'certain cures that this author did when he travelled to Africa,' and notes that while he was there any surgeries attempted by the African doctors were done so under his own 'instruction.'[132] He even describes how he ordered fellow surgeons not to 'meddle' with head wounds without this instruction.[133] Sir Richard Hawkins makes a similar point regarding his voyage in the South Sea. He encounters some Spanish surgeons and notes that they 'were altogether ignorant in their profession.'[134] An account by John Cotta, in fact, explicitly warns against employing foreign practices at home. He writes that while 'as from all parts of the world true knowledge doth fetch home his substantial grounds to enrich himself' travel can also bring back 'falsehoods and lying imitation.'[135] The imperative is clearly stressed. It is the exact opposite of attitudes towards remedies, where the other world was thought to be an Eden of untapped potential. Surgery encountered in foreign countries is something to be viewed with scepticism. Techniques at home are generally viewed as superior. In this way it seems odd that surgery should be such a subject for collection, and at the very least it seems to suggest that the accounts are not being collected simply because they might be useful to surgeons at home. If foreign surgery is as inferior and dangerous as Cotta suggests, then these accounts can only serve the purpose of curiosities: objects of interest which may not be immediately useful.

Perhaps the urge to collect records of surgical practices is influenced by the nature of surgery itself. Lindemann elaborates further on the state of early modern surgery, which still came with many perils:

> Almost all surgery was painful and brought with it the real perils of life-threatening infections and tetanus. Probably only a quarter of patients survived the initial shock and subsequent dangers of amputating a major limb. For these reasons, most surgeons acted with caution. They almost never invaded cavities of the chest or abdomen and rarely took on major operations.[136]

130 Hakluyt, p.631.

131 Hakluyt, p.68.

132 Fioravanti, p.55.

133 Fioravanti, p.55.

134 Sir Richard Hawkins, *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins Knight in his Voyage into the South Sea* (1622) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 16th August 2015, p.159.

135 John Cotta, *A Short Discourse of the Unobserved Dangers of Several Sorts of Ignorant and Inconsiderate Practices of Surgery* (1612) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 24th August 2015, p.109.

136 Lindemann, p.266. See also Hamish Scott, *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750: Volume I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) p.104, for further reading on how 'surgeons almost never cut into the cavities of the human body' and were generally fearful of the well known risks of death, great pain and infection. The accounts offered in these travel narratives, of stomachs being opened to purge blood, of noses being reattached, worms removed from bodies and an entire sword extracted from a person, would have been strange and unusual: they would have captured the imagination as surgical rarities.

Lindemann then goes on to note that 'radical surgery remained rare.'[137] The extreme dangers associated with surgery in the period meant that it was by definition rare. Surgeons were forced to be prudent and act with 'caution.'[138] In such an environment, any major surgery was already a rarity. Suddenly it does not seem quite so strange to imagine that travellers venturing to new lands would be taken aback by any types of bold surgery which they witnessed abroad.

This is likely the reason that some of the collected accounts certainly do err on the side of the sensationalist, in terms of both language and content. One particular pamphlet printed in London details surgeries performed in Prussia, where a sword was extracted from the stomach of a sword swallower. The title of the piece in itself seems keen to evoke wonder. Phrases such as 'a miraculous cure' and 'wonderful cure' are at once suggestive of something extraordinary, something designed to capture the attention of an audience as much as serve a practical purpose.[139] Mention of a testimony from 'the King of Poland' also ensures that the account has a somewhat sensationalist headline.[140] Before even embarking on a description of the actual surgery, Lakin is keen to emphasise that this is an extremely curious case, one with a great 'novelty' value.[141] After this, he proceeds to examine this particular incident in an extraordinarily methodical manner very much reminiscent of the diligent observations of travel writers recording the effects and potency of medicinal herbs. He proceeds in order, commencing with 'a physical observation of the Prussian sword swallow,' the 'first position of the knife' in the body, 'the physicians and their consultations' before finally moving on to the nature of the surgery and removal of the knife.[142]

The account lists a number of other case studies, but it also introduces a supernatural element to proceedings which seems starkly opposed to the far more practical sections detailing the nature of ailments. In much the same way that supernatural remedies were often included alongside natural ones in medicinal collections gathered through travel, this particular surgical account combines the two in the same instance. Lakin introduces the devil as a viable cause of the problem, noting that the 'devil's art' can be very strong in damaging the human body internally. He goes on to describe:

> A certain woman being possessed with a wicked spirit, while she was distracted with intolerable torments of the ventricle, and that the physicians could bring no help, of a sudden she spewed up long and crooked nails and brass needles bundled up together.[143]

This incident was the fault of the devil, especially as Lakin also describes a man who was found to have 'a long round piece of wood, four steel knives partly pointed, and partly with teeth like a saw, and two iron tools' lodged in his stomach.[144] This is also attributed to the 'subtlety of the devil,' and

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137 Lindemann, p.266.

138 Lindemann, p.266.

139 Daniel Lakin, *A Miraculous Cure of the Prussian Sword Swallow* (1642) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 15th September 2015, p.1.

140 Lakin, p.1.

141 Lakin, p.9.

142 Lakin, p.4, p.9 and p.14. While the actual nature of the incident is not what is of interest for the purposes of this chapter, it is worth noting the detail which Lakin goes into when explaining how the knife was swallowed in the first place. Even naming the individual involved as 'Andrew Grunheide,' he records that 'in the morning feeling in his ventricle by reason of […] ill diet a kind of dissipation to vomit' he attempted to force himself to vomit using the tip of a knife, which then became imbedded in his throat (p.10). This is a highly detailed, methodical account which seems to include the entire history of the case. It goes some way to demonstrate just how important observation and first-hand knowledge had become in cases such as these.

143 Lakin, p.11.

144 Lakin, p.11.

by introducing these past incidents to the current account, Lakin inevitably associates the Prussian case with the supernatural.[145] Alongside these darkly supernatural connotations there are purely scientific observations too, and there is no suggestion that the two need to be starkly divided. There is record of a discussion between the surgeons, wherein they decide that the patient is 'strong' enough to survive the operation, as well as a description of how the abdomen was opened 'for extraction of the knife.'[146] A description of the balm used after the operation is included, its ingredients are listed and so too are the instructions for preparation, and the manner in which they must be 'grosly bruised and put into a pot, and so much wine super infused as may submerge all the ingredients.'[147]

Lakin is also eager that the account should exist not only for the sake of wonder, but for practicality. He writes that the incident ought not just be a 'matter of wonder, but imitation,' and he plainly hopes that the techniques on offer could be replicated in future cases.[148] The account is a bizarre mingling of the natural and the supernatural. We see the purely pragmatic, down to earth techniques of surgery alongside workings of the devil. Wonderful language, seemingly included to delight the readership, is employed next to far more pragmatic lists of herbs used in a balm. As in a *Kunstkammer*, that which might be useful is included alongside that which will not be, and it is up to the reader to determine which is which.

This is the nature of early modern surgery, though. We have already discussed the associated dangers of such practices, but the supernatural was inextricably bound up with surgical practices in the first place. Naphy writes that 'miracles served a vital role in supplementing the relatively limited abilities of early modern physic and surgery.'[149] Gentilecore writes that while surgeons were often more than willing to attribute their success to the grace of God and the 'miracle cure,' this placed them in 'an ambivalent position.'[150] By acknowledging the reality of miracle cures, and therefore supernatural intervention in surgery, they celebrated the glory of God but simultaneously admitted the 'limitations of their own art.'[151] Medicine, and especially surgery with its limitations and high risk of serious complication, allowed the supernatural to exist almost in tandem with the natural. Records of surgery gathered through travel inevitably reflect this, but in doing so contribute to the process of the wondrous being slowly transformed into the merely curious. This process is most especially evident in the account of the Prussian swallow-sword incident. On the one hand we are presented with the language of the wonderful, almost bombarded with the use of words such as 'wonderful' and 'miraculous,' and even assured of the involvement of the Devil, but then on the other hand we are offered surgical details. The ingredients of the medicine are listed, and there is even a suggestion that the details are being recorded so that future physicians can refer back to them in similar cases. The inclusion of the supernatural alongside the natural works that normalising effect previously mentioned with regards to remedies, on the supernatural. The freak case becomes a curiosity, something unusual and intriguing but nonetheless within the human sphere and understandable. Very little mystery is left. The case has literally been dissected. All that remains is the sense of curiosity evident in the language. The urge to collect new knowledge, and the sudden importance placed upon first-hand rather than received knowledge, ensured that everything was

145 Lakin, p.11.

146 Lakin, p.15.

147 Lakin, p.16.

148 Lakin, p.9.

149 William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1997) p.192.

150 David Gentilecore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998) p.118.

151 Gentilecore, p.118.

collected, everything was studied and everything was placed under human influence. This all-inclusive method of knowledge gathering ensured that while some strange, odd or unusual practices were included, they were never left outside the sphere of the known, and continued to exist as curiosities on the human level. The truly wondrous must exist outside what is known, but these practices, no matter how odd, were incorporated into collections of knowledge: they were made known. There is the potential for all of this to be useful knowledge too, and we see hints once more of the possibility for the curious to be useful.

Section Four - Medicine, Drama and the Public Imagination.

With the medicinal thus brought into the human sphere of knowing, it was perhaps inevitable that it would also become entwined with the public imagination. Theatre is one of the better methods of gauging what interested the public during the early modern period. As Tanya Pollard suggests, this is certainly the case with medicine, where plays only mentioned medicines that had 'the strongest hold on the popular imagination.'[152] The increasing presence of medicine in theatre, Pollard goes on, can be attributed to the fact that the medicinal was part of a lively and ongoing discourse:

> The striking changes in medicine, and the popular debates and anxieties they sparked, laid a crucial foundation for playwrights' interest in drugs by emphasising the twofold capacity of transformative substances for both cure and danger.[153]

Medicine, and more precisely the debate surrounding it, had captured the attention of both playwrights and the public. Its role as both a potentially positive and negative force helped contribute to this fascination.[154] In this way, the inclusion of medicine at all suggests that it had become a form of curiosity. The way in which these medicines were treated reveals how curiosity effected the public perception of remedies, surgery and the medical world as a whole.

There has been a great deal of scholarship on medicine in the plays of Shakespeare, and how it reflects the interests of the wider population.[155] Several of the plays are concerned with reflecting the ongoing debate surrounding medicine. *Romeo and Juliet* taps into some of the more pertinent medical debates of the period. Hunter suggests that it 'reveals the oppositions between the larger conceptual structures of the Galenic and the Paracelsan,' and more specifically the difference

152 Tanya Pollard, *Drugs and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p.37.

153 Pollard, p.9.

154 See also F. David Hoeniger, *Medicine and Shakespeare* (Delaware: Delaware University Press, 1992) for further reading on how medicine increasingly came to function as a theatrical device, and the reasons for this, most notably because it had so captured the public imagination. In Todd Howard James and James Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic: Medical Narratives on the Early Modern Stage* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2007) also suggests that some of the fascination with medicine can also be attributed to a religious angle, especially the fact that there was increasing 'tension between religion and medicine' (p.173). These tensions, mixed with the ever louder debate over medicine and the fact that it could potentially both harm and save, in many ways made it perfectly suited to the early modern stage.

155 Hoeniger offers perhaps the best overview of Shakespeare's presentation of medicine, but see also Irving Iskowitz Edgar, *Shakespeare, Medicine and Psychiatry: An Historical Study in Criticism and Interpretation* (New York: New York Vision Press, 1970) for a good summary of how Shakespeare's plays tapped into many the issues associated with medicine, both physical and psychiatric. For a comprehensive list of references to medicine in Shakespeare's plays, and how they related to contemporary theories and practices, the *Cummins Study Guide* also offers an excellent and succinct summary, which also goes some way to demonstrate how in depth Shakespeare's knowledge of medicinal practices actually was. See Michael J. Cummings, *Shakespeare and Medicine* in 'Cummins Study Guide' <http://www.cummingsstudyguides.net/xMedicine.html> Accessed 22nd August 2015.

between the physician as the councillor and the practitioner.[156] This is especially apparent in the character of Friar Lawrence. A Galenic doctor would be more likely to aid a patient by advising them on lifestyle changes, as opposed to a Parecelsan physician who would prefer to intervene through action and the prescribing of medicines. 'The Apothecary makes no attempt to find out anything about Romeo or his context' before selling him the poison, whereas Friar Lawrence is more concerned with the 'larger situation.'[157] This, as Hunter suggests, is a comment on the breakdown between the two approaches to medicine, and the increasing divide between the physician as councillor and practitioner.[158] The suggestion is that the two contrasting approaches could, perhaps even should, have been unified. In *Romeo and Juliet* medicine is something contradictory, a fact made especially clear when Friar Lawrence describes how 'within the infant rind of this weak flower/Poison hath residence and medicine power.'[159] The same flower can act as a poison or a cure, depending on how it is administered. An especially skilled physician is needed, further research into how remedies operated is clearly required, and if medicine can be this dangerous, then medicinal knowledge obviously needs to be highly accurate. As Tanya Pollard attests, these were important concerns which would have 'resonated' with early modern audiences.[160] She explains that 'in Shakespeare's time, as now, the line between medicine and poison was a fine one.'[161] Medicinal knowledge was haphazard, and there can be no doubt that more cures needed to be collected and well studied.

These difficulties, coupled with the ongoing clash between different schools of medicine, is continually reflected in Shakespeare's plays. Todd Howard suggests that *All's Well That Ends Well*, and in particular the case of Helena, reflects a similar 'clash between traditional humanistic medicine, represented by Galen, and the new chemical medicine of Paracelsus.'[162] There, is too, a further clash highlighted by Kaara L. Peterson in *Popular Medicine, Hysterical Disease and Social Controversy in Shakespeare's England*. She writes that 'revivifications' such as the one in *All's Well That Ends Well*, exist somewhere on the line between 'mystical and medicalised,' namely the type of cure which can be attributed to an understandable medical cause, or something more mystical; something without an easily identifiable cause: something wondrous.[163] Medicine often dwelt somewhere on this borderline, working physical cures but also thought to have wondrous properties. In *All's Well That Ends Well* Lafew describes how he has 'seen a medicine which can breathe life into stone.'[164] This is indicative of the wondrous connotations which medicinal remedies often held, and is important as we discuss how apparently wonderful cures were slowly transformed into curiosities, and what this process involved.

It is Jonson's *The Alchemist,* though, which perhaps shows the wondrous properties of medicine at their lowest, most human level, and makes best use of the bungling doctor stereotype from classical theatre. Jonson parodies the very idea of medicine as miraculous or wondrous. Just as

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156 Lynette Hunter, *Negotiating Shakespeare's Language in Romeo and Juliet* (New York: Ashgate Press, 2009) p.180.

157 Hunter, p.181.

158 Hunter, p.181.

159 William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* ed. by Gordon McMullan (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006) II.ii.23-24.

160 Tanya Pollard, *William Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet* ed. Harold Bloom (Yale: Infobase Publishing, 2009) p.32.

161 Pollard, p.32.

162 Todd Howard and James Pettigrew, *Shakespeare and the Practice of Physic: Medical Narratives* (Delaware: Delaware University Press, 2007) p.55.

163 Kaara L. Peterson, *Popular Medicine, Hysterical Disease, and Social Controversy in Shakespeare's England* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p.93.

164 William Shakespeare, *All's Well That Ends Well* ed. by Susan Synder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) II.ii.70-71.

travel narratives often included the wondrous or miraculous alongside the natural and the everyday, so too does Jonson. Mammon makes reference to 'a rare physician' who can work 'strange cures with mineral physic' and 'deals all with spirits.'[165] Medicine is at once tied to the supernatural with the mention of spirits. Mammon includes in this description the fact that the physician is 'an excellent Paracelsian.'[166] There is clearly a mingling of supernatural with natural here, medicine is bound up with both, and the end result is fraud. In *The Alchemist* medicine is tied up with duplicity and trickery in the same way that it is in *Volpone.* Of all the various cures mentioned in *Volpone*, none are genuine. The 'sacred medicine' and 'great elixir' mentioned by Mosca, are of course entirely false. Even Volpone's supposed attitude towards medicine, and the fact that 'he will not hear of drugs' is based on a foundation of lies and trickery.[167] It is the play's treatment of Celia, and the supposedly curative properties of Volpone's relations with her, which is especially telling:

At extreme fees, the college of physicians
Consulting on him, how they might restore him;
Where one would have a cataplasm of spices,
Another a flay'd ape clapp'd to his breast,
A third would have it a dog, a fourth an oil,
With wild cats' skins: at last, they all resolved
That, to preserve him, was no other means,
But some young woman must be straight sought out,
Lusty, and full of juice, to sleep by him.[168]

This speech variously includes a critique of the fees associated with medicine, highlights and lambasts the sheer number of strange cures on offer, the 'wild cats skins' and the 'dog,' and seemingly condemns the ineffectual nature of medicines in general. Jonson lists an array of bizarre cures, the very types which would likely have been singled out and included in travel narratives. Even the final supposed remedy of a 'young woman' would likely have been deemed curious enough to be included in one of the narratives. These are all curious, bizarre cures, but of course they are all false. Volpone has not consulted the 'college of physicians,' and the instruction to seek out 'some young woman' is plainly just an attempt to satisfy his lechery. Pollard suggests that the entire play is an ongoing 'caricature of theatrical depictions of doctors as untrustworthy to the point of murderous,' and it seems that any reference to medicine made over the course of the play exists as part of this caricature.[169] Medicine, both its practice and its effects, has been exaggerated in these plays to the point of parody. Medicine itself became a source of curiosity, something which could delight and even amuse audiences.

This is a common theme. In *Doctor Faustus*, medicine is mentioned and dismissed early. Faustus briefly considers medicine as a possible gateway to fame and renown as he says 'be a physician, Faustus; heap up gold/And be eterniz'd for some wondrous cure.'[170] For all medicine seems to offer him marvellous possibilities including 'whole cities' saved from the plague, Faustus is quick to realise that it is a limited school. Its wonders end, of course, because it cannot 'make men to live

165 Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist* ed. by Brian Jonson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). II.iii.231-237.

166 Ben Jonson, *Volpone* ed. by Michael Jamieson (Oxford: Penguin Press, 2004). I.iii. 71-73.

167 Volpone, I.iv.13.

168 Volpone, II.ii.179.

169 Tanya Pollard, *Drugs and Theatre in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p.43.

170 Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus B Text (Longman Literature)* ed. by Roy Blatchford (London: Longman Press, 1995). I.i.103.

eternally' or 'being dead, raise them to life again.'[171] Faustus acknowledges that medicine is limited. This is proved later on as the scholars debating Faustus' imminent demise feebly claim that 'we'll have physicians' to cure him.'[172] Medicine is shown to be something of interest to Faustus, something which he acknowledges may well accomplish great things on earth, but it is no longer anything wondrous. He must venture further to find something truly wondrous and supernatural. These are outright rejections of certain types of knowledge, and this would have been clear to audiences. Kearney points out that, as Faustus variously rejects each different type of study at the beginning of the play, 'in early modern performances […] these arts or disciplines were almost certainly represented by a book or succession of books.'[173] Faustus very literally would have picked up collections of knowledge, categorised in the form of books, and discarded them one after another. The wonder of that knowledge structure is gone for Faustus, perhaps because it can so easily be contained in books: it has been categorised already.

It is interesting to note, though, that Faustus' pursuit of true wonder leads only to what Shepherd-Barr terms 'cheap tricks.'[174] He dismisses medicine as not being wondrous, but his pursuit of actual wonder leads him only to unproductive knowledge: his cheap tricks are far less useful than medicine. The *type* of knowledge is what's important, the clash between productive and unproductive clearly evident. Medicine has been lowered to the human level, but it is at least useful, unlike what Faustus actually performs. It is productive knowledge. Shepherd-Barr even suggests that Marlowe 'is cautioning' against 'longing for superhuman power,' which only leads to 'shoddy' tricks and wasted time.[175] Medicine may have been lowered to the human level here, but that is the level which Faustus would have been better occupying, where he could have served a more useful purpose than base trickery. There is an implied separation of types of knowledge into the productive and the unproductive.

In Jonson's *Mercury Vindicated,* medicine is similarly lowered to the human level. Kewin describes how all the various cures and alchemical remedies referenced are nonetheless tied inextricably to 'new economic and religious innovation.'[176] Garner goes as far as to link the play to the 'transformation' which alchemists and chemists underwent during the early modern period, as their practices were increasingly geared towards 'an expanding market economy and rapidly developing urban world.'[177] This is, Garner suggests, part of medicine's ongoing development from a 'medieval guild' towards 'modern chemistry.'[178] Medicine is being formalised and modernised. Part of this process seems to be an exposing of fraudsters, as Mercury complains that 'a whole household […] are become alchemists, since their trade of armour making failed them.'[179] He goes on to complain that 'howsoever they may pretend […] to commit miracles' they only 'abuse the

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171 Faustus, I.i.113.

172 Faustus, V.ii.211.

173 James Kearney, *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) p.140.

174 Kristen Shepherd-Barr, *Science on Stage: From Doctor Faustus to Copenhagen* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012) p.25.

175 Shepherd-Barr, p.18.

176 William Kerwin, *Beyond the Body: The Boundaries of Medicine and English Renaissance Drama* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005) p.43.

177 Stanton B. Garner, *Drugs, Medicine and the Early Modern Stage* in 'Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England, Volume 20' ed. by S. P. Cerasano (Vancouver: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007), p.276.

178 Stanton, p.276.

179 Ben Jonson, *Mercury Vindicated* in 'The Works of Ben Jonson, in Nine Volumes: Masques at Court' ed. by William Gifford (London: W. Gifford, 1816) p.248.

curious and credulous.'[180] Medicine and alchemy were, as Kerwin and Garner suggest, deeply intertwined, and so too were genuine practitioners and fraudsters. Medicine, it seems, was undergoing a type of sorting process: the miraculous from the medicinal, the genuine practitioner from the fraudster, the old knowledge and the new.

Part of this sorting was a separation of the wondrous from the curious. Medicine was increasingly on stage, but it was bound up with the curious rather than the outright wondrous. In Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl* we are presented with the dual nature of an apothecary shop as a place for dispensing medicines, but also as somewhere where one could find 'symbols of desire for an escape to the exotic.'[181] Gallipot's Apothecary sells drugs, but it also sells tobacco, which Goshawk is eager to 'taste.'[182] The stage directions are interchangeable, too. Kerwin describes how Gallipot's shop is alternately termed an apothecary and a tobacco shop, with apparently nothing to distinguish between the two.[183] This is important. Tobacco was imported from abroad and thus, as Kerwin suggests, immediately gave the shops 'a more exciting side' linked to travel, discovery and the exotic.[184] Tobacco was part of an ongoing controversy, with some writers suggesting that it could yield medical effects as great as a 'universal panacea,' while others linked it to a 'savage other,' and suggested that smoking linked 'English smokers to the African.'[185] Tobacco tied medicine up with the foreign, the curious and the novel, both on stage and off, and it ensured that while medicine was no longer something which was necessarily wondrous, it remained a curiosity, an object of public fascination. It is especially telling, too, that in this play curiosity is linked specifically to travel. Tobacco is an imported substance, and its ties to medicine certainly give it that 'exotic' sense. All these plays worked to lower medicine to the human, everyday level.

This is in fact the nature of medicine during the early modern period. The supernatural, wondrous elements previously associated with cures were increasingly supplanted by the curious. Travel narratives were especially important in this process. They often uncovered wondrous medicinal remedies or practices but, in recording them alongside natural and everyday cures which were already fully understood, helped to normalise the wondrous and bring it down to the human level. Travel narratives took control of the wondrous. They brought it under human influence. New attitudes to medicine were also important, especially the increased emphasis on first-hand over received knowledge, which in turn demanded collection, categorisation and further study: an approach which ensured that no medicinal practice, no matter how apparently strange, was excluded from the Renaissance knowledge pool. The manner in which the wondrous was included next to the natural in these collections was vital too - it worked a levelling effect, lowering the wondrous and ensuring that it was under human influence and within linguistic frameworks. The result was that, while some cures and practices were not fully understood, they were nonetheless included, recorded and categorised, and in this way lowered to the human level where they existed as, rather than subjects of wonder beyond human comprehension, objects of interest and fascination: curiosities.

The next and final chapter of this thesis will discuss the status of curiosity. Now that we have explored how the categories of wonder and curiosity could be separated, the question

180 Jonson, p.248.

181 Kerwin, p.27.

182 Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, *The Roaring Girl* ed. by Elizabeth Cook (London: A&C Black Publishers, 2007).

183 Kerwin, p.27.

184 Kewin, p.27.

185 Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring, *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Amsterdam: Rodopi Press, 2005) p.190. See also Irma Taavitsainen and Päivi Pahta, *Medical Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p.181 for further reading on the tobacco controversy, and how it was 'special among medical controversies because the recreational use of tobacco soon spread and outweighed its medicinal use, ultimately causing a social and cultural crisis.'

remains of what becomes of the curious, and how it might be developed as a unique category. It is worth recalling at this point the many criticisms of the curious as unproductive, as frivolous, as well as the words of Augustine. However, with the collection of medicines, we see a form of curiosity which may in fact be of some use to the world, and very strong hints that, once separated from the wondrous, curiosity may form a useful category of its own.

Chapter Six: Conclusion - The Status of Curiosity?

Now that we have undertaken a study of wonder and curiosity, the transition of one into the other and the separation of the two categories, it is worthwhile to once again consider Stukeley's image of the stones at Avebury which began this thesis. In the introductory chapter I established the core aim of this work as discovering the difference between the man who is gripped by wonder, and the man who is merely curious. Now that we have surveyed the landscape of wonder and curiosity with specific reference to several useful case studies, we can return once again to that image. Over the course of this thesis I hope to have established clear divisions between wonder and curiosity, as well as demonstrated how wonder often transitioned into curiosity, and the reasons for this process. The transformation of the wondrous into the curious represents a separation of knowledge structures. We are now able to discuss a further, important implication of this process. The separation of the two knowledge structures saw the development of curiosity into a category which might actually be useful for the development of knowledge, while the wondrous remained something separate entirely, something linked to contemplation rather than study, and with strong ties to the divine. This is important, and forms the endpoint of this thesis. A separation of knowledge structures gave curiosity a type of status which it had never had before. It was suddenly the basis of empirical enquiry and therefore it had a status. The example of medicinal collections is especially important, because we see curiosity at its most useful. We see it guiding study, aiding in the collection and curation of knowledge and actively leading to new medicinal remedies. This type of curiosity seems far removed from the type frowned upon by Augustine as useless and frivolous. Now it has become a genuine knowledge structure linked to empirical enquiry. Not only has humanity found a use for the curious, but it has found a basis for scientific enquiry.

Travel writing has been important in considering this transition. Wonder and curiosity are types of knowledge structure, and as established in the first chapter and throughout this thesis, travel writing, and the type of collection which it led to, proved to be an effective way of storing and sorting knowledge. In this way, it seems fitting to conclude the thesis with an analysis of a play which has travel, curiosity and questions over the usefulness of knowledge as its core themes. Brome's *The Antipodes*, produced in 1640, is characterised by wonder and curiosity. Most importantly of all it shows the transition of one into the other, and also the development of curiosity into a useful knowledge structure. Over the course of the play, Brome's hero is trapped in childish wonder but is eventually forced to give that wonder purpose. The play also examines themes of collection, categorisation and travel, addressing many of the themes we have explored over the course of the thesis in relation to real world travel accounts. There are, as Paul Longley Arthur suggests, even links with the underworld, as the antipodes was always part imaginary location as 'through long established mythologies, the undiscovered worlds of the Southern hemisphere came to to be associated with this.'[1] Arthur goes on to describe the 'terrifying monsters and semi-human creatures' thought to traditionally occupy the underworld, and he concludes that voyages to the antipodes had a rich history which often blended fact seamlessly with fiction. It is plain that any travel in that region would always be associated with the curious, if not the outright wondrous. The antipodes was a hypothetical location as far as the Renaissance was concerned, it could contain anything and everything. Brome's antipodes also serves an especially satirical purpose, which we will discuss in more detail later.

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1 Paul Longley Arthur, *Virtual Voyages: Travel Writing and The Antipodes 1605-1837* (London: Anthem Press, 2011) p.19. See also Mathew Steggle, *Richard Brome: Place and Politics on the Caroline Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004) for further reading on Brome and the play, and more detailed accounts of the many monsters and legends associated with travel in the antipodes.

In this way it seems perfectly fitting that Peregrine, a character so preoccupied with the marvels promised by travel that his fascination and 'travelling thoughts' are equated to a genuine sickness in need of a cure, should be fixated on the antipodes. He is a highly imaginative character, who is fixated on what would have been, to Renaissance audiences, an imaginary place. Already we see the type of curiosity criticised by Augustine for being idle and linked to apathy rather than the furthering of knowledge. His is the type of curiosity which is a distraction rather than an aid. As Todd Wayne Butler writes, Peregrine has become so preoccupied with the wonders offered by travel that 'he neglects all his domestic and spousal duties.'[2] The transformative nature of travel and the accompanying transformation of Peregrine, who 'returns home' (or at least imagines himself to have returned, having never physically gone anywhere in the first place), ready to fulfil previously neglected duties, is described by Christophe Den Tandt as a cure which forces patients to 'see the values and virtues of their real world and get a better grip on their lives closer to home.'[3] Over the course of the play, curiosity is transformed from something disruptive into something useful, even transformative. Suddenly it serves a purpose, in much the same way that the curious, once separated from the wondrous, was able to establish itself as a useful category. The play asks what happens when we bring travel home, or more precisely what happens when we bring the *effects* of travel and curiosity home. As Mathew Boyd Goldie notes, it is a question of 'what happens when the disorientating island antipodes have already returned to Europe?'[4] Throughout this thesis I have sought to answer the question of what happens to the knowledge structure of the wondrous when it encounters collection, categorisation and study, and shown how it is transformed into a curiosity, and how that in turn is something with an implied use. Brome's play traces this development, and perhaps most importantly of all it traces the development of the curious, and how it achieved a higher status of its own.

Nonetheless, the play begins by presenting an entirely Augustinian type of idle and useless curiosity. We learn that Peregrine's mind is 'all on fire to be abroad,' and that his desire to witness wonders and curiosities is so great that he has travelled 'far beyond himself' and neglected all social and domestic duty.[5] He has, as Peter Orford notes, 'gone mad from reading too many travel narratives and thus has lost touch with reality.'[6] It is not simply travel that he is so preoccupied with though, it is the wondrous things which one might encounter through travel. He evokes Mandeville as a particular favourite, and lists:

> Dragons, and serpents, elephants white and blue
> Unicorns and lions of many colours
> And monsters more

as wonders which he would very much like to witness. When Peregrine imagines himself to have undertaken a great voyage to the antipodes, he is immediately drawn to the more wondrous aspects of what he considers to be a new and unfamiliar country. In short, he is convinced that he is following in the footsteps of Mandeville, and this is important. Alex Nava describes these works as 'a great example of wide eyed wonder, before going on to summarise the works of Mandeville thus:

2 Tod Wayne Butler, *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) p.11.

3 Christophe Den Tandt, *Reading Without Maps?: Cultural Landmarks in a Post Canonical Age: A Tribute to Gilbert Debusscher* (Brussels: Peter Lang Press, 2005) p.287.

4 Mathew Boyd Goldie, *The Idea of the Antipodes: Place, People and Voices* (New York: Routledge, 2010) p.86.

5 Richard Brome, *The Antipodes* (1652) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadwyk.com> Accessed 20th January 2016, I.ii.67.

6 Peter Orford and Michael P Jones, *Diving Thoughts: Future Directions in Shakespeare Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009) p.56.

> Around every corner of his journey he encounters people, places, and things startlingly new and different, and he never ceases to be amazed by it all. In entering foreign territory, wonder comes as naturally to him as fear comes to a child suddenly lost and alone.[7]

This description could just as easily be a description of Peregrine set loose in what he imagines to be the antipodes. The reactions are all but identical. In Mandeville's writing, the purpose of travel seems to be to experience wonder, and while entertaining, this is not a particularly useful type of study. As Stephen Greenblatt points out, long before writers such as Hakluyt and Purchas, people had begun to note 'the number of errors and impossibilities in Mandeville's text,' a realisation which had in turn begun to 'awaken doubts.'[8] The preoccupation with wonder was already beginning to make Mandeville's writings seem suspect. It is certainly true that Mandeville's *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* are littered with wondrous elements, often appearing together in short descriptive sections:

> And there groweth a manner of fruit, as though it were gourds. And when they be ripe, men cut them a-two, and men find within a little beast, in flesh, in bone, and blood, as though it were a lamb without wool. And men eat both the fruit and the beast. And that is a great marvel. Of that fruit I have eaten, although it were wonderful, but that I knew well that God is marvellous in his works.[9]

This is ostensibly just a description of fruit, but the words marvel and wonderful are used. Mandeville goes on to note other fruits that become 'birds flying' and 'those that fell in the water live,' as well as fruits so heavy that a man might only carry a single bunch.[10] Wonder is everywhere in Mandeville's work, but there seems precious little actually *useful* about that wonder, and even less study attached to it. Despite or perhaps because of this, Peregrine is convinced that he is following in the footsteps of Mandeville. When he visits what he believes to be a new and foreign land, the survey that he undertakes of his surroundings heavily emphasises the wondrous:

> Our statues and our images of gods, our planets and our constellations,
> Our giants, monsters, furies, beasts and bugbears,
> Our helmets, shields and vizors, hairs and beards,
> Our pasteboard marchpanes and our wooden pies.[11]

Peregrine has noticed a great deal about the imaginary antipodes. His inquiring eye has recorded a huge number of details just like in any travel narrative, but his collection is entirely disordered, and a large part of it is concerned with the wondrous. We see giants, monsters and furies alongside more down to earth objects which we might consider curiosities, including

7 Alex Nava, *Wonder and Exile in the New World* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University State Press, 2013) p.45. See also S. Lightsey, *Manmade Marvels in Medieval Culture and Literature* (New York: McMillan, 2007) p.147 for further reading on how Mandeville's writings were intended to make the reader 'experience and identify with' the sense of wonder, and were also a discussion of the writer's 'own response' to the wondrous.

8 Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) p.30.

9 John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London: Penguin UK, 2005) p.124.

10 Mandeville, p.124.

11 Brome, III.v.8.

helmets, shields and visors. The collection lacks categorisation, and seems rather to include everything and anything which is of interest. It is certainly a detailed account, but the mingling of the obviously fantastical complicates matters. In short, it is not an especially useful list. But perhaps this is the nature of the imaginary travel that Peregrine is offered, and he has little choice regarding what he can record. After all, the antipodes as visited by Peregrine is an artificial construct. Bradley Ryner writes of 'Richard Brome's highly genre-conscious stagecraft' and the fact that he relied 'heavily on meta-theatrical jokes.'[12] Peregrine has little choice but to record these things because the artificial world rendered for him contains only them. The location is highly satirical. The very foundation of his travel is flawed.

From Peregrine's perspective the whole purpose of travel seems to be to seek out curiosities for their own sake, not for the sake of productivity or knowledge building. His desire to travel is equitable with his desire to 'convey his fancy round the world.'[13] Peregrine is a man who has become 'enraptured by tales of foreign travel.'[14] We are informed that he has been captivated by tales 'of monsters/Pygmies, and giants, apes, and elephants, gryphons and crocodiles [...] the strangest doings!'[15] This list, and the one above, are reminiscent of a *Kunstkammer*, and the display of curiosities is a theme which runs throughout the play. Peregrine effectively amasses his own Cabinet of Curiosities. The nature of the play, and the manner in which the artificial antipodes and all its accompanying wonders are put on stage, is itself an act of display. The way in which Peregrine is conveyed around the supposed 'island' is, too, all about display and presenting the curious. Peregrine collects his curiosities in long lists, but once again we must question the use of this. What purpose exactly does his collection serve? There is no separation between the wondrous and the curious, and that sorting process which we have discussed at length in previous chapters, where the curious is separated from the wondrous, does not occur. However, by the end of the play, what initially appeared to be frivolous collection for its own sake, actually serves a useful purpose. David Fausett terms the imagined journey as 'dramatic psychotherapy,' and there can be no doubt that the cure does work. The play has a favourable outcome. All that supposedly idle curiosity and fascination with travel has a positive and beneficial effect: the curious is transformed and suddenly serves a useful purpose.[16] Peregrine is restored, and 'returns' home a better person than when he 'left.' How this comes about is interesting, and forms the crux of both the play and this thesis.

Over the course of *The Antipodes*, Peregine constructs his own narrative of travel, choosing to read only the travel narratives which offer the highest number of curiosities. In this way he is a collector not only of rarities and curiosities but a type of editor too, along the same lines as Samuel Purchas, who collected Hakluyt's works. As we have discussed in the previous chapters, though, both Purchas and Hakluyt were not only collectors of travel writing, they were collators too. Their efforts helped with the sorting process that separated the curious from the wondrous, and simultaneously narrowed the field of definition regarding what could constitute a true wonder. Peregrine does not do this with his texts. He collects with a certain methodology, but he is a collector of wonder, choosing to read only the accounts with the more fantastical elements. This is why he so favours Mandeville. He would have enjoyed collections such as those by Torquemada, Hill and Lavater. Claire Jowitt writes that:

12 Bradley Ryner, *Performing Economic Thought: English Drama and Mercantile Writing 1600-1642* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013) p.168.

13 Brome, I.2.7.

14 Todd Wayne Butler, *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth Century England* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) p.11.

15 Brome, I.3.7.

16 David Fausett, *Images of the Antipodes in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Stereotyping* (Amsterdam: Rodopi Press, 1995) p.8.

> In *The Antipodes,* Peregrine accepts the veracity of precisely the accounts Hakluyt and Purchas saw as *unreliable* and, as a result, the genre collected travel, either without Mandeville (Hakluyt) or with the heavy editorial warnings about the corruption of the text (Purchas) here appears more reliable.[17]

Peregine creates his own narrative of travel by selecting which accounts he will read, in this case those which offer the most details of wonders and curiosities. He builds his own collection of curiosities through the collection of the appropriate accounts. There is no attempt at discernment, no attempt to separate the curious from the wondrous or to reach firmer definitions of the terms. This type of travel narrative was, according to Julie Sanders, 'a highly marketable form at the time.'[18] Jowitt and Carey note, too, that while Peregrine's fascination might be the most extreme, he is certainly not the only character in the play obsessed with potential wonders. He is not the only one relying on flawed accounts for his knowledge of travel, either. Doctor Hughball, who is continuously held up as an expert in all matters, a doctor of 'wondrous' abilities and someone who is a great authority on the world, is revealed to be basing his knowledge of travel on similarly dubious sources. Jowitt and Carey note that his knowledge comes from 'fabulous travel texts, such as Hall's *Mundus alter et idem,* hardly a reliable source, or one keen to expose the wondrous to any scrutiny.'[19] This book was not even a true travel narrative. It was what Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs describe as one of the period's 'most elaborate parodies.'[20] They go on to outline how the work parodied nearly every aspect of travel, 'including maps, pictures of foreign inscriptions and coins, and lists of foreign worlds,' in short it mimicked 'the entire apparatus of the travel book.'[21] Hall was acutely aware of the often muddled knowledge of foreign lands, his 'narrator refers to the blending of fact and fiction, and the sense of intriguing paradox, that characterised the knowledge of lands distant from Europe.'[22] It is fitting that such a parody should be included in a satirical play, and that the play's supposed expert bases his knowledge on it.

Perhaps most importantly of all, Hall disapproved of the curiosity which travel engendered, and even more so of the large scale consumption of travel narratives. Like Augustine before him, he considered curiosity of this nature 'both dangerous (since the only things travellers picked up abroad were foreign fashions and vices) and unnecessary.'[23] Hall even uses the preface of *Mundus alter et idem* to rail against 'the world's general decay of the esteem of learning' and describes how he would like to 'beat all their disgraces about their own ears, and the world's, in true satiric fury.'[24] Hall is very obviously referring to the type of idle and useless curiosity that Augustine warned against, and which Peregrine is so preoccupied with. In this way, Peregrine's 'return' to society as a functioning and useful citizen at the end of the play, apparently restored by his make-believe travel,

17 Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, *Hakluyt's Legacy: Armchair Travel in English Renaissance Drama* in 'Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe ed. by Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2012) p.132.

18 Julie Sanders, *The Cultural Geography of Early Modern Drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p.234.

19 Jowitt and Carey, p.120.

20 Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) p.118.

21 Hulme and Youngs, p.118.

22 Arthur, p.28.

23 Hulme and Youngs, p.118.

24 Joseph Hall, *The Discovery of a New World* (1613) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadywk.com> Accessed 9th September 2016.

might be viewed as a redemption of curiosity and an establishment of its purpose. This is certainly what Brome intended, and not only for travel but for the theatre, too. Peter Orford writes that Brome's play is concerned with 'the therapeutic nature of the theatre.'[25] Steggle writes that many of Brome's plays were concerned with the 'theory of drama almost as therapy,' and Ira Clark notes that his plays were usually geared towards 'the theatre audience's pleasurable profit.'[26] He wanted to show that the spectacle of the theatre could be useful and work a beneficial effect in the same way that the spectacle of curiosity could.

Travel can be useful, but at the beginning of the play there simply seems to be too much information for Peregrine to digest. Too many books, too many sources. Perhaps it is not simply a glut of information which is the problem, but the attitude towards that information and the manner in which it is used. The play traces a very clear path from unproductive wondering, which is equated with an idle, disordered mind and a disruption in society, to the resolution of that wonder and the ensuing peace. In Peregrine we are presented with a character so obsessed with the strange offerings of travel that he becomes afflicted with a 'wandering mind' and rejects his social duties, most notably those of a husband.[27] David Fausett ventures as far as describing Peregrine's mania for curiosities as a sickness in need of a 'cure,' and likens the imaginary landscape of the antipodes to 'the line between sanity and madness.'[28] Wonder is certainly a disruption, and it certainly exists on the borders. The urge to travel is a type of madness, a sickness in need of a doctor, but the inherent contradiction at the heart of the play is that this sickness is also the cure: Peregrine is healed through what he takes to be travel. As Ambrose concludes, where once travel upset the mind, it is eventually travel which 'rights the wrong' of that mind.[29]

The same theme is repeated. Travel itself is not the problem, rather *the type* of travel. Peregrine does not desire foreign lands for any kind of learning or with any underlying urge to build knowledge. He simply wishes to witness exotic and interesting things, and this desire consumes him to such an extent that it disrupts his daily life. The plea to Doctor Hughball is not a plea to cure Peregrine's desire for travel, rather it is a plea to deliver him from 'his huge tympany of news: of monsters, pygmies, and giants.'[30] In essence, this is a mission to deliver a person from a preoccupation with wonder to a more productive form, and the result is beneficial. Peregrine recovers and becomes a functional member of society. This is the same underlying force which transforms wonder into curiosity and separates the two knowledge structures, leaving the latter as a useful category. The play is concerned with a shift in knowledge structures. Wonder must be resolved for normal function to be resumed.

If the play is, like Munster's *Alter ed idem*, a satirical commentary on the wrong type of travel and the pursuit of the wrong type of knowledge, then it is important to explore another slightly earlier text by Roger Ascham, which offered the same type of warning in starker terms. In *The Scholemaster*, Ascham devotes a large section to travellers, and it seems as though the advice he gives out is directed squarely at youths like Peregrine. Although he writes specifically on English travellers visiting Italy, his words have echoes of Augustine and Munster, and seem applicable to travel in general. Travel was a highly popular past time, as Ascham addresses directly what he terms 'the fantasy that many young gentlemen of England have to travel abroad, and namely […] to

25 Orford, p.56.

26 Steggle, p.112 and Ira Clark, *Professional Playwrights: Massinger, Ford, Shirley and Brome* (Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 2015) p.176.

27 Laura A. Ambrose, *Plotting Movement: Epistemologies of Local Travel Travel in Early Modern England, 1600-* 1660 (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2008) p.207.

28 David Fausett, *Images of the Antipodes in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Stereotyping* (Amsterdam: Rodopi Press, 1995) p.8.

29 Ambrose, p.207.

30 Brome, I.iii.18.

Italy.'[31] He considers Italy in particular to be a highly dangerous place for young, English gentlemen to travel to, noting that it is likely to corrupt them with all manner of 'licentious living.'[32] Again we see the fear over the wrong type of curiosity and the damage that it might do. Sara Warneke elaborates further, explaining that Ascham feared a visit to Italy would corrupt the minds of English travellers, that they would be 'corrupted by the vices of Italy' and return to England as a 'lovers of pleasure.'[33] There is a slight difference here. For Peregrine it was the obsession with travel which caused the disruption, but in this case it is the after effects of that travel which cause the problem. The implication is the same though. An idle desire to see unusual and novel places leads to disruption. Ascham goes on to list the various dangers of travelling to Italy. He warns against very specific threats including the allurement of 'courtesans,' and the overriding sense is one of dread that travellers will return somehow corrupted, their minds, manners and senses disordered.[34]

He fears a disruption in learning, too, that travellers will return to England 'as bad scholars' who have abandoned their education, and as 'ill masters to themselves.'[35] The curiosity for Italy is the wrong kind. It leads directly to the abandonment of more productive, useful types of learning. This is exactly what Augustine feared. It is important to note again, though, that Ascham does not express a fear of travel. He fears the wrong kinds of travel undertaken for the wrong reasons. He dreads the idea that English travellers will seek out the wrong things in Italy, and find themselves corrupted, just as Peregrine has been by his obsessions. For Ascham this will lead to a break down of society at home, a neglecting of good manners and perhaps most importantly of all a cherishing of pleasure at the expense of a good eduction. His is 'a deep mistrust of ill chaperoned travel.'[36] Ascham does not rule out travel in itself, he just suggests that it ought to be chaperoned and thus structured, directed towards the right end. In this way, we can see hints of the wonder/curiosity divide. One must pursue the useful knowledge structure rather than the unproductive one if there is to be any benefit.

Ascham is very clear on the dangers of the wrong kind of travel, but he does offer some advice on what he considers the correct method of travelling:

> Yet, if a gentleman will nedes trauell into Italie, he shall do well, to looke on the life, of the wisest traueler, that euer traueled thether, set out by the wisest writer, that euer spake with tong, Gods doctrine onelie excepted: and that is Vlysses in Homere. Vlysses, and his trauell, I wishe our trauelers to looke vpon, not so much to feare them, with the great daungers, that he many tymes suffered, as to instruct them, with his excellent wisedome, which he alwayes and euerywhere vsed. Yea euen those, that be learned

31 Roger Ascham, *The Scholmaster* (1570) in 'Early English Books Online' <eebo.chadywk.com> Accessed 14th January 2016, p.23.

32 Ascham, p.23.

33 Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern Europe* (London: BRILL Press, 1995) p.105. See also Swapan Chakravorty, *Society and Politics in the Plays of Thomas Middleton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) for further reading on how Ascham's views were not isolated. There was a general fear that travel could corrupt the young mind, especially travel into Italy. Chakravorty describes how there was real anxiety associated with the negative influence of Italy on the English, and how widespread the fears were.

34 Ascham, p.50.

35 Ascham, p.31.

36 Michele Marrapodi and A.J Hoenselaars, *The Italian World of English Renaissance Drama: Cultural Exchange and Intertextuality* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1998) p.122. See also Michael J. Redmond, *Shakespeare, Politics and Italy: Intertextuality on the Jacobean Stage* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 1999) for further reading on the fear of travel to Italy corrupting the youth.

> and wittie trauelers, when they be disposed to prayse traueling, as a great commendacion, and the best Scripture they haue for it, they gladlie recite the third verse of Homere, in his first booke of Odyssea, conteinyng a great prayse of Vlysses, for the witte he gathered, & wisedome he vsed in his traueling.[37]

The advice here is very clear. Ascham does not rule out travel as beneficial per se, but he does rule out any prospect of wonder. Instead, he suggests that travellers ought to use their experiences to 'instruct them' and help them gain 'wisdom.'[38] He wants travellers to seek out a useful knowledge structure, a productive one. Ord writes that Ascham saw travel as dangerous because it might divert students from their true purpose. It might be an 'act of digression' associated with 'loitering and wandering,' which might in turn disrupt 'the soundness and smooth running of the state.'[39] However, as Andrew Hadfield notes, there was some use for travellers venturing even to Italy, and Ascham was aware of this. 'The knowledge gained from sending courtiers to Italy was certainly useful to the authorities,' and this is the crux of the matter.[40] Travel and curiosity about Italy was useful only if it was the correct type of travel, and this is why Ascham offers his advice.[41] He attempts to give traveller's curiosity a useful purpose. Curiosity itself has to serve a purpose.

Travel can be healthy, even useful, but one must seek out the appropriate type of knowledge. One must separate knowledge structures and find a way to make travel, and by extension curiosity, useful. There are other similarities to *The Antipodes*, too. Ascham ventures as far as attributing the urge of English gentlemen to visit Italy in the first place to the many travel books on the country, translated and on sale in countless book shops. He writes that gentlemen are attracted to Italy due to the 'fonde bookes, of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in euery shop in London.'[42] Italian travel writing has clearly spread and, in much the same way that exotic tales enraptured Peregrine and encouraged him to travel, so too does Ascham fear that 'fond' books will lead English gentlemen astray. The use of the word 'fond' suggests that these are wonder books, filled with tales of the wonderful mingled seamlessly with fact, and with very little to distinguish between the two.

Despite Ascham's warning, Italy remained an extraordinarily popular travel destination. Swapan Chakravorty suggests that 'Italy, the gateway to the East, represented for Renaissance England some of the spell and dread of these far-off places,' and with that dread came an inevitable sense of allure.[43] This type of allure is very evident in *The Antipodes*, and so too is a type of travel where curiosity is the main, motivating factor. Curiosity was vital to travel and vice versa. 'Travel was the alpha and omega of collection,' the collection of objects, experiences and curiosities.[44] Ken Arnold charts the rise of travel for curiosity and suggests that it began first as a 'continental culture of collecting' which quickly found its way across the channel.[45] He even notes that English travellers

37 Ascham, p.32.

38 Ascham, p.32.

39 Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (New York: McMillan Press, 2008) p.32.

40 Ascham, p.32.

41 Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545-1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) p.18. See also Sorana Corneanu, *Journal of Early Modern Studies - Volume 2, Issue 2* (Burcharest: Zeta Books, 2013) p.158 for further reading on the perceived dangers of travel.

42 Ascham, p.34.

43 Chakravorty, p.132.

44 Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) p.23.

45 Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curiosities: Looking Back at Early English Museums* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2006) p.15.

began to add ‘museums and galleries to their travel itineraries precisely because they were quite unlike anything they could see at home.’[46] Travel and curiosity were inextricably bound, almost inseparable, and in this way the emphasis was not on separating the two, but on finding a way to shape curiosity into something useful and beneficial, as Ascham hinted and as Brome seems to suggest at the end of *The Antipodes.* If the curiosity associated with travel could be reshaped, there is the suggestion that it *might* be beneficial.

At the beginning of *The Antipodes,* however, there is no sense that Peregrine has heeded Ascham’s advice. Brome chooses the antipodes because the setting was already established as a wondrous location, one associated with a whole host of strange tales. The imaginary voyage to the antipodes was a common trope in the period:

> The first examples of imaginary voyages to the antipodes appearing from the start of the seventeenth century deliberately blurred distinctions between Christian beliefs, pure fantasy and tentative facts, reflecting fascination with the idea that there may actually be a hell on earth or, indeed, a heaven on earth, in the unexplored southern regions.[47]

Arthur goes on to note that the antipodes was such a fruitful plane for the imagination because so little was known about it. As we explored with Aristotle and Plato in the first chapter of this thesis, wonder occurs to fill the void between what is known and unknown, and in this way the antipodes was the perfect breeding ground for the wondrous. This wonder was increased because what records existed were error strewn, so much so that Arthur writes of ‘a complete lack of knowledge of what the truth’ actually was.[48] So many works of fiction existed on the antipodes that fantasy was inevitably blurred with reality. Even Doctor Hughball chooses to base his knowledge on a fictional account, which suggests that people really did struggle to distinguish between the two.

The antipodes was such a common subject of ‘speculative’ writing that it had been part of the public imagination ‘ever since the ancient era.’[49] Brome certainly taps into this rich vein of history. The images of hell, of monsters, giants and fearsome beasts are clearly indicative of this, but there are Edenic qualities too. We are told that ‘virtue in the antipodes only dwells,’ and the play is filled with many such statements, seemingly directly juxtaposed with the images of terrifying monsters.[50] Sasha Davis describes how the period generally saw ‘a shift in the location of Eden to the antipodes,’ and how ‘tropical islands’ in the pacific were usually invested with Edenic qualities.[51] Wolfgang Haas elaborates, suggesting that the antipodes were the perfect location for Eden because they were especially far away and difficult to reach, noting that ‘it was, in fact, necessary for the Garden of Eden to be separate and unreachable from our world,’ and that even during the medieval period the land had been coloured with ‘ancient motifs of legendary and marvellous’ things.[52] We have already discussed in earlier chapters how far flung locations could represent hell, and now we

46 Arnold, p.15.

47 Paul Longley Arthur, *Virtual Voyages: Travel Writing and the Antipodes, 1605-1837* (Amsterdam: Anthem Press, 2009) p.19. Arthur goes on to note that the characterisations of the antipodes often included images of ‘monstrosity, duality and inversion’ (p.34.).

48 Arthur, p.46.

49 Arthur, p.46.

50 Brome, II.viii.29.

51 Sasha Davis, *The Empires’ Edge: Militarisation, Resistance and Transcending Hegemony in the Pacific* (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2015) p.102.

52 Wolfgang Haase, *European Images of the Americas and the Antipodes* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Press, 1994) p.269.

are presented with the opposite: somewhere far away that can represent Eden and all the wonder that accompanies such a location. The antipodes increasingly came to symbolise the ultimate unknown, and therefore the ultimate destination for anyone in search of wonders. It was the borderline of knowledge.

Despite this, Peregrine's frantic search for wonder actually leads to no real movement. In *Mind Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England,* David McInnis writes that 'Peregrine, whose life is focussed exclusively on his desire to travel, is explicitly identified as an armchair traveller.'[53] Peregrine, the figure who travels without actually moving at all, is representative of 'the audience.'[54] The play offers a lens on theatre, and vice versa. Suddenly the theatre can offer travel, and travel can become spectacle, a matter of curiosity in itself. Spectacle even becomes the most important part of travelling, and can even replace the act of travel. This is evident in Peregrine's reaction to apparently sleeping through the voyage. He does not regret missing the act of travelling, he only regrets missing the opportunity to witness further wonders on the way, lamenting that if he had been awake he might have witnessed even more interesting sights. He sadly remarks upon the 'worlds of lands and seas have I passed over/Neglecting to set down my observations!' which, if only he had been awake, must surely have been 'remarkable.'[55] We have already discussed how Brome considered theatre capable of working a therapeutic, useful effect. If the play is an example of travel as curiosity, then the conclusion is even more telling: curiosity can and ought to be useful.

This armchair travelling which Peregrine undertakes, rather seems to set the tone for what follows. Travel has become a secondary impulse purely motivated by a search for the wondrous. In this way there is greater emphasis placed on what McInnis terms 'mind travel.'[56] The importance of travel is not the physical movement involved, but the effect which it has upon the mind. McInnis ventures as far as suggesting that the play is not a celebration of travel, but a celebration of 'vicarious travel,' the joys of reading about curiosities and wonders from foreign countries.[57] The emphasis is on the effects of travel, especially the psychological effects. The emphasis also falls on curiosities, once they are used correctly to serve a useful end. In this way there are clear links to the *Kunstkammer* and the ongoing attempts to find a specific use for the knowledge structure of the curious. In this case, that use comes in the form of drama, and of putting wonders on show to serve a specific purpose.

The play forms a pantheon of wonder even from the very beginning. The actions of Doctor Hughball are described as wondrous long before any mention is made of journeys or travel. His cures are almost miraculous:

> As medicine of the mind, which he infuses
> So skilfully, yet by familiar ways,
> That it begets both wonder and delight
> In his observers, while the stupid patient
> Finds health at unawares.[58]

Even the doctor is linked to wonder, which he is able to draw from anyone who witnesses his cures. We are told that he has remedied even an extraordinary case where a man who walked upside down was subsequently righted, and great emphasis is placed on the fact that these cures operate outside

53 David McInnis, *Mind-Travelling and Voyage Drama in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), p.123.

54 McInnis, p.123.

55 Brome, II.4.17.

56 McInnis, p.124.

57 McInnis, p.125.

58 Brome, I.i.16.

the remit of the apothecary, and therefore outside the boundaries of traditional medical practices too. The wonder of these cures is due to the fact that they operate beyond traditional structures of knowledge, and also because they are worked upon cases which are unusual in themselves. We have encountered this before, in the earlier chapter regarding medicine. The doctor clearly cultivates a sense of mystery, too, apparently shunning public acclaim and practicing 'never in public.'[59] Wonder lies in the mysterious, the out of reach and anything shrouded in the unknown. For the audience, though, this mystery does not last long. Like those supposedly wondrous cures mentioned in the earlier chapters, his workings are quickly transformed to the merely curious. We see how the doctor operates, we are granted a detailed view of his methods and the wonder of his cure is eventually resolved and transformed into curiosity. However, we can see that his work is useful, and it does cure Peregrine. The cures were supposedly wondrous, but we learn how they function and while the curing of Peregrine might be unusual, it is certainly not a miracle. This is an example of something wondrous being transformed into a curiosity, and it is very similar to the herbal remedies discussed in the previous chapter.

Mystery and a strong sense of the unknown motivate Peregrine, too. Once he has resolved those mysteries through witnessing what he perceives to be the antipodes, he is cured of his travel mania and transformed into a useful member of society. Perhaps Ascham was correct after all, there were simply too many travel books and too much information available. Certainly, the plea to Doctor Hughball seems to be one of liberation from information:

> Play the man-midwife, and deliver him
> Of his huge tympany of news: of monsters,
> Pygmies, and giants, apes, and elephants,
> Gryphons and crocodiles, men upon women
> And women upon men, the strangest doings![60]

From this we learn exactly what Peregrine is interested in - 'the strangest doings,' and we also learn what type of travel accounts he has been reading. We learn something else too. This is a plea to be liberated from information, or at least to be liberated from this glut of unfocussed information. There are hints of Augustine here, hints of Ascham and strong overtones of the humanist desire to make knowledge useful. Peregrine does not need to be free of information, he needs to be free of the *wrong kind* of information. He needs to be freed from wonders and unproductive wondering. He needs categorisation. The problem with the list is that it is completely uncategorised and disordered. It includes anything and everything. It is collection without order, information without a structure, and therefore it is not a useful knowledge structure. In examining this problem we ought to return to the role of the editor in travel writing, as explored in earlier chapters. If there are so many accounts on offer, and so much information in the public sphere, then the role of the editor in searching through that information is more important than ever. As these travel accounts were in the public sphere, they were accessible to everyone, and every single reader became an editor of sorts. This is where the problem lies for Peregrine, and where it lies for curiosity in general. Literature and knowledge must be treated correctly for it to be useful.

Peregrine is effectively his own editor and his own curator of travel knowledge, and he chooses only the details which include the strange and the wonderful, those very accounts which Hakluyt and Purchas would have cautioned against, the accounts which Augustine would have objected to, which Ascham wrote against and which Mundus satirised. Peregrine is, like Hakluyt and Purchas, selective, but he purposefully seeks out the most curious accounts, and therefore constructs his own narrative of travel: effectively building his own collection of curiosities from the available accounts.

59 Brome, I.i.71.

60 Brome, I.3.18.

In this way a reader may structure their own narrative through the selection of the texts which they prefer. They can collect their own knowledge. Perhaps this is part of the reason that *The Antipodes* presents such an array of often contradictory elements. We are presented with beneficial aspects such as honest lawyers and eloquent beggars, but at the same time we are told again and again that the country is filled with 'giants' and all manner of 'monsters.'[61] This shows a great contradiction not only in how foreign countries were viewed, but in how knowledge ought to be collected. It is a warning. There are useful elements, social elements which might be of benefit such as those honest lawyers, but also more useless information such as giants and monsters, the more fabulous ideas. In short, we are presented with a land where many useful lessons could be learned, if only the useless knowledge of wonders like giants could be filtered out. Again, there is that implied separation of knowledge structures. Travel itself can be beneficial, if only the correct type of knowledge is sought out and gathered. The play is satirical, hence the presence of honest lawyers and eloquent beggars, but it satirises travel just as much as it satirises society: it parodies those who pursue the wrong type of travel knowledge.

This of course leads to a disordered image of travel, and goes back to the idea that there was simply too much information on offer:

> Drake was a didapper to Mandeville.
> Candish, and Hawkins, Frobisher, all our voyagers
> Went short of Mandeville.[62]

This is not a collection of wonders, but a collection of travel writers, all of them interlinked and all of them influencing each other in different ways. This complicates travel writing, and means that readers of the literature are forced to be more selective and construct their own narratives. This, of course, allows Peregrine to choose the influence of Mandeville over that of Hakluyt or Purchas, and in turn create his own narrative of curiosity. Knowledge is transmitted via a long chain of writers, each working with different impulses and each drawing information from their predecessors. The result is an often contradictory array of sources, allowing a reader to extract only the curious and construct their own narrative - only the most interesting details survive. This filtering process leads to the transition of wonder into curiosity which we have explored over the course of this thesis. As sources were visited again and again they were also studied again. Collections were continually revisited and revised as new knowledge was developed and new definitions were reached, ever shrinking the concept of what constituted a true wonder.

This complicated array of sources was not due simply to the large number of writers, either, but the huge numbers of motivating forces which led them to write in the first place:

> The early modern period witnessed many colonial expeditions and displayed great interest in the literature of travel, actual and fictional, for political, commercial and scientific reasons - but also as a source of aesthetic pleasure.[63]

The purposes of travel were increasingly wide-ranging, and therefore the result of that travel, and the type of account, were often radically different too. That final reason, travel for 'aesthetic pleasure,' was certainly an important motivation and, if *The Antipodes* is anything to go by, it was growing in importance. Sullivan and White go on to pose an important question, namely 'what

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61 Brome, III.v.7.

62 Brome, I.5.11.

63 Ceri Sullivan and Barbara White, *Writing And Fantasy* (New York: Routledge, 2014) p.138.

happens to the experience of travel when it is mind travel only?' before asking 'are those same desires for the marvellous, the exotic and the fantastic answered or frustrated?'[64] This seems to be the crux of the matter - can mind travel ever actually sate the desire for real travel? Moreover, can mind travel actually be a useful form of knowledge building? In *The Antipodes* the answer seems to be a resounding affirmative. Not only does Peregrine 'return' to England and resume his social duties, but he consummates his marriage, seems to purge himself of the Mandeville obsession and even undergoes a personal transformation.

Mind travelling and the transformation of wonder into curiosity are inextricably linked. Wonder is transformed into curiosity when it is collected, when all danger is removed and when it becomes something strange to delight the public rather than an almighty and perhaps deadly mystery. It is wonder under the control of humanity. This is a process which occurs endlessly throughout *The Antipodes.* Peregrine embarks on all manner of dangerous quests which would usually be considered wondrous, but instead lack danger, lack anything which would elevate them above the level of mere spectacle. They have been set up by the doctor, they are under his influence and only operate due to human intervention and direction:

> And thrice, thrice puissant arm he snatcheth down
> The sword and shield that I played Bevis with,
> Rusheth amongst the foresaid properties,
> Kills monster after monster, takes the puppets
> Prisoners, knocks down the Cyclops, tumbles all
> Our jiggumbobs and trinkets to the wall.[65]

This is an inversion of the idea of dangerous travel, and also an inversion of the wondrous. Everything here occurs under human influence. It is all artificially rendered and cannot be termed truly wondrous. There are parallels here with a far earlier work. *Don Quixote* (1605) has been referenced earlier in this thesis in relation to its condemnation of Torquemada's *Garden of Curious Flowers*, but it too portrays a character undergoing mind travel in much the same way as Peregrine. There are striking individual similarities. Sancho's tenure as 'governor' is almost identical to the way Peregrine assumes make-believe authority, and the very structure of the two works, the wandering traveller in search of adventure and wonder, is similar, even though Peregrine doesn't actually go anywhere. Most importantly of all, both Peregrine and Don Quixote are spurred on to their travel by literature. Peregrine is enraptured with travel accounts, while Don Quixote succumbs to chivalric Romances. We learn that 'finally, from so little sleeping and so much reading, his brain dried up and he went completely out of his mind.'[66] *Don Quixote* was influential, as was the idea of mind travelling, with Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* existing as another example of the chivalric hero embarking on imaginary travel.[67] Beaumont's protagonist Rafe becomes a knight errant similar to Don Quixote and travels to all manner of places in his imagination, without actually going anywhere.[68] Evidently, this type of imaginary travel was not an uncommon trope in theatres at the time.

The adventures of both Peregrine and Don Quixote come about from a surfeit of wonder, and both neglect their social duties. Don Quixote, a hidalgo, ought to be more concerned with his property

64 Sullivan and White, p.138.

65 Brome, III.5.23.

66 Cervantes, *Don Quixote* (1612) trans. by Peter Motteux (London: Wordsworth Press, 1992) p.2.

67 See Alex Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: D.S Brewer Press, 2003) p.119 for further reading on the 'striking' similarities between *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and *Don Quixote.* Both texts see characters embark on imaginary journeys.

68 Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607) ed. by Michael Hattaway (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

and tenants. Indeed, we learn that the aspiring knight is so fascinated with books of chivalry that 'he sold many an acre of land to buy books of chivalry to read, and brought home as many of them as he could get.'[69] Torquemada's work on wonder is even one of the books that Don Quixote adores, and it is plain that his is a fascination with the wondrous. It is a useless type of wonder too, the wrong type of knowledge, leading only to neglect of social duties, disaster, and very often humiliation. Don Quixote is certainly a collector in the same way as Peregrine, but he is collecting the wrong type of knowledge. Collection is not to blame, rather it is the fault of the collector for pursuing the wrong type of books. It is especially evident that for curiosity to be useful it must be separated from the purely wondrous and the unproductive.

Tim Youngs argues that Cervantes was 'particularly skilled' in 'exploiting the uncertain boundary between travel writing and the fiction which it was copied from.'[70] The boundaries between fact and fiction were already blurred where travel writing was concerned, and neither Don Quixote nor Peregrine posses the skills or apparently the inclination to separate that fact and fiction, the useful and the useless. C. W. Thompson writes that the world of Don Quixote also incorporates all manner of contradictions, as the setting of Spain had:

> Now more than ever become a scene of the most violent contrasts between honour and sensuality, fanaticism and generosity, gravity and gaiety, energy and laziness.[71]

Cervantes' work can incorporate all the same contrasts and contradictions as *The Antipodes* because its protagonist, like Peregrine, is purposefully seeking out the curious and constructing his own narrative - essentially collecting any tales which are of interest. Don Quixote fills his world with wonders, the most famous example being the windmills taken for those 'thirty monstrous giants.'[72] This incident is strikingly similar to Peregrine's supposedly heroic actions in the make-believe antipodes. Both men embark upon chivalric quests which ought to be highly dangerous, but both are quite safe. Don Quixote's giants are nothing 'but windmills, and what seem to be their arms are the sails that turned by the wind make the millstone go.'[73] There is wonder at play here, but it is only in the mind of Don Quixote as a type of mind-travelling. Both texts show a struggle between fantasy and reality, what Young terms 'the puncturing of fantasy and the injection of realism'[74] This is a ripe breeding ground for curiosity. With reality and fiction so ill-defined, travellers like Peregrine and Don Quixote need only pick the travel narratives which offer them the details they desire. Don Quixote chooses to believe that the tales of chivalric knights are absolute fact in the same way that Peregrine chooses to believe whole heartedly in the works of Mandeville, while choosing to reject more respected authors like Hakluyt and Purchas. It is a matter of how information is selected, used, and how knowledge is built. It is also a suggestion of a splitting of knowledge structures, the wondrous from the curious, the productive from the unproductive.

The difference between the two works perhaps best summarises the difference between wonder and curiosity. While Peregrine eventually finds a use for the the curiosities of travel, Alex Nava suggests that Cervantes' work was designed as 'a celebration of what elevates life, joy and laughter,

69 Cervantes, p.101.

70 Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) p.6.

71 C. W. Thompson, *French Romantic Travel Writing: Chateaubriand to Nerval* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) p.177.

72 Cervantes, p.63.

73 Cervantes, p.63.

74 Youngs, p.87.

wonder and goodness.'[75] *Don Quixote* is a celebration of emotion which reminds readers even today of 'the wonders of reality,' and serves an emotional, contemplative purpose, whereas the conclusion of *The Antipodes* is a reminder that curiosity can serve a practical, useful purpose. The one is linked to contemplative, emotional states, the other to practicable utility. This is an important differentiating factor between the knowledge structures of wonder and curiosity. Peregrine's experiences lead him to fulfil what would have been considered the most useful social role possible - 'getting children was arguably the most distinct domestic cultural imperative at this time.'[76] Both characters are cured of their curiosity by the end of the works. Don Quixote renounces his fascination with chivalric texts as 'all that nonsense,' and is deemed 'indeed in his right mind,' and of course Peregrine returns to society having consummated his marriage and takes his place as a functioning member of the community.[77] Grzegorz Moroz writes that 'the traveller's mind, a quintessentially Quixotic mind, rejects bodily stability,' and yet at the end of the two works both characters seem to establish a certain stability. As Marina Tarlinskaja states: 'the make-believe world of the antipodes satisfies the young man's longing, and all ends well.'[78] Peregrine does undergo a personal transformation, suggesting once again that curiosities are an adequate substitute for actual wonders. One needn't risk danger or venture into the unknown for travel to work a psychological effect. Moreover, curiosities might actually be useful as they bring with them a possibility for resolution absent from the wondrous. Peregrine takes what he has learned during his imaginary adventure, brings it home and applies it, perhaps a useful outcome for a traveller after all. It remains difficult to tell what actually cures Peregrine, either the consummation of his marriage or the sating of his curiosity for foreign lands, or perhaps it is a combination of the two. Either way, he is able to return to society and function as part of that society. Ambrose suggests that Peregrine is actually cured through 'travel':

> It rights the wrong of Peregrine's wandering mind (the disease of travel and, by extension, ignorance of his patriarchal duties) by inverting the travel paradigm, bringing fantasies of foreign conquest home.[79]

Essentially, Peregrine has satisfied his curiosity. The disruption has been resolved and he is able to return renewed. This could never be the case with the wondrous, which in its true form cannot be resolved. In this way it seems that mind travelling, and the witnessing of curiosities, is a cathartic, beneficial experience. It certainly works a transformative effect on Peregrine. This is perhaps because curiosities can serve a genuine purpose, and can be utilised to emphasise a practical point too. Paul Longley Arthur writes that texts such as *The Antipodes* do not exist merely as 'whimsical extravaganzas of the imagination,' but instead 'they were arenas for critical comments on politics, the church, social systems and customs of the day and, perhaps initially by chance, they also began to construct a moral framework.'[80] This certainly seems to be the case with *The Antipodes*. A type

75 Nava, p.144.

76 Mathew Boyd Goldie, *The Idea of the Antipodes* (New York: Routledge, 2010) p.87.

77 Cervantes, p.823.

78 Marina Tarlinskaja, *Shakespeare and the Versification of English Drama, 1561-1642* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), p.248. See also Todd Wayne Butler, *Imagination and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) for further reading on the 'transformation' of Peregrine and how, for Butler, this transformation occurs because travel in the antipodes, no matter how artificial, nonetheless teaches him a lesson in 'seizing the initiative,' p.12.

79 Ambrose, p.227.

80 Paul Longley Arthur, *Virtual Voyages: Travel Writing and The Antipodes 1605-1837* (London: Anthem Press, 2011) p.19.

of social examination can occur alongside personal change during travel, and the fact that this can be artificially rendered on the stage demonstrates just how important mind travel, a type of curiosity in itself, had become. If the play is also a comment on society, it is interesting to note how Peregrine behaves once he believes he is ruler of the country. For one so eager to witness curiosities, he is especially keen to eliminate anything different from the antipodes. Peregrine wins the throne through supposed conquest:

> And (having cut the infernal ugly faces,
> All into mammocks) with a reverend hand,
> He takes the imperial diadem and crowns
> Himself King of the Antipodes, and believes
> He has justly gained the kingdom by his conquest.[81]

If it were true, this would be a highly wondrous and highly dangerous account, but of course it is entirely fantastical. Peregrine may enjoy all the entertainment of such actions without any of the accompanying danger and indeed, the advice from the doctor is simply to 'let him enjoy his fancy.'[82] Not only is travel no longer dangerous, it is just a matter of 'fancy,' an artificial construct to delight an audience.

When Peregrine believes himself to rule, his behaviour is telling. For someone apparently so eager to see strange and unusual things, all of the laws and reforms he attempts to bring into force are designed to make the antipodes less strange, to make them seem more like home. The only part of the culture which he accepts is bear baiting, and only because it occurs in England. The urge may be to seek out wonder, but that urge quickly transforms into a desire for normality. Peregrine does his utmost to squash any wonder. This is the process which actually serves to transform wonder into curiosity. There may be an urge to witness wonder, but that urge is quickly supplanted by other urges: the urge to collect, the urge to record, the urge to categorise and explain. Wonder leads to an urge to lower and to control. Wonder seeks resolution, and is therefore always self-limiting. All of this is a manifest determination to normalise the strange, and all of it contributes to the transformation of wonder into curiosity. When witnessing perceived wonders, no matter how much he wanted to see them, Peregrine's overwhelming impulse is to negate the wondrous and solve the problem. In the very first chapter we explored the thinking of Aristotle and Plato, both of whom wrote extensively on the natural urge to 'solve' the wondrous. Perhaps the curative nature of the antipodes is linked to this. Once Peregrine has actually sated his curiosity, he can function within society. Wonder itself is cured.

The construction of the antipodes is very interesting too. It is a satirical land where everything is the opposite of England: customs, behaviour, social norms - they are all turned upside down. The audience are told that 'the people are contrary to us,' but everything else is too - mice chase cats, deer pursue hounds, one sheep is capable of worrying 'a dozen foxes,' and the people use oxen to hunt dogs.[83] The implication seems to be that if a person travels far enough, they will literally find the exact opposite of where they have come from. The distance of the journey seems to dictate this. Society can be reflected abroad, but it will be an inverse society. These curiosities are rendered on the stage. The players, under the command of Letoy and the doctor, are able to artificially recreate the wondrous and quite literally turn the world upside down, while ensuring that human influence is never lost. This cannot be real wonder as it is not beyond the reach of humanity. Still, a social good is done with this upside down society, which serves to correct real, home society. There are hints of this throughout. Examples such as honest lawyers are clearly social commentary. Audience member

81 Brome, III.iv.26.

82 Brome, III.v.32.

83 Brome, III.iii.87.

and traveller are conflated throughout, and if Peregrine is cured by his travel, perhaps if audience members were to learn something from the inverse society presented on stage, then real world society may benefit too. The idea is the same: curiosity can be useful. Spectacle can serve a social good. This is far removed from the warnings of Augustine referenced in the first chapter.

There is a comment on the way in which travel is recorded, too. When Peregrine tells Hughball to 'speak like a traveller,' the doctor responds with a great deal of poetry, speaking in lofty, lyrical terms:

> Peregrine, I do remember, as we past the verge
> O' th' upper world, coming down, down-hill,
> The setting sun then bidding them good night,
> Came gliding easily down by us and struck
> New day before us, lighting us our way;
> But with such heat that, till he was got far
> Before us, we even melted.[84]

This is not the language of writers like Hakluyt and Purchas. It is the language of wonder, the language of poets and playwrights looking to delight their audiences. If this is the result of being told to 'speak like a traveller,' then the implication is that travel itself has become inextricably linked to the dramatic and literary arts.[85] One would hardly expect a fact based account similar to those of Richard Hakluyt to be constructed using such poetical language, rather this is the language of wonder.

The play does, as Shankar Raman suggests, 'engage deeply the changing status of travel in early modern Europe. In particular, it reflects on the uncanny connections between theatrical and proto-colonial voyaging.'[86] Even more pertinently, Raman writes that in the end the play shows 'the wonder at things far-fetched and distant transmuted into the audience's delight at theatre's homely pleasures.'[87] This is the process of the wondrous being transformed into the merely curious, and a useful type of curious at that. The entire play is an act of pageantry, a way of putting travel on show, and a suggestion that the displaying of travel is equatable with actual, physical travel. Travel becomes a matter of curiosity, and curiosity becomes useful. Mind travel is the most vital component in transforming wonder into curiosity. Perhaps it is Stephen Greenblatt who most succinctly summarises the process, writing that 'the utopian moment of travel occurs when you realise that what seems unattainably marvellous, most desirable, is what you almost already have, what you could have - if only you could strip away the banality and corruption of the everyday at home.'[88] Essentially, the utopian moment of travel occurs when one encounters wonder and realises that it is not in fact beyond our reach, but that it is attainable, understandable: that we might even be able to make use of it. This is the nature of the wonder into curiosity transition. It is a lowering of the wondrous to the human level, be that in terms of human categorisation, human understanding or human influence. It is the resolution of wonder's disruption, but more importantly it is a separation of two different knowledge structures. Wonder and curiosity are separated, and this means that the category of the curious gains a status. It can be useful where once it was considered a harmful vice.

It is useful to return again to Stukeley's image of the stones at Avebury. The difference between the man who is wondering and the man who is merely curious is hopefully now more apparent. The

84 Brome, II.iv.18.

85 Brome, II.iv.27.

86 Shankar Raman, *Renaissance Literatures and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011) p.132.

87 Raman, p.132.

88 Greenblatt, p.25.

man who is wondering is lost in contemplation, admiring the stones, while the man who is curious is studying, reading a guide, taking notes and surveying them. Curiosity is linked to empirical study and the development of knowledge, while wonder remains linked to contemplation. Again, it is worth returning to the first chapter of this thesis and the difference between Stukeley's writings on the stones and Sidney's, as the latter used them as objects of moral meditation. Wonder still existed, but as we have discussed over the course of this thesis, the definition of a true wonder was increasingly narrowed, the criteria ever more lengthy and detailed. Divine miracles of course still existed, and served that contemplative, meditative purpose. A wonder was something which could not be resolved, a mystery which could not be solved, and was therefore unproductive in terms of knowledge building. Abraham Kuyper links wonder explicitly to uncertainty, and moreover a type of uncertainty which disrupts daily life. He writes that 'as a rule you live life with a complete feeling of certainty,' never having to pause and doubt 'whether what you are hearing or perceiving is real.'[89] Wonder remains something contemplative, something linked to the divine, but it is separated from the curious. Empirical enquiry was increasingly linked to the collection and examination of curiosities, whereas wonders and especially divine wonder remained linked to speculative knowledge only. There can be no hope of comprehending God in the same way that one might comprehend curiosities. It is a shift in knowledge structures, but it is also a separation in those structures and a separation in terms which were, as we have noted, always difficult to define. The transition of wonder into curiosity represents a big division between categories of knowledge, and this is important. We see the curious develop its own status, while previously it had none.

Travel was essential in this process. Travel makes that which seems unattainable attainable, and the collection of those marvellous and most desirable things, the placing of them in *Kunstkammer*, in literary collections of wonder or, in the case of *The Antipodes*, on stage, strips away all the danger, the exploration and the physical travel associated with witnessing the wondrous. In this way they become curiosities, objects of interest but also part of everyday life and deprived of wonder. We saw this process clearly at work in *The Antipodes.* At the end of the play Peregrine's wonder has been transformed into a useful type of curiosity as he returns to fulfil his social duties. We have seen this process repeatedly over the course of the thesis. The chapter on medicine was especially telling. Wondrous cures were encountered through travel, collected, categorised, brought home and transformed into curiosities which were in turn the basis for further study and learning. Curiosities could be used to build knowledge. It is very clear that curiosity as a knowledge structure has travelled great distances since the days of Augustine when it was considered a vice. Now it can form the basis for empirical study and enquiry. In this way, collection was suddenly an important methodology, and the term 'Cabinet of Curiosities' may even be redundant. To consider these collections as nothing more than curiosities seems out of date. This is the crux and purpose of this thesis, to examine not only how and why wonder was transformed into curiosity, but what this separation of knowledge structures actually meant for the curious. Over the course of the period curiosity was transformed from an unproductive vice to a structure of knowledge which was the very foundation of empirical enquiry. The process was not, therefore, simply one of separation, of one area of knowledge being differentiated from the other, but a matter of development - the establishment of curiosity's individual status.

89 Abraham Kuyper, *Wisdom and Wonder: Common Grace in Science and Art* (Michigan: Christian's Library Press, 2011) p.68.

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