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The Odcombian Climber: How Thomas Coryate Employed Media for Social Advantage

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University.

by

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## Table of Contents

Abstract .....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One .....	7
Chapter Two.....	24
Chapter Three.....	41
Conclusion .....	56
Bibliography .....	58
Appendix A.....	62
Appendix B .....	66
Appendix C .....	72
Appendix D.....	75

## Abstract

THE ODCOMBIAN CLIMBER: HOW THOMAS CORYATE EMPLOYED MEDIA FOR  
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By Julian T. Neuhauser, M.A.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at  
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Thomas Coryate (1577?-1617), the writer, traveler and social climber, embraced various media in order to achieve social gains. This thesis surveys the content and materiality of writings by and about Coryate to investigate the nature of his sociability. The study begins by drawing on John Hoskyns' (1566–1638) poem, "Convivium philosophicum," to explore how Coryate used oral and social performance to create a unique form of sociability through which mockery is transmuted into praise. This thesis then addresses how Coryate's sociability factored into the conflation of aspects of manuscript and print media in the production of the "Panegyricke Verses" that were published with Coryate's travel narrative, *Coryats Crudities* (1611). Finally, it gauges the success of Coryate's social maneuvering by analyzing Coryate's follow up to his travel narrative, *Coryats Crambe* (1611) and an anonymously pirated version of the "Panegyricke Verses," *The Odcombian Banqvvet* (1611).

## Introduction

It makes sense to begin a thesis about sociability in early modern books with a social mechanism that typically takes up the first pages of a book: the dedication. Dedications are familiar to the modern reader as a statement of appreciation addressed loved ones or a statement thanks to a mentor, assistant, or institution. Though these dedications are made public, they remain private matters, oftentimes existing in their entirety in the simple form of “For [name],” the literary equivalent of a knowing look. The dedications in early modern books, on the other hand, were usually much lengthier and almost always took the form of a “dedicatory epistle” (or letter) rather than a simple address. Furthermore, early modern dedications also differ from twenty-first century ones in that they serve entirely public ends. These ends sometimes included attempts to secure a patron’s defense of a work (that is, to say it is indeed worth reading), to associate the author with the dedicatee, and to make conspicuous statements, aimed not really at the dedicatee, but at the larger reading audience. The dedicatory epistle prefacing Thomas Coryate’s 1611 travel narrative, *Coryat’s Crudities* was meant to serve all of these purposes.

Coryate (1577?-1617) dedicated his book to Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594-1612), the expected heir to the English throne and a common target for those who would aim at social advancement by flattery. Coryate addressed his book in a typically laudatory fashion: “TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE HENRY, PRINCE OF VVALES, *Duke of Cornwall and Rothsay, Earle of Chester, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, &c.*” Though Coryate directly addresses Prince Henry, his dedication begins by immediately bringing in a third entity:

those who would be critical of his work. The first sentence that Coryate writes to Henry is: “Though [sic] I am very confidently perswaded... that I shall expose my selfe to the seuere censure at the least, if not to the scandalous calumniations of diuers carping criticks, for presuming to dedicate to your Highnesse the green fruits of my short travels.”<sup>1</sup> In this first sentence, Coryate has acknowledged that his dedication (and by extension, his book) is a social item simply by mentioning the “carping criticks,” who could actually only take up their role by joining into the conversation via reading the book itself. By reading the book, the critics would presumably read Coryate’s epistle and enter into the social situation established by Coryate’s book. The social situation created here was anchored by Prince Henry’s absolute social role. As the author, Coryate could cast himself and his critics into any roles he chose. Thus, Coryate used the dedication to develop and control a form of sociability.

Coryate explains why he is dedicating *Crudities* to Prince Henry as the epistle continues, though the more nuanced impetus behind his dedication must be teased out. Coryate tells the prince that his “patronage... may perhaps yield some litle encouragement to many nobel and generose yong Gallants that follow your highnesse Court, and give attendance to your Peerlese person, to trauell into forraine countries, and inrich themselues partly with the obseruations, and partly with the languages of outlandish regions.” Here, Coryate is stating that he hopes the Prince’s endorsement of his work will encourage the Prince’s friends to travel, learn languages and, thus, as Coryate continues, “they will be made fit to doe your Highnesse and their Country the better seruice.” Yet it is not the Prince’s reading of Coryate’s letter that will encourage his friends to travel, but their own reading of it. Again, one sees Coryate build a social space in which he is in control of the social roles. Only by reading the book, and by extension, the

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<sup>1</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>a4r.



dedicatory epistle, can the Prince's friends learn how to make themselves more useful to him. In this instance, their success depends of their emulation of Coryate. So, Coryate has made himself a model for Henry's friends.

This explanation could be read as a way to encourage more of Prince Henry's coterie to read his book, but a closer look shows that Coryate's own literary success is not his top concern. The art historian, Roy Strong, discusses in his book, *Henry Prince of Wales* (1986) Henry's fierce attraction to certain topics. Strong shows that courtiers (both current and aspiring) offered Henry gifts that reflected or were associated with his interests (such as the navy and travel) but that they often did so on extravagant scales. For instance, in 1604, a shipwright named Phineas Pett (1570-1647) presented Henry with a twenty-eight-foot boat, "adorned within and without with much carving and painted decoration," a gift that apparently served to "reinforce" Henry's "initial interest... to ships and the sea."<sup>2</sup> Having been rewarded for his gift with preferment, in 1608 Pett designed and built the *Prince Royal*, a ship that "Henry regarded as his own."<sup>3</sup> The *Prince Royal* was gargantuan: the first triple-decked ship in the English navy, made from 1627 loads of timber, with "£868 pounds being spent on its gilding and painting."<sup>4</sup>

The magnitude of this gift apparently suited the Prince and suggests that gifts of that scale were typically given to the Prince. Like the *Prince Royal*, Coryate's gift of his *Crudities* engaged with one of Prince Henry's interests (travel) but exemplified it maximally. In its entirety, *Coryates Crudities* is made up of three distinct parts—the "Panegyricke Verses," Coryates relation of his travels, and a section of predominantly Latin poems written by Coryate's father. In total, the book covers almost one thousand pages in quarto format. In the part of his

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<sup>2</sup> Strong, 57.

<sup>3</sup> Strong, 57.

<sup>4</sup> Strong, 58.

doctoral dissertation that deals with *Coryats Crudities*, Philip S. Palmer remarks on the high price of *Crudities*: “Considering most quarto travel books were comparable in size and cost to playbooks, which likely sold for six pence in this period, *Coryats Crudities* was far and away the most expensive smaller-format English travel book available in early seventeenth-century London.”<sup>5</sup> It seems that Coryate intended to make the biggest book that he could, and even supplemented his own observations with “the discourse of learned men, and certaine Latin books that [he] found in Italie.”<sup>6</sup>

Though Henry indeed held a distinct interest in travel, he never got the chance to travel himself.<sup>7</sup> Instead, as Strong notes, Prince Henry’s “friends acted as his eyes and ears regarding all that was new on their journeys abroad.”<sup>8</sup> Coryate’s book, then, was an attempt at allowing the prince to vicariously enjoy the experiences of his friends. Strong points out that the itinerary of *Crudities* takes the reader through the same journey as Henry’s friends: “through France and over the Alps into Italy to Venice and back over the Alps by way of Germany and the Low Countries.”<sup>9</sup> With the route described by *Crudities* in mind, one can see that Coryate’s hope that the Prince’s friends will read his book and be inspired to go abroad is actually a method of situating himself in an advantageous position within an existing social paradigm.

But Coryate’s book was more than just thoughtfully dedicated. This thesis explores how *Coryats Crudities* and other writings by and about Thomas Coryate display his strange though ultimately characteristic form of sociability. The first chapter explores Coryate’s social position during the period in which he published *Crudities* by analyzing John Hoskyns’ (1566–1638)

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<sup>5</sup> Palmer, 200.

<sup>6</sup> *Crudities*, 2a5v.

<sup>7</sup> As Strong points out, “Henry was to be denied... [this] vital experience,” (45). Henry’s youth and value as the heir to the English throne could explain why he was not allowed this opportunity.

<sup>8</sup> Strong, 46.

<sup>9</sup> Strong, 46.

poem, “Convivium philosophicum.” This manuscript poem was originally written in Latin (though Chapter One considers it in a seventeenth-century English translation) and recounts a convivial dinner held by a group of wits known as the Mermaid Club. The poem consists of Jokes and jests exchanged in the social space that was this dinner, the majority of which are told at Coryate’s expense. As Hoskyns was a member of Coryate’s social circle, analysis of “Convivium philosophicum” lays out how Coryate was seen by his peers: though no one present at the dinner identified as a professional writer at the time, the guests included some of the early seventeenth-century’s most famous artistic figures, including John Donne and Inigo Jones. The poem paints Coryate as a man possessing the social intelligence necessary to grant him a social fluidity among his very socially significant friends. “Convivium philosophicum” shows how Coryate was able to convert mockery into praise by working within the confines of the oral medium to secure social gains.

After establishing Coryate’s role and how he used it to his advantage within his social circle, the second chapter moves on to show how that role affected the sociability of his book by way of the prefatory “Panegyricke Verses.” These poems were written by 59 separate contributors and comprise more than 100 pages of the *Crudities*. They, in the fashion of the dinner described in “Convivium philosophicum,” were for the most part satirical jests at the man who played the fool, Coryate. Analysis of the conditions under which the “Panegyricke Verses” were composed offers a view of sociability within Coryate’s social circle. A close reading of John Donne’s panegyric verse will provide the Mermaid Club’s relationship to Coryate. It will also exhibit how Coryate’s interaction with the verses between their composition and their printing. Coryate’s mid-production treatment of the verses exemplify his almost tactile awareness of the media through which his social climbing took place and how he was able to

carry his technique of playing the fool for praise from the oral to the print medium. As Chapter Two explores, Coryate's method of making this transition relied on embracing some of the conventions of print media to encourage a sympathetic reading from his audience.

Coryate's social success in print can be measured by two more books published in 1611: his follow up to *Crudities*, *Coryats Crambe*, and a pirated version of the "Panegyricke Verses," called by its anonymous editor *The Odcombian Banquet*. Chapter Three first considers how *Coryats Crambe* supports Coryate's intentions of social mobility and how it affects the reading of *Coryats Crudities*. The chapter continues by considering the social consequences that *The Odcombian Banquet* had on Coryate. When Coryate found that the "Panegyricke Verses" had been pirated, the theft caused him social damage rather than financial or intellectual-property-related damages. Coryate responded to this social problem by again engaging with the text on the level of media. Coryate's interaction with the "Panegyricke Verses," the publication of his *Crambe*, and his in-print response to *The Odcombian Banquet* were attempts at maintaining control of his *Crudities*, ensuring that it served certain social ends.

## Chapter One

*Coryats Crudities* was a strongly social item, and, as the introduction pointed out above, the remarkable sociability of the book began in the dedicatory epistle.<sup>10</sup> That already typically social component of an early modern text was made to serve extraordinary social purposes. Whatever the other goals of the dedicatory epistle, at the very least it publicly advertised a connection between Coryate and Prince Henry. But Coryate also used the dedicatory epistle to associate himself with two other men, Lionel Cranfield (1575-1645) and Laurence Whitaker (1578-1654). Coryate explains that he had initially intended to not publish his *Crudities* at the time he did, saying, “I resolved rather to conceale them from the world... if the importunity of some of my deare friends had not preuailed with me for diuulging the same.”<sup>11</sup> Here, Coryate is crediting his “friends” with urging him to produce *Coryats Crudities*. Coryate continues by naming these friends of his: “whereof one amongst the rest, namely that right worshipfull Gentleman my most sincere and entire friend M. Lionel Cranfield was the original and principal animator of me; and another of my friends, euen learned M. Laurence Whitaker that elegant Linguist and worthy traueler.”<sup>12</sup> By naming his friends, and there by and thereby associating himself with them, Coryate is attempting to transitively absorb any social capital that Cranfield and Whitaker may have garnered in their own lives. Both Cranfield and Whitaker ended up contributing to the “Panegyricke Verses” but Cranfield also appears as one of the diners in John Hoskyns’ manuscript poem recounting a jovial dinner, “Convivium philosophicum.”

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<sup>10</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, I have constructed the following definition of “sociability”: the actions one takes to affect their social standing within their community and the effect of those actions, conceived as a state of being.

<sup>11</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>a8v.

<sup>12</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>a8v.

“Convivium philosophicum” is a poem that has received most of its attention because it gives a glimpse into what may be one of the first early modern literary clubs, upon whose model other sub-courtly social groups build their social circles. However, the poem finds its way into this thesis because it is almost entirely about Thomas Coryate. It is no coincidence that one of the most revealing poems about early modern sociability finds its focus in Thomas Coryate. In this poem, Coryate is shown to hold a well-defined social position, but the poem also shows that Coryate actively engages with and gets the most out of that position. Coryate uses his social role to his advantage, as the following reading of the poem will argue, by utilizing the media of social performance, including oration and spectacle.<sup>13</sup> The poem begins:

1  
Whosoever is contented  
That a number be convented  
    Enough but not too many ;  
The *Miter* is the place decreed,  
For witty jests and cleanly feed,  
    The betterest of any.

This first stanza serves to set the scene, giving “The *Miter*” tavern as the place where diners will feast on “cleanly feed,” or good food, and playfully lance each other with “witty jests.” This stanza also sets up the social situation; to suggest “that a number be convented / Enough but not to many” points to a desirable size of a social group, and suggests an air of exclusivity; the group is not open to just anyone. The inclusion of only certain individuals, most of whom had professions in law or politics, is not striking because it was particularly uncommon, but because we see a curated group of mixed social statuses, conveying that the Mermaid Club (so named by

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<sup>13</sup> The text of the poem used in this chapter is taken from Appendix A of Louise Brown Osborn’s book, *The Life, Letters, and Writings of John Hoskyns 1566-1638* (Archon Books, 1973.) “Convivium philosophicum” was written in Latin by John Hoskyns and it is thought that John Reynolds (1584-1614) made the following English translation in the seventeenth century. For more on the English version of this poem, see Osborn, 288. For convenience’s sake, I have numbered the stanzas of the poem.

literary historians because their other recorded meeting place was the Mermaid Tavern) was convened with some intention in mind. It is the contention of this chapter—indeed of this entire thesis—that the point of this group was organized to enable the courtly and, more generally, social advancement of its members.

The “witty jests” alluded to in the first stanza begin almost immediately. As the author of the poem, John Hoskyns (1566-1638), begins curating his list of guests, he makes puns of their names. Some of these puns are more straight-forward than others.

2  
There will come, though scarcely current,  
Christopherus surnamèd *Torrent*,  
    And John ycleped *Made*,  
And Arthur *Meadow-pigmies’-foe*,  
To sup, his dinner will forgoe,  
    Will come as soon as bade.

In this first naming stanza, “Christopherus surnamèd *Torrent*,” refers to Christopher Brooke (?-1628), the words current and torrent being forms of running water, like a brook. The John mentioned in the next line, “John ycleped *Made*” is John Donne (1573-1631), for when something has been made, it has been done. The next diner, referred to as “Arthur *Meadow-pigmies’-foe*,” has a bit more of a convoluted explanation. The person being referred to is Arthur Ingram (c. 1565 – 1642), who was as a buyer and developer of properties and estates. This work likely took a toll on the small wildlife creatures, or “*pigmies*” inhabiting the properties, or “*Meadow[s]*,” which he developed, making him their “*foe*.”<sup>14</sup>

3  
Sir Robert *Horse-lover* the while  
*Ne let* Sir Henry count it *vile*  
    Will come with gentle speed ;

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<sup>14</sup> See Anthony F. Upton’s *Sir Arthur Ingram c.1565-1642 A Study of the Origins of an English Landed Family* (OUP, 1961) pages 23-35 for an indication of Ingram’s property dealings during the period in which “Convivium philosophicum” was written.

And *Rabbit-tree-where-acorn-grows*  
And John surnamèd *Little-hose*  
Will come if there be need.

The “Sir Robert *Horse-lover*” in this stanza refers to Sir Robert Phelips (c. 1586–1638). The phoneme “Phel” sounds like the Greek word for affection, *philia* (Φιλία); Phelips was honored with a knighthood, which, though it was ultimately symbolic in the early modern period, was still closely associated with horse-mounted military commanders. Hoskyns mixed this phoneme with Phelips’ social status to get “Sir Robert *Horse-lover*.” The Sir Henry mentioned in the following line, “*Ne let* Sir Henry count it *vile*,” is Sir Henry Neville (1561/2–1615), Neville being a near anagram of the italicized words: “*Ne let*” and “*vile*.” The italicized words also bare a similarity to the Neville family motto: “*ne vile velis*.”<sup>15</sup> The next naming line actually names two diners. “*Rabbit-tree-where-acorn-grows*” first references Richard Connock (?-c.1620) his last name being taken as cony, a word for “*rabbit*” and oak, a type of “*tree*”. The other diner named here is Lionel Cranfield (1575–1645). Phonetically Cranfield sounds like acorn field, or a field “*where*” an “*acorn*” tree “*grows*”. The last person named in this stanza is “John surnamèd *Little-hose*,” or John Hoskyns himself. Hoskyns is read as a combination of “*hose*” and kin, a suffix that forms a diminutive version of a word, producing “*Little-hose*.”

4  
And Richard *Pewter-waster* best  
And Henry *Twelve-month-good* at least  
And John *Hesperian* true.  
If any be desiderated  
He shal bee americiated  
Forty-pence in issue.

The naming continues in the next stanza with “Richard *Pewter-waster*,” or Richard Martin (1570–1618). This pun comes from the word “*mar*,” as in to ruin and therefore waste, and “*tin*,”

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<sup>15</sup> See Katharine Eisaman Maus and Elizabeth D. Harvey’s *Soliciting Interpretation: literary theory and Seventeenth-century English Poetry* (U of Chicago Press, 1990), page 39.



a sort of metal, as is pewter. The next name, “Henry *Twelve-month-good*,” refers to Sir Henry Goodere (bap. 1571, d. 1627), as in good year (twelve months). The last diner mentioned in this stanza is “John *Hesperian*,” a clear reference to John West,<sup>16</sup> as “*Hesperian*” is from the Latin *hesperi*, meaning west.

5.a  
Hugh the *Inferior Germayne*,  
Nor yet unlearned nor prophane  
Inego *Ionicke-piller*

The final naming stanza names “Hugh the *Inferior Germayne*,” or Hugh Holland (1563–1633). Holland is also known as the Netherlands. Nether and “*Inferior*” both mean below, and Holland is very near Germany, a larger and more mountainous country. In terms of both elevation and territory, Holland is below, or “*Inferior*” to “*Germayne*.” The last pun-named diner is “Inego *Ionicke-piller*,” or Inigo Jones (1573–1652) who, as an architect, would have drawn and otherwise dealt with ionic pillars, an architectural feature. It is half way through this stanza, after the other diners at the “Convivium philosophicum” have been introduced, that Coryate makes his first appearance.

5.b  
But yet the number is not ri<gh>ted;  
If Coriate bee not invited,  
The jeast will want a tiller.

Coryate’s position is immediately defined; he is said to “right” the number, recalling the oxymoronic vague precision introduced in the first stanza, “Enough but not too many.” Not only does Coryate complete the table, but unlike the other guests, he is assigned a role with the line, “The jeast will want a tiller.” A “tiller” is that which readies a field to be planted with seed, so

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<sup>16</sup> A completely accurate identification of this John West is dependent on further research.

the line suggests that Coryate's presence was a prerequisite for the coming "jeast[ing]." The metaphor of Coryate being a tool to facilitate jibes is continued in the next stanza:

6  
For wittily on him, they say,  
As hammers on an anvil play,  
    Each man his jeast may breake.  
When Coriate is fudled well,  
His tounge begins to talke pel-mel,  
    He Shameth nought to speake.

This stanza carries two meanings: the first is that each of the named diners may sharpen their wit by hammering their jokes against Coryate, the "anvil" so hard that they break their "jeast[s]," befuddling Corayte to the point where, instead of not replying with anything at all, he shamelessly attempts a response, which comes out "pel-mel," a mixed up, incoherent response.

The other meaning is that Coryate, the obstinate "anvil" can withstand the "jeast[s]" hammered onto him by the diners. The jokes shatter before Coryate does, and as Coryate grows drunker, more "fudled,"<sup>17</sup> he loses his sense of decorum, responding in a shameless "pel-mel" fashion. In this instance, the definition of "pel-mel" is still one of indiscriminate mixture, but it carries with it valances of equality and combat. The OED's second definition of pel-mel, "with reference to combatants: without keeping ranks; hand to hand, man to man; in a mêlée,"<sup>18</sup> evokes an even playing field, where the social status of, for instance, Sir Robert Phelips is forgotten by Coryate, as the now "fudled" "anvil" directs "jeast[s]" at his higher-born friend without shame. The remainder of the poem supports this second reading, as it highlights some of the ways in which Coryate self-determines, or at least makes fluid, his social position. The acknowledgement of Coryate's social adaptability begins with the very next stanza:

7  
A boy he was devoid of skill

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<sup>17</sup> It is fair to imagine that in this tavern every roast of Coryate comes with a toast of an alcoholic beverage.

<sup>18</sup> From the OED. [http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=pell+mell&\\_searchBtn=Search](http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=pell+mell&_searchBtn=Search)

With white-pots and oaten-cakes at will  
Somersetized.  
And is a man with Scots and Angles  
With silken scarfes and with spangels  
Fitly accommodated.

In his printed works, Coryate is constantly reminding the reader that he hails from the Town of Odcombe in Somerset. The word “white-pot” refers to a type of milky pudding local to southwestern England. That this dish has “Somersetized” Coryate could mean that eating it since he was “a boy” has made him identify profoundly with Somerset. The reference to the warring medieval factions of “Scots and Angles”, followed immediately by a reference to certain affectations of dress (“scarfes” and “spangels”)<sup>19</sup> could be a clue that the Mermaid Club, like clubs that formed later, such as the Tityre-tus, had a sort of identifying dress code. Timothy Raylor, who talks about the Mermaid Club as a sort of precursor the Tityre-tus calls the later club a “roistering gang of young blades.”<sup>20</sup> Raylor quotes a contemporary man, Walter Younge, as recording in his diary that the Tityre-tus “were to know one another by a black bugle which they wore, and their followers to be known by a blue ribbond.”<sup>21</sup> Though there is no reason to think that the Mermaid Club and Coryate would have dressed in a certain way to show paramilitary allegiance, the apparently ostentatious Coryate could have certainly wanted to dress in a way that would signify his association with his social group. Ostentatious and significant dress aligns with Coryate’s performative traits that I have suggested were part of Coryate’s sociability. However, it is possible that the mixture of Coryate’s Odcombe/Somerset upbringing, the allusion to the once divided “Scots and Angles,” and the “fitly accommodated” dress could indicate that this

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<sup>19</sup> R. E. Pritchard, in his 2004 book, *Odd Tom Coryate: the English Marco Polo*, claims that these “spangles” made Coryate look like a “morris-dancer or clown,” (177). I have chosen to read away from Pritchard here, for the reason given in my exposition of this stanza. However, Pritchard’s reading does not dissolve my argument. Coryate plays the role he plays, which has social value. If he is mocked as “morris-dancer or clown,” I would argue that he invited that mockery, seeing it as socially valuable.

<sup>20</sup> Raylor, 75.

<sup>21</sup> From *The Diary of Walter Younge, Esq.* ed. George Roberts, Camden Society, 41 (London, 1848).

stanza is mocking Coryate's palpable pride, stemming from simply being Odcombian. Alternatively, the stanza could be taken as mocking Coryate's overzealous pride in being a member of the Mermaid Club. Seeing how many of the Mermaid Club members have endured as important figures in English literature and history, Coryate's desire to be associated with seems to be a tactical social move.

The poem goes on to characterize Coryate with one of the most iconic parts of his identity: his worldliness. Hoskyns addresses the reader of the poem, asking:

8.a  
Are you in love with London citty?  
Or else with Venice? he will fit ye;  
You have his heart to prize it.

In other words, Coryate is a match (and admirer) of any who prize these cities. For someone with as much supposed home-town pride as Coryate, it is peculiar that he very readily identifies himself with the other places he has visited. For instance, Coryate signs a letter written to his friends from the Far East as "*the Hierosolymitan-Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Median-Parthian-Persian-Indian Legge-stretcher of Odcomb in Somerset*, THOMAS CORYATE," a moniker identifying himself as a subject of the many foreign countries that he had visited during his journey east.<sup>22</sup>

The next lines in the poem serve to praise Coryate's skills with classical languages. Hoskyns writes:

8.b  
Or love you Greek—of tounges <the> cheife,  
Or love you Latin? hee'le in briefe  
Sir Edward Ratcliffize itt.

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<sup>22</sup> *Thomas Coruate Traueller for the English VVits*, sig. G1r.

Throughout his writings, Coryate frequently employs Greek and Latin, showing a great skill in and affinity for those languages. Though the reference to Sir Edward Ratcliffe is obscured,<sup>23</sup> the meaning of the lines is clear: if the reader loves languages, Coryate will “fit” (as in match) with them, as he was known for his competence in Greek and Latin.<sup>24</sup> Before matriculating into Gloucester Hall, Oxford in 1596, Coryate attended Winchester College from 1591, where he would have begun his training in Latin and Greek grammar. In Coryate’s educational life, oral recitation in Latin and Greek would have been the major mode of testing his progress and exhibiting what he learned. Though he didn’t earn a degree, the skills in oration that he picked up while at university played a vital role in his ability to understand the media of orality and social performance. Coryate’s thorough understanding of these media is likely what allowed him to transfer his form of sociability between oral and printed spaces in his attempts at social advancement.

Coryate’s ability to use oration as a tool of social advancement is highlighted in the very next stanza of “Convivium philosophicum:”

9  
This orator of Odcombe towne  
Meaning to civilize the clowne,  
    To parlé ’gan to call  
The rusticks and the Coridons,  
The naturals and morions,  
    And dis-coxcombe them all.

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<sup>23</sup> The only Sir Edward [Ratcliffe] that I have been able to determine could be the person referenced here is Sir Edward Radclyffe, 6th Earl of Sussex (1559-1643), a not terribly remarkable member of parliament for Bedfordshire when this poem was written. It seems that the joke referencing Radclyffe has been lost to us.

<sup>24</sup> Coryate’s skill in classical languages was well known enough for Ben Jonson to acknowledge it in the distiches that he wrote to accompany the engraved title page of *Coryats Crudities*. (See Chapter Two for more on the engraved title page and Johnson’s distiches.) Describing a vignette of Corayte vomiting into the ocean, Jonson wrote, “Yee Haddocks twixt Douer and Calais, speake Greeke; / For Tom fild your mawes with it in Whitsun week,” (sig. a1r). Jonson is saying that anything coming out of Coryate’s mouth, including vomit, is Greek, and since the “Haddocks” have had their “mawes” filled with Corayate’s vomit, they now speak Greek.

Hoskyns begins by directly assigning Coryate the role of orator, marking Coryate's role not just at the dinner table but also within the diners' social circle. Coryate's oratory is so skilled that he is able to "civilize" and "dis-coxcombe" a number of otherwise foolish social positions: that of the "clowne," the "rusticks" (country folk), the "Coridons" (possibly a reference to the cowardly and unsuccessful-in-love shepherd from Spenser's *Faerie Queen*), the "naturals" (the unrefined), and the "morions." This final category of fool takes some unpacking, as it refers to a type of helmet that has a fin-like ridge running across its top. Hoskyns is saying that Coryate is able to use his oratory skills to figuratively remove a coxcomb that would be otherwise permanently integrated into the appearance of a fool. This "de-coxcomb[ing]" stands out as a particularly difficult task. That Coryate is able to accomplish it is indicative of the level of oratory skill Coryate possessed, or at least was seen to possess by his peers.

The next stanza begins by praising Coryate, calling his journey "periculous," meaning full of danger, and thereby indirectly calling Coryate courageous. However, typical of this poem, Hoskyns turns and again ridicules Coryate, claiming that since the traveler only had a single shirt and a single paire of shoes, that they must have been "pediculous," or lice-ridden.

10  
To pass the sea, to pass the shore,  
And Fleet-street it all Europe o're,  
    A thing periculous.  
And yet one paire of shoes, they say,  
And shirt did serve him all the way,  
    A thing pediculous.

But poking fun at Coryate's lousy clothing wasn't quite as mean of a jest as it may seem. Coryate, who has at this point in the poem been established as a great orator and storyteller, has control over the joke about his bug-infested clothing. The engraved title page of *Coryate's Crudities* is made up of thirteen vignettes (labeled A-N, omitting the redundant "J") representing

scenes from the book. There is nothing to suggest that Coryate didn't have authority over which scenes were included among these vignettes,<sup>25</sup> and yet the vignette labeled "I" depicts Coryate's clothing hung up, so infested with bugs that lice are essentially dripping from it: pediculous indeed. In effect, Coryate sanctions this joke by having it illustrated at the front of the book. Coryate's allowance, even advertisement, of the joke in *Crudities* corroborates Hoskyns' earlier claims that Coryate is the tiller of the "jeast" and that he has the ability to "dis-coxcombe" fools, a very useful skill when one fashions himself as a fool.

So, rather than poking fun at Coryate, the stanza exemplifies his ability to use his story telling skills to shift his social position. At this point, "Convivium philosophicum" has laid out the system through which Coryate advances his social position. Coryate has made himself indispensable to the group by sanctioning certain jests about himself; by sanctioning certain types of ridicule, Coryate is able to rise above it, subsuming the joke, transforming it into an affirmation of Coryate's own wit. Thus teasing Coryate becomes equivalent to praising Coryate. The mode of the *convivium*, which employs the "fudl[ing]" of Coryate, is the ideal social space for Coryate's social maneuvering: the drunker he becomes, the more he may embarrass himself, but because of his ability to transform embarrassment into praise, the more respect he will garner.

Hoskyns confirms Coryate's ability to convert mockery to praise in the next stanza, when he denounces those who would "exouthenizeth" Coryate. The Stanza reads:

11  
Whoso him exouthenizeth,  
Garretating swaberizeth,

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<sup>25</sup> The degree of control that Coryate had over his book will be addressed later in this thesis. The only instance in which Coryate seems to have lost authority over his book is the forced inclusion of all of the "Panegyricke Verses." Coryate claims that "the Princes Highnesse [i.e., Prince Henry] understanding that I meant to suppress so many [unsolicited] "Panegyricke Verses", gave me a strict and express commandement to print all those verses which I had read to his Highness." *Coryates Crudities*, sig. c1v.

And for this injurie  
He shall walk as disrespected,  
Of good fellows still neglected,  
In city and curie.

“Exouthenize” should be read here as exauthorize, or to remove one from authority. The subject, “Whoso” removes Coryate (“him”) from authority by “Garretating [Coryate’s] swaberizeth.” The complicated and fragmental second line of this stanza should be read in the following way: “Garretating” is a playful way of saying “garroting,” or killing by strangulation. “Swaberizeth” comes from the word “swab.” Syntactically, swab is used here as a verb because of the addition of the suffix, “-ize,” which serves to turn nouns or adjectives into verbs. The (now archaic) English suffix, “-eth,” refers to action being performed by the singular third person. The OED suggests that the meaning of “swaberizeth” is “to sway about.”<sup>26</sup> This swaying is the motion that often accompanies the mopping of a ship’s deck, which is now the more familiar usage of “swab,” but it also could describe the listing back and forth that can accompany drunkenness. So, the first two lines of this stanza, “Whoso him exouthenizeth, / Garretating swaberizeth” should be read as “Whoever removes Coryate from authority / does so by closing off Coryate’s throat, and therefore hinders the continuance of that drunken state being occupied by Coryate.”

Because of how Coryate apparently moves in his social circle, stopping Coryate from being drunk is the equivalent to destroying the mechanism through which Coryate is able to turn ridicule into praise. Hoskyns would have the offender punished for this infraction. He completes the stanza, saying, “And for this injurie / He [the “Whoso” from above] shall walk as disrespected, / Of good fellows still neglected, In city and curie [read: court].” In other words, anyone who disrupts the Coryate performance by forcing him to stop drinking will be shunned by “good fellows” in any valuable social sphere.

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<sup>26</sup> From the OED. See: <http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.vcu.edu/view/Entry/195291>.



In the next stanza, Hoskyns allows Coryate to speak:

12  
To a fool thus elevated  
Mountebanke-like thus hee prated,  
Harringuizing rowndly.  
Whosoe will be counted prudent,  
Let him be no other student  
But drinke profoundly.

The stanza begins, “To a fool thus elevated / Mountebanke-like hee prated, / Harringuizing rowndly.” If the “hee” in the second line refers to Coryate, then “hee” is speaking to other fools who, like Coryate himself, want to sublimate their foolish character into a positive role.

However, Hoskyns does much more than give Coryate a speaking role. He characterizes the still “fudled” Coryate as both a bombastic expert and a persuasive charlatan. Coryate doesn’t just give his advice to the other fools; he “prate[s]” it, communicating in the same way as the famously cock-combed chicken.<sup>27</sup> One is tempted to think of Coryate extravagantly crowing his advice like a proud rooster, but it is worth pointing out that “prating” is also the word for the sound made by hens when they lay eggs, a productive activity.<sup>28</sup>

Further, Coryate’s advice is given in a “Mountebanke-like” fashion, meaning that Coryate is changing roles once again. According to the OED, a mountebank is an itinerate and charismatic charlatan who feigns expertise for financial gain, usually selling worthless remedies.<sup>29</sup> Though this characterization is overtly negative, it should not betray Coryate as being a faker or imposter. Rather, the next line indicates that Coryate very likely does not know that his remedies do not work for other fools. The way in which he conveys his advice is by

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<sup>27</sup> From the OED: prate, v.: Of domestic poultry: to make a characteristic sound

<sup>28</sup> “Laying an egg” did not take become a negative idiomatic expression associated with failure until at least after 1918, when it first was used to mean dropping a bomb from a plane during the first world war. See the OED, def. 9: <http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.vcu.edu/view/Entry/106496?redirectedFrom=laid+an+egg#eid39501314>.

<sup>29</sup> From the OED: mountebank, n.: An itinerant charlatan who sold supposed medicines and remedies, freq. using various entertainments to attract a crowd of potential customers. <http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.vcu.edu/view/Entry/122915>.

“Harringuizing rowndly.” A harr is gruff, obscured, sometimes even ventriloquized voice, and to do anything “rowndly” is to be unclear, cyclical, or overly broad. In other words, when giving advice, Coryate’s speech seems to be particularly unintelligible and hard to follow, which could remove some of the negative valance from the term “mountebanke.” What’s more is that the double character of Coryate’s advice, being at once liberating (to himself) and worthless (to others) fits comfortably the poem’s theme of contradiction. This theme is most evident in the way that Coryate converts mockery to praise for his social advancement. It is also well exhibited in the last lines of the stanza: “Whosoe will be counted prudent, / Let him be no other student / But drinke profoundly.” So, Coryate’s advice to fools: drink, but do so profoundly.

Coryate expounds on this apparently absurd advice in the next stanza:

13.a  
Whatsoever so you speak or doe  
With your friends, in jocund row,  
It cannot be misdeemed.

Coryate says here that all things done and said in fun, or “in jocund row,” should be neither censored nor shamed. He provides his reasoning in the last three lines of the stanza:

13.b  
For he that lives not ramp and scamp,  
According to the swaggering stampe,  
Can never be esteemed.

In other words, Coryate is saying that his social group, perhaps even London “society” requires one to engage in unseemly behavior in order to be respected. This commentary on behavior could be an indication of how the legal, courtly, clerical and otherwise well-to-do figures that made up the Mermaid Club lived their lives, or it could simply be Coryate reiterating what Hoskyns has already made clear: that by digging himself more deeply into embarrassment, Coryate elevates his social standing.

Coryate's method for social advancement has thus been borne out in his behavior. The next four stanzas discuss the behavior of a variety of others figures in London society. Some of these behaviors are linked to social roles while others are linked directly to certain individuals: the King expresses, or "out-bear[s]" religion; the people "swear" "allegiance"; women "cuculize"; and Prince Henry seeks out opportunities to "prove his valour good" while his brother Charles "imitate[s]" him.

"Convivium philosophicum" also references the "Chancellour" and the "Treasurer",<sup>30</sup> who focused on doing their jobs in ways that obviously aimed at gaining more courtly favor, and the two noblemen, "Northampton" and "Suffolke"<sup>31</sup> who work for social advancement. Northampton is said to be "seeking many ways / learning and learned me to rayse," but that, even after seeking, he "is still negotiated." Suffolke is said to be seeking ... / the king his household to supporte," but after his seeking, he "is still defatigated." These noblemen, of whom the diners at the "Convivium philosophicum" likely were not fond,<sup>32</sup> are rendered here as not achieving their goals. Being "negotiated" means that Northampton was quite busy with his work, and could also suggest that whatever outcome he achieves in his attempts takes the form of a compromise. The poem's version of Suffolke may be achieving more success in his social endeavors, but being "still defatigated" suggests that Suffolke must work continually to achieve whatever it is he wants.

The second to last stanza moves back into the behaviors of general position in London society:

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<sup>30</sup> Thomas Egerton (1540–1617) and Robert Cecil (1563–1612), (cf. John Aubrey's *Breif Lives*, vol.2 p.52).

<sup>31</sup> Henry Howard (1540–1614) and Thomas Howard (1561–1626) (cf. John Aubrey's *Breif Lives*, vol.2 p.52).

<sup>32</sup> Northampton and Suffolke played roles in the imprisonment of Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618) who Daniel Starza Smith suggests may have been a member of the Mermaid Club (Smith, 188). Regardless of whether or not Raleigh was indeed a member, the social group of the "*Convivium philosophicum*" diners was centered on Prince Henry, who, according to Richard Strong, often sought advice from the imprisoned Raleigh. This would suggest that the members of the Mermaid Club were disposed to have a poor opinion of Northampton and Suffolke.

18  
The noblemen do edifye,  
The bishops they do sanctifie,  
    The cleargie preach and pray :  
And gentlemen their lands do sell,  
And, while the clownes strive for the shell,  
    The fish is lawyers' prey.

The behaviors listed in this stanza don't have the same subtle hint of accusation as those in the two stanzas immediately preceding it. This lack of animosity could be because all of the positions here, save that of the "bishops" and the "clergie," are held by the diners named in the beginning of the poem.<sup>33</sup>

The previous five (including the four omitted) stanzas normalize Coryate's behavior as things that he naturally and sensibly would do; his actions are understandable given his role. The final stanza of "Convivium philosophicum" takes this conclusion one step farther. It begins with the summation,

19.a  
Thus every man is busy still,  
Each one practicing his skill,  
    None hath enough of gayne.

Here, Hoskyns says that everyone mentioned in stanzas 16-18 are "busy still," continually working towards the same goal: social advancement. They are each approaching this goal by "practicing his skill," meaning that they are doing the things that their roles suggest they should do. However, they are "busy still" because "None [of them] hath enough of gayne," or in other words, none of them has acquired as much or "enough" of what they intended to "gayne," by fulfilling those roles.

Coryate, on the other hand, is a different story. Hoskyns ends his poem, saying:

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<sup>33</sup> Any diners identified as "Sir" are the "noblemen," Arthur Ingram was a gentleman who bought and developed property, Coryate could be considered the "clowne," and Christopher Brooke, Richard Martin, and John Hoskyns were some of the diners who had careers associated with the law or politics.

19.b  
But Coriate liveth by his witts,  
He looseth nothings that he gets,  
Nor playes the fool in vayne.

Although Coryate has what may be the least glamorous and what certainly was the least serious of all of these social roles, he doesn't play "the fool in vayne," suggesting that he does play the fool for "gayne." Instead, Coryate "liveth by his witts," meaning that his position as a fool isn't confined to only being the butt of jokes. Rather, Coryate provides his friends with wittiness. Finally, the penultimate line here, "[Coryate] loseth nothings that he gets," means that Coryate is better able to hold onto the "gayne[s]" that the fulfilment of his role earns him. He becomes increasingly popular among his friends, to the point that he is indispensable. As stanzas 12 and 13 highlight, Coryate cannot even lose his popularity by being too drunk or by suffering embarrassment.

Coryate's apparent invulnerability and constancy in the social realm is due entirely to his ability to display his "witts," which he does not through writing, but in conversation and social performance. This manuscript poem exemplifies the benefit of "publishing" in the oral medium for Coryate. "Convivium philosophicum" does not convey any of Coryate's jests, but it does characterize him as one who can comfortably enter into an oral battle of wits with some royal favorites, lawyers, and politicians—people who rely on orality for their livelihood. Not only does Coryate feel comfortable engaging in this medium, but he also uses oral media to break down social barriers and renegotiate his social role, at least during the dinner. This phenomenon is the key to "Convivium philosophicum"; it is the reason that Coryate garners such praise from Hoskyns in the final stanza. "Convivium philosophicum" documents Coryate's potential to achieve what the publication of *Coryates Crudities* sets out to do: elevate his social class.

## Chapter Two

Like “*Convivium philosophicum*,” many other literary documents that pertain to Thomas Coryate strongly associate him with his social group. Through Coryate scholars have derived the existence of (as well as the name of) his literary social circle, the “Mermaid Club.” During his second stint of travels, Coryate wrote a letter to his friend, Lawrence Whitaker,<sup>34</sup> playfully addressing him as “The High Seneschall of the right Worshipful Fraternitie of Sireniacal Gentlemen, that meet the first Friday of every Moneth, at the signe of the Mere-Maide in Bread-streete in London.”<sup>35</sup> The letter continues on and names the men to whom Coryate would like to be remembered. Some of these “Sireniacal Gentleman” were present at the “*Convivium philosophicum*” dinner,<sup>36</sup> suggesting that the Coryate is referring to the same social group featured in Hoskyns’ poem.<sup>37</sup>

Even after being out of the company of the “Sireniacal Gentlemen” for some time, Coryate still embraced his socially valuable role as a fool. When the letter was published in the 1616 book, *Thomas Coriate traueller for the English VVits*, it accompanied elaborate tales of his eastward travel up to that point as well as six images made by bespoke woodcuts. Three of these images are matching, and depict Coryate, dressed as a fine Cavalier, riding an elephant. The other three woodcuts depict a bearded man walking through a forest, an “Antlop,” and an

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<sup>34</sup> The letter was made available in print in the 1616 book, *Thomas Coriate traueller for the English VVits*.

<sup>35</sup> *Thomas Coriate traueller for the English VVits*, (sig. F3r)

<sup>36</sup> These men include Christopher Brooke, John Donne, Hugh Holland, John Hoskins, Inigo Jones, and Richard Martin.

<sup>37</sup> With his letter to the “Sireniacal Gentleman,” the list of named people with who Coryate associates has grown from the fourteen mentioned in *Convivium philosophicum*” to twenty-four: Christopher Brooke, Richard Connock, Lionel Cranfield, John Donne, Sir Henry Goodere, Hugh Holland, John Hoskyns, Arthur Ingram, Inigo Jones, Richard Martin, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Robert Phelips, and John West, Laurence Whitaker, Robert Bing, John Bond, Sir Robert Cotton, George Garrand, William Hakewill, Ben Johnson, Dr. Mocket, Samuel Purchas, George Speake, William Stansby.

“Vnicorn” of which Coryate claims “whereof two I haue seene at [the Mohometan Prince’s] court.”<sup>38</sup> There are also two short distiches in the “To the Reader” preface, one of which is titled “His Parallel with Erasmus.” This distich reads: “*Erasmus* did in praise of folly write; / And *Coryate* doth, in his selfe-praise endite.”<sup>39</sup> The distich suggests that when Coryate is writing about himself and when Erasmus is praising folly, they are both writing about foolishness. Still, while Erasmus’ *In Praise of Folly* is satirical, Coryate’s writing focuses on his own ability to make others feel that his foolishness is social upward mobility, commendable behavior.

The problem that Coryate invited by embracing a permeable barrier between praise-worthy behavior and folly is that the praise he earns could become muddled in irreverence; expressions of respect for Coryate took the form of witty jibes. Disparaging praise was the rhetorical form taken by most of the “Panegyricke Verses” that preface *Coryats Crudities*. In the “Panegyricke Verses,” one detects an arc: Coryate attempts to pull social capital from his friends, they oblige with disrespect, and Coryate engages with the medium in which the verses were published in order to regain control over the situation, ultimately achieving his social ends.

According to a short section prefacing the “Panegyricke Verses,” Coryate explains that the coming verses were “composed by persons of eminent quality and marke, as well for dignity as excellence of wit; such as haue vouchsafed to descend so low as to dignifie and illustrate my lucubrations without any demerit of thiers.”<sup>40</sup> Just as he did in his dedicatory epistle, Coryate is associating his book, and by extension himself, with people that he ensures the reader are of high quality. In a fashion typical of Coryate’s social performance, the association he creates with these wits is one that places him in a subordinate position, saying that they must “descend so low

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<sup>38</sup> *Thomas Coriate traueller for the English VVits*, (sig. D4v)

<sup>39</sup> *Thomas Coriate traueller for the English VVits*, (sig. A3v)

<sup>40</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>c1r.

as to dignifie and illustrate [his] lucubrations.” In the last prepositional phrase of what is quoted above, “without any demerit of theirs,” Coryate makes sure that the reader realizes that these “persons of eminent quality” are not included in *Crudities* in order to take any social gains from their association with Coryate. Instead, the reverse is true; the one meant to profit from this association is Coryate. By saying that these people of quality dignify his book “without any demerit of theirs” after claiming that the writers must “descend” to associate with Coryate’s work, Coryate suggests that the movement of social capital here goes in only one direction; his apparently base writing is not meant to reflect negatively on those who deign to commend him.

While Coryate certainly meant to take advantage of the print convention of attaching prefatory encomiastic poems to one’s book, the “Panegyricke Verses” grew out of his control. Coryate’s introduction to the verses makes the claim that his book has “such a great multitude of Verses as no booke whatsoever printed in England these hundred yeares, had the like written praise thereof.”<sup>41</sup> Though Coryate’s tone in this line is one of pride, he did not anticipate including quite as many “Panegyricke Verses” as he received. Coryate continues his introduction to these poems by making it clear to the reader that he is aware of the social *faux pas* of including so many encomiastic verses, saying, “ascribe it not I intreate thee to any ambitious humor of me, as that I should craue to obtrude so many to the world in praise of my booke.”<sup>42</sup> Afraid the reader will negatively judge him for pompously soliciting so much praise, Coryate explains how the situation came to be: “For I can assure thee I sollicited not halfe those worthy Wights for these verses... a great part of them being sent vnto me voluntarily from diuers of my friends, from whom I expected no such courtesie.”<sup>43</sup> These words give the “Panegyricke

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<sup>41</sup> *Crudities*, sig. 2c1v.

<sup>42</sup> *Crudities*, sig. 2c1v.

<sup>43</sup> *Crudities*, sig. 2c1v.



Verses” even more social power. Before this point, the “Panegyricke Verses” could be thought of as a mere commodity, in which the expended labor of Coryate’s eulogizers was used to generate social capital for Coryate. The valuable part of that construction rested in the association between Coryate and the panegyrists. This association was materially present, but still had an air of manufactured praise, akin to praise from a book reviewer being paid by the publisher of the book she is reviewing. However, the association between Coryate and his eulogists becomes much more significant when the reader comes to a point a bit farther along in Coryate’s introduction to the “Panegyricke Verses.” Coryate explains that when he saw how many verses he had received, he wanted to “detaine them from the presse. Whereupon the Princes Highnesse... vnderstanding that [Coryate] meant to suppress so many, gave [him] a strict and expresse commandement to print all those verses.”<sup>44</sup> Not only did Coryate not ask for so many encomiastic poems; he did not even want to print them. The insertion of this point could have been aimed at convincing the reader that these poems were written by people who were happy to praise Coryate and to ensure that Coryate’s relationship to the many wits who contributed to the “Panegyricke Verses” was indeed authentic.

The forced inclusion of flattering poems would have seemed to be positive happenstance for Coryate, as he could gain from the copious praise while avoiding accusations of the pompousness of soliciting so many encomiastic poems. However, at the end of his introduction to the “Panegyricke Verses,” Coryate is forced to engage with the dilemma of the rhetorical nature of these panegyrics. Due to the above mentioned imposition of Prince Henry, Coryate had no real choice but to publish all of the verses, “wherein,” he writes, “many of them are disposed to glance at me with their free and mery jests, for which I desire thee (courteous Reader) to

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<sup>44</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>c1v.

suspend thy censure of me till thou hast read ouer my whole booke.”<sup>45</sup> These exiting lines are words of concern, an attempt at compensating for the glancing jests that are to come.

The rhetorical form of this jesting praise was deemed appropriate in “Convivium philosophicum,” and yet here it seems to worry Coryate. One reason for Coryate’s worry was that the media in which these jests are being made has changed from that of oral/social performance to print. Unlike when verbal jousting takes place over a convivial dinner, in print Coryate did not have the ability to use his mastery of oration to embrace and negate any of the defamatory comments about his person. In conversation, Coryate would have had the opportunity to show his appreciation of wit level against him and respond to his. To compensate for his absence at the consumption of his printed books, Coryate engages with the poems on the level of the medium, working to control the “Panegyricke Verses” that have gotten out of hand.<sup>46</sup>

As mentioned above, Coryate did not solicit even half of the “Panegyricke Verses” that he was forced to print by Prince Henry. The forced inclusion of these verses meant that the first roughly hundred pages of Coryate’s book were taken out of his control. It is intriguing to consider how Coryate’s loss of agency around his book may have come to pass. Michelle O’Callaghan suggests that some section of Coryate’s book must have circulated among the cadre of wits with whom he associated prior to the book’s final publication.<sup>47</sup> This suggestion has been essentially confirmed by Philip S. Palmer’s excellent bibliographical analysis of *Crudities*.

O’Callaghan conceives of the “Panegyricke Verses” as both a “print event” and a “social event,” recalling the event-like feelings surrounding the creation of the manuscript poem

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<sup>45</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>c2r.

<sup>46</sup> The first instance of Coryate attempting to regain control over those “Panegyricke Verses,” which have grown out of his control is the introduction to the verses, which has been addressed above. Introductions that clarify discrete parts of printed books were common, and in this instance, Coryate is taking advantage of that print convention to unobtrusively defend himself while orienting the reader’s attitude toward sympathy.

<sup>47</sup> See O’Callaghan, 106.

“Convivium philosophicum.”<sup>48</sup> Conceiving of the “Panegyricke Verses” as a “social event” enforces the idea that the eulogists who contributed verses were following the model of praising the foolishness of Coryate as a form of positive social feedback.

O’ Callaghan makes a point of considering the event-like status of the printed “Pangyricke Verses” in terms of the the interpersonal properties of various early modern media. O’Callaghan writes: “print is less flexible [than manuscript and oral performance in terms of circulation and interpersonal exchange]; even so, there is evidence that sections of the front matter to the *Crudities* were circulating while the book was in the process of being printed, thus allowing later contributors to converse with the book and other participants.”<sup>49</sup> In other words, the producers of the “Panegyricke Verses” borrowed the manuscript conventions of private (yet communal) circulation, emulation, and embellishment in order to craft their contributions. Concerning O’Callaghan’s claim, Palmer says, “[*Coryats Crudities*] collational formula... reflects the book’s numerous bibliographical oddities and irregularities.”<sup>50</sup> These “bibliographical oddities and irregularities,” along with Prince Henry’s forced inclusion of all of the “Panegyricke Verses” (having the result of Coryate’s book indeed growing out of his control), suggest to Palmer the possibility that “Stansby [the printer of *Crudities*] had prepared the book for significantly fewer ‘Panegyricke Verses’ than Coryate ultimately received.”<sup>51</sup>

Because of this unconventional form of production, one could say that *Coryat’s Crudites* was a print book experiencing manuscript problems. O’Callaghan points out that “several of the mock-encomiastics are an exposition of the frontispiece, often taking their cues from the distichs

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<sup>48</sup> O’Callaghan, 105.

<sup>49</sup> O’Callaghan, 106.

<sup>50</sup> Palmer, 201. The collation formula given by Palmer is as follows: [4°]: π1 2π1 a-b<sup>8</sup> 2b4 c-g<sup>8</sup> h-l<sup>4</sup> B-C<sup>8</sup> D<sup>8</sup> (D1+χ3 signed: D1, D2, unsigned) E-3C<sup>8</sup> 3D<sup>4</sup> [3E]<sup>1</sup> (signed Eee3), [3F]<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Palmer, 201.

supplied by Whitaker and Jonson.”<sup>52</sup> Palmer suggests that the opening gatherings of *Crudities*, which include the engraved title page and both sets of distiches—π1 2π1 a-b<sup>8</sup>— were “printed before the majority of the ‘Panegyricke Verses,’” as “[m]any of the ‘Verses’ make overt references to the engraved title page and Whitaker’s accompanying “distiches.”<sup>53</sup> These, he says, make it “likely... that this ‘preliminary’ material was available for consultation as the ‘Verses’ were being written.”<sup>54</sup> What key point made by O’Callaghan and Palmer’s bibliographical analyses is that the physical construction of *Crudities* did not reflect the linear production that is usually associated with printed books. Instead, it grew out of Coryate’s control because it was submitted to private circulation, a feature associated with manuscript production.

The form of manuscript production being embraced by the rogue panegyrists is closely related to what Harold Love calls “user publication.”<sup>55</sup> Within this method of production, an individual would get ahold of work and copy it into her own commonplace book or miscellany. At this point, the copyist/user would have complete agency to do as they wish with the poem. Excluding lines, changing words, and adding lines to the copied poem were all normal edits made within this type of publication. While the term “user publication” doesn’t suggest large-scale production, it is still a form of publication and would likely have been shared among friends or confidants. Love makes a point of saying that “it is not always possible to distinguish between the public and the private” when it comes to user publication.<sup>56</sup> As pointed out by

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<sup>52</sup> O’Callaghan, 106. It would be useful here to mention the book’s frontispiece and distiches. The frontispiece looks acts as an engraved title page and is illustrated with vignettes taken from Coryate’s travel narrative. Each of these vignettes are marked with a letter (A-N, excluding J, of course). The letters marking the vignettes correspond to a certain (or in some cases, multiple) distiche(s) which offer a brief poetic explanation of what the vignette is depicting.

<sup>53</sup> Palmer, 202.

<sup>54</sup> Palmer, 202.

<sup>55</sup> See Harold Love’s *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, pages 79-83 for an explanation of “user publication.”

<sup>56</sup> Love, 79.

O’Callaghan and Palmer, in the case of the construction of the “Panegyricke Verses” it seems as if the eulogists received the front matter of the *Crudities* and took their liberties, making variations on a theme.

As a related example, it is useful here to bring up the poem, “The Parliament Fart,” a libelous poem apparently authored by John Hoskyns, Richard Martin, and Christopher Brooke, all of whom were members of Coryate’s social circle.<sup>57</sup> O’Callaghan discusses how subsequent versions of “The Parliament Fart” were expanded by the wits who copied and reproduced it. Over the years until (and potentially beyond) its first print publication in the 1655 verse miscellany, *Musarum Deliciae*, “The Parliament Fart” was expanded, with subsequent manuscript copies featuring new rhyming couplets.<sup>58</sup> O’Callaghan invokes the words of George Puttenham, from his 1589 *The Arte Of English Poesie*, to discuss the conditions in which an “*Epigramme*” (as Puttenham calls it) such as “The Parliament Fart” may have been written, saying that “[t]he poem’s loose, improvisational structure gives the impression it was composed [...] in [O’Callaghan now quoting Puttenham:] ‘tauernes and common tabling houses, where many merry heades meete, and scribe with ynke, with chalke, or with a cole, such matters as they would euery man should know & descant vpon’” (O’Callaghan, 83). This description suggests that both “Convivium philosophicum” and “The Parliament Fart” were composed by the same group of wits via the same productive processes. These poems were also similar in that they

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<sup>57</sup> See O’Callaghan’s entry on the “Parliament Fart” on the *Early Stuart Libels* website: [http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/parliament\\_fart\\_section/C0.html](http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/parliament_fart_section/C0.html).

<sup>58</sup> “‘The Parliament Fart’ also proved to be one of the most malleable poems of the period. Couplets were introduced during or after the 1610 and 1614 Parliaments, and numerous variants were circulated during subsequent parliaments in the 1620s. In different manuscript sources, the poem ranges in length from around forty lines to over 225 lines, and couplets refer to at least 113 members of parliament (MPs), of whom approximately 112 sat in James’s first Parliament (in session from 1604 to 1610). (Indeed, given that many of these MPs were dead by 1622, the poem’s popularity in the 1620s is remarkable.) Although it almost invariably opens with the same ten or twelve lines, there is no particular order to subsequent couplets; rather, much of the poem’s popularity appears to have arisen out of its loose, improvisational structure, enabling copyists to personalize their own copies.” O’Callaghan, *Early Stuart Libels*: [http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/parliament\\_fart\\_section/C0.html](http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/parliament_fart_section/C0.html).

feature content that could be considered offensive to their subjects. Adhering to the conventions of the manuscript medium, such as private circulation and exclusivity, kept the authors and copiers of “Convivium philosophicum” and “The Parliament Fart” slightly safer from the legal repercussions for writing libels while still allowing them to share their joke within their community.

Coryate would have embraced the personally offensive content of a poem like “Convivium philosophicum” as well as the witty jests that must have been flung at him during meetings of the Mermaid Club. It is likely that, when composing the “Panegyricke Verses,” the eulogists would have been thinking of their poems along the lines of convivial fun and appropriate mock-praise. However, when the privacy of manuscript and social-club performance was swapped out for the publicity of print, Coryate realized that he had to find a way to transform criticism into praise within a new medium.

Coryate did not accomplish this process (in any medium) simply by virtue of being a target. Rather, Coryate had the ability, at least in social performance and through orality, to counteract the jest, proving himself witty and praise worthy among his social group. The unauthorized application of manuscript and oral conventions to the printing of *Coryats Crudities*, forced Coryate’s book to grow out of his control. Losing control of his book meant that Coryate found himself exposed beyond this social group, to a public that did not realize how mockery was equivalent to praise for Coryate.

As fifty-nine mock-encomiastic poems make up the whole of the “Panegyricke Verses,” this chapter cannot address all of them. Instead, the remainder of this chapter will focus predominantly on one eulogist. John Donne, one of the men present at the “Convivium philosophicum” and one of the named “Sireniacal Gentlemen,” contributed at least one poem to

the “Panegyricke Verses,” as well as a macaronic verse.<sup>59</sup> Donne’s verses highlight the awkward social position created by Coryate’s loss of control over his book and they make light of Coryate’s attempt to deal with that phenomenon on a material level.

Donne begins his mock-encomiastic poem by touching on something that factors into nearly every panegyric verse: Coryate’s love of excess. Donne’s poem begins, “Oh to what height will loue of greatnesse driue / Thy leauened spirit, *Sesqui-superlative?*”<sup>60</sup> Coryate’s “loue of greatnesse” in the first line is a reference to both the intangible quality of greatness and the quantitative meaning of greatness, i.e., largeness. Donne teases Coryate’s habit of constructing new words (see the section on *Hyperaspist* below) by coining one of his own: “sesqui-superlative,” a mixture of the word “superlative” and the Latin prefix “sesqui,” meaning an amount of one and a half (e.g., something happening sesqui-hourly would occur every ninety minutes). The content of *Coryats Crudities* was never meant to be comprised of Coryate’s travels alone. Instead of using the book to tell (and brag) only of his own achievements, Coryate ends his book with thirty poems by his father, George Coryate, published posthumously and for the first time. If, as Donne’s verse suggests, Coryate’s book reflects his “loue of greatnesse,” Coryate’s conscious inclusion of his father’s poems brings the content of *Crudities* beyond Coryate’s own superlative greatness, by adding a smaller degree of greatness (perhaps a half-measure) borrowed from his father.

In the next lines, Donne introduces a jesting criticism of one of Coryate’s more foolish tales in *Crudities*, another tactic embraced by many of the contributors to the “Panegyricke Verses.” Donne, perhaps taking a cue from the engraved title page’s vignette labeled “F” which

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<sup>59</sup> There is a contribution attributed to Ioannes [John] Dones though it is set very far away from the mock-encomiastic verse and macaronic quatrain that were clearly written by John Donne. The Donne material begins on sig. <sup>2</sup>d3r while the Dones material begins on sig. <sup>2</sup>f5v.

<sup>60</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>d3r.

depicts Coryate riding in a gondola and a woman pelting him with fruit from a window above, writes, “Venice vast lake thou hadst seen, and would’st seeke than / Some vaster thing, and foundst a Cortizan. / That inland sea hauing discouered well, / A Cellar gulfe, where one might saile to hell.” In other words, Donne is saying that Coryate’s “loue of greateness” and his “sesqui-superlativ[ity]” have led him to claim that, by lying with a Venetian “Cortizan,” he has found a “vaster” place in which to sail than even the waters surrounding Venice. Donne remarking that Coryate “might saile to hell” in this “vaster thing” indicates to the reader that Coryate’s adventure in Venice is something to be mocked or even disdained. When brought into conversation with Coryate’s sociability as it is rendered in “Convivium philosophicum,” Donne’s invitation for the reader to join him in mocking Coryate should be read as high praise. In a situation focused on oral media, this jibe would give Coryate the ammunition he needed to wittily defend himself and gain some social advantage.

Many of the “Panegyricke Verses” address the absurd size of Coryate’s book, but Donne spends an especially large amount of time on the subject. Donne writes, “And thou/ This Booke, greateer then all, producest now. / Infinite worke, which doth so farre extend, / That none can study it to any end.”<sup>61</sup> Donne is saying that Coryate’s book is so large that it is infinite, and claiming that “none can study it to any end” seems to suggest that there is no point in attempting to study it. In this line, the “end” that “none can study [the book] to” could be read as both a stopping point and as a purpose. Indeed, as in the first reading, an infinite book has no stopping point making it impossible to study to its end. However, if the word “end” is taken in the second sense, this line becomes a pointed criticism, claiming that Coryates book serves no purpose.

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<sup>61</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>d3r.



In the next lines, Donne refuses to consider *Coryats Crudities* as a limited entity saying that, “T’is no one thing; it is not fruite, nor roote,”<sup>62</sup> a phrase that removes the book from any formal continuum; it is neither a teleological nor a genealogical expression of Coryate and his travels. The book is not only useless, but because of the manner in which the “Panegyricke Verses” have been produced and the front matter circulated, its usefulness is an unlimited one, sitting outside of Coryate’s authority. Donne’s goes so far as to imagine *Crudities* as “A prosperous nose-borne wenne, which sometime growes / to be farre greater then the Mother-nose.”<sup>63</sup> In other words, the book itself outgrows Coryate, for unlike the man, the book is not “poorely limited with head or foote.”<sup>64</sup>

Donne’s contribution to the “Panegyricke Verses” interacts with two facts about Coryate’s book. The first is that *Crudities* has grown out of Coryate’s control. The second is that the remediation of forms of mock-praise present Coryate with a problem. Donne does not miss the opportunity to comment on these phenomena. In lines 57-58 of his poem, Donne talks of Coryate’s book in terms of leaves rather than a bound book, saying that “Each leafe enough will be / For friends to passe time and keepe companie.”<sup>65</sup> However, as the rest of Donne’s poem is discussing the materiality of the book in its final, gargantuan form, it seems that Donne may be taking a cue from the unconventional production process of *Crudities* (i.e., the pre-publication circulation of printed leaves) to suggest a break from the conventions associated with how one uses printed books once they are published. Circulating the leaves of Coryate’s book individually after publication would only be possible if the book were to be destroyed. For Donne, the destruction of *Coryats Crudities* is the only reasonable form its consumption could take: he goes

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<sup>62</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>d3r.

<sup>63</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>d3r.

<sup>64</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>d3r.

<sup>65</sup> Donne in *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>d3r.

on to say in lines 59-60, “Can all carouse vp thee? No: thou must fit / Measures.”<sup>66</sup> Donne rhetorically asks if everyone can drink in all of Coryate (and his book), answering himself by plainly saying that Coryate (and his book) are only consumable in “measures.” Donne’s comment is perhaps an acknowledgement of the many poetic measures within the “Panegyricke Verses” in which Coryate’s person and adventures are being delineated, however accurately or responsibly, by the contributors. The conceit that Coryate *is* his book is anachronistically evocative of the final lines of B[en] I[onson]’s epistle addressed “To the Reader” in Shakespeare’s First Folio. In his prefatory poem, Jonson suggests that the reader shall know Shakespeare by looking “Not on his Picture, but his book.”<sup>67</sup> Donne, on the other hand, suggests that seeking to know Coryate by looking “on” his book is impossible.

Hoping to regain some control over his book, Coryate took full advantage of the print medium. O’Callaghan notes that “[p]rint technology enabled authors to exploit systematically the physical space of the book... mak[ing] available a wide range of typographical and visual features... *Coryats Crudities* fully exploited the resources of the printed book.”<sup>68</sup> One way in which Coryate used print technology to reassert control over his book was to add marginal notes to some of the “Panegyricke Verses.” Palmer points out that some of these notes “function as simple glosses, while others are clearly satirical and reflect Coryate’s playful interpretation of the form.”<sup>69</sup> Coryate also works in a third kind of note, designed to make the criticisms of the “Panegyricke Verses” less harsh. Palmer mentions the presence of marginal notes that begin with “I meane” and claims that this “opens up the possibility that Coryate strategically ventriloquized

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<sup>66</sup> Donne in *Crudities*, sig. 2d3r.

<sup>67</sup> Jonson in *Mr. VVilliam Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies Published according to the true originall copies*, sig. [A]1r.

<sup>68</sup> O’Callaghan, 107.

<sup>69</sup> Palmer, 204.

[the panegyrist's] voices, evidently to play with the meaning of their verses and participate in the book's ongoing game of mock praise."<sup>70</sup> Being taken out of the medium of social/oral performance, this ventriloquization seems like a logical step for Coryate to take toward reclaiming his usurped book. Since Coryate can neither respond to his mocker nor pander to his audience, he falsely clarifies the words of the panegyrist to be less harsh.

An apparently "ventriloquized" note of this latter form appears in the margins of Donne's contribution. One of the ways in which Donne conceives of the destruction of Coryate's book is by recycling it, using torn out leaves of *Crudities* in the bindings of other books: "Some leau's may paste strings there in other books, / And so one may, which on another looks, / Pilfer, alas, a little wit from you, / But hardly\* much."<sup>71</sup> Donne's back-handed praise of Coryate's wit, is countered by Coryate's marginal note, which reads, "\*I meane from one page which shall past strings in a booke."<sup>72</sup> The effect of Coryate's marginal response is to neutralize Donne's joke; Coryate explains to the reader that one would only be able to "Pilfer [...] a little wit" from the recycled pages of *Crudities* because so little of his book (only "one page") would be used to paste the thongs of another, hypothetical book's spine down to its boards. Thus Coryate responds to a unsolicited expansion of his book by expanding the book even further. Though marginalia is by no means a characteristic exclusive to print media, this partial neutralization of Donne's poem in print shows Coryate using print technology to his advantage. The reproducibility of standing type as printed sheets allowed Coryate to permanently associate his marginal note with Donne's

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<sup>70</sup> Palmer, 206.

<sup>71</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>d3r.

<sup>72</sup> *Crudities*, sig. <sup>2</sup>d3r. Palmer investigates the possibility that this particular marginal note may have been authored by Donne, saying that, "[t]he 1649 edition of *Poems by J.D.*—the first printed collection of Donne's poetry to include the panegyric on Coryate—omits the side note (sig. S4v), as do the 1650, 1654, and 1669 editions," concluding that "it is likely Coryate wrote all eight [of the marginal notes beginning with 'I meane'], including Donne's, and thereby masked his editorial authority through the co-opted satirical voices of the panegyrist," (Palmer, 207).

poem. In this way, Coryate negated Donne's suggestion that his book provided only "a little wit" in every copy of *Coryats Crudites*.

If attaching marginal notes to the "Panegyricke Verses" didn't force Coryate into the print shop, it at least means that he edited the printer's copy of material that he did not write. Coryate exploited his print medium to regain control over his book by means of attaching marginal notes. As with Donne's poem, some of these notes were made in response to what someone else had written. However, Coryate also used marginal notes for the purpose of self-fashioning in the form of visual rhetorical expression. Two of the functions of Coryate's marginal notes were to act as glosses and to participate in the jocular festivities of his book-qua-performance space. An instance of these two functions being performed simultaneously occurs in the first panegyric verse, attributed to an author with the Greek pseudonym, "Α'ποδημουντόφιλος." This poem contains the lines: "He trauaild North, he trauaild South / With \*Hyperaspist in his mouth / A word of his deuising." Coryate glosses this word, as coming from the "two Greeke words ὑπέρ that signifieth aboue and ἀσπίς a shield, that is, one that opposeth his shield in the defence of his friend against the blow of anemie... a Patron or Protector." Here, Coryate has not only glossed the meaning of his constructed word; he also has introduced the rhetorical use of non-roman type with characters that are not part of the Latin alphabet.

This marginal note engages with the performance space that Coryate created in his book by including a bit of foolish word play. The note, which stretches almost the entire length of the page, puns on the sound of "Hyperaspist", suggesting that if the word were "hyperhorspist, that is, one vpon whom never Asses pist, but Horses once pist on him," it could be used to describe Coryate himself. Achieving this act of self-deprecating, humorous expression through visual

rhetoric meant to be evocative of performance should be considered an act of self-fashioning—of Coryate reclaiming his usurped book. It should also be seen as Coryate reclaiming the insulting rhetorical style used by the panegyrists: by using Greek characters, Coryate is posturing, showing off his commendable knowledge of Greek. By affixing his gloss and joke to the margin—in the same way that he figuratively stapled his subtle reproof of Donne to Donne’s poem—Coryate not only reclaims control over this part of his book; he also associates his praiseworthy wit with an otherwise unflattering verse. Coryate’s willingness to join in on his own defamation, making a point of the fact that “Horses once pist on him,” actually serves to put him on an even playing field with his mockers. Doing so shows him to be in on the joke, which makes him less pitiful to the reader.

As if taking a cue from Coryate, Donne exploited the medium of print’s ability to employ different fonts of type in his macaronic quatrain.<sup>73</sup> To make this macaronic, Donne uses Latin, Spanish, English, Italian and French words, but he also assigns each language (or more accurately each type of language) a certain font of type: Latin words are in italic, English words are in blackletter, and the three continental romance languages are in non-italic roman typeface. The content of the poem isn’t necessarily insulting. Instead, its mere existence is a slight to Coryate. Donne’s use of multiple fonts and multiple languages, even the exactness of having different fonts connected to specific types of languages, is designed to mock Coryate’s precocious ability with languages, as well as Coryate’s interaction with his book on the level of the medium: almost exclusively, when Coryate is using Latin, the text is in italic. This shift in font is not necessarily something unique to Coryate, but what is much more rare, especially in this period, is the use of blackletter for long sections in German. Coryate’s use of blackletter is

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<sup>73</sup> This quatrain follows his mock-encomiastic poem but precedes the marker that his contribution has come to a close: *Explicit Ioannes Donne*.

intriguing because it seems as if Coryate purpously used different fonts of type to exhibit affective qualities.

Looking at the content of Donne's panegyric and the form of his macaronic poem, one can see that Donne's intention was to tease Coryate by engaging not just with the materiality of *Crudities*, but also with Coryate's own engagement of that materiality. The convivial, mock-eulogistic rhetoric of the "Panegyricke Verses" did indeed prove to hold significant value. Proof of this value can be found in Coryate's follow up to *Coryats Crudities*, *Coryats Crambe*, which includes seven additional panegyric verses, among other socially valuable content, which will be explored in Chapter 3. If one objects to the idea that Coryate's engagement with the "Panegyricke Verses" on the level of their medium is what allowed them to be socially valuable, it still must be acknowledged that Coryate did indeed engage with the verses on that level. Editing other writers' copy, potentially being present in the print shop, and being clear about the origin of such a great many verses reveals, at the very least, Coryate's concern that the verses may have been detrimental to his goal of social advancement. Coryate's utilization of the conventions of print media to evoke conventions of orality allowed him to make social gains from the mockery of the "Panegyricke Verses."

### Chapter Three

The previous chapter touched on Donne's intriguing criticism of *Coryats Crudities* being a "wenne" that grows larger than the "Mother-nose" upon which it is rooted. This comment reflects the expansion of Coryate's book by the unauthorized augmentation of the "Panegyricke Verses," but it also was prescient of the further expansion of Coryate's work that was about to occur. Within the same year of *Coryats Crudities*' release (1611), two related books were printed at what seems to be roughly the same time as each other. The first is Coryate's own *Coryats Crambe*, which contains "certain verses" that "should haue been printed with the other panegyricke lines,"<sup>74</sup> orations performed by Coryate when he delivered presentation copies of his book to various members of the nobility, an indictment of someone who owes Coryate money, and a defensive attack on the editor of the other Coryate-centric book to come out in 1611, *The Odcombian Banqviet*. The publication of these two books, their content, and the tension caused by them reveal much about the reception of *Coryats Crudities* and indicate Coryate's level of success in his attempt at social climbing.

*Coryats Crambe* was a book meant to situate Thomas Coryate and *Coryates Crudities* in a world that had previously not given Coryate much thought. Within his social circle, Coryate may have been indispensable, as "*Convivium philosophicum*" makes him seem, but with the publicity that accompanied print, Coryate had to transfer his ostentatious reputation and self-

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<sup>74</sup> *Coryats Crambe*, sig. A2r.

designated social role into the public's imagination. The additional "Panegyricke Verses," the orations Coryate gave when he presented his *Crudities* to members of the nobility, the aspersion of Joseph Starre, and the vilification of the editor of *The Odcombian Banqviet* all serve this end. Coryate used these sections of *Coryats Crambe* to give himself more depth, showing off a version of himself as not only foolish, but also capable and even eloquent.

The inclusion of the additional "Panegyricke Verses" in *Coryats Crambe* is proof that Coryate's transition from oral/social performance to print successfully aided his goals of social advancement. *Crambe* begins with additional "Panegyricke Verses" offered up by seven eulogists. Unlike in *Crudities*, there is no preface or dedicatory epistle that prepares the reader for their character, which in most cases is more rude and mocking than in the previous iteration of "Panegyricke Verses." One of the contributors to the verses in *Crambe* gives us a clear view into how Coryate's social life has been affected by his foray into print. The panegyrist apparently wanted to write under a pseudonym. Coryate clarifies the author's request for the reader, saying, "the Author of these verses... doth for certain considerations conceale his name... and in steede thereof expresseth onley an Anagramme of it."<sup>75</sup> That anagram is "Richer for bookes,"<sup>76</sup> and of the known Mermaid club members and "*Convivium philosophicum*" diners, the closest fit would be Christopher Brooke, spelled Chrisofer Brooke.

Brooke's panegyric acknowledges the strangeness of Coryate's means of achieving social success (the same means that were highlighted by "*Convivium philosophicum*") before commenting on the success of Coryate's book. The poem begins with a question: "If, who flie praise, praise onley follow those, / How got you so much Tom? that write in prose, / To be set

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<sup>75</sup> *Crambe*, b3v.

<sup>76</sup> *Crambe*, b3v.



out in verse, and made so deere,”<sup>77</sup> With these three lines, Brooke is asking how Coryate has garnered so much praise in the form of verse if he only writes in prose. It is important, though, to acknowledge the rhetorical effect of Brooke’s phrasing, “How got you so much Tom?” This phrasing carries a tone of incredulousness and surprise that Coryate has received something which he shouldn’t have. The praise that Brooke is talking about, of course, is that backhanded praise of the “Panegyricke Verses.” Thus Brooke’s poem reveals that the gambit of modeling the panegyric poems on the convivial tavern performance of the Mermaid Club has paid off for Coryate.

Brooke’s next line follows in the same thought as the previous ones. Writing about his surprise that Coryate was able to garner so much praise for his work, Brooke breaks into simile, saying, “As Cookes with dainty sawce make homely cheer”<sup>78</sup> figuratively calling the panegyrists cooks who have augmented Coryate’s book with their “dainty sawce.” He goes on to directly address Coryate’s book. Brooke writes, “But well, since your great worke set forth of late, / Hath made you famous vnto euey state.”<sup>79</sup> Brooke saying that Corayte is “famous vnto euey state” assumes not only that Coryate’s attempt at gaining social favor by producing his book paid off, but that the fame he gained was international. The tales of Coryate’s antics that fill the body of *Crudities*, then, could lead the reader to believe that his exploits functioned as social performances across other countries. The “Panegyricke Verses” were praising the drunken wit of Coryate not only as the Sireniacal Gentlemen knew him in England, but also as he reemployed his tactics across Europe.

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<sup>77</sup> *Crambe*, b3v.

<sup>78</sup> *Crambe*, b3v.

<sup>79</sup> *Crambe*, b3v.

Brooke finishes his poem by directing attention away from role that the “Panegyricke Verses” played in making Coryate’s book a success, allowing Coryate’s own writing to assume responsibility for his success. Brooke writes, “Of these small gleanings let no more be said.”<sup>80</sup> This line diminishes the value of the “Panegyricke Verses,” or those “small gleanings” of verse taken from Coryate’s prose. One can see what Brooke means by “gleanings” if one looks at the rest of the “Panegyricke Verses.” Certain pieces of the printed front matter of *Coryats Crudities* were circulated in the fashion of manuscript. The material circulated was likely to have included the opening distiches by Ben Jonson, as well as the title page with corresponding illustrations. These couplets, marked with the letters paired to illustrations on the engraved title page, briefly recounted selections of Coryate’s travel narrative. Most of the jests in the “Panegyricke Verses” humorously retell the same events as Jonson’s distiches. It is in this sense that the “Panegyricke Verses are “small gleanings” of Coryate’s prose.

The last lines continue to support Coryate: “but if the like of them were neuer made, / Nor neuer shall by any mortall braine, / That is not weight with yours iust to a graine.”<sup>81</sup> These lines prop up Coryate as the inspiration for the “Panegyricke Verses,” claiming that the panegyrists would not have been able to write their verses were it not for the material from which they were sourced. If Coryate’s brain was shy even a “graine” of its magnificence, the “Panegyricke Verses” would not have been able to be produced at such high a quality.

This final point reveals some insight into the popular reception of *Coryats Crudities*. That Brooke is diminishing the value of the “Panegyricke Verses,” and (perhaps more so) that Coryate is choosing to publish Brooke’s poem about the diminishment of the “Panegyricke Verses,” show that they did actually have a large enough impact or stature to be diminished. The

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<sup>80</sup> *Crambe*, b3v.

<sup>81</sup> *Crambe*, b3v.

inclusion of Brooke's poem seems to suggest that people read Coryate's book for the "Panegyricke Verses," the portion of *Coryats Crudities* that was essentially a miscellaneous collection of great and somewhat famous wits playing literary variations on a theme.

The "Panegyricke Verses," teased Coryate, praised him, recounted his adventures, and allowed a window in to an exclusive literary club. Still, even if his book was only valued for these prefatory poems, that value would have served to satisfy some of Coryate's desire for social mobility and advancement. For Coryate, all publicity was good publicity, and as he was becoming more and more associated with the witty contributors to the "Panegyricke Verses," he was accruing social capital. Coryate was at least willing to attach his name to more of these mock-encomiastic poems in his *Crambe*. But the real purpose of *Coryats Crambe* was to allow for Coryate to be held as a wit in his own right.

Perhaps more than the other sections of *Coryats Crambe*, the presentation orations that follow the new "Panegyricke Verses" indicate that *Crambe* was truly meant to be a public book. These orations, even if they were actually given at the presentation of his book to members of the nobility, were useless outside of the courtly system. In order for them to be useful in Coryate's sub-courtly social circle, among the broader English public, or even simply to help ensure his fame, posterity, and emulation, they had to act in the same way as Coryate's dedicatory epistle to Prince Henry did. Coryate could possibly curry some favor in the court by giving his oration, and news of his activities could have possibly made its way into his literary coterie, garnering Coryate some praise. But Coryate, who should, at this point, be thought of as someone attempting to become a celebrity, wanted to gain as much commendation as he could from his labor.

After becoming involved with print (and the printing of *Crudities* undoubtedly offered tremendous exposure to the medium) he once again embraced the medium to ensure that he got the most out of his skills of oration. Coryate consciously took advantage of print; its high publicity factor, the same thing that had the potential to ruin him when he was forced to include all of the “Panegyricke Verses” in his first book, was precisely the quality of the medium that he exploited when he put his orations into print.

The presentation orations that Coryate included in his *Crambe* functioned much like the dedicatory epistle in *Crudities*. Both the epistle and the orations are directed at highborn people from whom Coryate could gain some social advantage. A major difference between the epistle and the orations is that the orations are designed to act as vehicles exhibiting Coryate’s intelligence and wit.

To illustrate how much more poetic Coryate was able to be within his orations, one could consider Coryate’s oration to Prince Henry which leads the section of his orations. This oration is a particularly good example because Coryate directed both the *Crudities*’ dedicatory epistle and what could be thought of the *Crambe*’s dedicatory epistle to Prince Henry.<sup>82</sup> Coryate was seemingly satisfied with the quality and quantity of the oblations he had already spent on the prince in these epistles, and thus is able to focus on developing complicated metaphors in his oration. Coryate’s oration to Henry is based around two metaphors that eventually wind their way into reality. The vehicle of the metaphor is an ideal filtration system; its tenor is Prince Henry. Coryate says:

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<sup>82</sup> Between the new “Panegyricke Verses” and the orations, Coryate includes a short epistle to Prince Henry, called “A Petition Made To The Prince Shortly After the Death of the Last Archbishop of Canterburie, concerning the printing of the Booke of my Travels,” (sig. A1r-v).

Euen as the Christalline deaw, that is exhaled vp into the ayre out of the cauernes & spungie pores of the succulent Earth, doeth by his distillation descend, and disperse it selfe againe vpon the spacious superficies of his mother Earth, and so consequently fecundate the same with his bountifull irrigation.<sup>83</sup>

In other words, the prince's simple acts of breathing and urinating convert the natural liquid substances that come from the world into better substances that nourish the world. Coryate continues by explaining how his travels have produced a new vapor for the prince to filter.

So I a poore vapour composed of drops ... haue been hoys[t]ed up to the altitude of the remote climats of [various countries]; and being there in a maner inuolued for a time in the sweatie and humid clouds of industrie capitall, digitall, and pedestriall, did distend the bottle of my braine with the most delectable liquor of Obseruation, which I now vent and showre own vpon the young and tender Plants.<sup>84</sup>

In these lines, Coryate has transformed himself into a bottle that has been flung, or been "hoys[t]ed," to the clouds above continental Europe. The clouds are made of the vaporized liquid of the "industrie capitall, digitall, and pedestriall" of those countries that he visited; he captured those vapors in the bottle of his brain, turning them into the "liquor of Obseruation" which he can now use to water the "young and tender Plants" back in England.

This complicated and multilayered metaphor requires explanation. Coryate is saying that the cloud, the first vehicle of the metaphor, represents the present but nearly immaterial epiphenomenon of the second vehicle of the metaphor, the heads, hands and feet, (i.e., the entire body) of the countries that he visited. The tenor of the second part of this metaphor can be found in the very book that Coryate is presenting to the prince; it describes the countries' culture

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<sup>83</sup> *Crambe*, A2r-A2v.

<sup>84</sup> *Crambe*, A2v.

(heads), novelties and institutions (hands) and topography (feet) recorded in *Coryats Crudities*. Coryate says that he has captured the epiphenomena of these counties (i.e., the clouds) in “the bottle of [his] braine.” In other words, Coryate has recorded the essence of these countries in his mind, and now he endeavors to contribute his observed knowledge to the development of youth of England.

In order to share his knowledge, Coryate could have individual conversations with each person that he hopes to inspire, but, as the reader would know, he chose to write his “Observations” down in a book. Wanting to continue to showcase his oratory skills, Coryate invokes another metaphor: “With this May dew of my Crude collections... I have now filled this new-laide Egge-shell.”<sup>85</sup> Coryate is saying that he has turned his “liquor of Observations” into an egg and then goes on to say that Prince Henry, “the radiant Sunne of our English Hemisphere”, can have the same effect as “the great Phæbean sphere,” or sun, has over a “natural Egge-shell produced by a checkling Henne, and filled with the Pearly juice of watry clouds.”<sup>86</sup> Coryate is hoping that Henry can incubate the egg that Coryate has laid, filled with his observatory vapors in the same way that the warmth of the sun can incubate a hen’s egg, filled with “Pearly juice and watry clouds.” Coryate says, “I wish that by the auspicious obumbration of your Princely wings, this sencelesse Shell may prove a lively bird.”<sup>87</sup> In other words, the filtration system that is Prince Henry (according to the first metaphor) can be used to transmogrify the liquid-filled egg, the “sencelesse Shell” into a lively bird. And indeed, Coryate allows the egg to become a bird in his oration. Coryate tells the prince that his egg has hatched and has become “this tender

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<sup>85</sup> *Crambe*, A3r.

<sup>86</sup> *Crambe*, A3r.

<sup>87</sup> *Crambe*, A3r.

feathered \*Red-breast,”<sup>88</sup> or the European robin.<sup>89</sup> Coryate uses a marginal gloss: “\*Because the Booke was bound in Crimson Veulet.”<sup>90</sup> Unlike Coryate’s use of marginal notes throughout the “Panegyricke Verses,” in which the notes served the purpose of redirecting how the reader engaged with the content of the verses, this note serves to make up for the shortcomings of the written description of a social performance; the note works as a stage direction, allowing the reader to imagine Coryate’s performance more completely.

Through this oration, as well as the others that follow, Coryate has shown off his skills to readers who may have taken the advice offered in so many of the “Panegyricke Verses” and not even attempted to read the main bulk of *Coryats Crudities*. He has shown his ability to orate poetically and has even, through the marginal note, offered an insight into the physical performance of his oration. This oration also serves to place him into even deeper association with the extremely popular Prince Henry. Finally, the orations could have helped the public react to Coryate in the same way that his friends in the Mermaid Club did by giving the reader a more holistic picture of Coryate’s literary abilities. As mentioned earlier, the “Panegyricke Verses,” though ultimately socially successful, were designed to mock the private, orating Coryate from diners like that mentioned in “*Convivium philosophicum*.” The attention paid to the “Panegyricke Verses” over Coryate’s book proper (which will be further explored below) seems to indicate that everyone enjoys watching a fool get “roasted,” even if the audience doesn’t quite know the fool. In order for the “roast” of Coryate to be taken as a sign of respect, his “work” must be

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<sup>88</sup> *Crambe*, A3v.

<sup>89</sup> See the OED entry on “redbreast”: noun, the European robin, *Erithacus rubecula*. <<http://www.oed.com.proxy.library.vcu.edu/view/Entry/160172?redirectedFrom=redbreast#eid>>. Last accessed on 4/23/2017.

<sup>90</sup> *Crambe*, A3v.

acknowledged by the audience. *Coryats Crambe* was Coryate's attempt at getting his private orations out to a people who would otherwise simply see him as an easy target to tease.

To help assuage the idea that he was a simple punching bag, Coryate follows his orations with what is essentially a litigation of Joseph Starre, an otherwise unknown linen draper from the town of Euill (now Yeovil) roughly 5 miles from Coryate's home town of Odcombe. Starre owed Coryate a debt of "a hundred markes, due vnto [Coryate] from him according to his Band vppon [Coryate's] returne from Venice."<sup>91</sup> While this section could have been included simply to embarrass Starre into paying the wager, the attack on Starre, as well as that on the editor of *The Odcombian Banqviet*, are likely meant to publicly exhibit Coryate's honor, especially now that his orations have exhibited his wit.

The full title of Coryate's attack on Starre supports my claim that Coryate published it in order to regain his honor: "An Answere to the Most Scandalovs, Contvmeliouvs and Hybristicall Bill of Joseph Starre of Euill in the Countie of Somerset Linnen Draper, wholly conflated and compacted of palpable Lies, deceitful prestigiations, iniurious calumniations, eluding euasions, and most fraudulent tergiuersations."<sup>92</sup> Both in this title and in the first paragraph of the "Answere," Coryate not only disparages Starre, but does so in complicated language, the rhetorical effect of which is to suggest that "Thomas Coryate the Traueller" (as he signs his name to this "Answere") is superior to Starre, the "Vilipendious [i.e., contemptable] Linnen Draper."<sup>93</sup> Coryate's "Answere," though directed at Starre, reads as if it is a defense against anyone who would disparage his journey. Coryate says that Starre, "traduceth me about the smalnesse and commonnesse of my Voyage, as hauing been out of England but fiue moneths," and then spends

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<sup>91</sup> *Crambe*, sig. D4r-v.

<sup>92</sup> *Crambe*, sig. D4r.

<sup>93</sup> *Crambe*, sigs. <sup>2</sup>D3r and D4v-<sup>2</sup>D1r, respectively.



the next two pages outlining some of the perils that he encountered during his journey.<sup>94</sup> In doing so, Coryate defends his honor against his detractors and advertises *Coryats Crudities*, casting his adventures as an exciting adventure narrative.

Coryate's attack on *The Odcombian Banqvæt* is similar to his "Answer" against Starre in that it attacks the character of the man who produced it. Contrasted to his "Answer," however, this attack is more pointed. Before breaking down Coryate's response to *The Odcombian Banqvæt*, we should take stock of what it was, how it was produced, and what effect its production could have had on Coryate's long term project of amplifying his social status.

While the editor of *The Odcombian Banqvæt* is not definitively known, the title page clearly says that it was "Imprinted for Thomas Thorp."<sup>95</sup> This book was a resetting of the material prefacing *Crudities*, most notably the "Panegyric Verses," and it stops short of actually going into the travel narrative itself.<sup>96</sup> It is difficult to determine whether *The Odcombian Banqvæt* or *Coryats Crambe* came first, as they both mention each other. It is likely that *Coryats Crambe* was the first to come out, as the full title of *The Odcombian Banqvæt* is *The Odcombian Banqvæt: Dished foorth by Thomas the Coriat, and Serued in by a number of Noble Wits in prayse of his Crvdities and Crambe too*. That *The Odcombian Banqvæt* includes the name of *Coryats Crambe* on the title page shows that it was drawing on public knowledge of both of Coryate's books in order to sell itself.

*Coryats Crambe*, on the other hand, only mentions *The Odcombian Banqvæt* in its final "2H" gathering which seems to be tacked on after everything that was planned to be printed had been; in the Folger Shakespeare Library's copy of *Coryats Crambe* (STC 5807) gathering "2G"

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<sup>94</sup> *Crambe*, sig. D3v.

<sup>95</sup> *The Odcombian banqvæt*, sig. A2r.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix 3 for the full contents of *The Odcombian banqvæt*.

consists of 4 leaves, with <sup>2</sup>G3v-G4v being blank; <sup>2</sup>G3r, the last page with any words on it at all ends with a large “Finis,” a word not used elsewhere in *Crambe*.<sup>97</sup> Coryate’s complaint against *The Odcombian Banqvvet* only appears as an uneconomically produced addendum hastily attached to what seems to be a complete book.<sup>98</sup> That *The Odcombian Banqvvet* invokes *Coryats Crambe* on its title page, seems to indicate that *Crambe* was released or at least made public before *The Odcombian Banqvvet* was. However, it would be most reasonable to assume that the two books were being printed at the same time. Although the editor of *The Odcombian Banqvvet* mentions Coryate’s new book, *The Odcombian Banqvvet* does not include any of the new material released in *Coryats Crambe*. Furthermore, the fact that no mention has been made of a copy of *Crambe* that is wanting the “<sup>2</sup>H” gathering suggests that Coryate was able to append his indictment of *The Odcombian Banqvvet* to all of the copies *Crambe* in time for their distribution.

Aside from the obvious theft of Coryate’s book and the unauthorized invocation of his name, *The Odcombian Banqvvet* raised other problems for Coryate. More than money, Coryate valued the social gains made from his book, not the least of which were those brought by the “Panegyricke Verses.” As discussed above, the Brooke poem in *Coryats Crambe* was included with the aim of reorienting the “Panegyricke Verses” to be mere byproducts of Coryate’s genius, thereby ensuring that any social capital accrued by them was delivered unto Coryate.

For the editor of *The Odcombian Banqvvet* to disassociate the “Panegyricke Verses” from their source meant that he was staunching the flow of commendation to Coryate. Additionally, as has been previously discussed, the conditions by which the “Panegyricke Verses” change insult into praise for Coryate are rooted in the tight social performance that accompanies convivial gatherings. Though the editor of *The Odcombian Banqvvet* does include some Coryate-centric

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<sup>97</sup> Coryate ended many of his orations with the Latin expression “Dixi,” meaning roughly “I have spoken.”

<sup>98</sup> I say it was “uneconomically produced” because of the wasted pages on ff. <sup>2</sup>G3v-G4v.

material,<sup>99</sup> he removed the entirety of the Coryate's travel narrative—the part of the book with which Coryate most identified. The editor's banishment of Coryate from his own book disrupted the intended purpose of the "Panegyricke Verses." In the absence of Coryate, the "Panegyricke Verses" fail to transform mockery into praise and render Coryate a buffoon.

What was even worse for Coryate was the final page of *The Odcombian Banquet* in which the editor explains that he has "purposely omitted" the rest of Coryate's book, "for thine, and thy purses good."<sup>100</sup> The editor begins by explaining how not printing the bulk of *Crudities* was for "thy purses good," claiming that he has decided not print it because of

the greatnes of the volume, containing 654. pages, ech page 36 lines, each line 48 letters, besides Panegyricks, Poems, Epistles, Prefaces, Letters, Orations, fragments, posthumes, with the comma's, colons, ful-points, and other things therunto appeartaining: which being printed of a Character legible without spectacles, would haue caused the Booke much to exceed that price, whereat men in these witty dayes value such stuff as that.<sup>101</sup>

As mentioned above, the size of *Coryats Crudities* was also mocked by many of the "Panegyricke Verses." Instead of this criticism being a comment on the absurdity of Coryate's achievement, the editor of *The Odcombian Banquet* looks at the size of the book as a nuisance that would prohibit him from turning a profit.

As for how omitting the bulk of the book would benefit the reader (rather than their purse), the editor claims that he "read the booke with an intention to epitomize it" but "out of the whole lumpe," he could only find "four pages" worth of reading material.<sup>102</sup> This statement,

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<sup>99</sup> These material include two pieces meant to delineate Coryate's character ("Mr. Lavrence Whitakers Elogie of the Booke" and "The Character of the famous Odcombian, or rather Polytopian, Thomas the Coryate..."), as well as Coryate's own "An Introduction to the ensuing verses," (sigs. A3r-A4v, B1r-B2v, and C2r-C2v, respectively.)

<sup>100</sup> *The Odcombian Banquet*, sig. P4v.

<sup>101</sup> *The Odcombian Banquet*, sig. P4v.

<sup>102</sup> *The Odcombian Banquet*, sig. P4v.

along with the fact that the editor didn't even deign to include these four pages worth of material, may have been the most insulting aspect of the theft for Coryate. In his response to *The Odcombian Banqvēt* at the end of *Crambe*, Coryate responds specifically to this statement. Against the editor's claim that "the whole lumpe" of *Crudities* could be distilled into four pages, Coryate says, "I will boldly affirme for the better iustification of my Obseruations... that of the sixe hundred fiftie and foure pages... he shall find at the least fiue hundred worthy the reading."<sup>103</sup> A reader may find it odd that Coryate doesn't maintain that the whole 654 pages are worth reading, but this modesty may be Coryate honestly claiming what he wrote. Though the editor of *The Odcombian Banqvēt* doesn't mention Coryate's inclusion of secondary sources in his note, Coryate invokes his use of source material in his argument against the editor. Coryate says that if another book "in our whole Kingdome of Great Brittainē, shew both larger Annotations for quantitie, and better for qualitie... I will be rather contented to consecrate all the Bookes that remaine now in my hands either to god Vulcan or goddessē Thetis, then to present one more to any Gentleman that faouours wit and learning."<sup>104</sup> In other words, Coryate would happily destroy his books if anyone could actually surpass the scope of what he has done in both quality and quantity. Here, once again, we see Coryate taking advantage of every opportunity to display his social value. The rhetorical consequence of Coryate's threat is that *Crudities* become elevated from the tales of foolishness depicted by the "Panegyricke Verses," and they even become something more valuable than the tales of adventure Coryate made his book out to be in his "Answer" against Starre. By focusing on his use of secondary sources, Coryate, though he claimed not to be a scholar in the dedicatory epistle of *Crudities*, shows his book to be valuable as a work of scholarship.

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<sup>103</sup> *Crambe*, sig. <sup>2</sup>H2r.

<sup>104</sup> *Crambe*, sig. <sup>2</sup>H2r.

*Coryats Crambe* and *The Odcombian Banqvet* are intriguing books because of their usage of intertextuality to achieve different goals. *The Odcombian Banqvet* attempts to capitalize on the appropriation of the “Panegyricke Verses,” themselves a remediation of something akin to “*Convivium philosophicum*.” This theft proves that Coryate’s bid at foolish upward social mobility was successful, as it was worth stealing. That the editor of *The Odcombian Banqvet* stole only the panegyrics verses and bluntly claims that the rest of the book was not worth pirating could also give a clue as to how people may have read *Crudities*. Because of what content was pirated, and because of the fiscal preoccupation admitted by the editor, it is reasonable to conclude that people were reading Coryate for the veritable verse miscellany that preceded his book. Coryate may well have been aware of this perception of his book, as he consistently referred to *Crudities* in the *Crambe*, treating the latter book as an attempt to get more people to read the former.

Coryate’s method of response to the pirated version of his book was akin to that of his response to the way that the “Panegyricke Verses” got out of his control. In the same way that Coryate responded to the “Panegyricke Verses” by expanding them with his own annotations, Coryate responded to *The Odcombian Banqvet* by publishing more material, by offering his own commentary on what had been written. What is key about *Coryats Crambe* is that Coryate employed media to respond to real social issues. He remediated his orations, dislocated prefatory pieces (the additional “Panegyricke Verses”) from the bibliographical entity to which they referred, and held intertextual conversations with documents that attacked and stole from him in the very public medium of print. Thus Coryate embraced media in order to affect and articulate his social position.

## Conclusion / Future Research Plans

Thomas Coryate intentionally embraced various media forms, sometimes conflating conventions between them, in order to achieve social gains. Laying out the nature of Coryate's mode of sociability via "*Convivium philosophicum*", Chapter One of this thesis helps to illuminate the social character of the "Panegyricke Verses" surveyed in Chapter Two. Considering two immediate afterlives of *Coryats Crudities*, Chapter Three acknowledges the success of Coryate transferring his method of sociability from in-person, oral/social performance to more distant, but more widespread, self-fashioning in print.

Understanding Coryate's unique mode of social maneuvering has opened my research up to considering how the other members of the Mermaid Club navigated their social and literary circle. New research questions that have developed out of this investigation include: what role did literature play in the social lives of other members of the Mermaid Club? Are there discernable moments when sociability becomes the reason for literature to be written? How were the writings of members of the Mermaid Club (and other seventeenth-century writers) influenced by extra-literary concerns, such as the desires of Princes, Kings and Queens, or paradigm shifts like the push for the colonization of the Americas or the English Civil War? I plan to explore these questions in much the same way that I explored how Coryate engaged with media to achieve desired social ends: by addressing material evidence in primary sources. Following the

bibliography are four appendices. Each one offers a bibliographical description of a book associated with Thomas Coryate and held at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

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## Appendix A

A Descriptive Bibliography of the Folger Shakespeare Library's copy of  
Thomas Coryate's *Coryats Crambe* (STC 5807)

### Transcription of title page:

[Text framed by engraved title plate] CORYATS | CRAMBE | OR | HIS COLWORT | TVVISE  
SODDEN, AND | Now serued in with other | *Macaronicke dishes, as the* | second course to his |  
Crudities. | LONDON | Printed by *William Stansby* / 1611.

**Collation Formula:** 4<sup>o</sup>: a–b<sup>4</sup> A–D<sup>4</sup> <sup>2</sup>D–H<sup>4</sup>(–H4); [\$2 (+a3, A3, <sup>2</sup>E3, <sup>2</sup>F3) signed; a2 signed  
A2, <sup>2</sup>D1 signed D3; <sup>2</sup>D2 signed D4)]; 43 leaves; [86] pages [all pages unnumbered]

**Binding:** Limp vellum with gilt rule border and panel, panel with “thistles” at corners  
[word take from Folger catalog] and insignia of the Prince of Wales in the center. Spine with  
horizontal gilt rules and gold three plumed insignia.

**Additional Physical Notes:** Copy has *ex libris* slip inside upper: *From the library of* | SIR  
R. LEICESTER HARMSWORTH, BART; copy has manuscript shelf mark inside upper cover:  
N/21; copy has Folger library bookplate and library “record of exhibition” slip pasted inside  
lower cover.

**Contents note:** a1r: [title page]; a1v: [blank] ; a2r–b2v: CERTAINE VERSES |  
WRITTEN VPON CORYATS | CRUDITIES, WHICH SHOVL D | Haue been Printed wit the

other Panegyricke lines, | but then were vpon some occasions omitted, | and now communicated to  
the | *WORLD.*; A1r: A PETITION MADE | TO THE PRINCE SHORTLY | AFTER THE DEATH  
OF THE | Last Archbishop of Canterburie, concerning | the Printing of the Booke of my |  
*TRAVELS.*; A2r-D3r: CERTAIN ORATIONS PRONOVCED BY THE AV- | THOR OF THE  
CRVDITIES, TO | THE KING, QVEENE, PRINCE, LADY | ELIZABETH, AND THE DVKE  
OF | Yorke, at the deliuerie of his Book | to each of them.; D3v: [blank]; D4r-<sup>2</sup>D3r: AN  
ANSWERE TO THE | MOST CANDALOVVS, CONTV- | MELIOVS AND HYBRISTICALL |  
Bill of IOSEPH STARRE of *Euill* in the Countie of | Somerset Linnen Draper, wholly conflated  
and com- | pacted of palpable Lies, deceitful prestigiations, | iniurious calumniations, eluding  
euasi-ons, and most fraudulent | tergiuersations.; <sup>2</sup>D3v: [blank]; <sup>2</sup>D4r-<sup>2</sup>F2v: AN  
INTRODUCTION | TO THE ORATIONS| ENSV- | ING, VVHERIN IS DECLA- | red the  
occasion of the first making | of the said Orations.; <sup>2</sup>F3r-<sup>2</sup>G3r: THIS ORATION FOL- | lowing I  
pronounced at *Odcombe* to | *the Euillians when they came / home to vs.* <sup>2</sup>G3v-<sup>2</sup>G4v: [blank]; <sup>2</sup>H1r-  
<sup>2</sup>H3v: TO the Reader.

**A note on the contents note:** leaves B3v, C1v, C3v are blank. This is not recorded above  
so as not to offset the consistency of the note.

**Head titles:** a2v-b4v-A4r: [on verso] *Encomiastic verses vpon* [on recto] *the former books  
of Crudities.*; A1v: *A Petition to the Prince*; A2v-A3v: *An Oration to the Prince.*; A4v-B1v: *An  
Oration to the King.*; B2v-B3r: *An oration to the Queene.*; B4v-C1r: *To the Lady Elizabeth*; C2v-  
C3r: *To the Duke of Yorke.*; C4v: *to the Duke of Yorke.*; D1r: *To the Lady Elizabeth.*; D1v-D3r:  
*To the Duke of Yorke.*; D4v *To the Duke of Yorke.* <sup>2</sup>D1r: *In Chancerie.* <sup>2</sup>D1v-<sup>2</sup>D3r: [on verso] *An  
Answer against* [on recto] *a Bill in Chancerie.*; <sup>2</sup>D4v: *An Introduction.* <sup>2</sup>E1r-<sup>2</sup>F2v: [on verso]

*Orations betwixt the* [on recto] *Odcombians and Euillians*; <sup>2</sup>F3v-<sup>2</sup>G3r: [on verso] *Orations betwixt the* [on recto] *Odcombians and Euillians*; <sup>2</sup>H1v-<sup>2</sup>H3r: To the Reader.

**A note on head titles:** Leaves unaccounted for in this section do not have head titles and the contents of the pages (including blankness) is referred to within the contents note.

**Press-figures:** None.

**A note on catchwords:** If a catchword and its corresponding word are the same, a (~) following the catch word will indicate this equality. If there is an incongruence between the words, the catchword will contain a ^ preceding the part of the word that is extra or wanting (in the case of part of a word wanting, the ^ will appear before the space where portion that is wanting would have been). When a catchword is entirely different from its corresponding word, the symbols †^ will appear before the first letter of the word.

**Catchwords:** a1r [none: title page], a1v [ blank], a2r He (~), a2v Or (~), a3r And (~), a3v *Incipit* (~), a4r Whether (~), a4v If (~), b1r *De* (~), b1v *Incipit (Incipit)*, b2r Ye (~), b2v His (~), b3r *Incipit (Incipit)*, b3v See (~), b4r [none], b4v *Jncipit (To)*, A1r and (~), A1v [none], A2r *distillation* (~), A2v *rome, (rome)*, A3r *the* (~), A3v [none], A4r *racters* (~), A4v *growen (growne)*, B1r *raine* (~), B1v [none], B2r *glo. (glorious)*, B2v *tyres* (~), B3r [none], B3v [blank], B4r *Grace* (~), B4v *rulent* (~), C1r [none], C1v [blank], C2r *tle* (~), C2v *ambition (ambition,)*, C3r [none], C3v [blank], C4r *Porter* (~), C4v *these* (~), D1r *to* (~), D1v *thw* (~), D2r *Poten- (Potentate)*, D2v *uelling* (~), D3r [none], D3v [blank], D4r *accor- (according)*, D4v *sodie, (~)*, <sup>2</sup>D1r *Well* (~), <sup>2</sup>D1v *dious* (~), <sup>2</sup>D2r *the* (~), <sup>2</sup>D2v *kers* (~), <sup>2</sup>D3r [none], <sup>2</sup>D3v [blank], <sup>2</sup>D4r *they* (~), <sup>2</sup>D4v *and* (~), <sup>2</sup>E1r *tiall* (~), <sup>2</sup>E1v *religious (religious:)*, <sup>2</sup>E2r *their (their‘)*, <sup>2</sup>E2v *ales* (~), <sup>2</sup>E3r *and* (~), <sup>2</sup>E3v *with* (~), <sup>2</sup>E4r *mutuall* (~), <sup>2</sup>E4v *mongest (mongst)*, <sup>2</sup>F1r *tooke (took)*, <sup>2</sup>F1v *the* (~), <sup>2</sup>F2r *this* (~), <sup>2</sup>F2v *THIS* (~), <sup>2</sup>F3r *Soyle (Soyle,)*, <sup>2</sup>F3v *as* (~), <sup>2</sup>F4r *which* (~), <sup>2</sup>F4v *the* (~), <sup>2</sup>G1r

by (~), <sup>2</sup>G1v dissent- (dissentions), <sup>2</sup>G2r <sup>h</sup>*Marcus* (~), <sup>2</sup>G2v quireth) (~), <sup>2</sup>G3r [none], <sup>2</sup>G3v  
[blank], <sup>2</sup>G4r [blank], <sup>2</sup>G4v [blank], <sup>2</sup>H1r *melt* (~), <sup>2</sup>H1v *the* (~), <sup>2</sup>H2r *our* (~), <sup>2</sup>H2v *affoord* (~),  
<sup>2</sup>H3r [none], <sup>2</sup>H3v [blank]

**Note:** The “s” in catchword <sup>2</sup>D1v “dious” is inverted. It is not inverted in the  
corresponding first word on <sup>2</sup>D2r.

## Appendix B

A Descriptive Bibliography of the Folger Shakespeare Library's copy of *The Odcombian Banquet* (STC 5810 copy 2)

### Transcription of title page:

THE |ODCOMBIAN | BANQVET: | Dished foorth | BY | THOMAS the CORIAT, |*Serued in by  
a number of Noble Wits* | in prayse of his | CRVDITIES and CRAMBE too. | ASINVS |  
PORTANS |MYSTERIA. | [type ornament] | Imprinted for *Thomas Thorp.* | 1611.

**Collation Formula:** 4°: A4(-A1) B-P4; [\$3 (-A2, F3; +C4, E4) signed] 59 leaves; [118] pages [no printed page numbers; manuscript page numbers on recto pages and final verso page].

**Binding:** Light brown smooth calf binding with double ruled gilt frame on covers. Spine with four sets of two horizontal gilt rules, two gilt dots, gilt edges, and gilt spine title: CORIAT'S ODCOMBIAN BANQUET 1611.

**Additional Physical Notes:** Copy has *ex libris* slip inside upper: *From the library of* | SIR R. LEICESTER HARMSWORTH, BART; copy has manuscript shelf mark inside upper cover: N/21; copy has Folger library bookplate and library "record of exhibition" slip pasted inside lower cover.

**Contents note:** A2r: [title page]; A2v: Anagramma; A3r-A4v: Mr. LAVRENCE WHITAKERS *Elogie of the Booke.*; B1r-B2v: THE CHARACTER | of the famous *Odcombian*, or ra-



*ther Polytopian, Thomas the* / CORYATE, Traueller, and Gen- | *telman-Author of these Quin- /*  
 que-mestriall Cru- | dities.; B3r: To the Right Nobel *Tom, Tell- | Troth* of his trauailes, the  
*Coryate* | *of Odcombe, and his Booke* | now going to tra- | *uell.*; B3v-C1v: CERTAINE OPE- |  
 NING AND DRAW- | ING DISTICHES TO BE APPLIED | as mollifying Cataplasmes to the  
 Tumors, Carno- | *sities, or difficult Pimples full of matter appearing in* | the Authors  
 front, conflated of Stiptike and Glutinous | Vapours arising out of the Crudities: The heads |  
*whereof are particularly pricked and pointed* | out by letters for the Readers better |  
*vnderstanding.*; C2r-C2v: An introduction to the en- | suing verses.; C3r-P4r: [Panegyricke Verses  
 Vpon the Author and his book]; P4v: *Nouerint universi, &c.*

**A note on the contents note:** The C3r-P4r contain the “Panegyricke Verses” that make up the bulk of the book. To list the every verse would be defeat the purpose of this bibliographical summary. To do so would forsake brevity for an unremarkable litany of titles. Instead, I include here a list of all of the named authors of the “Panegyricke Verses:”

C3r: Α'ποδημουντόφιλος

D1r: Henricus Neuill de abergeuenny | Ionnes Harrington de Bathe

D1v: Ludovicus Lewknor | Henricus Goodier

D2r: Ioannes Payton iunior

D2v: Henricus Poole

D3r: Robertus Phillips

D3v: Dudleus Digges

D4r: Rowlandus Cotton

E1r: Robertus Yaxley | Joannes Strangewayes

E2r: Gulielmus Clauel | Ioannes Scory

E2v: Ioannes Donne  
E4r: Richardus Martin  
E4v: Laurentis Whitakerus  
F2r: Hugo Holland  
G1r: Ianum Harrington Badensem  
G1v: Robertus Riccomontanus  
G3r: Gualerus Quin  
G4v: Christopherus Brooke Eboracensis  
H1v: Joannes Hoskins  
H3r: Ioannes Pawlet de George Henton  
H3v: Lionel Cranfield  
H4v: Joannes Sutclin  
H4v: Inigo Jones  
I1r: Georgius Sydenham Brimptoniensis  
I1v: Robertus Halswel  
I2r: Ioannes Gyfford  
I3r: Richard Corbet  
I4r: Joannes Dones  
I4v: Ioannes Chapman  
K1r: Thomas Campianus  
K1v: Gulielmus Fenton | Ioannes Owen  
K2r: Petrus Alley  
K2v: Samuel Page

K3v: Thomas Momford | Thomas Bastard

K4v: Gulielmus Baker

L1v: Τὸ Ὅρὸς-ὀξὺ

L2r: Josias Clarke | Thomas Farnaby alias Bainrafe

L2v: Gulielmus Austin

L4r: Glareanus Vadianus

N1r: Joannes Iackson

N1v: Michael Drayton

N2r: Nicholas Smith | [Note from Coryate]

N2v: Laurentius Emley

N3v: Georgius Griffin | Joannes Daus Herefordiensis

O2r: Richardus Badley

O3v: Ioannes Loiseau de Tourual Parisiensis

O4v: Henricus Peacham

P1v: Jacobus Field

P2r: Glareanus Vadianus

P3v: Richardus Hughes Cambro- Britannus Regi à Pedibus | Thomas Coryati huius operis

Authoris ad beneuolum Lectorem de suo Vaiaggio, Leonini & Macaronici Scazontes.

These are the same in *Crudities*, in the same order.

**Head titles:** A3v-A4v: [on verso] *M. Laurence Whitakers* [on recto] *Elogie of the booke.*;

B1v-B2v: *The Character of the Authour.*; B4r-B4v: *of the Emblemes of the frontispiece.*; C1r: An

Explication of the Emblems,&c.; C2v: to the ensuing verses.; C3v-P4r [on verso] *Panegyricke*

*Verses* [on recto] *Vpon the Author and his Booke.*; H1v-<sup>2</sup>H3r: To the Reader.

**A note on head titles:** Leaves unaccounted for in this section do not have head titles.

**Press-figures:** None.

**A note on catchwords:** If a catchword and its corresponding word are the same, a (~) following the catch word will indicate this equality. If there is an incongruence between the words, the catchword will contain a ^ preceding the part of the word that is extra or wanting (in the case of part of a word wanting, the ^ will appear before the space where portion that is wanting would have been). When a catchword is entirely different from its corresponding word, the symbols †^ will appear before the first letter of the word.

**Catchwords:** A2r [none, title page], A2v [none], A3r with (~), A3v dicicous (icicous), A4r of (~), A4v *THE* (THE), B1r become (~), B1v *you* (~), B2r make (~), B2v *To* (To), B3r CER (CERTAINE), B3v HE (~), B4r Or, (~), B4v Here (~), C1r L (~), C1v *An* (An), C2r *IN* (~), C2v In- (*Jncipit*), C3r His (~), C3v Then (~), C4r That (~), C4v Pitched (~), D1r So (~), D1v Once (~), D2r As (~), D2v *Incipit* (*Jncipit*), D3r Nor (~), D3v Ioy (~), D4r What (~), D4v *Incipit* (~), E1r *Kemp* (~), E1v In- (*Jncipit*) E2r That (~), E2v Venice (~), E3r Of (~), E3v In (~), E4r *Incipit* (~), E4v *Visere* (~), F1r T'accept (~), F1v A ietté (~), F2r Ma (~), F2v To (~), F3r He (~), F3v A (~), F4r Our (~), F4v Looke (~), G1r Thusúe (~), G1v If (~), G2r Hadst (~), G2v *Incipit* (*Jncipit*), G3r *Menossi* (*Menossi*), G3v L'haurian (~), G4r *Incipit* (*Incipit*), G4v And (~), H1r *Incipit* (*Jncipit*), H1v That (~), H2r Hang (~), H2v Scilicet (Scilicet), H3r Whose (~), H3v Many (~), H4r *Incipit* (*Jncipit*), H4v Last, (~), I1r Not (~), I1v In- (*Jncipit*) I2r We (~), I2v That (~), I3r Quòd (QVòd), I3v Send (~), I4r *Incipit* (*Jncipit*), I4v [none] (Buy), K1r Shee- (SHeelosht), K1v To (~), K2r Aboue (~), K2v Drink (Drinke), K3r In- (*Jncipit*), K3v Our (~), K4r *Jn-* (*Incipit*), K4v As (~), L1r In- (*Incipit*), L1v In- (*Incipit*), L2r And (~), L2v Since (~), L3r Admire (~), L3v Whole (~), L4r Armo- (Armoricosque), L4v *Induit* (~), M1r *Erro-* (*Erronumque*), M1v “*Moi* (~),

M2r *Lictor* (~), M2v A de- (A declaration), M3r The (~), M3v Fran- (François), M4r *Ipiedi* (~),  
M4v *Jncipit* (~), N1r *Jn-* (*Incipit*), N1v Making (~), N2r of (~), N2v God (~), N3r [none]  
(*Jncipit*), N3v Hee (He), N4r Vphol- (Vpholding), N4v He (~), O1r He (~), O1v *Incipit* (~), O2r  
Whether (~), O2v The (~), O3r When (~), O3v Elegie (~), O4r *Remportans* (~), O4v Ad (~), P1r  
*Hunks* (~), P1v No (~), P2r Discoue- (Discovering), P2v And (~), P3r *Incipit* (*Jncipit*), P3v  
*Transe* (*Transegi*) P4r *No-* (*Nouerint*), P4v [none]

## Appendix C

A Descriptive Bibliography of the Folger Shakespeare Library's copy of *M' Thomas Coriat to his friends in England sendeth greeting* (STC 5809)

### Transcription of title page:

M' Thomas Coriat | to his friends in *England* | *sendeth greeting*: | *From Agra the Capitall City of the Dominion* | of the Great MOGOLL in the *Easterne India*, | the last of *October*, 1616 |

[Wood cut of Coryate on a camel, being led by a dark skinned figure, with two light skinned men and a distant building in the background] | Thy Trauels and thy Glory to enamel, | With fame we mount thee on the lofty Cammell; | But Cammels, Elephants, nore Horse nor Asse | Can beare thy Worth,that worthlesse dost surpasse. | The World's the beast that must thy Palfrey be, | Thou rid'st the World, and all the World rides thee. | At London printed by *I. B.* 1618

**Collation Formula:** 4<sup>o</sup>: ¶<sup>4</sup>(-¶<sup>1</sup>) A<sup>2</sup> a<sup>4</sup> B<sup>4</sup> C<sup>4</sup>(-C<sup>4</sup>) D<sup>4</sup> E<sup>4</sup>(-E<sup>4</sup>) [\$<sup>2</sup> (+¶<sup>3</sup>, C<sup>3</sup>, E<sup>3</sup>, -¶<sup>1</sup>-2) signed]; 23 leaves; [46] pages [all pages unnumbered].

**Binding:** Red ribbed goatskin binding with gilt edges rolling, gilt edges, gilt ruling around edge (on covers), blind tooled border, wavy gilt frame within border, gilt tooling on spine. On spine: CORIAT 1619. Copy is bound with thirteen additional blank leaves.

**Additional Physical Notes:** Copy has armorial bookplate pasted to upper cover:

MEXBOROUGH. Copy has bookplate pasted lower cover: Folger Shakespeare Library [black and white sticker].

**Contents note:** ¶2r: [title page]; ¶2v: [blank]; ¶3r: Certaine Verses in commendations|of this mirror of footmanship, this Ca-|tholique or vniversall Traueller, this|*European, Asian, African Pilgrime*,|this well letterd, well litterd discoue-|rer and Cosmographically describer|*Master Thomas Coriat* of|*Odcombe.*; ¶3v: [blank]; ¶4r: IN PRAISE OF THE|Author Maister|*Thomas Coriat.*; A2r: A LITTLE RE-|MEMBRANCE OF|his variety of Tongues,|and Politicke forme of|TRAVELL.; a3v: [blank]; a4r: [woodcut of man dressed very fancifully]; a4v: The superscription, ||Sent from *Azmere*, the Court of the|*great and mightiest Monarch of the* |East, called the Great *MOGULL*|*in the Easterne India.*; B1r: Master Thomas|*Coriats* Commendations to his|friends in *England.*; D1r: The Copy of a Speech that J|*made to a Mahometan in*|*the Italian tounge.*; E2v: THE AVTHOR OF|the Verse, takes leaue of the Author|*of the Prose, desiring rather to see him,*|then to heare from him.

**Head titles:** ¶4v-a3r: [on verso] In praise of the Author, [on recto] *Master Thomas Coriat.*; B1v-E1r: [on verso] *M. Thomas Coriats commednations* [on recto] *to his friends in England.*; E2r: *Master Thomas Coriat.*; E2v: The Author of the Verse; E3r: to the Author of the Prose.; E3v: In praise of the Author,

**A note on head titles:** Leaves unaccounted for in this section do not have head titles. D1r does not share the head held by B1v-E1r.

**Press-figures:** None.

**A note on catchwords:** If a catchword and its corresponding word are the same, a (~) following the catch word will indicate this equality. If there is an incongruence between the words, the

catchword will contain a ^ preceding the part of the word that is extra or wanting (in the case of part of a word wanting, the ^ will appear before the space where portion that is wanting would have been). When a catchword is entirely different from its corresponding word, the symbols †^ will appear before the first letter of the word.

**Catchwords:** ¶2r [none: title page], ¶2v [blank], ¶3r [none], ¶3v [blank], ¶4r *For* (~), ¶4v *The* (*Th*'), A1r, *Through* (~), A1v *A short* (*A Very*) A2r *And* (~), A2v *Then* (~), a1r *All* (~), a1v *But* (~), a2r *Shee* (*She*), a2v *And* (~), a3r [none], a3v [blank], a4r [none], a4v [none], B1r *from* (~), B1v *Spending* (~), B2r *The* (~), B2v *Zeerat* (~), B3r *The* (*The*), B3v *tories* (~), B4r *good.* (~), B4v *I had* (~), C1r *fore* (~), C1v *bedient* (~), C2r *ties* (~), C2v *no* (~), C3r *Euill* (~), C3v [none], D1r *But* (~), D1v *riches* (~), D2r *rest* (~), D2v *in* (~), D3r *ridi-* (*ridiculous*), D3v *with* (~), D41 *neither* (~), D4v *it* (~), E1r [none], E1v [none], E2r *THE* (~), E2v *For* (~), E3r *Till* (~), E3v [none]



## Appendix D

A Descriptive Bibliography of the Folger Shakespeare Library's copy of  
*Thomas Coriate Traueller for the English VVits* (STC 5811)

### Transcription of title page:

THOMAS CORIATE | Traueller for the English | VVits : Greeting. | *From the Court of the  
Great Mogvl, Resi-* | dent at the Towne of ASMERE, in | Easterne INDIA. | [woodcut of Coryate  
upon an elephant] | Printed by W.Iaggard, and Henry Fetherston. | 1616.

**Collation Formula:** 4°: A<sup>4</sup> (-A1) B-H<sup>4</sup>; [\$3 (+F4, -A2, F2 [see note]) signed; 31 leaves;  
[7], 2-35, [1 blank] 37-47, [1 blank], 49-56 [=62 pages].

**Note on collation:** Sig. F2 appears to be trimmed off, rather than being skipped.

**Binding:** Copy has green goatskin binding with gold tooled double-ruled border, corner ornaments, and dentelle. Copy has gold tooling on spine: ornamental tooling between raised bands; gilt lettering: CORI- | -ATE'S | GREET | -ING | 1616.

**Additional Physical Notes:** Copy has bookplate on upper cover: Folger Shakespeare Library [gold lettering on red background]. Copy has bookplate on lower cover: Folger Shakespeare Library [black and white sticker]. Copy has ink stamp on upper endpapers: bound by W. Pratt. Copy has autograph on upper endpapers: G. Odell.

**Contents note:** [A2r]: [title page]; [A2v]: [blank]; A3r-A3v: To the Reader.; A4r: [woodcut of bearded figure walking in a wooded area with a walking stick]; A4v: [Same woodcut as on title page: Coryate upon and elephant; five line poem: Loe heere the wooden Image of our wits;...]; B1r-C1r: To | THE RIGHT | Honourable, Sir Ed- | ward *Phillips, Kinght, and* | Maister of the Rolles, at his | *house in Chancery-Lane,* / or VVanstead.| [space] | From the Court of the | *most mighty Monarch, the* / Great Mogul, resident in the Towne | of Asmere,*in the Easterne* / India, Anno 1615. | [type ornament]; C1v- E3v: Most deare and belo- | *ued Friend, Maister L. W.* | *animæ dimidium meæ*; E4r-F2r: *From the Court of the Great Mogul, resident* / *at the Towne of Asmere in the Eastern* / India, on Michaelmas day. Anno | 1615.; F2v: [blank]; F3r-G1v: TO THE HIGH | Seneschall of the right | *Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sireni-* / acal Gentelmen, that meet at the first Fri- | *daie of euery Moneth, at the signe of the Mere-* / Maide in Bread-streete in London, giue these: | *From the Court of the great Mogul, resident at* / *the Towne of Asmere, in the East-* / *erne India.*; G2r-G4r: Pray remember the re- | commendations of my | dutifull respect to al those | whose names I haue here | expressed [...]; G4v: [blank]; H1r-H2v: *To his Louing Mother.*; H3r-H3v: *To his louing Fruend, Tho-* / *mas Coryate.*

**Additional note on the contents:** C4v: [woodcut of antelope]; D4v: [woodcut of unicorn]; E2r: [woodcut of Coryate upon an elephant (same as title page and A4v)]

**Head titles:** [none]

**Press-figures:** None.

**A note on catchwords:** If a catchword and its corresponding word are the same, a (~) following the catch word will indicate this equality. If there is an incongruence between the words, the catchword will contain a ^ preceding the part of the word that is extra or wanting (in the case of part of a word wanting, the ^ will appear before the space where portion that is wanting would

have been). When a catchword is entirely different from its corresponding word, the symbols †^ will appear before the first letter of the word.

**Catchwords:** A2r [none: title page], A2v [blank], A3r For (~), A3v [none], A4r [none], A4v [none]; B1r Right (~), B1v iust (~), B2r foote (~), B2v [none] (gratulate), B3r Three (~), B3v then (~), B4r I (~), B4v haue (~), C1r [none] (Most), C1v of (~), C2r could (I could), C2v Tur- (Turkish), C3r Constan- (santinople), C3v pre- (presents), C4r meant (~), C4v and (~), D1r ble (~), D1v dent (~), D2r after- (afterward), D2v pire. (~), D3r in (~), D3v Second- (Secondly), D4r the (~), D4v at (~), E1r teene (~), E1v am (~), E2r Our (~), E2v twixt (~), E3r my (~), E3v [none] (from), E4r Furni- (furniture), E4v lectable (~), F1r with (~), F1v iect (~), F2r [none; see note], F2v [blank] (To), F3r make (~), F3v India: (~), F4r to (~), F4v Lon- (*London.*), G1r and (~), G1v [none] (Pray), G2r Imprimis, (~), G2v house (~), G3r lector (~), G3v *tions* (~), G4r [none], G4v [blank], H1r furre (~), H1v Fune- (Funerall.), H2r ve- (ry), H2v [none] (To), H3r But (~), H3v A (~), H4r [none] (So), H4v [none]