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Author

Palmer, Philip S

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'The progress of thy glorious book': material reading and the play of paratext in Coryats Crudities *(1611)*

Philip S. Palmer

In the spring of 1611, Thomas Coryate, the author of seventeenth-century England's strangest volume of travels, *Coryats Crudities*, embarked on a local circuit to present custom copies of his book to potential patrons. Traveling on a donkey bearing a large book-box labelled 'Asinus portans mysteria', he paid visits to Prince Henry Frederick, King James, Queen Anne, Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of York (among others), all the while delivering baroque orations to accompany the gift volumes.[1] Coryate's series of high-stakes dedications – published in a follow-up volume entitled *Coryats Crambe* (1611) – functioned as a contemporary 'epitext' to his *Crudities*, being the first attempt to manage its reception from outside the volume.[2] During what essentially amounted to an early modern book tour, Coryate deployed a range of metaphors to describe the form and content of his travelogue: the 'May dew of [his] Crude collections' gathered in an egg shell (for Prince Henry); a 'home spunne present' (piece of cloth) and book-as-ship for King James; a camel-load of 'outlandish nouelties and farre-fetched commodities' for Queen Anne.[3] Though he feared that for the fifteen-year-old Princess Elizabeth 'the Raw Trauels of [his] head and toes' collected under the 'Title of *Crudities*' may 'not seeme to promise so much', he reassures her that 'the inuentorie of [his] Bookes freight [is] a miscellanie of things of diuers kinds both in prose and verse', and will therefore 'giue [her] grace a full contentment' (sig. B4v).

I am grateful to Joseph L. Black for his numerous insights after reading drafts of this essay, as well as the two anonymous readers at *Renaissance Studies* for their helpful and incisive criticisms. Thanks also to Peter Berek, Eugene Hill, and John Lancaster.

[1] Michael Strachan, *The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 130–33.

[2] Gérard Genette defines 'epitexts' as paratextual 'messages that, at least originally, are located outside the book, generally with the help of the media (interviews, conversations) or under cover of private communications (letters, diaries, and others).' Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5. For the rarity of early modern epitexts, see Peter Stallybrass, 'Afterword', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (eds.), *Renaissance Paratexts*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 204–9, at 204.

[3] *Coryats Crambe, or his Colwort Twise Sodden* (1611), sigs. A3r, B1r–v, B2v–B3r. Subsequent citations of this text are supplied parenthetically.

It is this last description, 'a miscellanie of things of diuers kinds both in prose and verse', that most interests me here, for it engages directly with the *form* of a book often portrayed as eclectic and difficult to categorize. Andrew Hadfield writes that the 'book itself bears little resemblance to what had gone before', and could be described as 'the first self-consciously styled work of English travel writing.'[4] Michael Strachan similarly concludes that 'nobody had ever written a book quite like this', its novelty stemming not only from its heterogeneous contents and euphuistic style, but also its unusual length for a quarto travel book (939 pages).[5] Since the text has defied attempts at neat generic classification, Coryate's use of 'miscellany' helpfully illuminates the formal properties underpinning his innovative travelogue. What kinds of framing strategies does Coryate call upon when he labels his book a 'miscellany'? To which contents does he specifically refer when he writes of a 'miscellany of diuers things both in prose and verse'? When developing the metaphor of his book as a 'home spunne present' for King James, Coryate describes 'the lists of this cloth [as] the verses at both ends of [his] Booke' (*Crambe*, sig. B1r).[6] These prefatory and closing 'lists' of poems account for the majority of the *Crudities*' 'verse' contents. Penned by fifty-eight writers, including Ben Jonson, John Donne, Michael Drayton, Inigo Jones, and Sir John Harington, the 'Panegyricke Verses' that open the book form a diverse body of mock encomiastic poems, some commissioned by the author, others not. Appended to the rear of the volume is the book's second 'list' of verses, the *Posthuma fragmenta poematum Georgii Coryati*, a collection of Latin poetry written by Coryate's father George. The 'prose' components of the *Crudities* similarly comprise several distinct sections. While the descriptive travel 'observations' of the main text provide the book's most obvious prose writing,[7] Coryate also included English translations of two orations by Hermann Kirchner in praise of travel and transcripts of Latin epistles he exchanged with various European scholars.[8]

But when identifying these prose and verse contents as a 'miscellany', Coryate does not simply characterize his book as 'miscellaneous'; he associates it with specific formal qualities that suggest distinct modes of reading and interpretation. In the past few decades, scholarly work on traditionally 'miscellaneous' texts – including anthologies, commonplace books, miscellanies,

[4] Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 58–9.

[5] Strachan, *Life*, 124.

[6] *OED* 'list', n. 3, I.2.a: 'The selvage, border, or edge of a cloth, usually of different material from the body of the cloth.'

[7] Coryate uses the word 'observations' to subtitle each section of his travelogue ('obseruations of Paris', 'obseruations of Venice', etc.).

[8] Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities Hastily gobled up in five Moneths travells*, 2 vols. (Glasgow: MacLehose and Sons, 1905), 1:122–48, 2:71–87; 2:112–36. Subsequent citations refer to this edition, and are indicated parenthetically by volume and page number.

and *Sammelbände*[9] – complicated the pejorative associations of 'miscellaneity' by emphasizing the patterns of organization that render these texts 'whole books'.[10] The extensive scholarship on verse miscellany manuscripts has stressed the social and institutional affiliations they cultivated,[11] while recent work on verse miscellanies in print has demonstrated how the multipurpose form helped 'canonise a line of English poets' in one case, and offered its readers socially useful literary texts in another.[12] As Adam Smyth notes of later seventeenth-century miscellanies, furthermore, a 'neat delineation of the boundaries of the printed miscellany is tricky' since it shares with other genres a number of formal and generic elements.[13]

Considered as a miscellany, *Coryats Crudities* presents an especially tricky case. For one, the book's two verse collections – the 'Panegyricke Verses' and George Coryate's poems – form detachable poetical miscellanies of their own that engage with distinct and temporally defined social circles.[14] In her study of literary sociability in the 'Panegyricke Verses', Michelle O'Callaghan argues that '[t]he front matter to the *Crudities* fashions a self-authorising company of wits' – identified with the elite male networks and 'tavern societies' of early seventeenth-century London – who 'orchestrated a print community by realising and improvising on a contemporary culture of performance within the format of the printed book.'[15] George Coryate's *Posthuma fragmenta poematum*, on the other hand, nostalgically evokes the Elizabethan court through epideictic verse in praise of various eminent figures, including Queen Elizabeth, the first and second Earls of Pembroke, and William Cecil, Lord Burghley. By virtue of its two inset poetic collections, then, the *Crudities* shares formal properties with print and manuscript verse miscellanies compiled in the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and it may be that in framing his book as a miscellany Coryate sought to align it with these

[9] For succinct definitions of these terms, see Peter Beal, *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology, 1450–2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 18, 82–3, 255, 356.

[10] Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts', in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 279–315; Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (eds.), *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); *Yearbook of English Studies*, 33 (2003), a special issue on 'Medieval and Early Modern Miscellanies and Anthologies'; Raphael Lyne, 'St John's College, Cambridge, MS S.34', *Scriptorium: Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Online* (Cambridge University): <http://scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk/> (accessed 16 June 2012).

[11] For an overview, see H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 153–73.

[12] Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Textual Gatherings: Print, Community and Verse Miscellanies in Early Modern England', *Early Modern Culture: An Electronic Seminar* [online], Vol. 8 (2010): <http://emc.eserver.org/1–8/ocallaghan.html> (accessed 16 June 2012); Adam Smyth, *'Profit and Delight': Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640–1686* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004).

[13] Smyth, *'Profit'*, 2.

[14] 'Detachable' in the sense that both could stand alone as separate publications: the 'Panegyricke Verses' was pirated as *The Odcombian Banquet* in 1611; George Coryate's poems, although never published separately, begin with a separate letterpress title page.

[15] Michelle O'Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 102, 126.

recognizable and fashionable textual forms. Perhaps Princess Elizabeth was an avid miscellany-reader herself.[16]

Coryats Crudities is primarily a travel book, of course, and so its formal miscellaneity equally derives from collections of material gathered during foreign travels or related to the occasion of travel. Coryate garnered a significant body of epigraphical transcriptions, for instance, many of which he copied from tombs and monuments. In his study of Coryate as the first English tourist – someone who 'commit[ted] himself to the theatre of the extensive world, an ongoing spectacle awaiting the delectation of errant Englishmen' – Richmond Barbour proposes that when '[c]opying inscriptions, Coryate makes his journal into a commonplace book and his transit into a reading of the world.'[17] Melanie Ord analyses Coryate's citing and transcribing practices in her work on 'textual experience' in the *Crudities* to investigate how the book 'positions the reader in relation to the experiences available through travel' and 'how experiences in travel are themselves mediated by other textual constructs'.[18] For both Barbour and Ord, *Coryats Crudities* is not simply an unmediated prose account of an individual's travels, but a text that is itself a collection of other texts.

The epitextual pitch 'miscellany of diuers things both in prose and verse' aligns *Coryats Crudities* with the conventional form of the print miscellany while also establishing the crucial interrelation of its prose and verse under the concept of textual 'miscellaneity'. How, then, does *Coryats Crudities* propose its readers negotiate the 'miscellaneity' of the volume? How does the book's paratextual apparatus enable readers to move between its parts, and from parts to whole? This article analyses the *Crudities*' print and manuscript paratextual apparatus to examine how readers navigated the volume's prose and verse contents; as I argue, these paratexts operate both referentially and playfully in a manner that furthers the book's double status as travelogue and literary game. What's more, evidence of the book's readership in seventeenth-century England not only demonstrates a mixed interpretive approach to the text's innovative form, but illustrates how readers themselves took part in the playful game of mocking Thomas Coryate. My case study of Pierpont Morgan Library W 02 B – a copy annotated by the writing master and poet John Davies of Hereford as well as several additional seventeenth-century readers – recovers valuable early readings of *Coryats Crudities* by investigating how those readers responded creatively to the book's print and manuscript marginalia. This evidence illuminates the range of interpretive strategies readers applied

[16] Popular verse miscellanies published in England between 1590 and 1611 include *Brittons Bowre of Delights* (1591, 1597), *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), *The Arbor of Amorous Deuises* (1597), *England's Helicon* (1600), and *A Poetical Rhapsody* (1602, 1608, 1611).

[17] Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 132, 122.

[18] Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 123, 154.

to the formal 'miscellaneity' of the *Crudities*, reflecting a mixed approach to the travelogue that nonetheless acknowledged its unity as a 'whole book'.

THE LIVELY MARGINS OF THE 'PANEGYRICKE VERSES'

Along with compiling and sequencing the 'Verses', Coryate devised an elaborate set of printed marginal notes to accompany the mock encomia. Some of the 'editorial notes' function as simple glosses, while others are clearly satirical and reflect Coryate's playful interpretation of the form. To explain one of George Sydenham's lines about the author's encounter with a Venetian courtesan ('How glad thou wert to come and kisse her bomme'), for example, Coryate defines 'bomme' as 'Her cheeke or hand; a Chaucerisme' (1:66). At least according to the OED, there is no recorded usage (in Chaucer or elsewhere) of 'bum' as 'cheek or hand', and in this case it seems more probable that 'Chaucerisme' is a jesting reference to the ribald bum-kissing episode at the end of the 'The Miller's Tale'. Here Coryate's note appears to deflect the jest through a clarifying explanation, yet because the gloss draws attention to an erroneous definition, the humorous effect is only amplified.

The printed notes do not always signify such a direct communication between author and reader. Since at times these glosses reflect marked shifts in pronoun usage and the meaning of 'you' (directed either to the reader or a panegyrist), explaining them as the managing gestures of the author does not always account for their complex and often ironic function.[19] While Strachan attributes the 'occasional editorial notes' solely to Coryate,[20] a sample reveals their meaning to be more fluid and complex, frustrating attempts to identify the 'senders' and 'addressees' of the printed marginalia:[21] 'Beleeve him not reader' (1:42); 'You meane some merry matter Sir' (1:35); 'I meane any criticall carper that shall taxe thee for thy Booke' (1:31). Respectively, these notes present a conversation between Coryate and the reader, Coryate and a panegyrist, and a panegyrist and Coryate, signalling a collaboratively authored paratext addressing multiple audiences. Even though the pronoun shifts suggest collaborative authorship, similarities among these notes open up the possibility that Coryate strategically ventriloquized their voices, evidently to play with the meaning of their verses and participate in the book's ongoing game of mock praise.[22]

Other notes defensively gloss disputed claims through references to the *Crudities*' main text, sometimes with specific page and line citations. Inigo

[19] For the limitations of Genette's theories when applied to early modern books, see Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, 'Introduction', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, 1–14.

[20] Strachan, *Life*, 126.

[21] For 'senders and addressees', see Genette, *Paratexts*, 322–4.

[22] Seven pieces of mock encomiastic writing – Ben Jonson's 'Character of the Famous Odcombian'; verses by Sir Robert Phelips, John Donne, John Hoskins, Richard Corbett, and John Chapman in the *Crudities*; and a poem by Anthony Washborne in *Crambe* – feature printed side notes that defuse the text's satirical bite; suspiciously, however, each of these notes begins with the phrase 'I meane'.

Jones's insistence that the author '[t]rod a tough hen of thirty yeares of age' while observing the Venetian courtesans elicits a defensive note (and supporting citation) from Coryate: 'Beleeve him not Reader. Reade my Apologie in my discourse of the Venetian Cortezans, p. 270' (1:64). In response to a caustic Latin poem written by 'Glareanus Vadianus',[23] Coryate similarly directs readers (and Vadianus) to clarifying pages in the main text. After Vadianus ridicules Coryate for begging during his journey (to ward off would-be thieves near Baden), the marginal note – opening pugnaciously with 'Valde erras mi Glareane' ('you wrong me greatly, Glareanus') – strikes back by referring to the 'occasione . . . inusitata' ('uncommon occasion') of the author's begging, as presented in both the engraved frontispiece and main text: 'hieroglyphice in Itinerarii mei frontispicio, tum etiam in libri meí contextu disertis verbis expressi, viz. 465' ('in the hieroglyphical frontispiece of my Itinerary, then as well in the context of my book expressed in eloquent words, viz. 465') (1:89). Since the marginal notes at times 'mischievously misread and deflect their [i.e. the panegyrists] criticisms', Coryate's ripostes to Jones's and Vadianus' poems demonstrate what Katharine Craik has described as 'muscular resistance to the relationship normally established between panegyrist and writer.'[24] Such notes establish the simultaneously playful and combative nature of Coryate's paratextual dialogue with the mock panegyrists, while also creating a 'degree of collusion in producing laughter and promoting Coryate' by transforming individual poems into 'dialogue[s] through Coryate's skilful manipulation of the margins of the book.'[25]

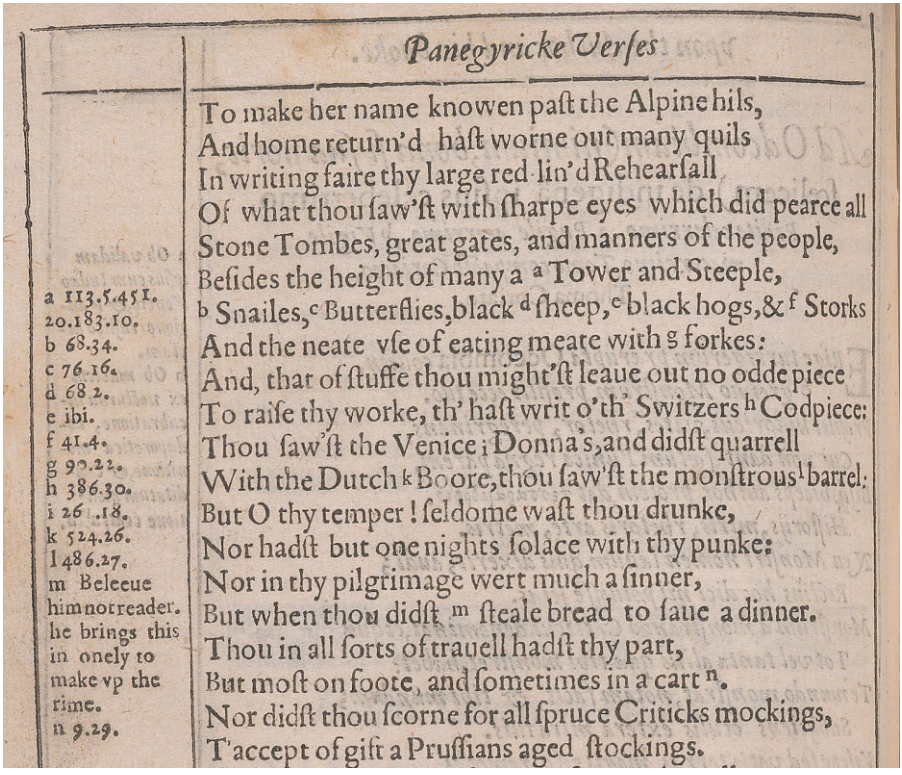
These defensive notes exemplify what critics have characterized as 'the ways in which marginalia resist their usual designation as mere supplements to a core text'.[26] But Coryate's 'deflection' strategy also urges readers to flip ahead and delve more deeply into the main text. One of Laurence Whitaker's mock encomiastic poems offers a particularly interesting example of this process. Supplementing Whitaker's numerous references to narrative episodes from the *Crudities*, Coryate adds twelve side notes directing readers to particular pages (Fig. 1). This passage is exceptional in its references to some of the *Crudities*' more obscure episodes, and it seems Whitaker was more familiar with the book than some of his fellow panegyrists, having read the text in manuscript (1:41) and listened to Coryate read it aloud (*Crambe*, sig. H3r). The marginalia convey Coryate's avidity to map Whitaker's reading according to specific page and line references, while also encouraging readers of the 'Verses' to navigate ahead to the main text. Rather than simply managing one's interpretation of the verses, then, Coryate's marginalia transform this

[23] For an identification of Vadianus as John Sanford, see Brandon S. Centerwall, 'Identifying "Glareanus Vadianus" as John Sanford', *Cahiers Elisabéthains: Late Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 55 (1999), 35–7.

[24] Katharine Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 96.

[25] O'Callaghan, *Wits*, 121.

[26] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 129; William W. E. Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 3, 8, 64.



Panegyricke Verſes

To make her name knowen paſt the Alpine hils,
And home return'd haſt worne out many quils
In writing faire thy large red lin'd Rehearſall
Of what thou ſaw'ſt with ſharpe eyes which did pearce all
Stone Tombes, great gates, and manners of the people,
Beſides the height of many a [a] Tower and Steeple,
[b] Snailes, [c] Butterflies, black [d] ſheep, [e] black hogs, & [f] Storks
And the neate vſe of eating meate with [g] forkes:
And, that of ſtuffe thou might'ſt leaue out no odde piece
To raiſe thy worke, th' haſt writ o'th' Switzers [h] Codpiece:
Thou ſaw'ſt the Venice [i] Donna's, and didſt quarrell
With the Dutch [k] Boore, thou ſaw'ſt the monſtrous [l] barrel:
But O thy temper! ſeldome waſt thou drunke,
Nor hadſt but one nights ſolace with thy punke:
Nor in thy pilgrimage wert much a ſinner,
But when thou didſt [m] ſteale bread to ſaue a dinner.
Thou in all ſorts of trauell hadſt thy part,
But moſt on foote, and ſometimes in a cart [n].
Nor didſt thou ſcorne for all ſpruce Criticks mockings,
T'accept of gift a Pruſſians aged ſtockings.

a 113.5.451. 20.183.10.
b 68.34.
c 76.16.
d 68.2.
e ibi.
f 41.4.
g 90.22.
h 386.30.
i 26.18.
k 524.26.
l 486.27.
m Beleeue him not reader. he brings this in onely to make vp the rime.
n 9.29.

Fig. 1 Printed marginal notes, *Coryats Crudities*, sig. d5v. The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Osborn pb57

poem into a hyperlinked advertisement for his 'observations', equipping readers with a detailed roadmap for hunting down Whitaker's allusions in the travelogue proper.[27]

THE CASE OF PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY W 02 B

If these notes playfully link 'Verses' to 'observations' within the print paratext of *Coryats Crudities*, how might the evidence of manuscript culture reveal a similar approach to the book among its seventeenth-century readers? For that matter, what do we know of these historical readers? What evidence survives to document their elusive stories? Such questions respond to recent scholarship on reading practices in early modern England. Heidi Brayman Hackel has

[27] For early modern 'reading as a practice of discontinuity' made possible by technological innovations in indexing and bookmarking, see Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 42–79.

argued for 'a material history of reading' to replace traditional emphases on the abstracted 'universal' or 'implied' reader, and, together with William Sherman and Jason Scott-Warren, has looked to the markings in 'used books' as evidence for this history.[28] In a recent set of essays that 'seek[s] to bring literary and textual approaches into conversation with material studies of the book', moreover, Jennifer Richards and Fred Schurink have sought to complement this material turn with a renewed emphasis on the 'textuality' of reading, 'aim[ing] to give new prominence to the engagement of readers with the texts they were reading and to writing as a witness of practices of reading.'[29]

For *Coryats Crudities*, the evidence of early reading practices is scarce. The best account of the book's readership is Katharine Craik's study of its prevalent 'crudity' metaphors (developed among its first readers, the mock panegyrists), which provided 'Coryat and his contemporaries with a vocabulary . . . to explore the painful effects of pleasurable reading experiences on the bodies of aristocratic men.'[30] New evidence for the book's seventeenth-century readership builds upon Craik's foundational work by expanding our picture of how readers interpreted Coryate's travelogue. A copy of *Coryats Crudities* (Pierpont Morgan Library W 02 B) survives today bearing marks of provenance from five different owners (including Morgan), three of which date to the seventeenth century. The book's first owner/annotator was the English writing master and poet John Davies of Hereford, who added a unique manuscript poem and set of satirical marginalia. Upon his death in 1618, Davies gave the book to his son Silvanus Davies, although no inscription survives to corroborate his ownership.[31] At some point the book became the property of William Weekley, who on 3 December 1656 swapped it with an acquaintance for a few shillings and a copy of Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*. Weekley recorded these details on one of the book's front endpapers:

> Dec emb*er* 3^{d}
> 1656
> Rec ~~B~~ Brownes vlgar errers & foure shillings in
> mo ney of m^{r}. Jenings Linnen Draper for this booke
> p*er* mee will: weekley[32]

[28] Hackel, *Reading Material*; William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Jason Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73 (2010), 363–81.

[29] Jennifer Richards and Fred Schurink, 'Introduction: The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73 (2010), 345–61, at 355.

[30] Craik, *Reading*, 96.

[31] See John Davies of Hereford's will, in *The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 2 vols. ([Edinburgh]: Printed for private circulation [by T. and A. Constable], 1878), Vol. 1, xvii: 'Item, I give and bequeathe unto my sonne Silvanus Davies all my bookes.'

[32] I have not been able to identify 'm^{r}. Jenings', although he is possibly the seventeenth-century London draper Thomas Jenings, whose will is dated 30 May 1692 (PROB 11/409). The most famous draper associated with Coryate was Joseph Starre of Yeovil, with whom the traveller invested £40 before embarking on his journey; Starre defaulted on this 'bill of adventure' when Coryate returned to England, thus beginning a protracted law suit. See Strachan, *Life*, 15, 118–20. William Weekley is perhaps the Ipswich bookseller active between 1650 and 1689.

In the 1650s and 1660s, one of the book's owners – likely the 'mr. Jenings Linnen draper' mentioned in Weekley's note – read and extensively annotated the book.[33]

Jenings took an abiding interest in his reading of *Coryats Crudities*. His manuscript underlining begins early in the volume and proceeds to the end of the travelogue,[34] while records in his hand of pages read appear sporadically in the upper margins of verso pages. But Jenings was not simply a meticulous reader. In many ways his assiduous attention to the book's details draws upon Coryate's own exacting method of 'observation'. Measuring travel sights in terms of distance, height, and quantity, Coryate's practices reflected conventional methods prescribed in advice literature and demonstrated by travel writing on both sides of the Channel: the measurement of distance between towns/cities in particular, usually in the form of the printed or manuscript 'itinerary', had been a hallmark of foreign travel for centuries.[35] Tabulating his accumulated mileage between cities and at certain landmark points (upon arriving at Venice and returning to London), a similar itinerary features prominently in the *Crudities* (Fig. 2). The measurements on display in this table became a source of humour for the mock panegyrists, who satirized Coryate's fledgling empiricism as a traveller. To Thomas Farnaby, Coryate '[m]easures Pyramide steeples and high columnes' and '[a]t Heydelberg bestrides the monstrous כד Cadh ["jug, pitcher"]./ Which with dimension trine justly מדד Madadh ["measures"]' (1:83). While sizing up the *Crudities*' brick-like dimensions, Ben Jonson jests how Coryate's 'matter' is 'measur'd . . . out with his feet', the voluminous writing of the book keeping pace with the busy steps of its author: 'And allow you for each particular mile,/ By the scale of his booke, a yard of his stile?' (*Crambe*, sig. a2r).

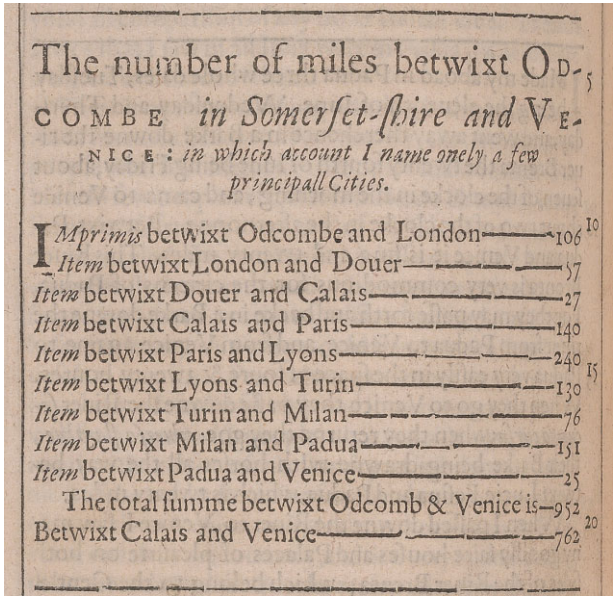
The lines suggest that at least some readers found these elements of the text ridiculous, and Raymond-Jean Frontain maintains that Coryate's 'tedious and seemingly endless supply of measurements and transcriptions' produced a collection of 'particulars . . . of no interest to anyone in England.'[36] Jenings, however, appears rather keen to join Coryate in quantifying Europe. Taking his cue from the measurement practices on display in the *Crudities*, he wrote on the volume's blank endpapers a detailed record of Coryate's journey (more detailed than the printed version),

[33] A date inscribed on the recto of the preliminary front endpaper – reading 'Tuesdaij the 1st: September 1657' – is the latest possible date for the book passing into this annotator's ownership. It is possible 'mr. Jenings' gave or sold the book to someone else in the nine–month span separating this inscription and Weekley's note. But in the absence of other ownership inscriptions – and the presence on the front pastedown of a manuscript note in the same hand appearing to read 'mr gen to Lon*don* Tuesd*ay*: 11o April 1665' – the preponderance of evidence points to 'mr. Jenings' as this annotator. Besides J. Pierpont Morgan, Charles Bruce, third Earl of Ailesbury (1682–1747) also owned the book.

[34] His underlining ends on p. 644. It does not continue into George Coryate's poems.

[35] Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Ursula Phillips (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 254–67. For printed itineraries of English and European roads, see Catherine Delano-Smith and Roger J. P. Kain, *English Maps: A History* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 148–53. For print and manuscript itineraries in almanacs, see Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 51–2. For advice on travel measurements, see *Profitable Instructions . . . to be Taken by Trauellers in all Nations* (London, 1633), sig. B2r and two later works by Edward Leigh: *Three Diatribes or Discourses* (1671) and *The Gentleman's Guide* (1680).

[36] Frontain, 'Donne, Coryate, and the Sesqui-Superlative', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 29 (2003), 211–24, at 212, 213. Less judgmentally, Richmond Barbour argues that 'Coryate takes his body as a unit of global calibration' and 'measur[es] the alien by his own frame' (Barbour, *Orientalism*, 120, 139).


The number of miles betwixt Od-
COMBE *in Somerſet-ſhire and* Ve-
NICE : *in which account I name onely a few principall Cities.*

Imprimis betwixt Odcombe and London——106
Item betwixt London and Douer——57
Item betwixt Douer and Calais——27
Item betwixt Calais and Paris——140
Item betwixt Paris and Lyons——240
Item betwixt Lyons and Turin——130
Item betwixt Turin and Milan——76
Item betwixt Milan and Padua——151
Item betwixt Padua and Venice——25
The total ſumme betwixt Odcomb & Venice is—952
Betwixt Calais and Venice——762

Fig. 2 Tally of miles travelled between Odcombe and Venice, *Coryats Crudities*, sig. N8v. The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Osborn pb57

inscribing the full itinerary three separate times, the second (and fullest) of which is depicted below (Fig. 3). Like Coryate, Jenings recorded in his itineraries the distances between cities and landmark points, information he compiled in a way that bespeaks a careful reading and mapping of the travelogue's content. These itineraries supplement his extensive underlining, which focuses on everything from the bronze horses at the entrance of St Mark's Basilica in Venice to the 'stratagematical invention' of Zurich's city walls.[37] By enriching the textual experience of Coryate's European tour, Jenings's mileage guides and underscoring of foreign sights conjure images of the armchair traveller, whose search for vicarious reading pleasures remains a hallmark of the travel-book reader today.[38]

Along with measuring his own reading practices and the mileage of Coryate's journey, Jenings turned a quantifying eye to the book's 'Panegyricke Verses'. The result is a manuscript table, closely resembling his itineraries, that contains the mock panegyrists' names and the number of verse lines they contributed (Fig. 4). Coryate had set no precedent for counting the book's verses: Jenings simply took it upon himself to compile the data, which yielded him a total of '56 writers' contributing '2830 verses'. With no recourse to printed line numbers, Jenings must have counted manually, and here we might say that Frontain seriously underestimated the tedium threshold of Coryate's readers. Such counting schemes, moreover, shift Jenings's status

[37] Jenings's underlining indicates an interest in European architecture. For the subject of architecture in *Coryats Crudities*, see Michelle O'Callaghan, '*Coryats Crudities* (1611) and Travel Writing as the "Eyes" of the Prince', in Timothy Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England* (London: Paul Holberton, 2007), 85–103, at 93; and O'Callaghan, *Wits*, 136.

[38] See also Barbour's notion of 'sedentary travel', in Barbour, *Orientialism*, 105–10.

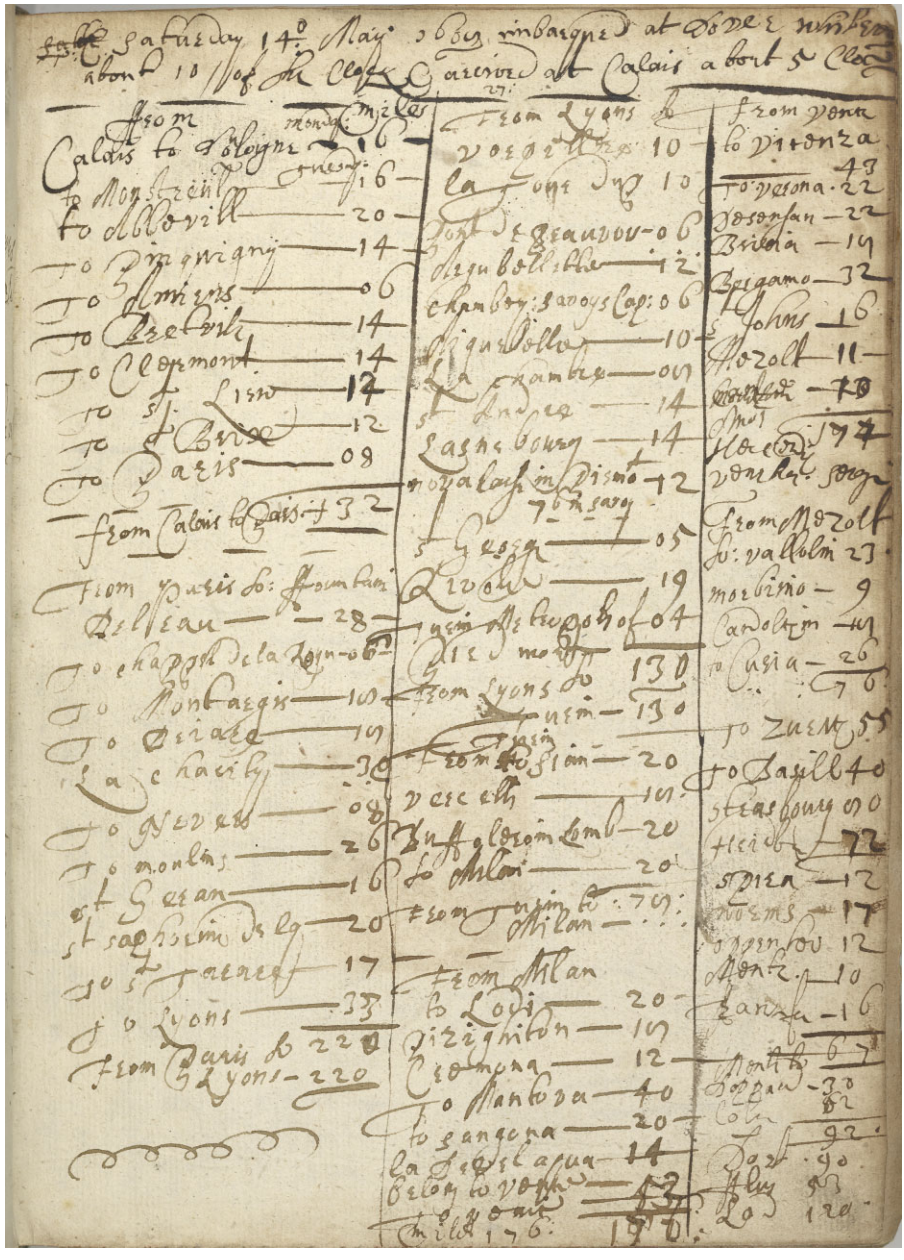


Fig. 3 Manuscript tallies of Coryate's travels, in the hand of 'mr. Jenings', *Coryats Crudities*. Pierpont Morgan Library, W 02 B (© The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

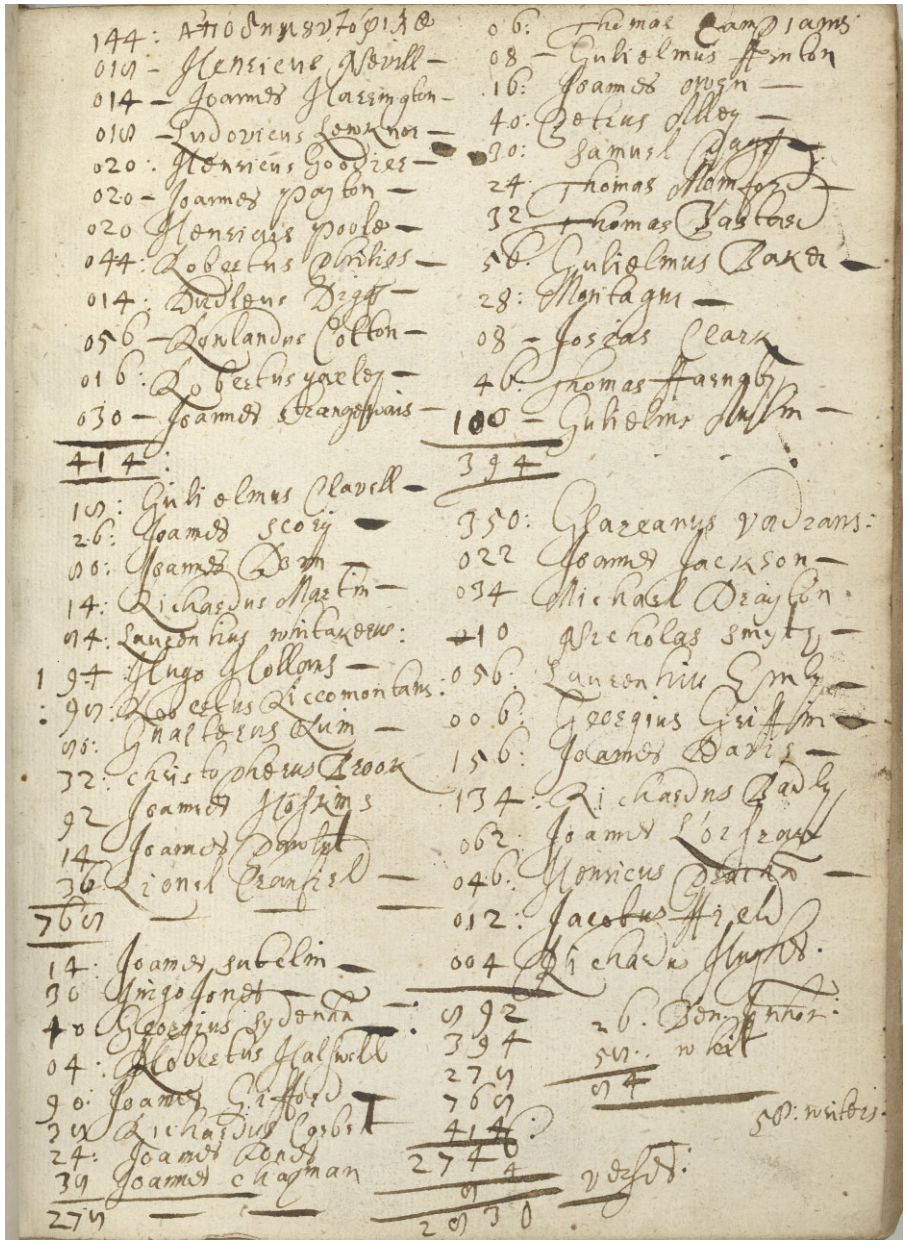


Fig. 4 List of poets in the 'Panegyricke Verses', in the hand of 'mr. Jenings', *Coryats Crudities*. Pierpont Morgan Library, W 02 B (© The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

as a reader from passive armchair traveller to empiricist actively following the model of Coryate's observations. Having only the text of *Coryats Crudities* before him, Jenings substituted for the physical world of Europe the textual world of the book, thereby transforming the 'Panegyricke Verses' into mensurable 'sights' of interest to the reader/observer. To an exceptional reader like 'mr. Jenings', then, the prose and verse miscellaneity of *Coryats Crudities* could be pleasantly quantified, organized, and made manifest in parallel lists of data, in this case miles travelled and lines written. Like Ben Jonson before him, for whom 'each particular mile' equals 'a yard of his stile', Jenings read Coryate in relation to both the physical distance of his travels and the textual substance of his travelogue.

The volume's earliest owner/reader, John Davies of Hereford (1564/5–1618), is exceptional in that he contributed a poem to the 'Panegyricke Verses'; Pierpont Morgan Library W 02 B is therefore the only known copy of the *Crudities* once owned by a mock panegyrist.[39] Davies, along with Peter Bales, was one of the most accomplished writing masters of early modern England.[40] In addition to serving Prince Henry Frederick as writing tutor from 1606, Davies cultivated important relationships with Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke and many leading lights of the early modern literary scene.[41] Like Coryate, furthermore, Davies held a prominent position in the elite circle of artists and writers surrounding Prince Henry's court; the social connections cultivated therein not only acquainted Davies with Coryate and some of the mock panegyrists, but marked him as a highly exceptional and privileged reader of the *Crudities*, an 'insider' more closely involved with the book than 'mr. Jenings'. Davies probably met Thomas Coryate around 1611,[42] when he published two satirical poems in commendation of Coryate's travels. For his 1611 collection of satirical verse *The Scourge of Folly*, Davies wrote an epigram 'To the no lesse strange, then farre renowned Peregrine . . . the delight of Mankinde Master Thomas Coriet', a poem that might have been intended originally for the 'Panegyricke Verses'.[43] Davies's contribution to the 'Panegyricke Verses' largely comprises 'a description of the particulars of the Vinet, Title-page, or Frontispice' (1:101). This poetical explication of the *Crudities*' engraved title page follows in the tradition of Laurence Whitaker's 'Opening and Drawing Distiches' and Ben Jonson's 'Charmes to unlocke the mystery of the Crudities' (1:xv–xx), two sets of satirical couplets keyed to the Roman capitals (A–N) that identify each engraved vignette. Thirty-three printed marginal notes – perhaps written by Davies[44] –

[39] Davies's signature appears on sigs. e8r, f3v, and h4v. There is no evidence that the book is a 'presentation copy' given by Coryate to Davies, as indicated in the Pierpont Morgan Library online catalogue notes (and several early twentieth-century auction catalogues). The original binding, which may have borne signs of the book's primary purchase/presentation, does not survive. The current full-calf leather binding is plainly decorated with a border of blind rules and an additional vertical blind rule running parallel to the spine. This style was popular in England from *c.* 1640–80: see David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles, 1450–1800* (Newcastle, DE: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2005), 68–9. 'Will: Weekley' probably rebound the book in its current binding (trimming a few of Davies's marginal notes in the process).

[40] Much of the biographical information in this paragraph derives from Woudhuysen, *Sidney*, 37–44, but see also Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, A Lover's Complaint, and John Davies of Hereford* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 15–46.

[41] Woudhuysen, *Sidney*, 37–8.

[42] R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 192.

[43] *The Scourge of Folly* (1611), sig. C2r. Here Davies's use of first-person plural is suggestive of the collaborative mock praise in the 'Panegyricke Verses'.

[44] Vickers attributes the notes to Davies (*Shakespeare*, 202).

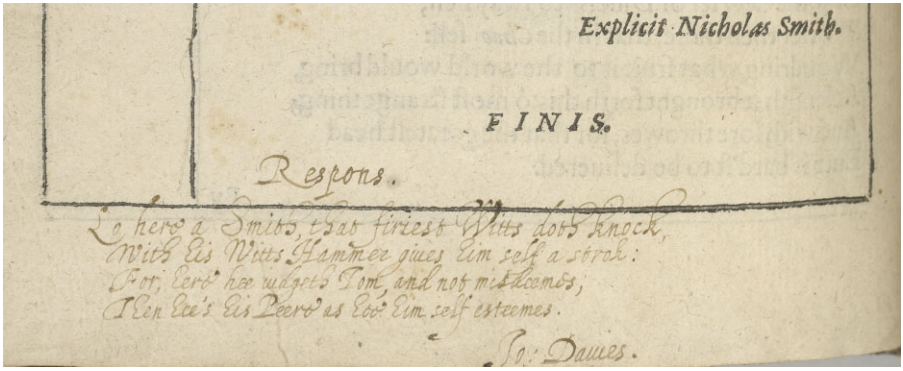


Fig. 5 John Davies of Hereford's 'Respons' to Nicholas Smith, *Coryats Crudities*, sig. h4v. Pierpont Morgan Library, W 02 B (© The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

accompany the poem and further link it to the title page, encouraging readers to flip back and forth within the volume in a way evocative of Coryate's printed annotations to Whitaker's poem.[45]

Davies's first major manuscript addition to the Morgan copy is a four-line 'Respons' to Nicholas Smith's scathing account of Coryate's role in Prince Henry's court (1:98). Smith's poem invokes the image of a 'target fall'n from heaven' during the reign of Rome's legendary king Numa Pompilius. Having been told that the 'target' (a small shield) would protect the city from pestilence, Numa commissioned eleven copies so no thief could identify the original.[46] For Smith, 'there are hundreds just like' Coryate at court who, in order to 'possesse and keepe' around such a 'precious man', slavishly copy his behaviour (as Numa copied the target). 'Hence', writes Smith, 'flow those verses' (that is, the 'Panegyricke Verses'), which in his view are nothing more than derivative imitations of Coryate's wit. He concludes by ridiculing both Coryate and his 'Peers': 'In this (Tom) appeares/ Thy greatnesse, Thou art judged by thy Peers.'

Davies's 'Respons' conveys a witty reading of Smith while defending Coryate and the other panegyrists (Fig. 5). The poem reads

> Respons.
> Lo here a Smith, that firiest Witts doth knock,
> With his Witts Hammer giues him self a strok:
> For, here hee iudgeth Tom, and not misdeemes,
> Then hee's his Peere as hee him self esteemes.
> Jo: Dauies.[47]

[45] In the Morgan copy, Davies also augmented his printed poem with a playful manuscript addition: he added a caret and the word 'Foole' to a line jesting that Coryate 'is not ignorant in the learned'st – – tricks' (1:102). The resulting 'learned'st Foole tricks' rhymes with the previous line's 'world of schoole-tricks'.

[46] Thomas Bromhall, *An history of apparitions, oracles, prophecies, and predictions* (1658), 277.

[47] For this poem, see Verlyn Klinkenborg and Herbert Cahoon, *British Literary Manuscripts, from 800–1800* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1981), No. 25. See also Woudhuysen, *Sidney*, 38 for a brief reference to Davies's poem and notes, as well as a list of other books annotated by Davies.

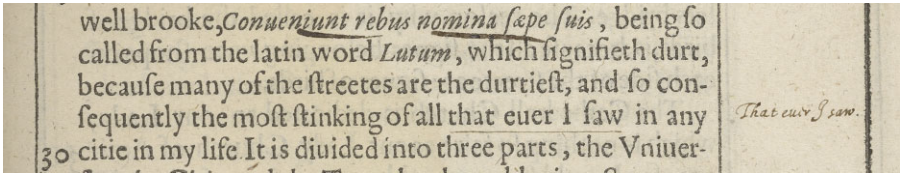

well brooke, *Conueniunt rebus nomina ſæpe ſuis*, being ſo
called from the latin word *Lutum*, which ſignifieth durt,
becauſe many of the ſtreetes are the durtieſt, and ſo con-
ſequently the moſt ſtinking of all that euer I ſaw in any
citie in my life. It is diuided into three parts, the Vniuer-
That euer I saw.

Fig. 6 John Davies of Hereford's manuscript note, *Coryats Crudities*, sig. E4r. Pierpont Morgan Library, W 02 B (© The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

It opens with a rather easy pun on Nicholas Smith as 'blacksmith', who in his printed poem has 'knock[ed]' the 'firiest Witts' (of the panegyrists) '[w]ith his Witts Hammer'. But as Davies rightly points out, Smith has 'giue[n] him self a strok' with this same hammer by including himself among the 'Peers' whom he thinks Coryate should be judged against. Davies's 'Respons', sharp in wit if not in poetry, turns Smith's words against him and exposes how the panegyrist unwittingly ridicules himself in print. What's more, in its appropriation of the satirical banter originally exchanged between Coryate and panegyrists, the manuscript poem signals Davies's continued participation in the 'Verses' mock panegyric game: in this case the panegyrists as well as Coryate become objects of satire.

In the manuscript annotations he inscribed in the margins of the main text,[48] moreover, Davies sustains for the 'observations' a similarly playful badinage between reader and printed book.[49] Obviously amused by Coryate's repeated use of the enthusiastic intensifier 'that ever I saw', he made a point to underline the phrase and note it in the margin, in the end highlighting descriptions of the 'first' vineyards, 'fairest' rows of walnut trees, 'fairest gallows', 'most stinking . . . streetes', and 'fairest chimney' that Coryate 'ever saw' (Fig. 6).[50] When Coryate similarly claims to have seen the most excellent room in 'all' the world, Davies underlines Coryate's 'all' and writes in the margin 'Suspend, Thomas, till you see all' (sig. E5v). Elsewhere Davies ridicules the purported 'experience' and 'observations' Coryate accumulated in Europe. After underlining 'This I know by my owne experience', Davies writes 'O admirable experience of fiue moneths trauel' (sig. G2v), his sentiment echoing the sceptical opinion that Coryate could not have gained valuable experience during his short itinerary. Likewise, when Coryate apologizes for failing ('to [his] great grief') to write about the Sorbonne, Davies underlines 'to my great grief' and writes sarcastically 'nay, to ours rather' (sig. E4r).

At other points Davies's notes allude directly to the process of reading. Commenting on Coryate's long-winded discussion of birds at Fountainebleau, for instance, Davies writes 'Here is allmost 2. Pages runne out of breath with chasing two innocent Birds' (sig. F6r). The trope of the breathless book – a figure often applied to prolix argumentation or speech in the period – jests at both the space Coryate devotes to a fairly

[48] Davies's attentive annotations only span from pp. 14–50, or from Amiens to Briare. This partial annotation is typical of both early modern and modern manuscript marginalia.

[49] For 'Coryate's playful dialogue with the London wits continu[ing] beyond the front matter of the *Crudities*,' see O'Callaghan, *Wits*, 131.

[50] Fig. 6 illustrates the difference between Davies's and Jenings's underlining, the former being penned more carefully and in a much lighter ink. Later in the volume (192) Jenings underlines one of Coryate's 'that ever I saw' phrases.

trivial topic and the extensive secondary literature cited to support his description.[51] Remarking elsewhere on the codpieces worn by 'Switzer' guards, Davies notes '[t]his cod-piece is the od-piece mentioned by L. Whitaker M^r^ Coryats worthy and learned friend mentioned in the precedent Page' (sig. F7r). Indeed, on the preceding page Coryate mentions how his account of the Switzers took shape from a recent 'conference . . . with . . . M. Laurence Whitaker' on the topic (sig. F6v).[52] Through his marginalia Davies seems to participate, albeit vicariously, in Coryate and Whitaker's 'conference' on codpiece-wearing Swiss guards. Further, the 'od-piece' allusion ('odd' being a pun on Coryate's hometown of Odcombe, Somerset) refers to two lines of Whitaker's mock encomiastic English poem (see Fig. 1): '[a]nd, that of stuffe thou might'st leave out no odd piece/ To raise thy worke, th'hast writ o' th' Switzers ^h^Codpiece' (1:41). In attempting to hunt down the travelogue's 'od-piece', the annotation reflects Davies's keen awareness of the book's intertextual structure.

In the longest of his manuscript notes, Davies offers his own commentary as a reader on the reception of Coryate's book by other readers: 'If all the rest had beene no worse exprest then this, thy Poets, Tom, had dispraised themselues, had they not praised thee in ernest' (sig. E2r). 'This' refers to Coryate's historical account of the Spanish siege of Amiens in 1597, a passage (sigs. E1r–E2r) Davies presumably admired for its clear prose style and lack of euphuistic ornamentation. The comment is also an oblique criticism of 'the rest' of the *Crudities*, which Davies finds to be 'worse exprest then this'. But the note's circumlocutory logic resists any straightforward reading of Davies's opinion of the book and, for that matter, his opinion of the panegyrists. As if building upon his satirical 'Respons' to Nicholas Smith's poem, the note suggests the possibility that the 'Poets' have 'dispraised themselves' through their mock praise of a worthy writer, although the conditional 'if' certainly qualifies such a notion.

The gamesome note, much like Davies's other annotations and the 'Panegyricke Verses' themselves, is simultaneously satirical and laudatory, jesting with the notion of foreign travel's use value through a satirical tone that transforms the travel book into an elaborate site of literary play. For Davies it is the witty game of Coryate that matters – the game to which he originally contributed in print, and the game he continued to play with his pen in the margins of the book. The tone and ostensible purpose of Davies's notes, furthermore, develop points made by Coryate scholars about the satirical interplay between author and panegyrists at work in the *Crudities*. To O'Callaghan, the game of the 'Panegyricke Verses' worked 'to distinguish between different modes of play along social lines within a broader performance culture', thereby creating 'an élite literature of leisure that allowed participants . . . to maintain their social status, while joining in the joke with others in print.'[53] Anthony Parr describes this game as 'a conspiracy to turn travel into a literary event, to rescue it from the new mediocrity of tourism': as he summarises, '[i]n the Renaissance the subjective experience of travel is often . . . a stimulus to literary play, and it acquires shape and definition from that play.'[54] Parr's understanding of literary play stems from what he calls the 'surplus value'

[51] See *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernized and Annotated Edition*, ed. Joseph L. Black (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 15 (including marginal note); Thomas Nashe, *An almond for a parrat* (1589), sig. F2r; and (in a less polemical application) Davies's own *Microcosmos* (1603), sig. Y2v.

[52] For a discussion of this 'witty account of the Swiss guard', see O'Callaghan, *Wits*, 135.

[53] *Ibid.*, 103, 119.

[54] Anthony Parr, 'Thomas Coryate and the Discovery of Europe', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 55 (1992), 579–602 (at 586).

of Coryate's travelogue, 'moments of hiatus and slippage . . . when new perspectives suggest themselves, often against the conscious intention of the writer'.[55] In many ways Davies's manuscript annotations create such literary 'surplus value' by drawing new meanings from the text, meanings perhaps unrecognized by Coryate. When highlighting the phrase 'that euer I saw', for instance, Davies calls attention to Coryate's repeated failure to describe the sights of foreign travel in precise terms; indeed, by referencing the limits of Coryate's ocular experience, the phrase reveals moments of descriptive insufficiency in the narrative, moments particularly susceptible to the satirical remarks of witty annotators. In another example, Davies's annotation lends humorous 'surplus value' to a particularly insignificant episode in France. Alongside Coryate's note that he 'obserued nothing memorable' when riding through the forest of Fountainebleau except for 'two wilde Stags', Davies writes in the margin 'A wild obseruation' (sig. G1r); on the following page Davies pens a similar note, marking a passage on France's 'great store of hempe' as 'Howswifly obseruations' (sig. G1v). Both examples reveal Davies's tendency to find humuor and satirical fodder in the unlikeliest of places. Later, when Davies annotates Coryate's gloss on the French saying 'Allons diable' – 'Here the word Diabolicall, by Coryat (euen a uery Diuell for Witt) is made good' (sig. G2v) – he transforms one of the book's standard etymological digressions into a punning comment on the author's acrobatically witty intelligence: 'a uery Diuell for Witt', as Davies writes, Coryate can use his knowledge to 'make good' sense of 'bad' words. In each of these cases, what seem to be relatively straightforward descriptions of travel become the occasion for clever wordplay and literary invention.

Further, Davies's notes are carefully inscribed in a manner that reflects his craft as a writing master and suggests he intended the notes to augment the book for readers other than himself. As Jason Scott-Warren has argued (partially to answer his own question 'can handwritten annotations be paratexts?'), '[a] wealth of annotation in early modern books suggests that readers' marks were imagined as public or semi-public statements, rather than purely private ruminations or soliloquies.'[56] He references Gabriel Harvey's famous marginalia, which 'are typically penned in his best set italic; these words are visibly designed for display, and for consumption by the many readers who might borrow the book from his (only semi-) private library.'[57] Davies also used 'his best set italic' to annotate *Coryats Crudities*, making his notes legible to later readers by neatly supplementing the book's printed marginal notes with an ancillary manuscript paratext. Regardless of who wrote the printed side notes in Davies's poetic contribution to the 'Panegyricke Verses', moreover, it seems Davies responded to the (at times) heavy print annotation of the 'Verses' with his own marginal additions to the main text (which is sparsely annotated), in effect imitating the playful dialogue Coryate struck up with his mock panegyrists. Davies's marginalia, therefore, do not simply reveal the material traces of an early reader, but assemble a paratextual apparatus for the printed book that creatively mimics and inverts Coryate's annotations to the 'Verses'; these notes supplement Davies's written contributions as a mock panegyrist while at the same time co-opting Coryate's own idiosyncratic writing strategies. The purpose of the game is not simply to scoff at Coryate or to feign mock-intimacy with him, but to mimic the style of his book outright.

[55] *Ibid.*, 583.
[56] Jason-Scott Warren, 'Unannotating Spenser', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, 153–64, at 160, 163.
[57] *Ibid.*, 164.

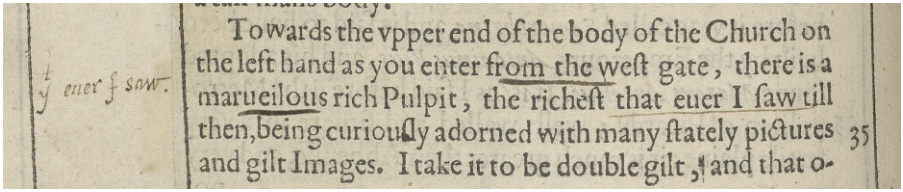


Fig. 7 Anonymous manuscript note imitating John Davies of Hereford, *Coryats Crudities*, sig. D7v. Pierpont Morgan Library, W 02 B (© The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

Davies thereby added another layer of interpretive complexity to the act of reading *Coryats Crudities*, a layer presumably encountered by the book's later owners, each of whom would have had to negotiate the panegyrists' reading of Coryate, Coryate's annotating of the panegyrists, *and* Davies's further reading/annotating of both. It is in relation to this very point that the Morgan copy once again reveals fascinating evidence of early modern reading practices, for mixed in with Davies's marginalia are five satirical manuscript notes imitative of Davies but evidently *not* in his hand. The most prominent of these are two notes in italic reading 'y^{t} euer I saw' (sig. D7v; Fig. 7).

A comparison with the multiple instances of Davies's annotation 'That euer I saw' reveals significant differences in the hands, both in their letter-forms – for example, Davies's majuscule 'I' has no crossbar, and features a head-curve looping prominently to the left, while the current annotator's curve curls to the right – and their use of abbreviation (for example, 'That' as opposed to 'y^{t}').[58] Another note, probably in the same hand, annotates the main text late in the book (sig. 2X4r), and reads 'very good Tho: in y^{e} matter y^{ou} sho.' (playfully approving Coryate's translation of a 'History of the Magi', which concludes at this point). The note, like much of Davies's marginalia, directly addresses Coryate, but uses the abbreviation 'Tho:' instead of Davies's characteristic 'Tom' and 'Thomas'; its use of 'y^{e}' and 'y^{ou}' does not accord with Davies's practice either, and some of the letter forms differ as well.[59] The fourth note, inscribed in a mixed secretary/italic hand, responds to a description of 'the fraternitie of the shoemakers' of Amiens carrying a tabernacle 'in solemne procession every St Stephen's day'; the note appears to be an anti-Catholic barb, reading 'a zealous p*ro*fessio*n* for a mundayes solemnitie. carrying this Bannor of Bacchus' (sig. D8r). The fifth note, written in a secretary hand that appears only once in the volume, reads 'o^{ur} sorrow Tho:' (sig. 2O6r), and refers to Coryate's apology for his brief account of Heidelberg's famous university: 'I will now make relation of the Universitie, being very sorie that I cannot discourse so largely thereof as I would' (2:227); this annotator also underlined the word 'sorie'. The tone and context of 'o^{ur} sorrow Tho:' imitates an earlier note by Davies, who had responded to Coryate's apology ('my great grief') for not fully describing the Sorbonne with the note 'nay, to ours rather'.

The use of different scripts (italic, secretary, and mixed italic/secretary) makes it difficult to say if these five notes were written by one, two, or even three annotators other than Davies. None of the hands matches those of 'Will Weekley' or 'm^{r}. Jenings';

[58] For examples of Davies's italic hand, see one of multiple editions of his *The Writing Schoolemaster or the Anatomie of Faire Writing*.

[59] The same annotator also seems responsible for several corrections to the printed text, some of which follow the errata leaf's instructions.

Silvanus Davies, although an attractive candidate, has left behind no handwriting samples (that I can find) against which to compare. What the evidence does suggest is that one or more seventeenth-century readers imitated the style of Davies's notes when creating these annotations. Engaged in a virtual 'double reading' of Davies and Coryate, they responded creatively both to the printed book and its marginalia, the text and the manuscript text-within-the-text. It is even possible these later annotators envisioned their additions constituting further manuscript paratexts for the printed book – creating a sort of 'meta-paratext' fashioned to imitate the satirical style of Davies's marginalia. Their appropriation of Davies's mock-intimacy – most apparent in the two notes that directly address Coryate as 'Tho:' – is at once odd (since it is unlikely they knew Coryate as well as Davies) and apt, for even a few of the mock panegyrists were not personally acquainted with Coryate. Of course, the tone and style of these anonymous marginalia also ape the satirical modes on display in the 'Panegyricke Verses', demonstrating how readers used manuscript annotation and other derivative forms as a way to participate, however marginally, in the fashionable game of mocking Thomas Coryate.[60] Writing from outside the fashionable reading community of the panegyrists, these annotators modelled their wit on a poet who crossed the text-reader threshold, who by extending his ludic presence with pen and ink into the volume's margins invited later readers to follow suit, and join in on what Michael Drayton imagines as the 'living place' (1:97) of the 'Panegyricke Verses'.

Together with Davies's notes and Jenings's tabulations, these manuscript supplements to the *Crudities*, as Scott-Warren would argue, constitute distinct paratexts in themselves, effectively managing readers' experiences of the book despite their origin in sources other than the author. The multiple readerships on display in Pierpont Morgan W 02 B – including 'insiders' such as John Davies of Hereford, tradesman such as Jenings, and the anonymous annotator(s) – may be exceptional in that they are confined to one particular copy of the book. But their practices model an interesting mixture of approaches to the experimental and mixed-mode composition of *Coryats Crudities*, a travel book whose innovative textual form attracted, perhaps appropriately, varied and innovative forms of reading.

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In the most famous poem of the 'Panegyricke Verses', John Donne imagines *Coryats Crudities* as an 'Infinite work, which doth so far extend/ That none can study it to any end' (ll. 9–10).[61] Tracing 'the progress of thy glorious book', Donne devotes the remainder of his verses to a figurative dismantling of the volume, wherein he presents practical applications for *Coryats Crudities* 'in pieces', including packaging for spices, scrap paper for gamblers, and pastedowns for newly bound volumes – a process that O'Callaghan characterizes as 'unremittingly materialistic and anatomising'.[62] In the

[60] There are at least two copies of *Coryats Crudities* containing additional manuscript 'Panegyricke Verses' in contemporary hands: Museum of London 46.78/714 (cited in O'Callaghan, *Wits*, 204, n. 55 and Strachan, *Life*, 293–4) and a copy sold on eBay containing a poem entitled 'Incipit Samuel Tuke' (image retrieved 3 October 2010). See also John Taylor's doggerel paraphrase of the 'Panegyricke Verses', *Laugh and Be Fat* (1611).

[61] *The Complete Poems of John Donne*, ed. Robin Robbins, Longman Annotated English Poets (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education, 2010), 104–9.

[62] O'Callaghan, *Wits*, 126.

end, Donne dismisses Coryate by refusing to read even a single page: 'Thy giant wit o'erthrows me; I am gone;/ And rather than read all, I would read none' (ll. 75–6).

This disparaging assessment, although a brilliant example of Donne's satirical muse, has perhaps unduly coloured modern attitudes towards the literary value of *Coryats Crudities* in early modern England: Donne may have 'read none', but as this article has shown, John Davies of Hereford clearly read some, and 'm^{r}. Jenings' seems to have 'read all.' Yet the reading evidence in the Morgan copy does not wholly discredit Donne's sardonic verses. Just as Davies, Jenings, and others read the *Crudities* in a unified way, as a 'miscellany' of parts contributing to an organized textual body, Donne imagines the work as a collection of discrete leaves that ultimately constitute a 'whole book'. His descriptions of the *Crudities* as both a 'pandect' (l. 50) and the 'mystical' Sibylline volumes (l. 71), although clearly made in jest, gather together these dispersed pieces into the recognizable forms of the book. In other words, Donne's poem explores the material-textual relationship between part and whole that animates Coryate's travelogue, a relationship manifested in the book's physical 'progress' through social circuits of readers and book-'users'. This 'progress' of circulation – imagined by Donne, physically set into motion by Coryate, and materially inscribed by Davies and the other readers of the Morgan copy – reveals much about the reception of travel books in early modern England. Perhaps just as importantly, the book's transmission circuit exhibits the multiple layers and exchanges of an interactive, imitative system of paratextual interpretation, which for *Coryats Crudities* creates a rich symbiosis between creativity and response, print and manuscript, text and reader.

University of Massachusetts Amherst