

WRITING GEOGRAPHY:  
TRAVERSING EARLY MODERN ENGLISH CHOROGRAPHIES

A Thesis Submitted to the  
College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
In the Department of English  
University of Saskatchewan  
Saskatoon

By  
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## ABSTRACT

Early modern English chorographies are diverse, hybrid texts that defy reduction and reward curiosity. As a genre of geographical writing focused on locally-scaled, regional surveys, chorographies are characterized by their rich combinations of intellectual considerations and literary forms. To illuminate the conventions of style and subject matter that typify the chorography genre, this dissertation argues that chorographies are informed by their sustained and foundational engagements with travel. Chorographers travelled to conduct their surveys, they represented the perspectives of travellers, and they collated and structured chorographical information in the form of travel narratives; therefore, chorographies are a form of travel writing. Further, chorographies are texts that immerse their readers in the experience of travel. Readers navigate geographical space textually. In this way, geographical literacy is fostered by chorographical representations of travel. That is, chorographers enhanced, solidified, and made accessible local geographical knowledge by their travel writing and by their manner of organizing geographical information as a traveler might experience it. As I argue in this dissertation, although there existed a vast contemporary literature of instructional guides intended to inform and improve the act of travel, formal moves to standardize, or even to encourage, travel writing were infrequent and underdeveloped. There were no guidebooks to furnish a codified pedagogy of best practices for itinerant chorographers producing peripatetic chorographies, which contributed to the genre's heterogeneity during this period. However, chorographies were social texts. As chorographers surveyed England in a grand, multigenerational project lacking formalized rules or guidelines, they found direction and purpose as a scholarly community, and they motivated and influenced one another in the development of their literature. As this dissertation explains, the discursive hybridity that characterizes this emergent genre was defined slowly, county-by-county, in chorographical prose and verse that is both idiosyncratic and communal, and which energizes and enriches English geographical discourse.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It gives me so much happiness to thank those who aided me in the course of this dissertation. First, I offer my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Brent Nelson, whose oversight was a constant wellspring of confidence and direction. I would also like to thank the members of my defence committee, Dr. Ron Cooley, Dr. Peter Robinson, Dr. Frank Klaassen, and Dr. Andrew McRae, for the patience of their support and for generously sharing their expertise. This dissertation is richer in having been read by them. I thank my parents, Harold and Sharleen, for the goodness of their loving example. I am grateful for the wisdom and strength of my aunt and uncle, Linda and Peter. I thank Jessica for inspiring me. I thank my friends for the joy of their company.

This dissertation draws on research supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the J. B. Harley Research Trust and Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, *The Literary Encyclopedia*, and the Bibliographical Society of America. I am thankful too for the funding received for this project from the Department of English and the College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies at the University of Saskatchewan.

For Harold and Sharleen Imes

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE.....	i
ABSTRACT .....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
INTRODUCTION .....	1
1. INSTRUCTING TRAVELLERS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH <i>ARTES PEREGRINANDI</i> .....	22
Background: Geographical Discourse and Travelogues.....	22
Building English Geographical Literacy.....	25
Guides for Navigators .....	36
Guides for Pilgrims, Merchants, Surveyors, and General Travellers.....	53
Conclusion .....	64
2. CHOROGRAPHICAL JOURNEYS: CHARTING REGIONAL TRAVEL WRITING .....	66
3. A SEDENTARY SURVEY: ASSESSING WILLIAM BURTON'S ENCYCLOPEDIA <i>LEICESTERSHIRE</i> .....	105
4. DRAYTON'S PERIEGETIC CONCEIT: CHARACTERIZING <i>POLY-OLBION'S</i> MUSE AS A CHORographer.....	131
Invocations of the Muse, and the Relationship between the Drayton Speaker and the Muse.....	137
Further Parsing the Muse's Identity: The Muse as Protagonist, Albion, and Poem.....	149
CONCLUSION.....	161
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	166
Manuscripts.....	181

## LIST OF FIGURES

2.1 Leland's travels in Leicestershire, as recorded in the <i>Itinerary</i> .....	74
2.2 Saxton's map of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, from his <i>Atlas</i> .....	81
2.3 Speed's map of Leicestershire, from his <i>Theatre</i> .....	100
2.4 Smith's 1602 map of Leicestershire and Rutland.....	100
3.1 Map of Leicestershire, from Burton's <i>Description of Leicester Shire</i> (1622).....	113

## INTRODUCTION

John Leland's poem *Cygneae Cantio* (1545), his swan song after years of ambitious, prolific antiquarian work, surveys "The verdant shores of the Isis / With intense eyes and newfound care."<sup>1</sup> The poem's speaker is the eponymous swan, who floats down the Isis (i.e. the River Thames) and comments on points of interest observed along the banks. Tracing the length of the river from its upper reaches around Oxford to Greenwich's Palace of Placentia, Henry VIII's birthplace and residence, the poem is a paean to Leland's king, and to Tudor England more generally. In the course of its journey, the swan's attention gravitates to the architectural legacies of England's monarchy: Henry V's Syon Abbey, Henry IV's Eton College, Henry VII's Richmond Palace, and so on. The poem repeatedly promotes the envisioned future reign of Edward too by noting, for example, that at Hampton Court "the shiny purple caps of / Popish clergy" have been replaced by

crosses, crowns, and columns . . .

Bedecked with shining gems which foster and honour

Their pupil, Edward, the sole delight of

The people of Britain.<sup>2</sup>

Alongside praise for England's past, present, and future kings, the swan takes note of riverine testaments to the country's military history. Beginning with a directive to fellow swans that they "must strongly defend against impious / Raiders and . . . must not permit any newcomers / To rape your comely consorts," the swan highlights the historical depredations of "Saxon tyrants," "ravenous Danes," and "ferocious Geats."<sup>3</sup> Reflecting on more contemporary military concerns, the swan warns of dangers posed by the "evil Scottish race" and the "arrogant race of Frenchmen," and it celebrates how the "forest-dwelling Irish" have been "vanquished and fractured completely / . . . and gently taught / . . . to bear the yoke of British law."<sup>4</sup> *Cygneae*

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<sup>1</sup> John Leland, *Cygneae Cantio* (London: Reyner Wolfe, 1545), lines 17–19.

<sup>2</sup> Leland, 119–23. On the poem's significance with respect to Leland's attitudes about Reformation politics and the dissolution of the monasteries, see James P. Carley, "John Leland's *Cygneae Cantio*: A Neglected Tudor River Poem," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 32 (1983): 225–41, esp. 232–4.

<sup>3</sup> Leland, 52–5, 68, 77, 307.

<sup>4</sup> Leland, 438–9, 308, 647–9.



*Cantio* thus juxtaposes indicators of political stability and nation-building with past and present existential threats to that conception of progress. The poem then culminates in an extended section lauding the reign of Henry VIII, “The father of our country of Britain,” as a period of unequalled prosperity and strength.<sup>5</sup> The poem ends as other English “swans,” including a list of luminary humanist scholars and authors, are called upon to sing “The fame and glory of their master / To the highest heavens / In the form of shining stars.”<sup>6</sup>

Although Leland’s *Cyanea Cantio* achieves a clear, consistent sense of purpose and direction as an earnest, straightforward expression of nationalistic, royal support and glorification, the poem begins as, in the words of the swan, an “unknown cause, a great, benign desire / Invaded my idle heart, and by many means, / Advised that I eagerly survey” the length of the Thames.<sup>7</sup> Leland’s swan thereby represents its compulsion to travel, observe, and reflect as a pursuit that is not entirely rationalized or understood from the outset. The militaristic language used here, and the notion of one’s heart being “invaded,” is especially provocative given the poem’s ongoing attention to England’s naval fortifications, the strength of its fleet, and so on, in relation to the perceived military threat posed by unfriendly nations. Leland’s swan is thereby enlisted and implicated in ongoing efforts to defend the country by means of its verse, but even though the poem’s jingoistic, staunchly royalist logic becomes abundantly clear as the swan’s travels unfold, the “unknown cause” that motivates the poem’s political musings and arguments still shrouds the nature of its undertaking in ambiguity from the outset. The swan possesses a fervent desire to survey the river yet speaks of “Giving myself to its current wherever / The course of the water bid me go.”<sup>8</sup> Further, the swan claims to be “led by some numinous spirit” that never really receives a name or explicit qualification, however implicitly it seems to identify a nationalistic ethos.<sup>9</sup> Where is the swan’s agency, then, in this endeavour? Why is Leland’s swan overcome by an irresistible, yet not entirely self-directed or chosen, sense of wanderlust, and how should its work as a surveyor be qualified with this in mind? Further, why is the swan’s budding nationalistic pride and surety so aptly conveyed as a travel narrative? What makes travel such an appropriate, generative narratological conceit in relation to the poem’s nationalistic

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<sup>5</sup> Leland, 388.

<sup>6</sup> Leland, 381–2.

<sup>7</sup> Leland, 14–16.

<sup>8</sup> Leland, 64–5.

<sup>9</sup> Leland, 35.

themes, or the poem's interest in conducting a historical, geographical survey? Why represent and celebrate England through the eyes of a traveller?

*Cygnea Cantio* suggests that the connection between the swan's meanderings through the English countryside and Leland's political, historical themes is perfectly natural and fitting, and that travelling along England's great river will inevitably lead one to wax panegyric. Although the swan might be gripped at the poem's outset by a kind of non-intellectual or non-rational drive to travel, its wanderings facilitate its development of refined, firmly-held opinions and feelings about the country. In the poem, this is simply a matter of course. When the swan passes by a notable location, such as a town, church, or bridge, its inclination to observe and describe is inextricably linked to its glowing musings on the political and historical significance of those places. The implication here, for the reader, is that when viewing Windsor Castle, for example, one might be similarly engaged by the castle's past and present importance and be "amazed at the shimmering aspect of that place— / Its redoubtable towers and sacred temples."<sup>10</sup> As it does for the swan, this amazement might likewise lead the reader to contemplate England itself more favourably. This is a key facet of the poem's affective logic: visiting a place and experiencing it, even by reading about it, brings one into close proximity with the things that make that place significant (politically, historically, aesthetically, symbolically, etc.). Given the nationalistic bent of the poem, this proximity leads to pro-English sentiments. The swan might not know what prompts its travels, just as a reader might not initially approach the poem with any great sense of purpose or expectation, but the travels of the swan and the reader directly lead to their mutual acquisition of specific, refined types of knowledge and values about England. *Cygnea Cantio*, then, dramatizes a process of edification and ideological growth via travel even as it takes its readers along on that journey.

Fittingly, Leland's swan was joined by other poetic forays along England's rivers. River poetry was a well-developed genre in a number of historical literary traditions, and, as James P. Carley notes, early modern English "interest in river poetry obviously owes much more to classical precedents than to Leland's adaptations of the genre."<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, *Cygnea Cantio* was well-known and studied by Leland's fellow antiquaries in the decades that followed. Laurence Nowell and William Lambarde owned thoroughly annotated copies of the poem, and

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<sup>10</sup> Leland, 100–1.

<sup>11</sup> Carley, 239.

John Selden might have been responsible for a second edition of *Cygnea Cantio* published in 1658.<sup>12</sup> Leland's verse influenced other poets, too. William Vallans' *A Tale of Two Swannes* (1590) features king and queen swans who marshal England's other swans to collectively survey the country via its rivers.<sup>13</sup> Leland's praise of Henry VIII is substituted with Vallans' reverence for Elizabeth, and the poems share a common interest in combining travel narratives with geographical, political, and historical information.

Other contemporary poets, including William Camden and Edmund Spenser, joined Vallans in adapting Leland's model. Camden's poem "De Connubio Tamae et Isis" exists only as fragments interspersed in varying extents throughout the numerous, successively revised editions of his monumental *Britannia* (1586, 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607, first English translation in 1610).<sup>14</sup> The poem is divided into short passages to correspond with the regional sections of the book's geographical survey, and the poem was never published separately, which effectively maintained the close proximity of the book's verse and corresponding prose expositions. Beginning in the Cotswold Hills and pausing at Windsor, Runnymede, Hampton Court, Richmond, and London, the poem describes the courses of the Tame and Isis rivers and their "marriage" to become the Thames. As Jack B. Oruch points out, "Camden imitates Leland's choice of subject and organization."<sup>15</sup> Sections of the *Britannia* are even supplemented by paired excerpts from both "De Connubio Tamae et Isis" and *Cygnea Cantio*. Like Vallans, Camden lauds Elizabeth. At times, more straightforward geographical musings are even

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<sup>12</sup> See Carley, 238–9.

<sup>13</sup> William Vallans, *A tale of two swannes: Wherein is comprehended the original and increase of the river Lee commonly called Ware-river: together, with the antiquitie of sundrie places and townes seated upon the same. Pleasant to be read, and not altogether unprofitable to bee understood* (London: Roger Ward and John Sheldrake, 1590).

<sup>14</sup> William Camden, *Britannia siue Florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio* (London: Ralph Newberry, 1587); *Britannia* (London: George Bishop, 1590); *Britannia* (London: George Bishop, 1594); *Britannia* (London: George Bishop, 1600); *Britannia* (London: George Bishop and John Norton, 1607); *Britain, or A chorographically description of the most flourishing kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adioyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: George Bishop and John Norton, 1610). On the publishing history of the poem in the *Britannia*, see Jack B. Oruch, "Spenser, Camden, and the Poetic Marriages of Rivers," *Studies in Philology* 64.4 (1967): 606–24, esp. 607–9.

<sup>15</sup> Oruch, 613.

overshadowed by Camden's panegyric turns, although this might be due in part to the fact that the poem is unfinished and incomplete. However, Camden's poem deviates from Leland's example by not locating its optimism in the present, but rather in a future Golden Age that will be initiated by Elizabeth's reign.<sup>16</sup> Whereas Leland's verse reflects on historical legacies that have culminated in the purported glories of Henry VIII's reign, Camden's poetic turn focuses on England's present state to imagine its ideal future. In effect, in his verse and his prose, Camden is more inclined to acknowledge criticisms of England than Leland is, bolstered by a foundational trust that the best is still yet to come under Elizabeth.

Camden's idea to centre his poem on the marriage of the Tame and Isis rivers might have been inspired by Spenser's vision for his planned, but never published—if indeed it was ever completed—"Epithalamion Thamesis."<sup>17</sup> Spenser discusses his plans for the poem in a 1580 letter to his friend Gabriel Harvey:

I minde shortely at convenient leysure, to sette forth a Booke in this kinde, whyche I entitle, "Epithalamion Thamesis," whyche Booke I dare undertake wil be very profitable for the knowledge, and rare for the Invention, and manner of handling. For in setting forth the marriage of the Thames: I shewe his first beginning, and offspring, and all the Countrey, that he passeth thorough, and also describe all the Rivers throughout Englande, whyche came to this Wedding, and their right names, and right passage, etc.<sup>18</sup>

Spenser was motivated in part by William Harrison's exhaustive prosaic geographical survey of rivers in the introductory "Historical Description of the Island of Britain" section of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577, 1587).<sup>19</sup> While featuring the Thames, Spenser's marriage of verse and geography would have apparently followed Harrison by surveying all of England's rivers: an ambitious undertaking that perhaps helps explain why

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<sup>16</sup> Carley, 240.

<sup>17</sup> Oruch, 613.

<sup>18</sup> Reprinted in Edmund Spenser, *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, vol. 9, edited by Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, and Ray Heffner (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 1949), 17.

<sup>19</sup> "Historical Description of the Island of Britain," in *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, ed. Raphael Holinshed (London: John Harrison, 1577), books 1–3; and "Historical Description of the Island of Britain," in *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles*, ed. Raphael Holinshed (London: Henry Denham, 1587), vol. 1.

Spenser moved on to other projects instead of advancing the poem's development.<sup>20</sup> Details attending the poem's progress are scant, but even if it never progressed beyond this proposal, Spenser addressed his musings about river poetry being "rare for the Invention" in subsequent works. "The Ruines of Time" (1591) engages the ephemerality of human affairs by perching its speaker on the banks of the Thames, in conversation with a personified figure of the decayed Roman colony of Verulamium.<sup>21</sup> In the poem, England's history has shifted away from its Roman past, and so too has the Thames itself changed its course away from the ruins of the ancient townsite, leaving only "moorish Fens, and Marshes ever green": token human and riverine remnants of history's transitory currents, now presided over by a solitary swan who "most sweetly sung the Prophecy / Of his own Death in doleful Elegy."<sup>22</sup> By contrast, in a lighter turn to rivers and swans, in celebration of the twin marriage of the daughters of the Earl of Worcester, Elizabeth Somerset and Katherine Somerset, to Henry Guildford and William Petre, respectively, Spenser's "Prothalamion" (1596) features Elizabeth and Katherine as "two Swannes of goodly hewe" who float down the Thames to London, where they meet their "Two gentle Knights of lovely face and feature."<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps the most notable example of Spenser's river poetry, though, and certainly the fullest development of the central conceit of the "Epithalamion Thamesis," is found in *The Faerie Queen*.<sup>24</sup> Book Four, Canto Eleven features the marriage of the Thames to the Medway, which is attended and celebrated by "all the Sea-gods and their fruitfull seede."<sup>25</sup> Amidst the elaborate festivities that occupy the bulk of the canto, Spenser's narrator provides a roll-call of the over 170 wedding guests, who include a pantheon of Greek and Roman sea gods and nymphs, the oceans, and some sixty-four English and Irish rivers.<sup>26</sup> Oruch notes that the wedding

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<sup>20</sup> Indeed, Oruch notes that "The usual guess about the *Epithalamion Thamesis* is that Spenser did not complete it because he lost interest in the quantitative system, the new "versifying" (615).

<sup>21</sup> Edmund Spenser, "The Ruines of Time," in *The Complete Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, edited by R. E. Neil Dodge (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1908).

<sup>22</sup> Spenser, "The Ruines of Time."

<sup>23</sup> "Prothalamion," in *Edmund Spenser's Poetry*, eds. Hugh Maclean and Anne Lake Prescott (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993), 643–9, qtd. lines 37, 169.

<sup>24</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queen*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, Toshiyuki Suzuki, and Shohachi Fukuda (Harlow: Pearson, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> 4.11.8.2.

<sup>26</sup> See Oruch, 618.

and its attendant pageantry is only very loosely connected to the broader narratives and themes of Book Four, insofar as the canto touches on the Marinell-Florimell story and broadly conveys the book's focus on love and harmony, but that the marriage proceedings essentially stand by themselves as a display of Spenser's "knowledge of mythology, topography, and poetic technique."<sup>27</sup> Individual English and Irish rivers are accompanied by short descriptions that can be limited to a word or phrase but extend to "etymologies of their names, the locations of their courses, or short legends."<sup>28</sup> The provision of this kind of information suggests some development of Spenser's plans for the "Epithalamion Thamesis," which in itself serves to link this section of *The Faerie Queen* to Leland's *Cygnea Cantio*. However, Carley takes care to record key differences between Spenser's and Leland's approaches to river poetry, asserting that

[u]nlike Spenser Leland wished to describe the past and the landscape accurately, not to illuminate them. He did not look for patterns of moralization in the physical world and in the end his poetry became subservient to his pursuit of historical facts. For him verse was a medium through which to convey specific information (a sugar coating for the bitter pill of history) rather than the form through which to create a mythology.<sup>29</sup>

This point of contrast need not be made quite so bluntly. In a move that might be biased by a reading of the ostensible objectivity of Leland's prose surveys, Carley runs the risk of misrepresenting the undeniably moralistic and mythological aspects of Leland's verse. Leland's corpus as a whole, considered generally, is certainly more inclined towards the pursuit of historical facts than the development of a myth-making project, unless nationalism is regarded as a form of mythology, but the *Cygnea Cantio* is still rather exceptional in Leland's writing due to its interplay of description and "illumination." Spenser's marriage of the Thames and the Medway likewise blurs the edges between geographical, historical surveying and mythologizing, but, to give some credence to Carley's argument, it is fair to say that Spenser and Leland favoured factual and mythological elements to different degrees. Compared to the geographical eye of Leland's swan, who pays close, consistent attention to the palaces and castles on banks of the Thames, Spenser's foray into local surveying in this section of *The Faerie Queen* is

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<sup>27</sup> Oruch, 618.

<sup>28</sup> Oruch, 618.

<sup>29</sup> Carley, 240.

subordinated to the prerogatives of local myth-making, even as the canto makes manifest the earnest geographical programme of the proposed “Epithalamion Thamesis.”

A consideration of Leland’s, Camden’s, and Spenser’s river poems suggests that differences between their works might be best seen as variations of a larger pattern, and as contours giving nuance to the development of a coherent poetic genre. With respect to the question of genre, it is worthwhile to highlight the significance of the literal and figurative marriages in the aforementioned poems. As these poems develop their marriages of swans and of rivers, they negotiate the union of England’s geography, and the natural features of the country’s landscape and setting that can be experienced by a traveller, with England’s history, politics, and culture, including its mythology. That is to say, river poems are chorographical. The term chorography applies to geographical research focused on describing or mapping specific regions or locales. Chorographical texts, then, are focused, small-scale, regional geographical studies. Individual chorographies concentrate on single, discrete geographical regions, as in the preoccupation of English river poems with the River Thames and its environs, but concerted chorographical projects developed in early modern England occasionally proposed more comprehensive geographical surveys composed of many connected chorographies, as in Spenser’s plan to describe and delineate all English rivers in the “Epithalamion Thamesis.” As is evinced by the different choices and styles that distinguish the river poems of Leland, Camden, and Spenser, chorographies are rich, composite, and heterogeneous texts. As a single type of chorography, river poetry is characterized by its variety and by the unique idiosyncrasies and preferences of its authors, such as Leland’s association of geographical surveying and nationalism, or Camden’s anticipation of a coming Golden Age, or Spenser’s interest in connecting England’s geography and its mythology. That is to say, the richness of chorographies stems from their diverse generic hybridity and their marriages, so to speak, of a broad host of intellectual considerations and literary forms. Further, these are texts that engage with and implicate their readers in a variety of ways. As was suggested earlier with respect to Leland’s *Cygneae Cantio*, a poem featuring the perspective of a travelling chorographer (even in the form of a swan!) has an affective logic whereby readers can participate in the journey and share in the chorographer’s experiences of different places. The marriage of geographical observation and poetic, narrative-based literary forms thereby serves to include readers in chorographical projects

as chorographers in their own rights, and as surveyors of regional geographies via the written word.

Just as the poems of Leland, Camden, and Spenser are informed by extensive research on their parts, early modern English chorographical writing was always a scholarly affair, in that chorographers engaged with and contributed to contemporary scientific, historical, political, and literary discourses by their work. Chorographers were also involved in ongoing projects to compile and edit the texts of their intellectual predecessors, so sustained scholarship comprised a fundamental part of the genre's upkeep and continuance. Trying to strictly demarcate what constitutes "modern" scholarly approaches to historical English chorographical texts would be a pedantic affair likely to invite inaccuracies and oversimplifications with respect to the sophisticated research practices and editorial, archival projects that successive generations of chorographers undertook. However, a watershed development in the availability, reception, and study of historical geographical writing came in 1846 when the Hakluyt Society was founded. Named after Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616), luminary English collector and editor of writing produced by travellers, the Society's mission has been to publish scholarly editions of "primary narratives of travel and exploration," with some 200 editions published so far.<sup>30</sup> As the audience for and awareness of this material has grown, scholars have increasingly supplemented the publication of primary texts with literary surveys in monographs and articles, although the framing material in exemplary scholarly editions often constitutes key forays into the significance and context of this literature, too.

Given that chorographies are rich, heterogeneous texts and intersect with a sprawling range of topics of scholarly interest, researchers have tended to focus their attentions on specific aspects of these texts instead of trying to treat them comprehensively. In effect, this might mean concentrating on a text's engagement with a single historical question, or tackling the significance of a certain theme while largely skimming over other facets of the text.<sup>31</sup> Indeed,

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<sup>30</sup> "Objectives and Rules of the Hakluyt Society," The Hakluyt Society, 2020, <https://www.hakluyt.com/objectives-and-rules-of-the-hakluyt-society/>.

<sup>31</sup> For example, in his article "Tudor Centralization and Gentry Visions of Local Order in Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*," John M. Adrian focuses on Lambarde's concern with sociopolitical order rather than his chorography's engagement with Kent's geography or history (*English Literary Renaissance* 36.3 [2006]: 307–34). Similarly, Raphael Falco's article "Women, Genealogy, and Composite Monarchy in Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*" is mainly invested in



Shakespearean studies, that constant driver of early modern scholarship, might be said to constitute its own cottage industry of chorographical studies, at least insofar as they pertain to the bard's engagement with regional geographies and contemporary geographical discourse.<sup>32</sup> Research on early modern maps is likewise a sprawling concern that has branched into a host of considerations around how maps functioned historically as chorographical texts.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, travel writing has increasingly been recognized as a genre unto itself, and chorographers frequently travelled to conduct their surveys. As a result, travel narratives are often a fundamental part of chorographies and elicit the attention of scholars seeking to analyze how travellers represented their experiences and observations.<sup>34</sup> Also, early modern English

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locating the significance of female figures in Drayton's chorographical poem (*English Literary Renaissance* 40.2 [2010], 238–71).

<sup>32</sup> For example, see John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994); Monica Matei-Chesnoiu, *Early Modern Drama and the Eastern European Elsewhere: Representations of Liminal Locality in Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2009); Anthony W. Johnson, "Shakespeare, Architecture, and the Chorographic Imagination," *Shakespeare* 13:2 (2017), 114–35; or Jaecheol Kim's "National Messianism and English Chorography in *King Lear*," *English Studies* 94.6 (2013), 685–703 or "Staging Nationhood: Topographical Liminality and Chorographical Representations in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama" (Doctoral thesis, State University of New York, 2012).

<sup>33</sup> The variety and depth of study that pertains to early modern cartography is too vast to do justice to in passing here, in part because that scholarship also encompasses approaches to understanding the technical aspects of land-surveying and map-making. However, Surekha Davies' *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps, and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016) admirably highlights the vitality and reach that typifies current research into maps. Davies seeks to show how "maps made arguments about the relationship of human societies, bodies, and cultures to their environments," and in doing so, she posits that "Maps were key artefacts in the fluctuating shape of the human in the European imaginary in an era of transformative, often catastrophic, cultural contacts" (2). Her compelling, persuasive examination of early modern cartography is invested in unpacking epistemological aspects of the period's cultural history. Recent scholarship has also endeavoured to explicate the connections between cartography and chorography. See John M. Adrian, "Itineraries, Perambulations, and Surveys: The Intersections of Chorography and Cartography in the Sixteenth Century," in *Images of Matter: Essays on British Literature of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, edited by Yvonne Bruce (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005): 29–46, and Howard Marchitello, "Political Maps: The Production of Cartography and Chorography in Early Modern England," in *Cultural Artifacts and the Production of Meaning: The Page, the Image, and the Body*, edited by Margaret J. M. Ezell and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994): 13–40.

<sup>34</sup> For example, see Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, translated by Catherine Matthias (New York: St. Martin's P, 2000). Korte argues

chorographies are inevitably politically charged texts, in that their engagements with local histories, including matters of land ownership and stewardship, are informed by contemporary political contexts and the political opinions and values of individual chorographers. This has been seen, for example, in Leland's aggrandizement of Henry VIII in his *Cygneia Cantio*. Along these lines, inquiries into the role of chorographies as a sustained expression of England's rising nationalism during the period have been especially compelling.<sup>35</sup> As well, scholars have taken interest in the ways that chorographies participate in the construction of economic and social values around the hereditary possession of land as a defining quality of gentility.<sup>36</sup> In this respect, chorographies are regarded as texts that represent and legitimate emergent concepts of land as property.

Simply put, chorographies reward a range of scholarly inquiries. Perhaps the earliest and most sustained ventures into the genre, though, have come from researchers of the history of science, and the history of geography, specifically. Along this line of research, demarcations between chorographical writing and other geographical and travel-oriented texts took time to

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that, like chorographies, travel writing is an “essentially ‘hybrid’ or ‘androgynous’ literary form,” characterized by “generic hybridity and flexibility” (9). Many of Korte's suggestions about travel writing pertain to chorographies, highlighting the ways that the genres overlap, such as her insight that travel writing can vary in being object-oriented (and foreground geographical and anthropological knowledge) or subject-oriented (and render the personal experience of travel) (6). Also see Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009); John Cramsie, *British Travellers and the Encounter with Britain, 1450–1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015); and Jonathan P. A. Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560–1613* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

<sup>35</sup> The fundamental study, here, is Richard Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1992), which includes sections on mapping, chorographical writing, and travel (particularly colonial and exploratory travel). Helgerson is especially interested in connecting chorographical texts to claims of authority over territory, both domestically and abroad. Helgerson's scholarship has been broadly influential and engaged with by other researchers of England's geographical discourse, sense of nationalism, and development of nation-building projects. For example, see Lesley B. Cormack, “Forms of Nationhood and Forms of Publics: Geography and Its Publics and Early Modern England” (in *Forms of Association: Making Publics in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Paul Yachnin, Marlene Eberhart, and Amy Scott [Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015]: 155–75).

<sup>36</sup> See Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2001), esp. chapter 3. For a broad, theoretical discussion of the relationship of chorographical texts and social and political identities and values, see *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001).

develop. However, as part of the early rush to publish editions of manuscripts and obscure print sources, scholars produced sophisticated, thorough bibliographical histories of this literature.<sup>37</sup> These bibliographies have invited increasingly refined approaches to this material.<sup>38</sup> Single-author studies, or scholarship devoted to a single chorographical text, have predominated, although broader surveys of early modern chorographical work in England helpfully frame the intellectual context and connections of individual chorographers and illuminate their contributions to the project of producing geographical overviews of England.<sup>39</sup> As befits the study of science, scholarship on early modern geography is frequently quite technical, delving into historical developments in fields of research including mathematics, astronomy, navigation, and surveying.<sup>40</sup> At times, this geographical scholarship is intertwined with larger arguments about the philosophy, practice, and progress of science, such as concern epistemological claims about early modern worldviews, say, or the veracity of a renaissance scientific revolution, and geography is appraised alongside other sciences in these conversations.<sup>41</sup> In this kind of scholarly work, though, domestic chorographies of England tend to take a backseat to flashier foreign ventures, such as the contemporary long-distance voyages undertaken for colonial gain and exploration, which pushed the limits of English scientific capabilities and worldviews. However,

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<sup>37</sup> For example, E. G. R. Taylor includes sustained bibliographies of early modern English geographical and travel writing in *Tudor Geography 1583–1650* (London: Methuen and Co., 1934), 177–298 and *Tudor Geography 1483–1583* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968).

<sup>38</sup> For example, see George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928). Parks compiles separate bibliographies of Hakluyt's letters and publications, scholarship on Hakluyt, and "A List of English Books on Geography and Travel to 1600" (260–77).

<sup>39</sup> For example, see F. V. Emery, "England Circa 1600," in *A New Historical Geography of England*, edited by H. C. Darby (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973): 248–301, and Lesley B. Cormack, "'Good Fences Make Good Neighbors': Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England," *ISIS* 82.4 (1991): 639–61, and *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580–1620* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1997).

<sup>40</sup> See David W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1958); Jess Edwards, *Writing, Geometry, and Space in Seventeenth-Century England and America: Circles in the Sand* (London: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>41</sup> See *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, edited by David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990); *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*, edited by Margaret J. Osler (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000); Toby E. Huff, *The Rise of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003); or Richard Raiswell, "Medieval Geography in the Age of Exploration," in *Renaissance Medievalisms*, edited by Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009): 249–85.

recent literature on early modern science has catalyzed renewed interest in local, collaborative endeavours and prompted considerations of how scientific developments were relevant in the daily life of English society.<sup>42</sup>

This dissertation is a sustained examination of chorographies as a genre of geographical writing. That is, it regards chorographies as scientific, but it mainly does so in order to clarify the priorities, forms of expression, and values of individual chorographers, and chorographers considered collectively as a literary, scholarly community. There should be no doubt that chorographies are scientific—they constitute systematic efforts to organize knowledge about the world and bridge human and physical geographies—but the intent here will not be to make broad claims about the history of early modern science. Instead, this dissertation will focus on what Deborah Harkness refers to as the “three interrelated social endeavours” that served as the foundations of early modern science: “forging communities, establishing literacies, and engaging in hands-on practices.”<sup>43</sup> In doing so, this dissertation treats the chorographers under its purview as collaborators in the development of a genre of literature with conventions of form, style, and subject matter that were assiduously communicated and navigated. Literary conventions and norms, then, are framed as elements of community and discourse building. While acknowledging and appreciating the diversity and hybridity of chorographical texts, this dissertation will thereby seek to give credence to the literary and social aspects of chorographical scholarship that are sometimes overlooked, such as the work of chorographers as scholars and editors, their engagements with readers, and their negotiations of different literary prerogatives and methodologies in their fulfillment of a geographical project that was broadly communal. In doing so, and by assessing the cohesiveness of early modern English chorographies, this dissertation seeks to revitalize interest in a genre of writing that might otherwise become recondite due to its heterogeneous and multi-faceted nature.

The first chapter, “Instructing Travellers: The Development of English *Artes Peregrinandi*,” pertains to manuals and guidebooks written to edify and aid travellers. The chapter begins by locating a conundrum faced by ancient Greco-Egyptian writer Claudius

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<sup>42</sup> See Lisa Jardine, *Ingenious Pursuits: Building the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), and Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2007).

<sup>43</sup> Harkness, 11.

Ptolemy, whose *Geography* became a seminal, foundational text for English geographers. In the course of composing a map of classical Rome's known inhabited world, the oikoumenē, Ptolemy found inconsistencies in current geographical data based on the reports of travellers. These inconsistencies led to a host of cartographical challenges; for example, flawed data made it difficult to calculate the latitudinal and longitudinal dimensions of the oikoumenē, locate cities and borders with precision, and accurately gauge the distances between locations. Ptolemy labored to correct the errors he confronted, but he also included a set of directives for travellers in his *Geography*. In essence, Ptolemy urged travellers to acquire the scientific literacy required to produce accounts of their travels that would suit the needs of a cartographer. Telling travellers what they should observe, and how those observations should be recorded, Ptolemy's text thereby describes a relationship between scientific, geographical discourses and writing produced by and for travellers that would become central to English *artes peregrinandi*.

As Ptolemy's *Geography* achieved currency as a foundation of Renaissance geographical scholarship, scientific tracts and travelogues remained in close proximity in publications that connected the two branches of geographical discourse. English publications were slow to evince this pairing, but by the mid-to-late 1500s, English editors increasingly began to translate and revise continental texts so as to nurture the growth of English geographical literacy. This literature was also intended to support and publicize England's contemporary and prospective exploratory and colonial projects. While the publication of travelogues was an essential part of the dialogue that attended those projects, the scientific needs highlighted by Ptolemy, representing cartographical, navigational, and astronomical prerogatives, are rarely met by travellers' accounts. As this chapter argues, instructional manuals designed specifically for navigators emerged to help fill this gap. As opposed to the experiential knowledge found in travelogues, these guides for navigators provide technical information about mathematics and instrumentation integral to cutting-edge geographical discourse and practice. However, in spite of their ostensibly pragmatic orientation, these instructional guides often assume an advanced knowledge of their subjects and so might have been inconsistently accessible and useful to navigators. Therefore, there existed a disjunction between the scientific reliability of travelogues and the practicality of esoteric scientific treatises. This chapter evaluates attempts to reconcile this disconnect in light of the fact that even the most purposefully accessible guides for navigators very rarely broach the subject of record keeping or the authorship of travelogues. That

is, while Ptolemy maintained that travellers needed to be scientifically literate and capable so that they could produce accurate reports, the full scope of that directive was not significantly met by this body of literature.

In order to more comprehensively assess the contemporary drive to develop pedagogies related to foreign travel and educate specific types of travellers as readers, practitioners, and, occasionally, as writers, this chapter then considers guidebooks written for travellers besides navigators, including pilgrims, merchants, and surveyors. While navigational tracts could be overly esoteric and thus inaccessible to all but the most erudite, other branches of instructional guides for travellers sought to be more broadly relevant and practical. Guides for pilgrims tended to drop the metaphorical basis that characterizes many literary pilgrimages, with a pilgrim's travel symbolizing a path toward spiritual salvation, for example, in favour of guidance with respect to routes, accommodations, touring landmarks, and so on. This guidance was often derived from travelogues written by previous pilgrims, although none of the publications that this chapter examines suggest that pilgrims should make written records of their travels. Guides for merchants and surveyors, though, fields oriented towards the production of professional documentation, do provide some direction with respect to writing. Interestingly, those guides sometimes include travelogues as examples of form and style that a merchant or surveyor might imitate. Rather more explicit writing instructions are offered in the last set of guides covered in this chapter: guides for general travellers, including anyone and everyone who might have had reason to venture abroad. These guides begin to prefigure the emergence of modern tourism in the form of the "Grand Tour." Anticipating the anxieties around travelling for pleasure, guides for general travellers emphasize that travel should be edifying intellectually and morally, and that travellers should avoid being corrupted by foreign influences. In this context, writing is represented as a traveller's responsibility, both as a means of directing travellers to be attentive to their surroundings and as a way to ensure that travellers were grounded by a commitment to relay valuable information to their countrymen. This concern for personal and public enrichment, then, ultimately prescribes writing as a nationalistic obligation that should be observed by English travellers. In short, then, this chapter investigates the variety of ways that Ptolemy's vision of travellers as writers is supported by early modern English guidebooks. Although Ptolemy's commitment was to scientific literacy, different types of guides advanced different

types of literacies in their engagements with the interplay between the theoretical/speculative and practical/experiential facets of travelling.

The second chapter, “Chorographical Journeys: Charting Regional Travel Writing,” moves from a consideration of literacy in the context of foreign travel to the study of English chorographies. The guidebooks discussed in the previous chapter tend to forgo providing travellers with instructions on how to write, and the chorography genre is similar to them in that respect. There was no formal attempt to standardize how early modern English chorographies were written. Nevertheless, as this chapter argues, the genre developed its own norms and conventions as generations of chorographers travelled around England in order to produce a comprehensive, county-by-county survey of the country. The chapter focuses on luminary chorographers whose works exemplify the principle methodological and editorial strategies employed in the fulfillment of this grand literary, geographical project.

Not long before he wrote *Cygneia Cantio*, John Leland articulated the plan that successive generations of chorographers would follow. Between 1538 and 1543, Leland kept chorographical records of his travels through England and Wales. He wrote these manuscripts, known collectively as his *Itinerary*, with the goal of eventually organizing them into a fifty volume set of books, with one book devoted to each English and Welsh county. Leland’s death in 1552 prevented him from completing his plan by himself, but the project to prepare chorographies of every county was engaged in the years that followed by his intellectual heirs, chorographers who produced county studies of their own. William Lambarde’s 1576 *A Perambulation of Kent* differs from Leland’s *Itinerary* in that it does not describe a series of real travels. Instead, the *Perambulation* is organized according to two speculative, that is to say fictive, circuitous routes through Kent. Locations in Kent are described in sequence along the courses of these imagined circumnavigations through the county. William Camden’s *Britannia* likewise adapts the travel-oriented chorographical survey heralded by Leland’s *Itinerary*. Camden travelled widely throughout England and Wales to conduct his research, and his prose intermingles scholarly collation and analysis with observations from his travels and information acquired from local informants and sources. Individual county surveys in the *Britannia* are typically framed as travel narratives and are written in the first-person, ostensibly from Camden’s perspective. However, the grand scale of Camden’s literary undertaking surpassed the extent of his actual travels, so he was reliant on second-hand accounts for sections of his text. In these sections, though, Camden

retains the same first-person narration as when he describes places he actually visited. That is, Camden invents a fictive, speculative speaker in order to maintain the travel narrative form throughout his chorographical writing.

By engaging with chorographers including Leland, Lambarde, and Camden, the second chapter outlines how chorographical writing involves and represents travel as an integral part of geographical surveying, even as that convention is adapted in idiosyncratic ways by different chorographers. To add further nuance to the second chapter's consideration of chorographical conventions, the third chapter focuses on William Burton's 1622 chorography of Leicestershire, in which Burton departs from his peers by authoring a county survey that is not travel oriented. The chapter, "A Sedentary Survey: Assessing William Burton's Encyclopedic *Leicestershire*," seeks to qualify Burton's indebtedness to his fellow chorographers, and his participation in their larger shared project, by highlighting this novel aspect of his work.

Begun in 1597, Burton edited his survey of Leicestershire for decades before and, indeed, even after its publication. In this respect, Burton's ongoing commitment to his chorography was similar to Camden's, with one crucial difference. Whereas Camden was able to travel in order to refine and amend his text, to the point where his travels were crucial to his methodology and the content and scope of his prose, Burton's mobility was severely limited by health problems that afflicted him throughout his adult life. Forced to retire to a rural estate at the age of 29 by his health, Burton was not physically able to undertake the strenuous exertions of his wandering peers. As such, his chorography is not organized as a travel narrative. Instead, Burton's *Description of Leicester Shire* advances an encyclopedic approach to cataloguing and detailing notable locations in the county. Since Burton could not travel to gather information, his book is a product of assiduous scholarship. In describing the various sections that comprise the *Description*, this chapter references the breadth of that scholarship while also tracking the networks of colleagues and friends that Burton called on to collect and send documents to him for his research. While detailing the ambitious antiquarian, historical, armorial, and genealogical scope of Burton's undertaking, then, the chapter also provides a bibliographical overview of the *Description* in order to illuminate Burton's scholarship and research networks. The chapter pays special attention to Burton's use of information from other chorographies, including those by Leland, Lambarde, and Camden, to offer commentary about Burton's unique contribution to the ongoing, nationally-scaled project outlined by Leland. As noted, Burton's labours continued for



two decades after the publication of the *Description* in 1622, until shortly before his death in 1645. Drawing on archival research, the chapter describes Burton's work to prepare a revised second edition of his chorography. Although it was never published, portions of his second edition survive in manuscript and attest to his interest in greatly enlarging his survey, perhaps expanding it to three times its original (and already considerable) length. The chapter's examination of extant remnants of the second edition further elucidates the nature of Burton's methodical, thorough work as an editor. Interestingly, in the decades he spent preparing his second edition, Burton came into the ownership of many of Leland's extant manuscripts, which he made use of to supplement his own chorography. Although Burton's health prevented him from travelling to conduct his research, which influenced his chorography's deviation from generic conventions, his scholarly rigours resulted in by far the most comprehensive contemporary study of Leicestershire and enriched his contribution to the chorographical project of his peers.

The fourth and final chapter, "Drayton's Periegetic Conceit: Characterizing *Poly-Olbion*'s Muse as a Chorographer," assesses another unconventional chorography. Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612, 1622) is a poem divided into thirty songs, each of which focuses on a specific British county, or small group of counties.<sup>44</sup> As *A Chorographicall Description of . . . this renowned Isle of Great Britaine . . . : Digested in a poem, Poly-Olbion* makes explicit the general thrust of the river poems by Leland, Camden, and Spenser: chorographical writing need not be confined to prose. As with other poets who married topographical surveying and geographical commentary to their verse, Drayton's poem is energized by his inventive poetic conceits. Specifically, Drayton creates a wandering, winged Muse character who flies around Britain as a kind of travelling chorographer figure. Her surveys of the regions she visits inform the contents of the songs, and her travels thereby serve to structure and organize the poem's narrative. The chapter thus highlights the generic similitude between *Poly-Olbion* and the travel-

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<sup>44</sup> Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (London: Lownes, Browne, Helme, and Busbie, 1612); *Poly-Olbion* (London: Marriott, Grismand, and Dewe, 1622). In this dissertation, I reference the standard edition of the poem: *Poly-Olbion*, ed. J. William Hebel (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1933); I will cite the line numbers that pertain to this edition. Please note that I will cite *Poly-Olbion* parenthetically rather than in the footnotes.

oriented chorographies of Leland, Lambarde, Camden, et al. by focusing in a sustained manner on the nuances of the Muse's characterization in the poem.

As the chapter explores, Drayton's Muse is developed in rather heterogeneous ways. At times, the Muse is simply the poem's speaker, and her expository commentary recalls the narration of Leland or Camden in a rather straightforward manner. However, Drayton himself frequently enters into the poem as its speaker, and there is often ambiguity with respect to distinguishing Drayton's voice and perspective from his Muse's. To clarify the nature and purpose of the Muse character, then, the chapter is divided into two sections. The first assesses Drayton's invocations of the Muse, and the relationship between the Drayton speaker and the Muse. As noted, divisions of narratological agency are not always clear, but this section argues that, generally speaking, there exists a hierarchy between the presence of Drayton in the verse and the Muse, who fulfills a narratological function as a conventional traveller figure but can nonetheless be minimized or made ambiguous to suit the exigencies of different moments in the poem. That is, the Muse's travels provide the poem with a flexible organizing metanarrative; she is primarily a narratological conceit used to stage and facilitate Drayton's own personal chorographical insights. Building on this clarification, the second section of the chapter examines the Muse's role as the poem's protagonist and further parses the Muse's identity. The section considers moments in the poem when the Muse achieves a greater sense of independence and agency in her characterization, but it concludes that these moments are overshadowed by her prevailing utility and *raison d'être* as a literary device. This point is further established by the section's treatment of the Muse's occasional conflation in the poem with rhetorical and literary concepts like "Invention" and "the Song." The section asserts that these other identifications serve to illuminate and situate the Muse's overall embeddedness in the foundations of Drayton's literary, chorographical project. As the Muse's coherence as a discrete character declines in these moments of conflation with broader poetic concepts, the facade of the conceit drops, and her underlying role as a literary device that facilitates the poem's sequential logic of chorographical representations becomes more apparent.

Nevertheless, Drayton's travelling Muse sufficiently helps his poem satisfy generic conventions. In assessing the poem as a chorography, the fourth chapter also considers *Poly-Olbion* as a composite text consisting of Drayton's verse and, significantly, sustained prose notes appended by his friend John Selden. Selden provided extended prosaic annotations for the first

volume of Drayton's poem. Indeed, Selden's sober, well-researched and referenced annotations serve to temper and counterbalance the poem's ventures into hyperbole and fantasy. Selden assesses and verifies Drayton's historical claims, in particular, and offers supplementary research and analysis to clarify matters that Drayton might have hastily or colourfully styled according to the needs of his versification. In this manner, Selden provides readers with material that closely resembles that which might be found in a more conventional chorography than *Poly-Olbion*. In effect, Selden's oversight helps to establish a bridge between Drayton's poetry and the historical, political, geographical, and cultural genres and discourses at play in *Poly-Olbion*.

This fourth chapter, then, further explicates the generic hybridity of chorographies by examining Selden's interjections and Drayton's verse as part of a cohesive, coherent project. *Poly-Olbion* is a marriage of diverse intellectual considerations and literary forms, but, of course, this is a recurring pattern in the texts that this dissertation considers. Returning to a foundational exemplar of this heterogeneity of content and form, and a model for the work of future chorographers, Leland's *Cygneae Cantio* weaves a broad range of inquiries, explications, and arguments into its swan's travels. Prefiguring the collaboration of Selden and Drayton, Leland added an appendix to his poem. Known as the "Commentarii in Cygneae Cantionem," Leland's extended, highly detailed supplementary section is an alphabetical geographical survey that illuminates many of the places and topographical features mentioned in the poem. Leland developed this section to such a degree of refinement and depth that it might have stood by itself as a discrete piece of chorographical research even apart from the poem. In this sense, Leland's "Commentarii" alone might have served as a resource and inspiration for chorographers in the decades that followed. Attached to the poem, and the "numinous spirit" of wanderlust and "great, benign desire" that guides the swan's surveys, the "Commentarii" helps to clarify the swan's gradual certainty about its venture. Although early modern English chorographers did not have instructional guides written for them to direct their travels and structure their observations, they were able to rely on the work of their predecessors and situate their own labours as part of a larger, continuing project. As they negotiated the development of conventional ways to record their surveys and engage their readers, chorographers crafted a genre of geographical writing characterized, again, by its hybridity, richness, and vitality. The initial uncertainty of Leland's swan, then, was thereby remedied as the purview of its meanderings was explicated and

expanded with purpose and direction by successive generations of choreographers, thereby fulfilling the legacy of Leland's swansong.

## CHAPTER 1

### INSTRUCTING TRAVELLERS:

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH *ARTES PEREGRINANDI*

##### **Background: Geographical Discourse and Travelogues**

In his *Geography*, Greco-Egyptian writer Claudius Ptolemy outlines the methodology and the data required to compose a map of classical Rome's known inhabited world: the *oikoumenē*. Ptolemy relies heavily on the work of Marinus of Tyre, who is unknown outside of the *Geography*.<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy introduces Marinus as “the latest [author] in our time to have undertaken this subject,” adding that “he has done it with absolute diligence.”<sup>2</sup> Regardless, Ptolemy frames the *Geography* as a corrective to faults and inconsistencies that he identifies in Marinus' writing. For example, Ptolemy provides a revised cartographical projection to supersede Marinus' favoured projection. Ptolemy concedes that Marinus “paid considerable attention” to the necessity of representing the curvature of the earth on a plane without distorting distances, and that Marinus “found fault with absolutely all the [existing] methods of making plane maps.” Nonetheless, observes Ptolemy, Marinus himself turns out to have used the one that made the distances “least proportionate.”<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy thereby attributes Marinus' problematic projection primarily to a flawed assessment of scholarship on map projections. In practice, concerns like this catalyzed Ptolemy's work, and identifying shortfalls in Marinus' cartography helped to spur his own advancements.<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy outlines his own approach as a diplomatic endeavor to provide a corrective to Marinus' oversights:

When . . . [Marinus] appears to agree with certain others in a conclusion that is unworthy of belief, . . . or when he refuses to give the attention he should to an opportune

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<sup>1</sup> For a broader evaluation of Ptolemy's indebtedness to his precursors, see Mark T. Riley, “Ptolemy's Use of His Predecessors' Data,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 125 (1995): 221–50.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, edited and translated by J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000), 63.

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 82.

<sup>4</sup> It should also be noted that some of Ptolemy's most conspicuous errors also stem from his engagement with Marinus' work. For example, Barri Jones and Ian Keillar examine how Ptolemy's map of Britain bends Scotland at a right-angle to the rest of the landmass “to accommodate Ptolemy's theoretical, and erroneous, modification of Marinus” (“Marinus, Ptolemy and the Turning of Scotland,” *Britannia* 27 (1996): 43–9, qtd. 48).

invention, we have been moved by no unworthy motive to think, as regards part of his reasoning and method, that we could bring forward something more in keeping with the rest of [the latest edition of Marinus' *Emendation of the World Map*] and its author."<sup>5</sup>

In pursuing these kinds of errors, Ptolemy also notes another cluster of problems that, in essence, he claims stem from Marinus' mishandling of a subset of less immediately tractable geographical knowledge: the reports of travellers.

Ptolemy outlines a host of issues that stem from Marinus' flawed use of data from travelogues. Specifically, Ptolemy's concerns in this regard correspond to Marinus' calculations of the latitudinal and longitudinal dimensions of the *oikoumenē*, as well as a related set of mistakes that led Marinus to erroneously locate certain cities and borders. Ptolemy extrapolates these errors from Marinus' apparently extensive writings, which, like Ptolemy's gazetteer of places and geographical coordinates in the *Geography*, were sufficiently detailed to furnish a map of the *oikoumenē*. Both geographers made use of resources that, while not prepared specifically for cartographers, were nonetheless suitable for their purposes. They likely used available itineraria, which list the distances between localities along a network of roads, and periploi, which facilitate maritime travel by recording distances between ports and coastal landmarks.<sup>6</sup> They found other credible data in the writings of earlier geographers; Ptolemy especially credits Hipparchus of Nicaea for using astronomical observations to catalogue the latitudes of different locations. Despite Ptolemy's reservations, less accurate, less scientifically-oriented texts, in the form of travelogues, also served to inform him and Marinus of large swathes of the world. Recognizing both the importance and the fallibility of travellers' reports, Ptolemy expresses an interest in locating travelogues that correspond to his notion of systematic, cartographical research. He writes that the first step in mapping the *oikoumenē* should entail "assembling the maximum of knowledge from the reports of people with scientific training who have toured the individual countries" (i.e. regions of the *oikoumenē*).<sup>7</sup> He specifies that, in this sense, travelogues should ideally indicate "the relative position of localities solely through measurement of distances," and that these surveys should be supplemented by astronomical

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<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 29.

<sup>6</sup> On itineraria, periploi, and Ptolemy's indebtedness to Marinus and other sources, see J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones' introduction to *Ptolemy's Geography*, esp. 23–30.

<sup>7</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 59.

observations. Itineraria and periploi would satisfy this first, surveying criterion, while the astronomical information represented in Hipparchus' writing would satisfy the second. Ptolemy is largely unable to identify travelogues that fully meet his standards by reliably fulfilling both criteria. He highlights the lack of astronomical observations in travelogues as a particularly serious oversight, remarking that "if the people who visited the individual countries had happened to make use of such observations, it would have been possible to make the map of the oikoumenē with absolutely no error."<sup>8</sup> In any case, travelogues furnished Marinus and Ptolemy with surveys that allowed them to roughly ascertain the distances between places that they wished to map. However, Ptolemy suggests that, especially in his recourse to travelogues, Marinus "gave assent to certain things that have not been creditably established."<sup>9</sup> For Ptolemy, a host of errors in Marinus' calculations of latitudes and longitudes are essentially hermeneutical in origin and stem from Marinus' ostensibly flawed interpretations of data recorded in travelogues. Ptolemy again rails at the inadequacies of extant travelogues. He notes that Marinus was misled by the tendency of travellers to record the number of days that they travelled as an indication of the distances between the places on their route. Similarly, Ptolemy remarks that travelogues frequently give only approximate indications of direction; for instance, with respect to contradictory reports from roughly A.D. 80–100 by two Roman travellers in northeastern Africa, Ptolemy writes that "it is likely that [these] men either told travellers' tales or used the expression 'to the south' for 'toward the Notos wind' or 'toward the Lips wind,' as the locals tend to talk, misusing the rough [term] in place of the exact."<sup>10</sup> By Ptolemy's account, Marinus, an inconsistently critical reader of travelogues, was repeatedly drawn to make calculations based on the assumption that a set duration of travel, one month, for example, would always correspond to a uniform direction, speed, and distance of travel. Such calculations were invariably inaccurate owing to the inherent unpredictability of travel, which, as Ptolemy notes, might be slowed or diverted at sea by storms or changing winds, or on land by any number of detours or delays. In essence, Ptolemy was interested in parsing the idiosyncrasies of travel narratives in order to better account for their inconsistent reliability as scientific records. In seeking to correct Marinus' work, Ptolemy makes his own approximations; to gauge distances

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<sup>8</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 62.

<sup>9</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 64.

<sup>10</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 68. See also Appendix A, 145–7.

between maritime locations, he repeatedly accounts for “the variation of the daily sails” by subtracting one-third from distances reckoned by Marinus via travelogues, while for journeys by land he subtracts one-half.<sup>11</sup> With an air of tempered frustration, Ptolemy recommends that cartographers give priority in their maps

to the [features] that have been obtained through the more accurate observations, as foundations, so to speak, but to fit [the features] that come from other [kinds of data] to these, until their positions with respect to each other and to the first [features] stand as much as possible in agreement with those reports that are less subject to error.<sup>12</sup>

According to this plan, then, cartographers are instructed to combine data obtained through scientific practice with information derived through the careful interpretation of less-reliable travelogues, thereby achieving a more comprehensive geographical understanding than either type of discourse offers in isolation. Moreover, this program of work entails an ongoing process of evaluation and refinement that might serve to edify the reports of travellers, in part by assessing, and ideally affirming, their scientific validity. Ptolemy’s cartographical schema, and his criticism of Marinus’ work, is thus interwoven with commentary on the scientific need for travelogues reliable enough to suit exacting geographical inquiries and projects. That is, the *Geography* is prescriptive insofar as it informs travellers what they should observe on their journeys, and how those observations should be recorded. As well, in this pedagogical, instructive gesture, Ptolemy establishes a formal precedent for evaluating the relationship between scientific, geographical discourses and writing produced by travellers, for travellers, and, more generally, about travel itself.

### **Building English Geographical Literacy**

The *Geography* is typically, and correctly, read as a pre-eminent foundational basis for the scholarship of subsequent geographers, who used the *Geography* as a template for new maps and gazetteers.<sup>13</sup> Sparked by Jacopo d’Angelo’s 1406 Latin translation, the renewal of European interest in the *Geography*, and its frequent reproduction in manuscript and print during the late

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<sup>11</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy’s Geography*, 75.

<sup>12</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy’s Geography*, 63.

<sup>13</sup> For a solid scholarly overview of Ptolemy’s historical reception, see the collection *Ptolemy’s Geography in the Renaissance*, eds. Zur Shalev and Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 2011).



fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, coincided with unprecedented exploratory journeys and accompanying travelogues that expanded the boundaries of the classical *oikoumenē*. Scientific tracts and travelogues remained in close proximity. Geographers who prepared new editions of the *Geography* regularly did so while collating and publishing collections of travelogues. For example, German cartographers Matthias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemüller prepared an edition of the *Geography*, the so-called *Strassburg Ptolemy* (1513), which distinguishes between Ptolemy's maps of the classical world and new, modern maps that display the results of recent overseas discoveries.<sup>14</sup> Ringmann and Waldseemüller had previously collaborated on their two-part *Cosmographiae Introductio* (1507).<sup>15</sup> The first section discusses geography by means of geometrical theorems and describes the earth's axes, climactic zones, and circles of latitude. The second section consists of a Latin translation of Amerigo Vespucci's four voyages. In this manner, Ringmann and Waldseemüller combined contemporary geographical science and travelogues, quite literally presenting readers with a new world, with Vespucci's *Mundus Novus* termed America by Waldseemüller on two maps—a globe and a plane projection—that supplemented the *Cosmographiae Introductio*.<sup>16</sup> Prior to the publication of the *Strassburg Ptolemy*, Waldseemüller prepared another map, his *Carta Itineraria* (1511), which was closely aligned with Ptolemy's work.<sup>17</sup> As its title suggests, the map is an itinerarium of Europe; roadways are marked as series of dots, with each dot representing one mile between two locations. Following Ptolemy's insistence that travellers be better enabled to make informed observations of their courses, the *Carta Itineraria* is further distinguished by a marginal compass rose. As E. G. R. Taylor notes, the *Carta Itineraria* was accompanied by a pamphlet that instructs readers to orient the map by placing a horologium, or combined compass/sundial, “above the printed rose, and then turning the map until the north-south line upon it coincided

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<sup>14</sup> See R.A. Skelton, “Bibliographical Note,” in Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* (ed. Sebastian Münster, Basle 1540), ed. R.A. Skelton (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966), v.

<sup>15</sup> Mathias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemüller, eds., *Cosmographiae Introductio* (St. Dié: 1507). A facsimile edition was published in 1907 as *The Cosmographiae Introductio*, edited and introduced by Charles Herbermann (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society).

<sup>16</sup> Vespucci's report of his 1501–1502 travels aboard a Portuguese voyage to South America inspired dozens of editions and versions in addition to Ringmann and Waldseemüller's; it was first published as the *Mundus Novus: Albericus Vespuccius Laurentio Petri Francisci de Medicis Salutem Plurimam Dicit* (Paris: F. Baligault/Jehan Lambert, 1503–1504).

<sup>17</sup> The map has been reproduced in facsimile as Martin Waldseemüller, *Carta Itineraria Europae* (Bonn: Kirschbaum Verlag, 1972).

with that indicated by the gnomon of the compass-clock. The map then served to give the true direction, as well as the distance, to any particular city.”<sup>18</sup> In the same spirit, Waldseemüller added an appendix to the 1512 edition of Gregor Reisch’s encyclopedic textbook, *Margarita Philosophica*, in order to describe a prototypical theodolite (an instrument for measuring angles between visible points), termed a polimetrum, and outline its use to measure altitudes and azimuths.<sup>19</sup> In updating the *Geography*, bringing contemporary geographical tracts and travelogues into proximity, and fostering the notion of scientifically literate travellers, Ringmann and Waldseemüller thereby facilitated the continuation of Ptolemy’s work in representing the oikoumenē.

However, Ringmann and Waldseemüller’s efforts failed to gain much traction in England during the early 1500s. As Taylor writes, “an analysis of the geographical writings produced in England during the first half of the [sixteenth] century merely establishes the rule of neglect—the exception of interest.”<sup>20</sup> Responding to this lack in his morality play “A New Interlude of the Nature of the Four Elements” (1520), John Rastell highlights the need for vernacular editions of the touchstones of contemporary continental natural philosophy.<sup>21</sup> Rastell, a printer, member of parliament, and barrister, writes that “if cunning Latin books were translate / Into English, well correct and approbate, / All subtle science in English might be learned.”<sup>22</sup> Rastell dramatizes the education of his play’s protagonist, simply named Humanity, in matters of geography and world exploration whilst under the sway of both positive and negative allegorical characters. As Nature, Studious Desire, and Experience edify Humanity by relating the recent achievements of geographers and explorers, Sensual Appetite and Ignorance, in company with an immoral Taverner, collaborate to undermine this influence. The play’s moral, revealed to Humanity by Nature in the conclusion, is that

if thou wilt learn no science,

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<sup>18</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 142.

<sup>19</sup> See Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 142–3. Gregor Reisch, *Margarita Philosophica* (Strasbourg: Johannes Grüninger, 1512).

<sup>20</sup> *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 1.

<sup>21</sup> For broader assessments of Rastell’s play, see David S. Shields, “John Rastell’s The IIII Elements,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 107. 3 (2013): 297–309, and E. J. Devereux, *A Bibliography of John Rastell* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1999).

<sup>22</sup> Rastell, “Interlude,” in *Six Anonymous Plays: First Series (c. 1510–1537)*, ed. John S. Farmer (Guildford: Charles W. Traylen, 1966), 1–45, qtd. 4.

Nother by study nor experience,  
I shall thee never advance;  
But in the world thou shalt dure then,  
Despised of every wise man,  
Like this rude beast Ignorance.<sup>23</sup>

Nonetheless, regardless of Rastell's entreaty, geographical texts such as Ringmann and Waldseemüller's remained largely without English equivalents—even in translation—until the middle of the century.

George Bruner Parks offers a representative bibliography of Renaissance English geographical texts in Appendix IV of *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*.<sup>24</sup> Although Parks includes books on navigation and maps, he records the publication of only twenty-four documents on geography and travel between 1500 and 1550.<sup>25</sup> In the *Hand-List of Books Printed by London Printers 1501–1556*, E. G. Duff, W. W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow, H. R. Plomer, A. W. Pollard, and R. Proctor list few texts missed by Parks, but their publication does reveal a possible cause for the neglect of cosmography by English publishers.<sup>26</sup> While English texts devoted solely to geography and travel were rare in the extreme, the early 1500s witnessed the great popularity of chronicles: volumes of historical events and facts. Many chronicles contained cosmographical information that is slight and highly wanting, and provides only faint glimmers of the interest in cutting-edge geographical scholarship that proliferated on the continent. E. G. R. Taylor's judgement may be deemed correct when she says that *Arnold's Chronicle*, a popular book of general reference, "contains a geographical section which must be read as fulfilling the needs of the English reading public."<sup>27</sup> Ironically, the section of the *Chronicle* titled "The Copy of a Carete Cumposynge the Circuit of the World and the Cumpace of Every Yland," is both brief

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<sup>23</sup> Rastell, 45.

<sup>24</sup> George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), 270–6.

<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that the appendix in Parks' second edition has, oddly enough, been revised to include fewer texts than his 1928 first edition.

<sup>26</sup> E. G. Duff, W. W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow, H. R. Plomer, A. W. Pollard, and R. Proctor, eds., *Hand-List of Books Printed by London Printers 1501–1556* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913).

<sup>27</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 6. Richard Arnold, *Arnold's Chronicle* (London: John of Doesborowe, 1503).

and crude.<sup>28</sup> In miniature, the section collates historical geographical information that outlines the presence of four ancient empires each responsible for one of the north, east, south, and west quarters of the classical world. As such, the section is cursory in the extreme, characterized by its combined breadth of scope, brevity, and antiquity; it shifts the *Chronicle*'s focus away from England in a most minimal fashion. Nonetheless, such was the state of contemporary English geographical texts, which are testaments to the failed advocacy of proponents like Rastell for more disciplined and rigorous writing of this sort. These English texts offered their readership only the most nascent step of the literature that was developing elsewhere in Europe.

In the meantime, Ptolemy's project continued to take root in continental European scholarship. Taking his cue from Ringmann and Waldseemüller, German polymath Sebastian Münster prepared a new edition of the *Geography* in 1540 that added twenty-one modern maps to Ptolemy's original twenty-seven. Some of these new maps draw on the work of luminary cartographers in the early 1500s and evince Münster's decades of geographical scholarship, while other modern maps, exclusively regional studies of Germany, derive from Münster's own surveys of his homeland.<sup>29</sup> For this last set of maps, he gathered data while travelling in Germany using "a geometrical technique in land-survey—a rudimentary form of triangulation—by instrumental observation of angles."<sup>30</sup> He acknowledges the value of this kind of surveying work by travellers repeatedly in his introduction and in his prefatory remarks at the outset of Ptolemy's chapters. Mapping Germany by means of his own first-hand observations, and preparing additional maps by evaluating and consolidating the studies of other recent topographers, Münster maintains the spirit of Ptolemy's methodological and hermeneutical rigours. In his next major work, the *Cosmographia* (1544), for which he is best known, Münster gives further credence to the observations of travellers by combining scientific instruction with

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<sup>28</sup> Supplementing the work of Parks and Duff et al., Taylor includes bibliographies of geographical and travel writing in the 1500s in her two-volume study of Tudor geography: *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 163–90, and *Tudor Geography 1583–1650* (London: Methuen and Co., 1934), 177–298. For a representative, narrative summary of the bibliographical history of sixteenth-century English navigational texts, see David W. Waters, "English Navigational Books, Charts, and Globes Printed Down to 1600," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 33 (1985): 239–57.

<sup>29</sup> See Skelton, "Bibliographical Note," *Geographia* (ed. Sebastian Münster, Basle 1540), esp. vi–xi, xviii.

<sup>30</sup> Skelton, "Bibliographical Note," *Geographia* (ed. Sebastian Münster, Basle 1540), viii.

geographical information collated from travelogues.<sup>31</sup> In the first of six volumes, Münster summarizes aspects of contemporary geographic theory, and he educates readers in the mathematical surveying techniques integral to the practice of cartography. The following five volumes divide the known world into regional sections and, alongside geographical details, describe a bevy of general interest subjects derived in part from travel accounts, such as

strange animals, trees, metals and so on, things both useful and useless, to be found on land and in the sea; [also] the habits, customs, laws, governments of men . . . the origins of countries, regions, cities, and towns, how nature has endowed them and what human inventiveness has produced in them, [also] what notable things have happened everywhere.<sup>32</sup>

Pairing mimetic descriptions and diegetic travelogues, Münster's editorial style in the *Cosmographia* is that of periegesis, a commonly used classical literary mode in which a geographical representation takes the form of a progressive journey. As Matthew McLean writes, in Münster's application of periegesis

the world is divided into continents which are discussed in sequence; the discussion of each continent is subdivided and discussed by an orderly progression through its contingent territories; these territories are again broken down, and a tour of their constituent parts is made; and so on. This form of cosmography is, in one sense, a completed series of chorographies, uniform in format, if unequal in the depth of detail in which their respective lands are studied.<sup>33</sup>

Münster thereby invites his readers on a sequential set of journeys fundamentally informed by the Ptolemaic ethos of promoting reliable, scientifically-literate travellers and travel writing. As

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<sup>31</sup> Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1544). The scientific rigours of Münster's literary work give needed nuance to Gerald Strauss' observation that "Münster's introduction to his 1544 *Cosmography*, though it came pen of one who was regarded as a specialist, scarcely bridged the gap between scientific and descriptive geography" ("Topographical-Historical Method in Sixteenth-Century German Scholarship," *Studies in the Renaissance* 5 (1958): 87–101). However, in what follows, there is sufficient evidence to assert, with Strauss, that "His substantial contributions to cartography and astronomy notwithstanding, Münster, too, was pre-eminently and enthusiastically a narrator" (91).

<sup>32</sup> Cited from the preface of the *Cosmographia* by Matthew McLean, in *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2007), 191.

<sup>33</sup> McLean, 192.

Münster's readers become travellers, by becoming immersed in the periegetic logic of the *Cosmographia*, they ideally come to possess a sense of geographical literacy borne out of classical edicts.

Per Rastell's overdue directives to his countrymen, Münster's methodical periegetical, chorographical surveys inspired the engagement of English alchemist Richard Eden, who translated the fifth book of the *Cosmographia*, Münster's overview of southeast Asia, India, Cathay, and the parts of the Americas described by Spanish and Portuguese explorers around the turn of the century.<sup>34</sup> Published in 1553 as *A Treatyse of the Newe India, with Other Newe Found Ilandes, as well Eastward as Westward*, Eden provided English readers with their first vernacular introduction to the voyages of Columbus, Balboa, and Magellan.<sup>35</sup> In his dedicatory epistle, Eden notes that his chief motivation in producing his translation was the insufficiencies of English-language travelogues. To illustrate, Eden compares Italian historian Pietro Martire D'Anghiera's *De Orbe Novo Decades* to the first English compilation of European voyage narratives, Dutch printer Jan van Doesborch's *Of the Newe Landes* (1511).<sup>36</sup> Lauding Martire's work, Eden calls *Of the Newe Landes* "a shiete of printed paper, (more worthy so to bee called then a boke)," and he comments that "there seemed too me no lesse inequalitye between the title and the booke, then if a man woulde professe to wryte of Englande, and entreated onelye of Trumpington a village within a myle of Cambrydge."<sup>37</sup> Eden's *Treatyse*, motivated partly by his "good affeccion . . . to the science of Cosmographie" and his desire to redress the inequity of English presses, may thus be seen as a corrective supplement to van Doesborch's "shiete."<sup>38</sup> Additionally, he attributes his book to "ye good will, whych of duetie I beare to my natyve countrey and countreyemen, which have of late to their great praise (whatsoever succede) attempted with new

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<sup>34</sup> For a general introduction to Eden and his work, see David Gwyn, "Richard Eden Cosmographer and Alchemist," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 15.1 (1984): 13–34.

<sup>35</sup> Sebastian Münster, *A Treatyse of the Newe India, with Other Newe Found Ilandes, as well Eastward as Westward*, translated by Richard Eden (London: Steven Mierdman, 1553). Reprinted in *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1895), 3–42. Eden's original book is unpaginated, so, for ease of reference, citations refer to Arber's edition. Arber retains Eden's original spelling.

<sup>36</sup> Pietro Martire D'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo Decades* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldi Guillelmi, 1516); Jan van Doesborch, "Of the Newe Landes," in *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1895), xxiii–xxxvi.

<sup>37</sup> Eden, *Treatyse*, 5.

<sup>38</sup> Eden, *Treatyse*, 5.

viages to serche ye seas and newe found landes.”<sup>39</sup> He frames the *Treatyse* as his contribution to these expeditions, intending that English explorers

may in this smal boke as in a little glasse, see some cleare light, not only how to learne by the example, dammage, good successe, and adventures of other, how to behave them selves and direct theyr viage to their most commoditie, but also if dew successe herein should not chaunce according unto theyr hope and expectation . . . yet not for one foyle or fal, so to be dismayd as with shame and dishonor to leave wyth losse, but rather to the death to persist in a godly, honeste, and lawful purpose.<sup>40</sup>

He further qualifies his book’s call to edified, resolute action in his epistle to the reader. With extended commentary on classical and contemporary natural philosophy, Eden contextualizes recent English voyages in search of a northeast passage to Cathay as part of a larger, historical, and essentially western European project of acquiring progressively sophisticated and comprehensive geographical knowledge. Reflecting that, even in the mid-1500s, “the most parte of Globes and mappes are made after Ptolomeus Tables,” with reference to the Americas and the Strait of Magellan, southeast Asia, and the prospect of northeast and northwest passages connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, Eden notes that “albeit [Ptolemy] was an excellent man, yet were there many thinges hyd from his knowledge, as not sufficientelye tryed or searched at those daies.”<sup>41</sup> For Eden, Münster’s fifth book thereby helps to satisfy the gap in Ptolemy’s coverage by collating the findings of contemporary travellers. In this way, in a manner that is consistent with Ptolemy’s (and Rastell’s) recommendations, Eden brings the established, historical continental pairing of geographical discourse and travelogues into the context of English exploration and scientific inquiry. Making his commitment to this strategic pairing explicit, Eden uses a metaphor to explicate Aristotle’s axiom that “Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuit prius in sensu” [Nothing is in the intellect that was not first in the senses]: “reason using sense, taketh his principles and fyrst sedes of thinges sensyble, and afterward by his owne discourse and searching of causes, encreaseth the same from a seede to a tree, as from an acorne to an oke.”<sup>42</sup> That is to say, reason is derived from experience, and experience is enriched by

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<sup>39</sup> Eden, *Treatyse*, 5.

<sup>40</sup> Eden, *Treatyse*, 5–6.

<sup>41</sup> Eden, *Treatyse*, 8.

<sup>42</sup> Eden, *Treatyse*, 9.

reason, or, in Eden's parlance, "experience [is] most certayn which is joyned with reason or speculation, and . . . reason [is] most sure which is confirmed with experience."<sup>43</sup> While, in this sense, world travel can be said to facilitate geographical knowledge, and vice versa, mimetic and diegetic periegetical, chorographical records also serve a related literary function to the act of travelling by connecting readers to the experiences and observations of other Europeans abroad. English readers are allowed the sensation of travel by proxy through the *Treatyse*, and Eden implies that these are the empirical "sedes" from which, in the peripatetic sense, the reason of the intellect—or, in this particular scenario, a nationalist ethos of geographical inquiry—grows. In a propagandistic manner, by providing his readers with the experience of travelling through Asia and the Americas, Eden prepares them for the speculative discourse integral to the success of not only further exploratory voyages in the English context, but also the development of a new national literature recording those voyages.

Eden might have continued to foster the geographical literacy of his readership by further translating Münster's *Cosmographia*. Well-supported English voyages to West Africa, the Maghreb, and, as mentioned, in search of a northeast passage were launched with some regularity during the early 1550s. Although the publication of Eden's *Treatyse* was timed in part to publicize the 1553 northeast passage venture of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, in service to *Treatyse* dedicatee and northeast passage proponent John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Münster's fifth book relates more to Willoughby and Chancellor's envisioned Asian destinations than to the regions that they would traverse in the course of their journey. Münster's fourth book, which covers northern Europe and Russia, or sixth book, which covers Africa, would have been practical, timely, edifying complements to the *Treatyse*. Even a translation of Münster's first book on the theory of geography and cartography might have been intrinsically useful to English mariners. However, while Eden's next publication, *The Decades of the New World* (1555), compiles the translated writings of European travellers and historians, he largely forgoes Münster aside from a brief account of the city of Moscow.<sup>44</sup> Instead, adding his own expository and critical commentary throughout, Eden translates accounts of Spain's

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<sup>43</sup> Eden, *Treatyse*, 9.

<sup>44</sup> Richard Eden, *The Decades of the New World* (London: Guilhelmi Powell, 1555). As with the *Treatyse*, for ease of reference, citations refer to Arber's edition in *The First Three English Books on America* (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1895), 43–398.



American empire from Pietro Martire d'Anghiera eponymous *De Orbe Novo Decades* (1516), Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés' *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* (1526), and Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias* (1552).<sup>45</sup> To these, and hearkening back to Ptolemy's directive that travelogues convey reliable scientific data, Eden adds passages from the travelogues of Vespucci and Andrea Corsali in which the Italian explorers relate their astronomical observations. Eden draws these and a host of other passages from Italian travelogues from the first volume of Giovanni Battista Ramusio's monumental compilation *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550).<sup>46</sup> From *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, Eden translates Ramusio's, Maximilianus Transylvanus', and Antonio Pigafetta's writings on Magellan's circumnavigation; a segment of Alvise Cadamosto's African travelogue; and an appendix on precious stones and spices from Ramusio's section on Duarte Barbosa's travels to India. In service of contemporary English ventures, Eden focuses on northeastern Europe and Russia, relying on Ramusio for the accounts of Sigismund von Herberstein and Galeatius Butrigarius, while also translating relevant selections from the books of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Jacob Ziegler. With an eye to helping his countrymen locate, extract, and refine precious metals, Eden adds a section of Italian metallurgist Vanuccio Biringuccio's treatise on metallurgy, *Pyrotechnia*, which Eden had translated a few years earlier in conjunction with his own alchemical interests. Eden concludes his *Decades* with two accounts of recent English voyages to Guinea and a short note on discerning longitude whilst at sea by Dutch mathematician and navigational instrument maker Gemma Frisius, again stressing the close proximity of travelogues and geographical science.

Ostensibly prepared to honour the marriage of Queen Mary I and King Philip II of Spain, Eden introduces his *Decades* by lauding the history of Spain's American enterprises.<sup>47</sup> In his

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<sup>45</sup> Martire published a total of eight decades between 1511 and 1525, with each decade consisting of ten reports, written as letters or narrative accounts, on Spanish activities in the Americas; the decades were collected and published as a full set in 1530 (*De Orbe Nouo Decades* [Alcalá de Henares: Miguel de Eguía]). Eden translates Martire's 1516 edition, *De Orbe Novo Decades* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldi Guillelmi), which includes only Martire's first three decades. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* (Toledo: 1526). Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia General de las Indias* (Zaragoza, 1552).

<sup>46</sup> For a modern edition of Ramusio's compilation, see *Navigationi et Viaggi*, 3 vols., intro. R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., 1970).

<sup>47</sup> Eden, *Decades*, 46–8.

dedicatory epistle to Mary and Philip, Eden suggests that the *Decades* will allow English readers to survey the ambition and prosperity of the empire to which their monarch was now allied by marriage.<sup>48</sup> Acknowledging the validity of the Inter Caetera, Pope Alexander VI's donation of any lands southwest of the Azores to Spain and Portugal, in his prefatory address to readers, Eden maintains a place for England in regions not covered by the papal bull, namely, to the northwest of the Azores.<sup>49</sup> He writes that

besyde the portion of lande perteynyng to the Spanyardes . . . and beside that which pertaineth to the Portugales, there yet remayneth an other portion of that mayne lande reachynge towarde the northeast, thought to be as large as the other, and not yet knowen but only by the sea coastes, neyther inhabyted by any Christian men: whereas neverthelesse . . . in this lande there are many fayre and frutefull regions.<sup>50</sup>

Citing a religious duty to proselytize the Christian faith to indigenous peoples, as well as the potential to spur economic growth by means of colonisation, Eden recommends that England follow a course of action similar to Spain's by encouraging exploratory, colonial expeditions to the regions of North America not encompassed by the papal bull. Much of the material in the *Decades*, then, pertains to Spanish representations of the Americas to edify English readers in issues such as the extent and chronology of the Spanish empire and the realities and contingencies of colonisation. For example, Eden's selections from Oviedo's *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* emphasize Oviedo's thoughts on navigational and geographical matters, wealth extraction, the need for missionary work, and botany and zoology. This is not content that explicitly honours Spain's actions abroad; rather, Eden selects information to instruct readers in practical considerations requisite for future colonial undertakings.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, as mentioned, his non-Spanish texts, particularly those dealing with northeastern Europe, Russia, and Africa, had contemporary relevance in that they elucidate other nascent spheres of English interest and activity. Despite Eden's prefatory overtures to Spanish glory, he thereby retains a marked commitment to fostering future English expeditions. In all, Spanish and English interests remain discrete in the *Decades*; Eden balances his patriotic and literary goals by implicitly

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<sup>48</sup> Eden, *Decades*, 47.

<sup>49</sup> Eden reprints the Inter Caetera in *Decades*, 201–4.

<sup>50</sup> Eden, *Decades*, 55.

<sup>51</sup> See Eden, *Decades*, 205–42.

advocating an English foreign policy of exploration and colonisation removed from direct Spanish influence, while answering Rastell's call for translated geographical writing.

### **Guides for Navigators**

As with the *Treatyse*, the chorographical content of the *Decades* is predominately periegetical and again provides English readers seeds of experience to facilitate their geographical edification and engagement. However, Eden's *Treatyse* and *Decades* are both, in a manner of speaking, remedial models needed to add fundamental continental travelogues to the small body of domestically produced geographical writing.<sup>52</sup> Nonetheless, as per Ptolemy's original critique, travelogues generally demonstrate only an incomplete sense of scientific literacy; the exacting needs of Ptolemy, a cartographer, a navigator, or an astronomer, are rarely met in narratives infrequently intended for such stringent readers. Eden's astronomical passages from the accounts of Vespucci and Corsali are thus relatively anomalous. Likewise, for insight into calculations of longitude, Eden of necessity turns to Frisius' tract rather than to a travelogue. Another set of texts besides travelogues—*artes peregrinandi*, manuals designed for the aid of travellers, in this case navigators—increasingly underwent translation from the mid-1500s onwards in order to bring English geography to continental standards.<sup>53</sup> These guides for navigators dealt more frequently with the technical aspects of navigation and surveying by delving into the mathematics and instrumentation integral to cutting-edge continental geographical discourse and practice. In essence, whereas volumes like the *Treatyse* and the *Decades* heralded empirical and experiential knowledge to serve as the basis of valid geographical inferences, this second branch of texts—the *artes peregrinandi*—sought to demonstrate mathematical and astronomical theories in service of less abstract, practical geographical applications. Although the increased publication of both branches of geographical writing was fundamental to the development of the science in England, this second branch was, by its nature, less suitable for a lay audience. These are quite often texts, written by and for scientists, that assume a preexisting, advanced

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<sup>52</sup> In general (and selections from Ramusio's collection notwithstanding), the writers that Eden translates in the *Treatyse* and the *Decades* derive their insights from the primary accounts of other travelers; they crafted their own historical narratives and geographical representations from original travelogues, although they only occasionally reprint or cite their source materials.

<sup>53</sup> See Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), esp. 139–40.

knowledge of their subjects; the accessibility and the usefulness of these texts, even to contemporary practitioners of the science such as navigators and surveyors, are not always evident.<sup>54</sup>

For example, although physician and astrologer William Cuninghame's *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559) describes a number of geographical principles ostensibly pertinent for navigators, the text, written as a dialogue between teacher and pupil, is framed as a recondite, academic study.<sup>55</sup> Early in their conversation, the teacher inquires if the pupil has the educational background needed to understand his lesson (i.e. the content of the *Cosmographical Glasse*), and the pupil relates his familiarity with three books by Welsh mathematician Robert Recorde: *The*

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<sup>54</sup> Even Chaucer's medieval Shipman could "rekene wel his tydes,/ His stremes, and his daungers hym bisides,/ His herberwe, and his moone, his lodemanage" ("The Canterbury Tales," in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., ed. Larry D. Benson [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987], 3–328, qtd. "General Prologue," lines 401–3). Further, he had knowledge of havens "Fro Gootlond to the cape of Fynystere,/ And every cryke in Britaigne and in Spayne" (408–9). Susan Rose points out that the "old attitudes" and traditional nautical knowledge of the Shipman, which Chaucer connects to his pilgrim's years of experience at sea, persisted in England into the sixteenth century and was only gradually replaced by a more sophisticated understanding of astronomy and mathematics ("Mathematics and the Art of Navigation: The Advance of Scientific Seamanship in Elizabethan England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (2004), 175–84, qtd. 176). Rose quotes William Bourne, an exponent of mathematical navigation, who wrote in 1571 that

I have known within this 20 years that them that were auncient masters of shippes hath derided and mocked them that have occupied their cardes and plattes and also the observation of the Altitude of the Pole saying; that they care not for their sheepskinne for he could keepe a beter account upon a [traverse] boord. And also when they dyd take the altitude they would call them starre shooters and would aske if they had stricken it. (176)

<sup>55</sup> As Mark Netzloff notes, the dialogue form was fairly commonplace in texts on geometry and surveying (*John Norden's The Surveyor's Dialogue* [Farnham: Ashgate, 2010]). For example, Robert Recorde's *The Grounde of Artes*, *The Pathway to Knowledge*, and *The Whetstone of Witte* are all written as conversations between a master and a student, in which the master asks the student leading questions. Netzloff maintains that

rather than emphasizing its referential content, the facticity of the information presented, the text foregrounds its own terms of representation as a way of illustrating the process in which knowledge is constructed and transmitted. . . . [Dialogues] themselves stage scenes of learning that provide models for readers' own acquisition of knowledge. (xviii–xix)

Despite using such a conventionally accessible form, *The Cosmographical Glasse* is distinguished from other dialogues by the advanced knowledge that it expects of readers. For a broader discussion of the dialogue form, see Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992) and *Printed Voices: The Renaissance Culture of Dialogue*, eds. Dorothea Heitsch and Jean-François Vallée (Toronto: Toronto UP, 2004).

*Grounde of Artes* (1543), *The Pathway to Knowledge* (1551), and *The Whetstone of Witte* (1557).<sup>56</sup> The teacher further recommends, as mathematical studies fundamental to cosmographical scholarship, several works by Euclid, Theodosius of Bithynia, Oronce Finé, and Johann Scheubel.<sup>57</sup> The level of mathematical and, generally, scientific fluency that Cuningham assumes of his readers overtly signals that *Cosmographical Glasse* was intended mainly for an expert, academic audience. At the same time, Cuningham acknowledges Latin as the lingua franca of European geographical discourse; none of the texts cited by his teacher had been translated into English by 1559. That is, the teacher cites Latin texts without English versions, and the pupil cites books written in English. Cuningham's use of the dialogue form thereby dramatizes the accommodation of general English readers and the process of making arcane academic knowledge accessible by bridging Latin and vernacular scholarship.<sup>58</sup> The interplay between Cuningham's expert and his initiate, then, evinces and symbolizes the larger project to marry literary and scientific discourses to further English pedagogical goals. His interlocutors stand-in for all of the participants in this developing, national conversation, which was facilitated by similar, incipient steps to proffer vernacular *artes peregrinandi*. Certainly, catalogues of contemporary English libraries showcase a vast wealth of untranslated Latin texts on relevant subjects such as astronomy, historical geography, topography, travel, mathematics, and

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<sup>56</sup> William Cuningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse, Conteynyng the Pleasant Principles of Cosmographie, Geographie, Hydrographie, or Navigation* (London: John Day, 1559), 4. For an overview of Recorde's work, see *Robert Recorde: The Life and Times of a Tudor Mathematician*, eds. Gareth Roberts and Fenny Smith (Cardiff: U of Wales P, 2012).

<sup>57</sup> Cuningham, *Cosmographical Glasse*, 5.

<sup>58</sup> K. J. Wilson's *Incomplete Fictions: The Formation of English Renaissance Dialogue* is an engaging, productive overview of literary dialogues (Washington: Catholic University of America P, 1985). Examining ancient and classical models in relation to Renaissance applications, Wilson identifies dialogue as an eminently pedagogical, didactic form. Wilson's survey includes a variety of points that support the appropriateness of Cuningham's use of the dialogue form. For example, Wilson treats the question and answer format of many literary dialogues as a way to encourage readers to participate in a dialectical process of mediating two distinct positions. In Cuningham's book, these positions are those of the teacher and the pupil; the reader, then, is engaged in bridging the contributions of the two in order to achieve some personal understanding of the overall subject matter. Wilson also connects the dialogical relationship of writer and reader to the reciprocity between characters involved in a literary dialogue. Further, Wilson muses on the extent to which "the end for which dialogue exists is the imitation of reasoning" (14), which leads to sustained discussions of mimesis and the dialogue form.

navigation.<sup>59</sup> Nonetheless, Rastell's directive achieved occasional practice, and, as noted, more geographical texts were translated into English, including Proclus' *Sphaera* and Johannes de Sacrobosco's *Tractatus de Sphaera Mundi*, both fundamental introductions to spherical astronomy.<sup>60</sup> As well, like Münster's German additions to Ptolemy's *Geography*, translated works were occasionally published with addenda that supplemented original source texts with current English insights. In this manner, printer Robert Copland's translation *The Rutter of ye See* (1528), a French navigational guide intended to inform maritime commerce between England and France, was amended in future editions in the following decades to include an additional section, "The New Rutter of the Sea for the North Part," translated from a Dutch text by printer Richard Proude.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, merchant Roger Barlow, who accompanied Sebastian Cabot on a voyage to South America in 1526, presented a translation of Spanish explorer Martin Fernández de Enciso's *Suma de Geographia* (1519), titled "A Brief Somme of Geographia," to Henry VIII in 1541.<sup>62</sup> Barlow adds an assortment of personal observations to describe the River Plate region, the Canary Islands, the Azores, and Morocco, he expands Fernández's section on Britain, and he updates the nautical tables of the Spanish original.<sup>63</sup>

In the meantime, the broader mathematical inquiries of two luminary English scholars, Robert Recorde and John Dee, began to increasingly gravitate towards navigational applications.

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<sup>59</sup> Taylor lists cosmographical works from the Arundel-Lumley collection and the libraries of John Dee and Sir Thomas Smith, as well as those catalogued by Samuel Purchas in the second edition of *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (London: William Stansby for Henry Featherstone, 1614); see Taylor, Appendix II, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 193–243.

<sup>60</sup> Proclus, *The Description of the Sphere or Frame of the Worlde*, trans. William Salysburye (London: Robert Wyer, 1550); Johannes de Sacrobosco, "De Sphaera," trans. William Thomas (1551) (BL MS Egerton 837).

<sup>61</sup> Pierre Garcie, *The Rutter of ye See*, trans. Robert Copland (London: Robert Copland, 1528); "The New Rutter of the Sea for the North Part," trans. Richard Proude, 1541 (BL MS Lansdowne 285). See Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 13, 62–3, 168, 169.

<sup>62</sup> Martin Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de Geographia* (Seville: Jacob Cromburger, 1519); Roger Barlow, "A Brief Somme of Geographia," 1535–1543 (BL MS Royal 18 B xxviii). Barlow's manuscript was first published as *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, ed. E. G. R. Taylor (London: Hakluyt Society, 1932); subsequent references to Barlow's translation are to this edition rather than the manuscript. For an analysis of Barlow's work, see Heather Dalton, "Fashioning New Worlds from Old Words: Roger Barlow's *A Brief Summe of Geographie*, c. 1541," in *Old Worlds, New Worlds: European Cultural Encounters, c. 1000–c. 1751*, eds. Lisa Bailey, Lindsay Diggelmann, and Kim M. Phillips (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 75–98.

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 53–4.

Recorde authored the three texts referenced by Cuningham's acolyte interlocutor: *The Grounde of Artes*, *The Pathway to Knowledge*, and *The Whetstone of Witte*, which constitute a series of progressively advanced expositions on arithmetic and geometry.<sup>64</sup> Cuningham does not mention a fourth book by Recorde, *The Castle of Knowledge* (1556), which dovetails with Cuningham's own work and departs from Recorde's specifically mathematical studies to critically evaluate a number of cosmographical principles, focusing especially on those that pertain to astronomy and the use of astronomical instruments.<sup>65</sup> Though perhaps somewhat more practical for navigators than his mathematics, in the words of Jack Williams, *The Castle of Knowledge*

is not the work on navigation that [Recorde] intended to write, for in the dedication of his last book, *The Whetstone of Witte*, to the Muscovy Merchants, he promises "I will for your pleasure, to your comferte, and for your commoditie, shortly set forthe a booke of Navigation, as I dare saie, shall partly satisfie and contente, not only your expectation, but also the desire of a greate number beside."<sup>66</sup>

Unfortunately, this book was never completed, so *The Castle of Knowledge* remains Recorde's most coherent gesture of support for the nautical ventures of his contemporaries. That said, *The Castle of Knowledge* is mainly an academic study with an inconstant commitment to the application of astronomy to navigation.

Although John Dee's mathematical interests led him to play a greater role in assisting English navigators than Recorde, the actual practicality of Dee's interventions is similarly limited.<sup>67</sup> Like Recorde, Dee prolifically engaged in geometrical and astronomical studies, even producing an expanded edition of Recorde's *Grounde of Artes* in 1561.<sup>68</sup> However, as Taylor notes, esotericism was a central facet of Dee's work, in that most of his writing was "deliberately kept in manuscript, and not made common to the public," out of a desire to preserve the secrecy

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<sup>64</sup> On Recorde, see Jack Williams, *Robert Recorde: Tudor Polymath, Expositor, and Practitioner of Computation* (London: Springer, 2011). Williams includes a chapter on each of Recorde's main works.

<sup>65</sup> Robert Recorde, *The Castle of Knowledge* (London: Reginald Wolfe, 1556). Williams' chapter on this work includes, at the end, a discussion of texts that were produced before 1600 and continued Recorde by outlining the application of astronomy to navigation.

<sup>66</sup> Williams, 118.

<sup>67</sup> On Dee, see William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1995) and Nicholas Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>68</sup> John Dee, *The Grounde of Artes* (London: Reginald Wolfe, 1561).

of his involvement with contemporary English exploratory ventures.<sup>69</sup> Dee's considerable oversight and ideological support of a number of such ventures from the early 1550s to the 1580s is summarized by Taylor, who documents the breadth of Dee's influence as "the technical instructor and advisor of Richard Chancellor, Stephen Borough, William Borough, Anthony Jenkinson, Martin Frobisher, Christopher Hall, Charles Jackman, Arthur Pet, Humphrey Gilbert, Adrian Gilbert, John Davis, Walter Raleigh and probably, but not quite certainly, Francis Drake."<sup>70</sup> In particular, Dee recommended that the application of mathematics to the practices of surveying and navigation be improved. For example, Dee's involvement in Frobisher and Hall's 1576 voyage in search of a northwest passage is recounted by Michael Lok, the voyage's main investor: Dee "took pains [to demonstrate] the Rules of Geometry and Cosmography for [the better instruct]ion of the Masters and Mariners in the use of Instruments for Navigation in their voyage."<sup>71</sup> The practicality of Dee's efforts are questioned by Taylor on the basis of a missive sent to Dee by Frobisher and Hall from the Scottish coast shortly after their departure. Frobisher writes,

I and M. Hall make our dutifull Commendations to you, with as many thanks as we can wish, till we be better furnished with farder matters to satisfy our duties for your frendly Instructions: which when we use we do remember you, and hold ourselves bound to you as your poor disciples, not able to be Scholars but in good will for want of lerning, and that we will furnish with good will and diligence to the uttermost of our powers.<sup>72</sup>

As Taylor suggests, Frobisher's apparent lack of confidence in either his or Hall's ability to apply Dee's teachings might have delimited the usefulness of the elaborate store of instruments, maps, and books—including Recorde's *Castle of Knowledge* and Cuningham's *Cosmographical Glasse*—with which their expedition was provided.<sup>73</sup>

Therefore, despite the proliferation of travelogues and scientific treatises—the two predominate branches of geographical discourse in mid-1500s England—there existed, as noted, a disjunction between the scientific reliability of travelogues and the practicality of esoteric

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<sup>69</sup> Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 103.

<sup>70</sup> Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 76. Taylor's consideration of Dee spans three chapters (75–139).

<sup>71</sup> Qtd. by Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 270.

<sup>72</sup> Qtd. by Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 262.

<sup>73</sup> Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 36–7, 108.



scientific treatises. Neither branch of texts in this dichotomy necessarily met the needs of navigators, whose interests would have ideally been informed by both travelogues and treatises. To establish a synthesis of the practical and abstract bases of these geographical branches, English translators sought a textual middle-ground in European literature written solely for the instruction of navigators. While navigational training had long since become an institutionalized component of empire-building for continental powers, as exemplified in Spain by the oversight of the Casa de la Contratación, and in Portugal by the Casa da Índia e da Guiné, England remained largely reliant on foreign born and educated mariners. The largest comparable organisation in England, Trinity House at Deptford, was not set up in imitation of either of these examples. Instead, Trinity House mainly served to oversee shipping on the Thames and maintain almshouses for sailors. Alwyn A. Ruddock notes that “it was not until the reign of Charles II that [the members of Trinity House] acquired the duty of examining the skill and qualifications of naval officers,” a responsibility more in line with the oversight provided by the Casa de la Contratación and Casa da Índia e da Guiné.<sup>74</sup> Calls for the domestic provision of formal navigational training were catalysed by Richard Eden’s subsequent publication to the *Decades*: a translation of Spaniard Martín Cortés de Albarac’s *Arte de navegar* (1551), published as *The Arte of Navigation* (1561).<sup>75</sup> Cortés’ book, the official navigational treatise of the Casa de la Contratación, was procured for Eden by English navigator Stephen Borough, who had been authorized by Queen Mary in 1558 to travel to Seville to assess the methods exercised in the education of Spanish mariners.<sup>76</sup> Borough persuaded the Muscovy Company to bear the expense of publishing Eden’s translation, which was so popular as to be reprinted four times before an entirely new edition was produced in 1596.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Alwyn A. Ruddock, “The Trinity House at Deptford in the Sixteenth Century,” *The English Historical Review* 65, no. 257 (Oct., 1950): 458–76, qtd. 469. Ruddock’s discussion also extends into a consideration of the beginnings of institutionalized navigational study in England.

<sup>75</sup> Martín Cortés, *The Arte of Navigation*, trans. by Richard Eden (London: Richard Jugge, 1561)

<sup>76</sup> See David Childs, *Tudor Sea Power: The Foundation of Greatness* (Barnsley: Seaforth, 2009), 144. Childs provides a comprehensive maritime history of Tudor England, focusing on the development of the Royal Navy. It might be mentioned that while he includes sections on the development and use of various instruments, he does not discuss writing as a technology in this vein.

<sup>77</sup> Rose, 177.

From the outset, Eden frames the *Arte of Navigation* as an essential, practical guide for mariners: a guide that would serve both practical and theoretical needs and bridge the disjunction between travelogues and scientific treatises mentioned earlier. Bemoaning “how indigent and destitute this Realm is of excellent and expert Pilottes,” Eden outlines the utility of his translation:

it shalbe better and more necessary for all Pylotes that desyre to excelle in theyr profession, to learne and observe the principles of thys booke, whereby they may have suche knowledge of the Sphere, as may instructe them the makynge and use of dyvers goodly Astronomicall instrumentes perteyninge to the arte of Navigation, by knowledge of the movynges of the Sunne and Moone in their Spheres, and the other Planetes and Starres: thereby to attayne to the true knowledge of houres, tymes & tydes, with the variation of the Compasse, and many other goodly naturall observations of weathers, tempestes, & calmes, by certain infaileable sygnes and tokens of the same, very necessary to be observed.<sup>78</sup>

Eden thereby situates his didactic impulse in the context of the need for practical scientific literacy. He emphasizes, like Ptolemy, the necessity of reliable astronomical observations; indeed, much of the *Arte* instructs readers on the correct use of astronomical instruments in making such observations. The *Arte* even includes volvelles, slide charts that a reader could cut out of the book, assemble into working instruments, and then use to make a variety of astronomical calculations.<sup>79</sup> The empirical thread of Eden’s previous translations is thus continued and more fully realized in the *Arte*, which became a standard navigational treatise in England.<sup>80</sup> Fusing the practical and speculative aspects of astronomy for the purposes of navigational instruction remained a key interest of Stephen Borough’s, who, shortly after the publication of the *Arte*, unsuccessfully petitioned the Queen and the Privy Council for the establishment in England of the office of Chief Pilot “with the prime object of securing a supply

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<sup>78</sup> Eden, *The Arte of Navigation*, preface.

<sup>79</sup> Richard Cunningham describes the inclusion of volvelles in several navigational guides, including the *Arte*, in “Coincidental Technologies: Moving Parts in Early Books and in Early Hypertext” (*Computing in the Humanities Working Papers* A.47, April 2009).

<sup>80</sup> The *Arte* even served as a model for subsequent guides. Mathematician William Bourne frames his book *A Regiment for the Sea* (London: Henry Bynneman 1574) as a more practical version of the *Arte*. On Bourne, see E. G. R. Taylor, “William Bourne: A Chapter in Tudor Geography,” *The Geographical Journal* 72.4 (1928): 329–39.

of thoroughly instructed English pilots.”<sup>81</sup> Borough’s brother William, who likewise pursued a naval career in conjunction with the Muscovy Company’s annual voyages to Moscow, was also an adamant pragmatist. William notes, in a 1578 autobiographical address to the Queen, that “none of the best learned in those sciences Mathematical, without convenient practise at the sea, can make just proof of the profite in them: so necessarily dependeth art and reason upon experience.”<sup>82</sup> Here, then, is a recognition of the same discursive barriers that stymied Frobisher and Hall. William was largely self-taught, and he recounts his educational process in the same address:

[m]y mind earnestly bent to the knowledge of navigation and hydrography from my youth . . . hath eftsoons been moved by diligent study to search out the chiefest points to them belonging: and not therewith sufficed hath also sought by experience in divers discoveries and other voyages and travels to practice the same, . . . setting down always with great care and diligence true observations and notes of all those countries, islands, coasts of the sea, and other things requisite to the arts of navigation and hydrography.<sup>83</sup>

The trajectory of these recollections, in which William transitions from student to practitioner, is thus premised on the same recurrent dichotomy of the theoretical and the experiential in contemporary English geographical discourse. What is especially noteworthy about this second passage, though, is William Borough’s subsequent transition into a travel writer.

Ptolemy’s original complaint about the untrustworthiness of travellers is only partially addressed by Eden’s *Arte*, or, indeed, by the work of geographers like Cuningham, Recorde, or Dee, because these scholars did not apply themselves to the task of improving future English travel writing. Although the utility of their geographical discourses emerged only gradually, over the course of decades, the prevailing ideal of these scholars was largely consistent: they sought to illuminate the foundational scientific principles of astronomy and navigation in practical service, implicitly or explicitly, of England’s maritime affairs. Even if it were assumed, however problematically, that scholars were entirely successful in accomplishing this ideal, and that the practices of English mariners were enhanced to a degree commensurate with said scholarly achievements, Ptolemy maintained that travellers needed to be scientifically literate and capable

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<sup>81</sup> Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 96.

<sup>82</sup> Qtd. in Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483–1583*, 97.

<sup>83</sup> Qtd. in Parks, *English Voyages*, 20.

so that they could produce accurate reports. That is, Ptolemy was ultimately concerned with the quality of travelogues, not with the efficiency of travel in and of itself. Fostering a generation of travellers able to use astronomical instruments, for instance, would be an underwhelming exercise for Ptolemy if those travellers did not, or were unable to, record their observations appropriately. However, even Ptolemy's *Geography* is not, in the end, a guide that explicitly, methodically instructs travellers to write a certain way, and neither is Cuningham's *Cosmographical Glasse*, Recorde's *Castle of Knowledge*, or even a text as purportedly practical as Eden's *Arte*. Contemporary guides for navigators very rarely broach the subject of basic record keeping, let alone the authorship of extended prose travelogues. For example, alongside maps of northern and western European coastlines, with accompanying navigational commentary, baronet Anthony Ashley's 1588 translated edition of Dutch cartographer Lucas Waghenaer's *The Mariners Mirrour* (1584–1585) describes a host of practical considerations intended to help guide mariners safely and efficiently to their destinations.<sup>84</sup> R. A. Skelton introduces Waghenaer's book as "perhaps the greatest single advance in the history of hydrographic publication."<sup>85</sup> Yet, Waghenaer only briefly mentions the importance of record keeping. After describing at length how to make and use a sea card (i.e. the card of a compass), Waghenaer notes merely that "It is also a goodly matter for the master every morning and evening to write, or cause to be written downe, what course and uppon what point he hath runne."<sup>86</sup> Similarly, in a section titled "An Exhortation to the Apprentices of the Art of Navigation," Waghenaer directs readers, when they set sail, to record the bearing and distance of landmarks or beacons along the coastline so as to better plot an accurate course and avoid known shoals and reefs. The superficiality of these two references to the act of writing underscores the general paucity of this discourse in navigational guides. Likewise, the first published description of how to set out the tabular log book of a voyage, in English navigator John Davis' guide *The Seaman's Secrets* (1594), is included almost as a peripheral afterthought sandwiched between the

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<sup>84</sup> Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer, *The Mariners Mirrour* (1588), trans. Anthony Ashley, ed. R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966). For a nice overview of *The Mariners Mirrour* and Waghenaer's work, see G. R. Crone, "The Mariners Mirrour," *The Geographical Journal* 119.4 (1953): 455–8 and L. Dudley Stamp, E. M. J. Campbell, R. A. Skelton, C. Koeman, D. Waters and G. Naish, "Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer: A Sixteenth Century Marine Cartographer: Discussion," *The Geographical Journal* 131.2 (1965): 212–17.

<sup>85</sup> Skelton, in *The Mariners Mirrour*, Bibliographical Note.

<sup>86</sup> Waghenaer, *The Mariners Mirrour*, "How to Draw and Use a True and Perfect Sea Carde."

two books on navigational practice that constitute Davis' text.<sup>87</sup> In under two pages, Davis provides a sample log and introduces readers to the utility of keeping similar records:

it will not bee a misse to shew you after what sorte I have beene accustomed to keepe my accomptes in my practises of sailing, which you shall finde to be very sure, plaine and easie: whereby you may at all times examine what is past, and so reforme the corses laide downe upon the Chart, if by chaunce there should any error be committed.<sup>88</sup>

Davis' template is divided into narrow columns and rows used to maintain a daily record of a sailor's latitude, direction and distance of travel, and the direction of the wind. A broader column is also provided "to lay downe any breefe discourse for your memory"; in Davis' sample, taken from logs he kept during his 1593 voyage to South America, he mainly observes the variations of his compass from geographic north (i.e. magnetic declinations). Note, in the extended quotation above, Davis' emphasis on the idiosyncrasy of his records. He describes his manner of keeping logs as a customary part of his sailing practices; his logs are intended to serve his own navigational, mnemonic needs. Here, then, borne out of the vicissitudes of Davis' experiences and treated only briefly, is the formal introduction of a standard record-keeping methodology for navigators.

Of course, Davis' process of establishing personal writing customs had long been mirrored by other English navigators, such as William Borough who, in the course of his self-education, arrived at a personal mandate to "[set] down always with great care and diligence true observations and notes of all those countries, islands, coasts of the sea, and other things requisite to the arts of navigation and hydrography."<sup>89</sup> Another notable example, already mentioned with respect to the supplements that were added to English editions of continental texts, is the chorographical prose that Roger Barlow appended to his translation of Martín Fernández de Enciso's *Suma de Geographia*. It can readily be assumed that pre-existing European travelogues, such as those translated by Eden, served as models for English mariners to imitate. Termed "rutters" after the French "routier," notebooks of nautical observations in the style of ancient periplois, such as Robert Copland's translated *Rutter of ye See* and Richard Proude's "New Rutter

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<sup>87</sup> John Davis, *The Seaman's Secrets* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1595). Susan Rose discusses Davis' book in "Mathematics and the Art of Navigation: The Advance of Scientific Seamanship in Elizabethan England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (2004): 175–84.

<sup>88</sup> Davis, n.p.

<sup>89</sup> Qtd. in Parks, *English Voyages*, 20.

of the Sea for the North Part,” were also widespread enough to reinforce the need for reliable record-keeping, but they tended not to explicitly broach the subject of emulation. However, the theory and practice of imitation (i.e. *imitatio*) was a central feature in contemporary humanist curricula; any navigator with a grammar school education would have been familiar with the concept of epitomizing and adapting pieces of writing.<sup>90</sup> Major expeditions were typically provisioned with libraries of geographical texts intended for referential use. The utility of these reference texts, then, might well have extended to the provision, however tacitly, of authorial, stylistic inspiration. Nonetheless, formal moves to standardize travelogues were infrequent. Eden did not explicitly suggest that his collection of European travelogues might inform the craft of English writers, nor did clergyman and chronicler Richard Hakluyt who, following Eden, anthologized mainly English travelogues as a paean to national expansion. Hakluyt was Eden’s clearest successor as an editor of travel writing, but, as in Eden’s publications, the goal of improving the discursive arts of English travellers was never articulated in Hakluyt’s work, which was preoccupied by the desire to attract investors to current colonial projects.

Hakluyt’s collections, from his first short pamphlet, “A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Strait of Magellanus” (1579–1580), to the two voluminous editions of his best-known compilation, *The Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (1589; 1598–1600), were part of his involvement in the ongoing project to foster the success of English colonialists by establishing a literary history of English ventures abroad.<sup>91</sup> However, Hakluyt’s pedagogical vision did not rest solely on the edification of his readership. In the dedicatory epistle of his 1582 collection *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America*, Hakluyt maintains that the best

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<sup>90</sup> See Emily Lynn Hansen’s survey of sixteenth-century grammar schools, “From ‘Humanist’ to ‘Godly’?: The Changing Social Function of Education in Early Modern English Grammar Schools” (PhD dissertation, University of York, 2015), esp. chps. 1 and 6.

<sup>91</sup> Hakluyt’s pamphlet is reproduced by E.G.R. Taylor in *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), 1.139–46. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time with the Compasse of These 1500 Yeeres* (1589), 2 vols., eds. D. B. Quinn and R. A. Skelton (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965); *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500 Yeeres: Devided into Three Severall Volumes, According to the Positions of the Regions, whereunto They Were Directed*, 3 vols. (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery, and Robert Barker, 1598–1600).

way to assure the success of long-distance voyages would be to facilitate an “increase in knowledge in the arte of navigation, and breading of skilfulnesse in the sea men.”<sup>92</sup> Hakluyt himself acted as “regent master,” or lecturer, in geography for at least two years in the late-1570s at Oxford and taught “both the old imperfectly composed and the new lately reformed mappes, globes, spheares, and other instruments of this art.”<sup>93</sup> To supplement the self-taught approach of sailors like William Borough, Hakluyt proposed that a formal lectureship in navigation be established in London and that degrees be awarded to mariners on the basis of their education. Shipmasters and pilots would be required to attend lessons and be examined on “matters touching experience.”<sup>94</sup> Hakluyt reiterates his proposal in a number of his publications and correspondences with high-ranking statesmen.<sup>95</sup> While decades passed before the establishment of permanently endowed, regular lectureships in navigation, alternatives were sporadically made available to interested mariners, as when, galvanized by the looming Spanish threat, mathematician Thomas Hood was commissioned by Sir Thomas Smith in the late 1580s to publicly teach lessons on “geometry, astronomy, geography, hydrography, and the art of navigation.”<sup>96</sup>

Writing does not seem to have entered navigational curricula in this period, either in the schemas of planners like Hakluyt or in the lessons of educators like Hood. The provision of instructions in the use of nautical instruments, a pillar of such curricula, did not apparently extend to cover writing technologies or practices. Indeed, aside from such fleeting instances as William Borough’s ruminations or Davis’ log book template, which Hakluyt dutifully reproduced in 1600 in the second edition of his *Principal Navigations*, record-keeping of any kind is a neglected subject in contemporary navigational discourse.<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless, mariners were undoubtedly engaged in sophisticated writing practices along the lines suggested by Davis.

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<sup>92</sup> Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America*, ed. D. B. Quinn (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967), 8–9.

<sup>93</sup> Hakluyt, from his dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, *Principall Navigations*. Also see Parks, *English Voyages*, 60–1.

<sup>94</sup> Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 9. Hakluyt also outlines his proposal in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, reprinted in David W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1958), 544–5.

<sup>95</sup> Some of Hakluyt’s proposals are included in Waters’ appendices.

<sup>96</sup> Waters, 185.

<sup>97</sup> Implicitly flagging this prevailing paucity, Waters credits Hakluyt’s reprint as a step towards the standardization of maritime log books (*Art of Navigation*, 203).

Ample evidence indicates the evolution and increased standardization of these practices in the seventeenth century, but, in the early years of England's foray into distant waters, navigational records seem to be highly idiosyncratic and dependent on the unique preferences of different authors rather than on broader recourse to standardized guidelines or templates.<sup>98</sup> Sixteenth-century Oxford and Cambridge curricula included music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy in the quadrivium, to be taught after the writing-intensive trivium, which appears to suggest the institutionalized proximity of subjects complementary to navigation with the study of writing.<sup>99</sup> However, David W. Waters argues that instruction in the quadrivium was perfunctory, and that the applications of quadrivium subjects to navigation by such scholars as Recorde, Cuningham, and Dee were made on their own initiative, after they had left the universities.<sup>100</sup> Waters' assessment of university curricula need not be read as unduly critical of the instruction provided by lecturers like Hakluyt. Indeed, the brevity of Hakluyt's own period of teaching, and Hakluyt's repeated, unsuccessful calls for the establishment of permanent lectureships in navigation, bolster Waters' point about curricular gaps. However, Waters maintains that Sir Thomas Gresham's College in London helped to advance scientific inquiry in England by consistently promoting the quadrivium alongside the trivium. Gresham's College, founded in 1597 under the provisions of Gresham's will, supported professors who gave public lectures in both Latin and, significantly, English on law, divinity, music, physic, geometry, astronomy, and rhetoric.<sup>101</sup> Early directives in the college's mandate show a strong preference for the practical utility and open, public accessibility of these lectures, which were to be, above all, suited to "the good liking and capacity" of a broad audience of "merchants and other citizens."<sup>102</sup> Lessons on astronomy, in particular, were to combine theoretical and practical instruction. The college's original ordinances specify that the

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<sup>98</sup> For a series of examples in the evolution of nautical records, see Waters, *Art of Navigation*, 282–95.

<sup>99</sup> Waters, *Art of Navigation*, 244.

<sup>100</sup> Waters, *Art of Navigation*, 244.

<sup>101</sup> Gresham's will is reproduced in John Ward, *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College* (London: John Moore, 1740), 19–25. For ease of reference, I cite the modern facsimile edition of the same (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967).

<sup>102</sup> From "Ordinances and agreements . . . touching the good government of Gresham house," reprinted in Ward, *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, iii–viii, qtd. vi.



astronomy reader is to read in his solemn lectures, first the principles of the sphere, and the theoriques of the planets, and the use of the astrolabe and the staf, and other common instruments for the capacity of mariners; which, being read and opened, he shall apply them to use, by reading geography, and the art of navigation, in some one term of every year.<sup>103</sup>

Lessons in both astronomy and rhetoric were to be given twice, first in Latin and then in English, with the understanding that

the greatest part of the inhabitants within the city understand not the Latin tongue, . . . and yet withal it is very likely that diverse strangers of forreign countries, who resort thither, and understand not the English tongue, will greatly desire to hear the reading of said lectures. . . . It is thought meet, that the said solemn lectures be applied to the best benefit and contentation of the auditors of both sorts.<sup>104</sup>

Eden, decades earlier, had suggested in the preface of the *Arte of Navigation* “howe necessary a thyng it is, not onlye for all Pilottes and Sea men to have the knowledge hereof, but also for all other such as shall attempt great and farre viages in unknowen landes and straunge countryes.”<sup>105</sup>

The didactic implications of Eden’s gesture at the accessibility of his translation achieve clarity and breadth of scope in Gresham College’s mandate, as per Gresham’s will, to recognize the societal value of lessons intended to enable, among other subjects, the public’s acquisition and application of scientific literacy and effective communication skills.

In London, then, there existed at last a venue for accessible instruction in both navigation and rhetoric. Indeed, in the original 1597 schema for the college’s curriculum, astronomy and rhetoric are even taught on consecutive days of the week.<sup>106</sup> This is not to suggest that Gresham College’s lectures on rhetoric initiated any broad, demonstrable form of sea change in the writing practices of mariners, but the facilitation of Gresham College’s curriculum does represent a stage in the development, in tandem, in this instance, of navigation and rhetoric as public discourses. In the meantime, Hakluyt continued to advocate for an endowed lectureship specifically in navigation to complement Gresham College’s curriculum. In his 1598 dedicatory epistle to Lord

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<sup>103</sup> Ward, viii.

<sup>104</sup> Ward, v.

<sup>105</sup> Eden, *The Arte of Navigation*, preface.

<sup>106</sup> See Ward, viii.

High Admiral Charles Howard, in the second edition of his *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt observes that Spain, under Charles V, had established the position of Pilot Major to capitalize on the experience of its most senior navigator, and that the Casa de la Contratación was founded, and still served, to institutionalize the training of Spanish mariners. Hakluyt commends the historical, albeit lapsed, precedent set under King Edward VI by establishing the office of Pilot Major in England, and Hakluyt suggests that, had Edward lived longer,

I doubt not but as he delt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Major . . . so his princely Majestie would have shewed himselfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of Spaine, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Navigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie of sir Thomas Gresham, who being but a Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the advancement of Marine causes; I nothing doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sorry that all this while it hath not bene erected.<sup>107</sup>

While the relationship between the study of writing and navigation remains ambiguous in Hakluyt's pedagogical vision, he was not the only one to proposition Admiral Howard along these lines. In the dedicatory epistle to Howard that precedes his 1599 translation of Flemish mathematician Simon Stevin's treatise on navigation, *De Havenvending (The Haven-finding Art)*, cartographer Edward Wright, who later became the lecturer for the Virginia Company, cites Hakluyt's recommendations and contributes his own:

being informed by my learned friend, . . . Richard Hakluit, . . . of the singular affection your Lordship beareth towards the advancement of knowledge and skill among our seamen in marine causes, so farre foorth that to the end they might be the more stirred up and holpen this way, your Lordship would not onely be a meane unto her Majestie for the establishing of an ordinary Lecture to be read for their instruction, but also rather then so good a purpose should fall to the ground would be at some charges your selfe for the bringing of it to effect.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1 (1598).

<sup>108</sup> Simon Stevin, *The Haven-Finding Art*, trans. Edward Wright (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberry, and Robert Barker, 1599).

Nevertheless, endowed lectureships on navigation were only established towards the end of Howard's service as Lord High Admiral. With the continuing support of Thomas Smith, Wright succeeded Hood in giving public lectures on mathematics and navigation in London. In 1614, Wright's patronage was transferred to the oversight of the East India Company.<sup>109</sup> Although this lectureship was short-lived, and remained vacant after Wright's death in 1615, in 1619 chairs of astronomy and geometry were instituted at Oxford, in part to advance the application of scientific research to navigational problems.<sup>110</sup> With the later establishment of similar chairs at Cambridge, mathematical navigation became an entrenched academic field, and the rapid publication in the early-to-mid 1600s of books that apply mathematical advances to navigational applications further attests to the subsequent, ongoing refinement of navigational theory and pedagogy.<sup>111</sup>

However, the dichotomy of theoretical and experiential navigation, as illuminated productively by William Borough, continued to make manifest apparent disconnections between scientists and mariners. In the dedicatory epistle to Thomas Smith that prefaces John Tapp's 1613 textbook on arithmetic, *The Path-way to Knowledge*, Tapp, a writer and publisher of navigational books, commends Smith's support of Wright's navigational lectureship.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, Tapp also observes that "the little Audience which doe commonly frequent" Wright's lectures mainly consists of "Gentlemen of the Countrey, or suche in the Cittie," rather than actual mariners, who would be in a position to directly apply Wright's mathematical lessons to their navigational practices.<sup>113</sup> Although he precedes his critique by wishing "that there were many like benefactors and favorers of such excellent exercises," Tapp maintains that Wright's lectures, under Smith's patronage, were thus carried out "with great charge, to good purpose, but little profit."<sup>114</sup> Tapp modifies Hakluyt's decades-old stance and argues that navigational lectureships need to be more germane to the business affairs of English mariners. While he does

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<sup>109</sup> See Waters, 320–21, and E.G.R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography 1583–1650* (London: Methuen, 1934), 29–30.

<sup>110</sup> See Waters, 410–11.

<sup>111</sup> For a summary overview of this publication history, see Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography 1583–1650*, 78–84.

<sup>112</sup> John Tapp, *The Path-way to Knowledge; Containing the Whole Art of Arithmeticke* (London: Thomas Pavier, 1613). It should be noted that Tapp's book includes a section for merchants.

<sup>113</sup> Tapp, dedicatory epistle.

<sup>114</sup> Tapp, dedicatory epistle.

not call for a formal program of professional accreditation, as did Hakluyt, Tapp suggests that navigational lectures be given at a place where mariners will be “seene, knowne, and noted (for well spending their time), by thier owners, setters foorth, and principall emploiers”; that is, he conjectures that, in order to attract an audience of mariners and thereby bolster England’s nautical prowess, regularly attending lectures needed to be a part of the “daily and frequent busines” of English navigators.<sup>115</sup> Tapp’s criticism of Wright’s lectures notwithstanding, Wright had also been hired by the East India Company to examine the navigational journals kept by the Company’s mariners and to “perfect their plotts.”<sup>116</sup> In addition to collating and editing Company records in this manner, as Waters notes, in July 1614, “sundry journals and letters of intelligence, necessary for instruction, both for the places and commodities fit for trade in the Indies’ were minuted as having to be examined ‘by Mr. Wright’ for reduction ‘to heads to be readily found upon occasion offered.’”<sup>117</sup> There was thus some measure of didactic, editorial overlap in Wright’s work, centred on the writing of mariners, between the theoretical and the experiential. The relationship between academic developments and maritime practices constituted a constituent part of the vexed dichotomy of navigational theory and experience, then, even if challenges persisted, such as limited attendance of navigators at Wright’s lectures. That said, the drive to educate specific types of travellers, as readers, practitioners, and, occasionally, as writers, and to develop pedagogies related to foreign travel, extended beyond the subgenre of navigational guides for mariners, though these guides represent an especially well-developed subgenre. While navigational tracts could be overly esoteric and thus inaccessible to all but the most erudite, other branches of instructional guides for travellers sought to be more broadly appreciable.

### **Guides for Pilgrims, Merchants, Surveyors, and General Travellers**

The subgenre of guidebooks for pilgrims had been well-developed since antiquity. The first cluster of English guides for travellers in the sixteenth century were intended for pilgrims. While pilgrimage figures as a central, allegorically significant motif in medieval texts like Geoffrey

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<sup>115</sup> Tapp, dedicatory epistle.

<sup>116</sup> Qtd. in Waters, 287. The Company’s lieutenants, merchants, pursers, pilots, and master’s mates were required to keep records of “each day’s navigation and of all circumstances that may occur” (qtd. in Waters, 287).

<sup>117</sup> Qtd. in Waters, 287.

Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1387–1400, printed 1478) and William Langland's *Piers Plowman* (1360–1387, printed 1550), more literal pilgrimage accounts, as heralded by examples like John Mandeville's *Travels* (1356, printed 1496) and William Wey's manuscript "Itinerary" (first published 1857) of his journeys between 1456 and 1462 to the shrine of St James in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela and to Jerusalem, were increasingly prevalent in the early 1500s.<sup>118</sup> These more mimetic travelogues, in manuscript and print, retain a central theological component but largely drop the metaphorical basis that characterizes many literary pilgrimages. Instead of representing travel and geography symbolically, these accounts are predominately realistic. In pedagogical terms, these accounts replace a more abstracted form of spiritual guidance with practical didacticism; stylized representations of the journey from the earth to heaven might be superseded by facts about the journey from London to Jerusalem, for example.

In general, pilgrimage accounts were published as guides to assist prospective and current pilgrims in their travels. The contents of these accounts range from general information, such as lists of distances, in the manner of classical itineraria and periploi, to more specific advice, such as recommendations about where to buy and sell bedding in Venice *en route* to and from the Holy Land. For example, the anonymously authored guidebook *Information for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe* (1498) collates and translates into English trivia and advice from an indeterminate number of contemporary pilgrimage accounts.<sup>119</sup> Wey's writings are culled for a section on exchanging money during the journey from England to Venice, as well as an assorted sampling of suggestions on the manner by which a pilgrim might find passage by sea from Venice to Jaffa and pack suitable provisions for the voyage. Other sources furnish a series of routes and distances through France and the Netherlands to Rome, Naples, and Venice; an account of a pilgrimage from Venice to Jerusalem; a list of holy places in the Levant; "Moreske" (Moresque/Moorish), Greek, and Turkish vocabularies; a list of the Stations of the Cross in Rome; and a note on the spiritual significance of the various parts of a church. None of the sections of the guide are overly lengthy, but, together, they represent a relatively informative,

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<sup>118</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (London: William Caxton, 1478); William Langland, *Piers Plowman* (London: Robert Crowley, 1550). Wey's pilgrimage accounts are published as *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London: J.B. Nichols, 1857).

<sup>119</sup> *Information for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe* (London: Wynkyn de Word, 1498). The facsimile edition to which I refer is *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land*, ed. E. Gordon Duff (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1893).

albeit condensed, set of practical advice. Other contemporary guides were similarly pragmatic in scope. *Arnold's Chronicle* (1502), compiled by Richard Arnold as a conventional historical reference guide, includes sections describing pilgrimage sites and indulgence rituals in Rome, and directions and distances from Calais to Rome, Naples, and Venice, and thence to various locations in the Levant.<sup>120</sup> The anonymously authored account of pilgrim Richard Guildford's travels (1511), which describes a journey from England to Jerusalem in the form of a first-person travelogue, similarly outlines routes, describes sites of religious interest, and represents select secular, chorographical observations.<sup>121</sup> Robert Langton's *Pylgrimage to Saynt James in Compostell* (1522) is organized into two sections: the first lists the distances between towns and cities in Europe to guide English pilgrims across the continent; the second describes the "relykes and wondres" in those same towns and cities.<sup>122</sup> Langton's short book thereby fills a gap left by previous guides by illuminating smaller European pilgrimage sites of interest *en route* to larger, better known, and more distant destinations.

None of the publications that constitute this cluster of early sixteenth-century pilgrimage guides suggests that pilgrims should make written records of their travels. Rhetorical instruction is not a facet of these guides, except, perhaps, by serving, however nebulously, as subjects of imitation and emulation. Rather, the pragmatic didacticism of these guides derives from their collation and inclusion of information and narratives from travelogues.<sup>123</sup> In an introduction that

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<sup>120</sup> Richard Arnold, *Arnold's Chronicle* (London: John of Doesborowe, 1503).

<sup>121</sup> *The Pylgrimage of Sir Richarde Guylforde* (London: Richard Pynson, 1511). Richard Torkington's account of his 1517 pilgrimage to the Levant is likewise a first-person travelogue, and features many of the same types of observations and trivia. Torkington regularly copies information from *Information for Pylgrymes* and from Guylforde's account. Richard Torkington, *Ye oldest diarie of Englysshe travell: being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517*, ed. W. J. Loftie (London: Field & Tuer (1884).

<sup>122</sup> Robert Langton, *Pylgrimage to Saynt James in Compostell* (London: Robert Copland, 1522); republished as *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton*, ed. E. M. Blackie (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1924).

<sup>123</sup> Pilgrimage accounts fade from prominence after the early decades of the century, as travels to Asia and the Americas are increasingly publicized. Pilgrims constitute only a very minimal presence in the travelogue compendia of Richard Eden and Richard Hakluyt. Despite his keen theological focus, even Samuel Purchas' collection *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London: Henry Fetherston, 1625) includes few pilgrimages. In a study of the North African and Middle Eastern sections of Purchas' book, C. F. Beckingham rather acerbically notes that although the region was described by numerous pilgrims, "Many of their accounts are of little interest and many are mercifully unpublished. Even the omnivorous Purchas did not try to incorporate most of those

R. J. Mitchell suggests contains a reference to the otherwise unknown author of *Information for Pylgrymes unto the Holy Londe*, Langton writes,

as for the way with pylgrymage and knowledge of the same to Jerusalem and places of the holy lande I remyt you to mayster Larkes boke made of the same, wherein he comprehendeth all thinges concernynge that holy pylgrymage, insomoche that the redynge the same shall seme rather to be it then rede it.<sup>124</sup>

Langton's praise of Larke's guide anticipates Eden's preoccupation with the potential of literature to perform an empirical function by providing readers with the sensation of travelling. By associating reading with travel, Langton suggests that there is a mimetic aspect to otherwise diegetic travelogues. That is, he posits that reading can imitate travel in a manner that anticipates Eden. In this sense, readers of a skilled travel writer need not merely follow the writer's narrative from point A to B to C. Rather, they might undertake and experience the journey themselves in the process. Langton recognizes that pilgrimage guides—again, the first subgenre of travel guides to proliferate in sixteenth-century England—had a commitment to foreground the experiential. His own guide should be read with this stance on the pedagogical advantages of combining the mimetic and diegetic in mind.

Even guidebooks written for travellers other than pilgrims, produced later in the sixteenth century, blended mimetic and diegetic elements in sophisticated ways. For example, John Browne's *The Marchants Avizo* (1589), an instructional manual for apprentice English commercial travellers, is, in one part, a collation of trivia on different weight and measurement systems, currencies, and commodities that a merchant might encounter in Spain, Portugal, and France.<sup>125</sup> However, the bulk of the manual instructs readers on how to write letters in a variety of commercial contexts, and how to produce business documents and contracts such as remembrances, acquittances, assurances, bonds and obligations, and bills of lading, exchange,

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that must have been accessible to him" ("North and north-east Africa and the Near and Middle East," in *The Purchas Handbook*, vol. 1, ed. L. E. Pennington [London: Hakluyt Society, 1997]: 219–40, qtd. 227).

<sup>124</sup> R. J. Mitchell, "Robert Langton's Pylgrimage," *Library* 8.1, fifth series (1953): 42–5, 45; *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton* (1924).

<sup>125</sup> John Browne, *The Marchants Avizo*, ed. Patrick McGrath (Boston: Baker Library, 1957). For a broader survey of written instructions for merchants, see Eric Ash, "A Note and a Caveat for the Merchant": Mercantile Advisors in Elizabethan England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33.1 (Spring, 2002), 1–31.

attorney, and debt.<sup>126</sup> These instructions follow a standard pedagogical practice maintained by educators of rhetoric, in that Browne provides his readers with examples of these texts to imitate. He collates these texts from the business records of his friend and Bristol merchant Thomas Aldworth, although most of the documents were written by Thomas' nephew and apprentice, Robert Aldworth, while Robert oversaw his uncle's trade in Portugal and Spain. That is, *The Marchants Avizo* features exemplary business records and correspondences written by an apprentice on a trade mission, with the intention that these texts be imitated by other apprentices. Grounded by the rhetorical practice of imitation, mimesis is thus at the core of *The Marchants Avizo*'s pedagogical methodology. Robert was apprenticed to Thomas between 1577 and 1584, and their records and letters pertain to a specific trade expedition conducted over the course of several months during this period.<sup>127</sup> Robert's writing, in particular, is diegetic, in the sense that its breadth and variety facilitates a reading of his journey to Portugal and Spain as a cohesive narrative of his commercial experiences and observations whilst abroad. In *The Marchants Avizo*, then, diegetic travel accounts, written in a diverse range of commercial genres, are offered as mimetic templates of form and style to edify apprentices and bolster the rhetorical wherewithal of England's future generation of merchants with foreign business interests.

Even when they include mimetic elements, though, instructions for travellers on how to record their observations and experiences do not always foreground the diegetic; narratology is not a priority in those guides because some subgenres of geographical writing are simply not narrative-based. Educational guides for land surveyors, for example, are essentially focused on describing the types of information that should be included in a comprehensive survey. For instance, in his *Treatise of the measuryng of all kyndes of lande* (1562), merchant Valentine Leigh occasionally provides examples of sections of surveys that might be imitated by his readers, in the manner of *The Marchants Avizo*.<sup>128</sup> However, because land surveys are depersonalized as a function of their focus, purpose, and putative objectivity, the nature of the

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<sup>126</sup> *Arnold's Chronicle* likewise includes examples of different types of commercial contracts, but these contracts are written to suit the needs of domestic merchants, exclusively (102–20).

<sup>127</sup> Browne, presumably, edits the dates of the Aldworths' documents to make it appear that they have been written in the fall and winter of 1589 and 1590, contemporaneously to the publication of *The Marchants Avizo*, but the timeframe of Robert's apprenticeship suggests their prior authorship.

<sup>128</sup> Valentine Leigh, *Treatise of the measuryng of all kyndes of lande* (London: J. Kingston, 1577). Note that no copy of the original 1562 edition exists.



travels undertaken by surveyors in the pursuit of their charge is secondary to considerations of what to observe and record. In land surveys, as in the instructional guides for their authors, travel is implied rather than explicitly described, and these texts generally tend not to feature narratological elements. Cartographer John Norden's *The Surveyors Dialogue* is an exception in this regard.<sup>129</sup> In a manner that recalls the conversation between teacher and pupil that comprises William Cuninghame's *Cosmographical Glasse*, Norden's book is structured as a series of dialogues between a surveyor and either one of two interlocutors: the lord of the fictive "Beauland" manor and one of the lord's tenant farmers, who later in the book discloses that he is also the "bayly," or bailiff, of said manor. The conversations are presented as a narrative, in that the surveyor speaks first to the farmer, then to the lord, and then to the farmer in his role as the manor's bailiff; loose contextual framing is provided by the interlocutors entering and leaving the surveyor's presence. The book's greater sense of narratological purpose is pedagogical. The farmer is initially averse to the surveyor's work; he fears that land surveying will lead to higher rents. Similarly, the lord is skeptical, at first, that the surveyor will work with his best interests in mind. Over the course of their conversations, the surveyor assuages the concerns of the farmer and the lord by explaining the purview of his responsibilities as being essentially positive with respect to his interlocutors' concerns. Having earned the farmer's trust, the latter part of the book relates to the concerns of the farmer as the manor's bailiff; the book concludes with the surveyor bridging his activities and the responsibilities of a bailiff. By structuring his guide as a set of dialogues, then, Norden uses a narrative form to advance the larger project of land surveying in the face of a variety of hypothetical critical perspectives. At the same time, his surveyor character provides a comprehensive overview of the work involved in surveying an estate, including a detailed synopsis of the writing to be produced by surveyors. Along these lines, Norden clarifies the necessity of keeping records to cover such matters as historical and current land tenures, including the apportionment of land holdings, as well as the titles, rights, rents, services, and deeds that attend to specific estates. Norden's guide thus covers all the same bases as Leigh's, but it also dramatizes the pedagogical process of moving from skepticism and ignorance of surveying to acceptance and understanding. While Leigh's guide depersonalizes the practice of land surveying, Norden's consideration of the perspectives of multiple participants in

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<sup>129</sup> John Norden, *The Surveyors Dialogue* (London: Simon Stafford, 1607)

surveys makes his text more openly accessible to a broader readership of tenants and landowners, in addition to surveyors. Furthermore, the diegetic structure of his guide enhances its instructional value by connecting his readers to the experience of conducting, or being otherwise involved with, land surveying. Though perhaps a somewhat recondite pursuit in and of itself, land surveying is thereby experienced in a manner that recalls the linkages of theory and practice aspired to and developed by other types of travel writing and guides for travellers. In this respect, Norden's dialogues might even be construed as pedagogical in a mimetic, rhetorical sense, in that, in addition to learning how to survey an estate, a surveyor reader might also learn ways to dialogue with locals affected by his work. Norden's novel contribution to a rather conservative genre, and the dovetailing of diegetic and mimetic elements in his writing, therefore bolsters his guide's pedagogical efficacy.

From the end of the sixteenth century onwards, guides for single, specific types of travellers were supplemented by guides written for any and all travellers. At the outset of *The Traveiler* (1575), Jerome Turler comments, simply, that his guide is intended for "such as are desierous to traveill, and to see forreine Cuntries."<sup>130</sup> Turler offers his advice to compliment what he sees as the natural process of becoming wiser through travel. He maintains that

[t]raveill is nothing else but a paine taking to see and searche forreine landes . . . to the ende that [travellers] may attayne to suche artes and knowledge as they are desirous to learn or exercise: or else to see, learne, and diligently to marke suche things in strange countries, as they shall have neede to use in the common trade of lyfe, wherby they maye profite themselves, their friends, and Countrey if needs require.<sup>131</sup>

Turler divides his book into two sections. The first serves to instruct readers on the means to make their travels edifying, both in terms of attaining "artes and knowledge," and morally, in

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<sup>130</sup> Jerome Turler, *The Traveiler* (London: William How, 1575), prefatory address. Andrew McRae argues that "human mobility was one of the period's most dynamic forces of change" (2), but he also underscores the highly problematic status of travel, which posed challenges to England's social order (*Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009]). He examines such matters as the highly vexed nature of access to travel and the profound social anxieties that circulated around perceptions of travel and the traveller figure. These anxieties do not enter into Turler's guide in a significant way, and Turler's book, though ostensibly intended for all prospective travellers (i.e. anyone and everyone), glosses the economic realities and considerations of privilege and legality that helped determine the social context of early modern English travel.

<sup>131</sup> Turler, 5.

that, following a central strain of Roger Ascham's recent *Scholemaster* (1570), Turler frequently warns against the susceptibility of travellers, especially those who are young, to be corrupted by foreign persuasions.<sup>132</sup> Although Turler suggests that travellers should "diligently marke" their observations whilst abroad, "marking" in this context refers to noticing and observing rather than to writing. Turler's preference is to focus on travel as an entirely personal means of self-edification. He does not broach the subject of how to best prepare written records of one's travels. However, the second section of his book is an account of Naples. Turler suggests that the precepts of the first section are applied in the second. That is, he offers his description of Naples as an exemplary model of what a traveller should "see, learne, and diligently . . . marke." While Turler does not explicitly instruct his readers on how they should record their travel experiences, then, his section on Naples is implicitly presented as a template to be imitated, either in thought or in writing.

Turler's book was followed by others that more directly foreground the writing process. Philip Jones' *Certaine Briefe and Speciall Instructions* (1589), a translation of Albrecht Meier's *Methodus Describendi Regiones* (1587), is an extensive list, comprising twelve subcategories, of points of interest that travellers should take note of and record while abroad.<sup>133</sup> In a gesture that harkens back to Ptolemy's directives, Meier begins by noting the importance of cosmographical, astronomical, and geographical observations before he narrows his focus to local and regional matters. Travellers, Meier writes, should take care to record their longitude and latitude, along with other geographical and astronomical measurements. He comments that they should record matters of climate and topography, as well as points related to navigation that would ideally involve the creation of star charts, measurements of the depth and breadth of

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<sup>132</sup> Roger Ascham, *Scholemaster* (London: John Day, 1570). John Stradling's *A Direction for Travailers* (London: Robert Bourne, 1592), which is a translation of Justus Lipsius' *Epistola de Peregrinatione Italica*, follows this same general agenda. Stradling dedicates his translation to the young Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford (b. 1572), and suggests that, with Lipsius' advice in hand, travel might serve to enrich Bedford's wisdom, knowledge, and manners. Like Turler, Lipsius does not discuss the writing that travellers might produce.

<sup>133</sup> Albrecht Meier, *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners, &c. Employed in Services Abrode, or Anie Way Occasioned to Converse in the Kingdomes, and Gouvernementes of Forren Princes*, translated by Philip Jones (London: John Wolfe, 1589). Albrecht Meier, *Methodus Describendi Regiones, Urbes et Arces, et quid Singulis Locis Præcipue in Peregrinationibus Homines Nobiles ac Docti Animadvertere, Observare et Annotare Debeant* (Helmstedt: Jacob Lucius, 1587).

waterways, the analysis of anchorages, and so on. Meier then considers chorographical observations. He remarks that travellers should take note of cities and towns, matters of trade and commerce, the state of transportation infrastructure, and details related to local architecture, agriculture, mining, and flora and fauna. Local military capabilities should also be recorded. He then outlines a programme that would essentially entail the documentation of local manners and customs, including the administration and organization of political and legal systems, and local religious practices, diets, clothing, and currencies. Meier also gives consideration to the description of educational institutions, local means of producing texts, the work of renowned scholars, and the practice of the arts and sciences. He concludes by noting that travellers should familiarize themselves with aspects of local history, such as the origin of states and political regimes, the occurrence of wars, natural disasters, and other significant events, incidences of disease and crime, and historic relations with other states.

Meier expected that his list would be useful to a range of readers, including gentlemen, merchants, students, soldiers, and mariners. In reality, given that his list was so comprehensive, Meier's precepts failed to be observed to the degree that he intended. As F. J. Levy remarks, "Meier . . . was overambitious, and his final schema would have served better for the author of an encyclopaedia" than for his target audience of any and all travellers.<sup>134</sup> However, Jones' translation impresses upon readers the extent to which contemporary travel writing could be improved, and this was a timely, germane reminder, even circulated as subtext. Jones had previously contributed an account of a 1586 voyage to Turkey that he had participated in to Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. David B. Quinn suggests that Jones might have had a larger share in the task of putting together the collection than the evidence shows; indeed, Jones' role may have included conflating and condensing documentary material "if Hakluyt had been too fully engaged in other matters connected with his large book."<sup>135</sup> Concurrently to his advocacy of an endowed lectureship in navigation, Hakluyt, inheriting Eden's editorial prerogative, was directly and indirectly responsible for the authorship, translation, and/or publication of dozens of books on geography and travel. He regularly urged others to pursue literary work in his chosen

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<sup>134</sup> F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1967), 246.

<sup>135</sup> Quinn, 180. Following Quinn's argument, it is strange, perhaps, that Jones does not mention his role in preparing the *Principall Navigations* when he alludes to Hakluyt in the epistle dedication of the *Instructions* (see below p. 14).

field. Whether it was published at Hakluyt's suggestion or not, Jones' *Instructions* fit perfectly with Hakluyt's goal of documenting England's nautical history by addressing the lack of a standardized set of rules for English travellers in recording their observations. The *Instructions* thus relates to the heart of Hakluyt's literary project; ideally, if a set of guidelines like the *Instructions* were followed, and travellers wrote with enhanced precision and focus as a result, collections of documents like *Principall Navigations* would be greatly enriched. Such a shift would enhance historical records and potentially facilitate England's future maritime actions.

In his dedicatory epistle, Jones acknowledges Hakluyt as a close friend while noting that Hakluyt recommended that he dedicate his *Instructions* to Sir Francis Drake to honour his maritime and military record. Further, in the spirit of Hakluyt's project, Jones writes that English travellers regularly returned from abroad with only superficial reports of where they had been. He notes,

I doubt not, but that if our men will vouchsafe the reading, portage, and practise of this pamphlet of notes, . . . the thicke mistes of ignorance, and harde conception will soone be scattered, and the same converted into a quicke sight, and illumination of the senses, so that the traveller . . . after his rangings and peregrinations, shall retyre him selfe a man of skill, and bring more to his home from overseas.<sup>136</sup>

This sentiment, in its combined concern for personal and public edification, is developed further in baronet Thomas Palmer's *The Travailer* (1606).<sup>137</sup> Palmer begins by noting, like Jones, that the "publike and private good" might be served by educating travellers about the "manifould errors and misprisions" that "the greater sort of such as travaile into forraine Countries, have heretofore committed."<sup>138</sup> Framing the purpose of his guide, he continues, claiming that "few have arrived unto that perfection which was requirable, for the want of a Guide or Counsellor, to advise & advertise them of the fairer and more readie way, to make their travailes somewhat more profitable and honorable."<sup>139</sup>

Palmer addresses *The Travailer* primarily to those whom he terms "Generall Voluntaries." He organizes his guide as a taxonomy of travellers, whom he initially defines as

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<sup>136</sup> Meier, dedicatory epistle.

<sup>137</sup> Thomas Palmer, *The Travailer* (London: Mathew Lownes, 1606)

<sup>138</sup> Palmer, epistle to the reader.

<sup>139</sup> Palmer, epistle to the reader.

being either regular or irregular.<sup>140</sup> Regular travellers, he says, are either “nonvoluntaries” (those travelling to conduct affairs of the state), “involuntaries” (persons who have been banished or sent to exile), or voluntaries. These voluntaries, he posits, are those who those who travel for commercial, religious, or other professional purposes, and travelling nobility. He expounds at length upon the types of travels that regular travellers engage in, and, for every variety of regular traveller that he describes, he offers precepts concerning requisite moral and practical considerations. He groups these precepts into four categories; his attention to each, in turn, broadly constitutes the scope of the rather capacious text. These categories, explored in sections of his book, pertain to four questions, or considerations:

First what ought to be the mooving causes of mens travell. Secondly, what courses such as are justly mooved must undertake before travell, if they will benefit their Countrie, or themselves. Thirdly, how they ought to spend their times in the interim of travell. Lastly, what commendable carriages and behaviour such are to expresse at their returnes, to the further honour of themselves, good of the State, and glorie of God.<sup>141</sup>

Palmer’s first category derives from his taxonomic prerogative. His attention to different types of travellers necessitates that some exposition be dedicated to outlining different justifications for travelling. His second and third categories essentially propound, at greater length, the same basic recommendations that Turler and Meier advance. Palmer’s emphasis, like Turler’s, is highly moralistic. Palmer is similarly inclined to construct, for the sake of imitation, ideally virtuous and self-reflective exemplars of his various regular travellers. In the manner of Meier’s guide, Palmer’s third section details the facets of local human and physical geography that travellers ought to observe. In balancing Turler’s moralizing concern for self-edification and Meier’s exclusive commitment to the preparation of travel writing, Palmer’s third section does not explicitly connect the traveller’s acquisition of knowledge to a directive to write. That connection is made in his fourth section, as he considers the proper protocol of a returning traveller.

Palmer circumspectly, yet extensively, discusses the obligation of a traveller to observe various aspects of foreign governmental institutions and functions. He directs travellers to seek a

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<sup>140</sup> Irregular travel is, quite bafflingly and enigmatically, relegated to a single sentence description: “Of Irregular travelling, most men finde by experience what it is” (Palmer, 1).

<sup>141</sup> Palmer, 1–2.

political readership, which is a key part of his position that travellers have a responsibility to write. Palmer outlines a rather elaborate process of authorship. He says that travellers would do well “in advertising, from time to time by Letters during their travaile, some one of the privie Councell, and none other of the Countrie to which they belong, of such occurrences and things as chance worthie to be sent and committed to consultation and viewe.”<sup>142</sup> He continues by describing in detail the delicacy and tact required to successfully establish such a politically sensitive correspondence. This sense of tact extends to, potentially, forging correspondences with multiple councillors at the same time, and furnishing certain councillors with specific types of information. Palmer also notes, but only in passing, that travellers should take care not to write anything that might be considered treasonous or seditious in the foreign countries in which they are visiting, if the possibility exists of their correspondences being intercepted. Furthermore, Palmer suggests that a traveller should “make oft repaire to the Ambassadour of his Prince (in case there remaine any there) advertising him of such importances as shall chaunce unto him in that Countrey, where hee abideth with the Ambassadour, before hee committe the same in writing to any Counceller at home.”<sup>143</sup> In essence, this last consideration is described as a matter of courtesy and political discretion because, as Palmer notes, it would normally be an ambassador’s responsibility to produce reports on politically sensitive subjects.

## Conclusion

Although Palmer’s thoughts on the manner in which travellers should write about their observations are grandiose and, perhaps, overly ambitious, his suggestion that travellers’ reports bear political significance implicates them in the broader, nationalistic discourse fostered by Rastell, Eden, Hakluyt, and others. Palmer’s combination of Turler’s and Meier’s points of emphasis, in his concern for the edification of travellers and their production of written accounts, addresses the complaint originally raised by Ptolemy, namely that travellers are inconstantly literate enough to author trustworthy travelogues. However, whereas Ptolemy was inclined to highlight the scientific literacy of travellers, a thread that connects and complicates early modern instructional guides for navigators, Palmer’s emphasis is more overtly politically-minded. *The Travailer* constitutes an attempt to educate readers on how best to proceed from most incipient to

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<sup>142</sup> Palmer, 127.

<sup>143</sup> Palmer, 128.

the final stages of their travels whilst considering a host of moral, observational, experiential, and religious exigencies, all of which, in the end, ostensibly, ideally coalesce into written correspondences between English travellers and the highest levels of their government. Palmer's guide, then, in expressing a broad concern for the improvement of specifically English travellers, might be acknowledged as a synthesis of the general pursuit of all authors of English guides for travellers, and all contemporary English proponents of Ptolemy's foundational directive. Be they navigators, pilgrims, merchants, or, in Palmer's all-encompassing parlance, regular or irregular, the development of a pedagogical literature to support English travellers whilst abroad—English *artes peregrinandi*—marks a continuing engagement with the interplay between the theoretical/speculative and practical/experiential facets of travelling, and stands as an ongoing acknowledgement of the national significance of travel writ large.



## CHAPTER 2

### CHOROGRAPHICAL JOURNEYS: CHARTING REGIONAL TRAVEL WRITING

Formal moves to standardize instructional guidebooks for travellers, and travel writing in general, were infrequent and underdeveloped. Guides for navigators ran the risk of being too theoretical, while published travelogues foregrounded the experiential and empirical aspects of travel, prioritizing diegetic, narrative elements while the mimetic, imitative qualities of such writing remain implicit. Guides for pilgrims derive essential information from travelogues, but they do not encourage pilgrims to write. Guides for general travellers inconsistently emphasize the act and method of writing travel accounts, and they occasionally detail unrealistically ambitious or prescriptive literary endeavours. That is to say, the previous chapter describes a variety of subgenres of instructional guides in order to highlight the literary context of various types of travel. This chapter will focus, at length, on another genre of travel writing, and another type of travel: chorographies, and the periegetic trajectories and orientations of their chorographers. While providing a chronological survey of chorographical accounts of English counties, this chapter will focus on Leicestershire whenever possible in preparation for the next chapter's focus on chorographer William Burton's *Description of Leicester Shire* (1622).<sup>1</sup> In concentrating special attention on a single county, this chapter itself will be chorographical, in a sense, although the intent is that this focus will help situate the next chapter while illuminating the broader historical, generic development of early modern English chorographical texts. Chorographies were written in England for over 100 years before the first guidebook-esque texts were written to inform and to standardize their authorship.<sup>2</sup> That is, this chapter pertains to a type of travel writing that, like travelogues by pilgrims or navigators, developed its own generic

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<sup>1</sup> William Burton, *The Description of Leicester Shire: Containing Matters of Antiquitye, Historye, Armorye, and Genealogy* (London: William Jaggard, 1622).

<sup>2</sup> This chapter focuses on English chorographies, but the genre developed concurrently across Europe. Charting the influences between English and continental chorographers would be an immense task beyond the parameters of this study. There certainly were common threads joining the labours of European chorographers, though. For example, Gerald Strauss begins his survey of renaissance German chorographers by discussing the significance of Ptolemy's *Geography* as a catalyst for those writers ("Topographical-Historical Method in Sixteenth-Century German Scholarship," *Studies in the Renaissance* 5 [1958], 87–101). Strauss pursues other lines of

norms without the imposition of external, formalized methods or rules. This chapter's survey, then, concerns the emergence of a genre of periegetic texts whose authors established their own methodological, editorial strategies while they all informally participated in the same literary, geographical project.

In joining antiquarian and topographical impulses, John Leland heralded the emergence in England of geographical writing that, following Ptolemy's definition of chorography (chōrographia), focused exclusively on specific, delineated regions (e.g. England, Leicestershire) to represent "individual localities, . . . registering practically everything down to the least thing therein (for example, harbours, towns, districts, branches of principal rivers, and so on)."<sup>3</sup> In a letter that he presented to King Henry VIII in 1546, which details his work on a variety of scholarly projects, Leland envisions that Henry, in the manner of Charlemagne before him,

shall . . . have thys your worlde and impery of Englande so sett fourthe in a quadrate table of sylver, yf God sende me lyfe to accomplyshe my beginning, that your grace shall have ready knowledge at the fyrst sighte of many right delectable, fruteful, and necessary pleasures, by contemplacion therof, as often as occasyon shall move yow to the syghte of it."<sup>4</sup>

While this proposed silver map/table never materialized, Leland accommodated the contemplation of England's "fruitful and necessary pleasures" by cataloguing the collections of monastic libraries prior to their dissolution (*Collectanea*, written 1533–1536) and

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inquiry that inform this chapter, too, such as the roles of travel and scholarship in chorographical writing. Clearly, European chorographers shared similar pursuits and produced comparable texts as part of an implicitly European, geographical discourse. Still, the chorographies examined in this chapter are essentially inwardly-focused, just as chorographies were in other national contexts; English chorographies are discrete pieces of a larger, exclusively English geographical project, and English chorographers did not explicitly pursue their work to fulfill some kind of international, European endeavour. Any future forays into the more broadly European nature of this genre should be based on nationally-scaled assessments, then, as befits the nature of the texts themselves.

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, edited and translated by J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000), 57.

<sup>4</sup> Leland's treatise was edited and published by John Bale in 1549 as *The laborouse iourney & serche of Iohan Leylande, for Englandes antiquitees geuen of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to Kynge Henry the viij. in the. xxxvij. yeare of his reygne, with declaracyons enlarged: by Iohan Bale* (London). It is also printed in *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535–1543*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols. (London: George Bell, 1906–1910): xxxvii–xlili. My references to the *Itinerary* are to L. Toulmin Smith's edition.

commemorating historical English authors (*De uiris illustribus*, written 1535–1546).<sup>5</sup> However, Leland’s manuscript records of his travels through England and Wales between 1538 and 1543 more faithfully communicate his chorographical impulse. Recognizing that a written description of England and Wales would be “more permanente and farther knowen” than even a grand silver map, Leland’s letter to Henry describes his goal of eventually organizing his travel accounts into a fifty volume set of books, titled “De Antiquitate Britannica, or els Civilis Historia,” with one book devoted to every county.<sup>6</sup> Although Leland’s death ended his project before its conclusion, in the absence of a silver map of England and Wales, the assorted notes that comprise Leland’s observations, now known and published collectively as Leland’s *Itinerary*, offer a prosaic alternative.<sup>7</sup>

Leland’s chorographical writing under Henry finds an obvious precedent in the reports that attended William the Conqueror’s Domesday inquest. Indeed, the *Itinerary* might rightly be described as the heir of *Domesday Book* (written 1086–1087), which relates the findings of the inquest to detail the extent of William’s English and Welsh territories after the Norman conquest.<sup>8</sup> As a monument of historical geography and the earliest surviving text of its kind and scale, *Domesday Book* preserves an unparalleled overview of early Norman England. The following passage from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E version, written 1122–1154) represents the Domesday inquest as a bureaucratic, fiscal matter mainly conducted to formalize feudal land rights for taxation purposes. The passage notes that, in consultation with his council, on Christmas Day 1085, King William

sent his men over all England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in the shire, or what land and cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he had a record

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<sup>5</sup> *De uiris illustribus* (Bodleian MS Top. gen. c.4); *Collectanea* (Bodleian MS Top. gen. c.1–3; BL Add. MS 38132). Philip Schwyzer offers compelling readings of Leland’s “table” proposal in “John Leland and His Heirs: The Topography of England,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*, eds. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009): 238–53.

<sup>6</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, xlii.

<sup>7</sup> Lucy Toulimin Smith’s introduction in the first volume of her edition of the *Itinerary* offers a reliable introduction to the manuscripts that comprise the text (see esp. xx–xxxii).

<sup>8</sup> *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, eds. Ann Williams and G. H. Martin (London: Penguin, 2002).

made of how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops and his abbots and his earls, and . . . what or how much everyone had who was occupying land in England, in land or cattle, and how much money it was worth. So very narrowly did he have it investigated, that there was no single hide nor virgate of land, nor indeed . . . one ox nor one cow nor one pig which was there left out, and not put down in his record; and all these records were brought to him afterwards.<sup>9</sup>

David Roffe notes that, although the production of *Domesday Book* is usually considered a “relatively simple process of abbreviation from more or less fully compiled drafts,” the documents from the inquest that were collated and reformatted into *Domesday Book* were actually quite heterogeneous.<sup>10</sup> However, driven by the inquest’s schema of precise executive oversight and the need for a standardized text, material in the surveys that was deemed ephemeral, especially aspects of local interest, faced abbreviation.<sup>11</sup>

As a result of this comprehensive editorial oversight, the two volumes of *Domesday Book* describe thirty-three counties with a readily-apparent sense of efficiency and economy. When county descriptions are compared, it is clear that, while abundant, inconsistencies between them are relatively minor in significance in light of the ambitious scope of the undertaking and support the assessment that, although local surveyors “followed the same general instructions, they did not always interpret their task in quite the same way.”<sup>12</sup> H. C. Darby notes that a geographical study of *Domesday Book* must confront its numerous “frustrating aspects,” including its incomplete record of place-names, shifting means of qualifying types of land utilisation, imperfect population counts, enigmatic measurements, incomplete livestock counts, and unsystematic descriptions of towns.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, the general format and content of each county entry remains reasonably uniform.

In the case of Leicestershire, the entry summarizes the holdings of principal landowners in the county, beginning with urban properties in Leicester before detailing the ownership of

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<sup>9</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, eds. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas, and S. I. Tucker (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1961), 161–2.

<sup>10</sup> David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), 187.

<sup>11</sup> See Roffe, *Domesday*, 186–223.

<sup>12</sup> H. C. Darby, “Domesday Book and the Geographer,” in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell P 1987), 101–19, qtd. 104.

<sup>13</sup> Darby, 101–19.

rural estates.<sup>14</sup> In both the urban and rural sections of the entry, the king and his holdings are listed first (complete with annual rental rates), followed by the holdings of ecclesiastical and lay lords. Properties are further subdivided into their respective wapentakes (i.e. hundreds, or administrative regions) and vills (subdivisions of a wapentake). Each vill entry includes details about carucates (i.e. hides, that is, units of geld assessment), plough-lands and plough-teams, demesne holdings, population, the extent of forests and the presence of mills, and valuations of the holding in 1066 and 1086. Minimal commentary occasionally accompanies vill entries to explain aspects of land ownership and legal jurisdiction, as in the case of freehold estates, in rare instances when ownership was in dispute, or when lords held land with sake and soke (the right to administer justice in a specific territory). In all, the Leicestershire entry conveys a sophisticated semblance of the county's economic organisation and social hierarchy. That said, broader impressions of the county's human and physical geography are limited by the entry's overarching concentration on details relevant to the administration of the geld.

Surveys of Leicestershire that immediately followed the Domesday inquest are similarly bureaucratic in purpose and scope, as in the case of the 1124–1129 survey, the extant fragment of which covers Gosecote Wapentake and some of Framland and Gartree in the northern and eastern parts of the county.<sup>15</sup> Subdivided by wapentake and proceeding vill by vill, rather than being organized by landowner as in *Domesday Book*, the 1124–1129 survey provides updates on the ownership of properties in Leicestershire and identifies some twenty-six vills not included in *Domesday Book*, but, overall, the survey offers a less detailed representation of life in Leicestershire than *Domesday Book*. Pipe rolls, dating from 1129–1130 and recorded annually thereafter, also focus exclusively on assessment by their very nature as records of the Exchequer. Produced in the late 1300s in the abbey of St. Mary of the Meadows, Leicester, Henry Knighton's *Chronicle* derives much of its Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest history from Ranulf

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<sup>14</sup> *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, 627–49. F. M. Stenton introduces and translates the Leicestershire section of *Domesday Book* in *The Victoria History of the County of Leicester*, vol. 1, ed. William Page (London: U of London Institute of Historical Research, 1969), 277–338.

<sup>15</sup> Reproduced and translated, with introduction, by F. M. Stenton in *The Victoria History of the County of Leicester*, vol. 1, 339–54. See also C. F. Slade, *The Leicestershire Survey* (Leicester: UC of Leicester, 1956); J. H. Round, "The Leicestershire Survey (1124–29)," *Feudal England: Historical Studies on the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 2d. ed. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1964), 160–74; and D. Holly, "Leicestershire," in *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, 2d. ed., eds. H. C. Darby and I. B. Terrett (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1971), 313–58.

Higden's *Polychronicon* but adds local material specific to pre-1326 Leicestershire from an extensively annotated copy of Walter of Guisborough's *Chronicle*, cited by Knighton as the *Leycestrensis*.<sup>16</sup> Additional administrative documentation pertaining to medieval Leicestershire exists in such forms as Inquisitions Post Mortem, the Hundred Rolls, Close Rolls, Eyre Rolls, and small-scale manorial surveys. Public records like these are supplemented by a wealth of documents gathered and published in such collections as John Nichols' *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (1795–1811) and George Francis Farnham's *Leicestershire Medieval Village Notes* (1929–1933), as well as Mary Bateson and Helen Stocks' edition of materials pertinent to Leicester, *Records of the Borough of Leicester* (1899–1923).<sup>17</sup>

Of course, one significant feature is missing from the archival documents that record medieval Leicestershire: narrative voice. This is the voice added, in the earliest instance, whenever medieval chroniclers noticed Leicestershire, and, with far greater frequency, in modern times by historians who have combed through the textual remnants of post-Domesday Leicestershire to clarify facets of historical local culture.<sup>18</sup> What John Leland adds to representations of Leicestershire is precisely this voice—this initiative to collate, synthesize, and thereby convey the relevance of historical, archival documents. His *Itinerary* follows the classical mode of periegesis in its combined narrative of travel and topographical description.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> See G. H. Martin's introduction to Henry Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle: 1337–1396*, edited and translated by G. H. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995). Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. J. R. Lumby, 9 vols. (London: Longman, 1882–1886). Walter of Guisborough, *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (London: Royal Historical Society, 1957).

<sup>17</sup> *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, 4 vols., ed. John Nichols (London: John Nichols, 1795–1815); George Francis Farnham, *Leicestershire Medieval Village Notes*, 6 vols. (Leicester: priv. print., 1929–1933); and *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, eds. Mary Bateson and Helen Stocks, 4 vols. (London: C. J. Clay, 1899–1923).

<sup>18</sup> Significant examples of this scholarship not already noted include John Curtis, *A Topographical History of the County of Leicester* (Ashby de la Zouch: W. Hextall, 1831) (<https://archive.org/details/atopographicalh00curtgoog>); R. H. Hilton, *The Economic Development of some Leicestershire Estates in the 14th and 15th centuries* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1947); G. H. Dury, *The East Midlands and the Peak* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1963); James Ambrose Raftis, *Assart Data and Land Values: Two Studies in the East Midlands, 1200–1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974); and Eric Acheson, *A Gentry Community: Leicestershire in the Fifteenth Century, 1422–1485* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992).

<sup>19</sup> Rebecca Brackmann examines a traditional legal ritual called livery of seisin, which was part of the conveyancing of property. In essence, the person transferring land rights went with the

Certainly, though, the notion of the *Itinerary* as a singular narrative needs to be qualified. As noted earlier, the *Itinerary* gathers a set of writings made by Leland during the course of five journeys around England and Wales between 1538 and 1543. Leland had travelled widely prior to this while preparing his catalogue of monastic libraries, the *Collectanea*, which formed the basis for his companion work *De uiris illustribus*, an encyclopedic set of biographies of English authors.<sup>20</sup> While his travels for the *Collectanea* took him across England, his focus on monasteries limited his exposure to, and literary investment in, other aspects of the country.<sup>21</sup> His foray into Leicestershire in the spring of 1534, for example, is confirmed merely by Leland's inclusion of six titles from the collection of the Austin abbey at Leicester and three titles from the Austin priory at Launde.<sup>22</sup> Spaces in his manuscript for more titles held in Leicestershire suggest that Leland's time in the county was limited and that, while he might have desired to return for a more comprehensive study, he did not visit Leicestershire again while preparing the *Collectanea*. Amidst his *Collectanea* travels, in 1535 Leland began to write *De uiris illustribus*, although his work was punctuated by a six year gap from 1537 to 1543, during which he put that project on hold. In his aforementioned 1546 letter to King Henry, Leland offers, by way of an explanation, an account of his activities during this break from *De uiris illustribus*:

[w]herfore after that I had perpendid the honest and profitable studies of these historiographes, I was totally enflammid with a love to see thoroughly al those partes of this your opulente and ample reaulme, that I had redde of yn the aforesaid writers: yn so muche that al my other occupations intermitted I have so travellid yn yowr dominions booth by the se costs and the midle partes, sparing nother labor nor costs, by the space of these vi. yeres paste, that there is almoste nother cape, nor bay, haven, creke or peere,

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purchaser onto the property and passed a symbolic element of the property (e.g. a twig, a handful of earth, a key, etc.) to the other. She links this custom to Lambarde and his depiction of the passing of land from the 'unlawful' possession of Catholic prelates and monastic foundations to the true English owners . . . . [This] required him and his readers to 'go' there, following along with his literary perambulation. . . . Lambarde's authorial persona, and by extension his reader, makes the necessary trip to witness the transformation of Kent from its Catholic past to its Protestant Tudor present. (143–4)

<sup>20</sup> See James P. Carley's introduction to *John Leland: De uiris illustribus / On Illustrious Men*, edited and translated by James P. Carley, with the assistance of Caroline Brett (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2010), xxi–clx.

<sup>21</sup> On the chronology of Leland's *Collectanea* travels, see Carley, lxi–c.

<sup>22</sup> See Carley, lxxxvii–lxxxviii.

river or confluence of rivers, breches, waschis, lakes, meres, fenny waters, montaynes, valleis, mores, hethes, forestes, wooddes, cities, burges, castelles, principale manor placis, monasteries, and colleges, but I have scene them; and notid yn so doing a hole worlde of thinges very memorable.<sup>23</sup>

The kind of comprehensiveness that Leland gestures to here anticipates the scale of the project initiated by his writing and continued by those he inspired. His acknowledgement of the authors he researched for *De uiris illustribus* as his own sources of inspiration also serves to connect English chorographies to a broader nationalistic, literary impulse. From their outset, then, English chorographies had political aims, in seeking to legitimize the English nation by collating complementary historical geographical data, while also affirming the larger significance of the production of chorographical texts as an essential aspect of nation building. Leland's vision of a grand, elaborate map to satisfy the interests of a king, and his endeavours to produce texts that aspired to those symbolic and ideological heights, became a model emulated and participated in by English chorographers in the century (or, indeed, centuries) that followed. The *Itinerary*, Leland's records of his memorable travel observations, expands upon his previous monastic, scholarly focus and purview of England by describing the country's topography in broader terms, representing facets of local history, culture, and physical geography in conjunction with accounts of his travels.

The Leicestershire sections of Leland's *Itinerary* attest to three separate trips through the county, though his descriptions extend to cover two market towns (Ashby de la Zouch and Lutterworth) and a ruined castle (in Hinckley) outside of the routes he followed (see Fig. 2.1). Leland's writings are broken into diary-like narrations of his travels in the county and supplementary notes that record the histories of selected Leicestershire nobility.<sup>24</sup> In its combination of travelogue with topography, Leland's *Itinerary* is more organized and focused than the work of earlier writers like William Worcestre, whose "Itinerarium" stems from a series of journeys taken between 1478–1480, first from Norwich to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, then later from Norwich to London, London to Oxford, and then from Oxford into the West

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<sup>23</sup> Qtd. in Carley, xxviii.

<sup>24</sup> The supplementary sections are found in vol. 2, 7, and vol. 5, 222–3.



Country.<sup>25</sup> The periegetic aspect of Worcestre's "Itinerarium" is downplayed by its overall heterogeneity. His travelogues are perfunctory and mainly comprise dated entries with passing details about his movements, as in the following sample of his 1478 logs:

Sunday 27 September I was at Muchelney Abbey and spoke with Dom John Curry and with the Abbot, and reached Glastonbury.

Monday 28 September at Glastonbury until 2 p.m., and I reached Wells.

Tuesday 29 September, Michaelmas, I rode from Wells to Bristol.

Wednesday 1 October at Bristol.

Thursday 2 October at Bristol.<sup>26</sup>

Following terse diegetic records of this nature, Worcestre provides extended sections of material that are in some cases chorographical, as in his detailed survey of Bristol, and occasionally relate to his journeys, as in his accounts of personal expenses, descriptions of places and buildings seen by him, and historical information obtained by him from local sources.<sup>27</sup> However, clear connections between these supplementary notes and his travelogue are diminished by his limited use of first-person narration, the scattered arrangement of his writings, and by the addition of a great quantity of material that does not relate to his journeys. Among these materials are historical extracts and memoranda relating to the French Wars and the War of the Roses, items related to an earlier commonplace book by him, and non-British geographical notes. Although Worcestre's writings attend to a variety of subjects in novel ways, ranging from architecture to natural history to astronomy, the "Itinerarium" might best be described as evincing Worcestre's "lack of discipline."<sup>28</sup> While Leland's travelogue similarly offers only partial insight into the

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<sup>25</sup> William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, edited and introduced by John H. Harvey (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1969). See also K. B. McFarlane, "William Worcester: A Preliminary Survey" and "William Worcester and a Present of Lampreys," in *England in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hambleton P, 1981), 199–230. On Worcestre and Leland, see Carley lv–lvi, and Jennifer Summit, "Leland's *Itinerary* and the Remains of the Medieval Past," in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, eds. Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 159–76.

<sup>26</sup> Worcestre, 41.

<sup>27</sup> On the contents of the "Itinerarium," see Harvey's introduction, Worcestre, xx.

<sup>28</sup> Harvey's introduction, Worcestre x. Harvey comments that the "Itinerarium" "acquires a certain cohesion if it is considered in the light of the title of Worcester's lost (or supposedly lost) work *Antiquitates Angliae*" (xi). Harvey suggests that, building on the model of the "Itinerarium," Worcester had an interest in producing a topography of Britain on the scale devised by later writers. Ultimately, in the absence of the *Antiquitates Angliae*, which, it seems,

day-to-day business of his travels, his writing displays a clearer, more articulate sense of topographical purpose than Worcestre's. Whereas Worcestre pursues tangents and subordinates his travelogue, Leland's overarching periegetic organization of his writings delineates the unity of his project. With reference again to Leland's envisioned silver map of England and Wales, it seems that Leland modelled his project, in part, after Ptolemy's catalogues of locations and coordinates in his *Geography*.<sup>29</sup> That is, Leland sought to provide a description of the countryside sufficiently detailed so that, as he explains in his 1546 letter to King Henry, "it shaul be no mastery after for the graver or painter to make a like by a perfecte exemple."<sup>30</sup> So although he forgoes Ptolemy's coordinates, which allowed cartographers to reconstruct Ptolemy's oikoumenē, Leland assiduously indicates the locations and distances between places he visits and, unlike Worcestre, he provides his observations on the physical geography of England and Wales. Recording the topography of the countryside with a cartographer's eye, Leland's accounts are thus more comprehensive and systematic than Worcestre's.

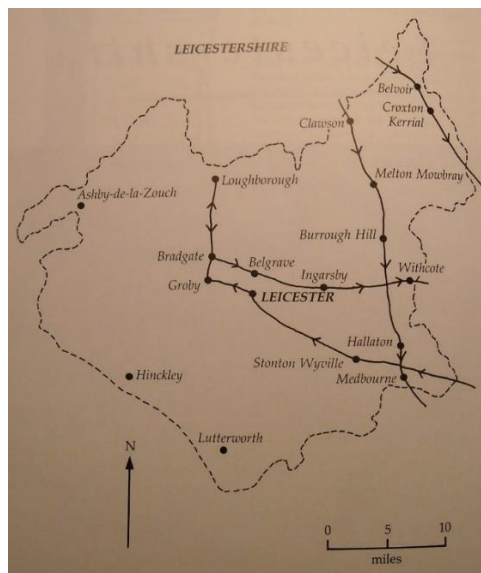


Fig. 2.1 Leland's travels in Leicestershire, as recorded in the *Itinerary*. From John Chandler, *John Leland's Itinerary* (Stroud: Alan Sutton 1993), 274.

exists only as a title and might not have been pursued beyond incipient plans, Harvey's speculations on the cohesiveness of the "Itinerarium" and its place in a larger project might be deemed overly optimistic.

<sup>29</sup> For an example of Ptolemy's catalogues, see Ptolemy, *Ptolemy's Geography*, 94–107.

<sup>30</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, vol. 1, xli. Summit also comments on this part of the letter, noting that "it is unclear how a map could be made from the descriptions he leaves. The *Itinerary* offers no objective or consistent coordinates of distance and scale that could guide a mapmaker" (163).

For all of his attention to detail, Leland was not a cartographer, and the rambling nature of his travels limits the extent to which his writings can be used to furnish the raw data required to map the entirety of England and Wales. This is no great failing given the immensity of Leland's ambitions, and, in any case, the precision of his topographical accounts still conveys admirably detailed impressions of Tudor physical and human geography along the routes he travelled. In a typical example of his rural, Leicestershire commentary, he remarks on points of archeological interest and local culture:

From Melton I travelled scarcely a mile to Burton Lazar, a veri fair hospital and collegiate chirch, scant a mile.

To Borow Hilles more than ii. miles.

The place that now is now cawllid Borow Hilles is duple dichid, and conteinith within the diche to my estimation a iiii. score acres. The soile of it berith very good corne.

First I tooke hit for a campe of menne of warre, but after I plaine perceivid that hit had beene waullid about with stone, and to be sure pullid out sum stones at the entering of hit, wher hath bene a great gate, and ther found lyme betwixt the stones. But whither ther hath beene any mo gates there then one I am not yet sure, but I coniect ye.

Very often hath be founde ther *numismata Romana* of gold, sylver, and brasse, and fragmentes of al fundations in plowyng.

This stondeth in the very hy way bytwixt Melton and London.

To thes Borow Hilles every yere on Monday after White-Sonday cum people of the contery therabowt, and shote, renne, wrastel, dawnce, and use like other feates of exercyse.

Borow village is within lesse then half a mile of hit, and ther dwellith one Mr. Borow the greatest owner there.

Borow Hilles be abowte a vii. miles from Leyrcestre.

Remembre that Croxton Abbay Water rising at Croxton cummith into Eye water *per ripam australem* about a mile or more above Melton.

From Borow Hilles to Laund a v. mile.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Leland, vol. 4, 19–20. Leland's topographical purpose is clarified by comparing this quotation with the following Domesday entries:

Following this general, typical pattern of topographical representation, Leland describes the places he visits sequentially, from Melton to Burton Lazars, Burton Lazars to Burrough Hill, Burrough Hill to Launde, Launde to Hallaton, and so on. He focuses especially on towns and villages, commenting mainly on significant buildings and institutions, landownership and the recent histories of notable families, and a range of other local features, such the proximity of settlements to historic ruins, the relative size and wealth of towns, and the presence of nearby waterways and bridges. Leicester receives the most attention in his Leicestershire writings. Noting first that “The hole toune of Leircester at this tyme is buildid of tymbre,” Leland offers architectural appraisals and historical summaries of prominent structures including Leicester Castle and St Mary de Castro, the Abbey of Saint Mary de Pratis (Leicester Abbey), and St Margaret’s Church, while also providing an account of the hospital, church, and precinct of Newark College.<sup>32</sup> Although Leland’s Leicestershire passages reflect the incomplete nature of the *Itinerary*, as when he punctuates his narrative with lists of Leicestershire forests, parks, and gentry, his coverage of Leicestershire suggests the scope of his overall project to produce a chorography of every English county and convert the *Itinerary* into “De Antiquitate Britannica / Civilis Historia.”

Beyond the comprehensive topographical, cartographical aspirations that he planned to eventually fulfill with his larger *Itinerary* project, Leland also envisioned a three book series titled *De Nobilitate Britannica* that would survey “the names of kinges, quenes, with theyr childerne, dukes, erles, lordes, captaines and rulers yn this reaulme” over the course of three periods: prior to the Saxon conquest, during Anglo-Saxon and Danish rule, and from the Norman conquest to Henry’s reign.<sup>33</sup> In keeping with this intent, Leland’s Leicestershire travelogues are

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The same Roger [de Bully] holds of Henry [de Ferrers] in Burrough on the Hill 2 carucates of land and 3 bovates. T.R.E. 4 ploughs were there. In demense is 1 plough; and 4 villans have 1 plough with 1 bordar. There are 20 acres of meadow. It was worth 5s; now 20s. Alweald held it freely. (*Domesday*, 637)

For additional Burrough Hill entries of this nature, see *Domesday*, 644 and 647.

<sup>32</sup> See Leland, *Itinerary*, vol. 1, 14–17, qtd. 14. In the case of religious institutions, and in a manner that recalls Worcester’s *Itineraries*, Leland records the tombs and burial places of notable aristocrats, mentioning that “The Gray-Freres of Leircester stode at the ende of the hospital of Mr. Wigeston . . . and there was byried King Richard 3,” (15), though the matter of locating Richard’s lost grave has only recently been resolved. See “The Discovery of Richard III,” *University of Leicester*, accessed 9 December, 2014, <http://www.le.ac.uk/richardiii/>.

<sup>33</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, xlii.

accompanied, in his *Itinerary* manuscripts, by separate, supplemental historical notes on the “familie of the Chaveneis of Leicestershire” and the Ferrers of Groby baronage, which Leland follows from Sir John Grey and Elizabeth Woodville to their son Thomas Grey, the first Marquess of Dorset, and his son Leonard Grey.<sup>34</sup> Although these notes pertain to historical Leicestershire estates and could have been incorporated into Leland’s travelogue, thereby adding more context to his chorographical observations, these notes might alternately have been suited for Leland’s proposed *De Nobilitate Britannica*. While Leland’s untimely death in 1552 left his ambitions unfulfilled, his unfinished projects helped to catalyze writers who similarly sought to compose comprehensive English histories and topographies.

Antiquarians Laurence Nowell and William Lambarde are Leland’s most immediate intellectual successors.<sup>35</sup> Nowell produced an edition of Anglo-Saxon law codes and an Old English-Modern English dictionary in the mid-1560s, and his interest in Anglo-Saxon history intersected with Leland’s unfinished projects as Nowell began to focus on historical topography and toponymy.<sup>36</sup> In her book *The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England*, Rebecca Brackmann draws attention to Nowell’s annotated copy of Richard Howlet’s bilingual dictionary *Abcedarium Anglico-Latinum*.<sup>37</sup> Brackmann notes that in his copy of the *Abcedarium*, “Nowell wrote thousands of Old English equivalents next to the Modern English-Latin entries, copied a glossary of Anglo-Saxon legal terms on the flyleaf, and interleaved a place-name index in which

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<sup>34</sup> On the Chaveney family, see Leland, *Itinerary*, vol. 2, 7.

<sup>35</sup> It is worth noting that Lambarde, Camden, and Carew were members of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, which was established in the 1580s as an association of gentry, civil servants, lawyers, judges, and heralds who studied matters such as “ancient law, the origins of institutions, offices, customs, privileges, and the like, and . . . the history of land-tenure and of the measurement of land” (Andrew McRae, “Early Modern Chorographies,” *Oxford Handbooks Online*, 2015). This mélange of topographical, national, and genealogical research is, of course, chorographical, and hearkens back to the production of vernacular translations of Ptolemy’s *Geography* in the late 1400s (Stan Mendyk, “Early British Chorography,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 17.4 (1986): 459–81, 460). Also see Claire Kennedy, “Those Who Stayed: English Chorography and the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries,” in *Motion and Knowledge in the Changing Early Modern World*, eds. Ofer Gal and Yi Zheng (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014), 47–70.

<sup>36</sup> On Nowell’s and Lambarde’s shared interest in Anglo-Saxon legal texts, see Raymond J. S. Grant, *Laurence Nowell, William Lambarde, and the Laws of the Anglo-Saxons* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996).

<sup>37</sup> Richard Howlet, *Abcedarium Anglico-Latinum, pro tyrunculis* (London: Gulielmus Riddel, 1552). Nowell’s annotated, interleaved copy is held by the University of Illinois’s Rare Book and Manuscript Library (000 FILM713).

he recorded older versions of English names and events that happened at each locale.”<sup>38</sup> Nowell’s 57 interleaves contain some 470 place names “organized by first letter and . . . folded into the dictionary at that letter of the alphabet.”<sup>39</sup> Nowell drew on Leland’s work for these interleaves, making use of Leland’s poems *Genethliacon Illustrissimi Eaduerdi* and *Cyanea Cantio* in addition to a prose treatise, the *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii*.<sup>40</sup> Brackmann explains that “These texts all use historical place names in the body of the work and contain an index explaining to the reader what the places are,” and she suggests that “Leland’s indices may have not only provided information but guided Nowell’s interests and suggested his glossary’s form.”<sup>41</sup> The *Genethliacon Illustrissimi Eaduerdi* concentrates on the topography of Cornwall, Wales, and Cheshire; the *Cyanea Cantio* describes towns situated on the Thames; and the *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii* includes an index of ancient place names to contextualize Leland’s defense of King Arthur’s historicity. Leicestershire was not a major point of focus in any of these texts. However, Leland’s project to produce a chorography for every English county, including Leicestershire, was pursued by Lambarde, a close associate of Nowell, in part because of the influence that Nowell’s work in assembling a glossary of place-names had on Lambarde’s own topographical, toponymical work.

In the dedicatory epistle of his chorographical study *A Perambulation of Kent*, which was finished by 1570 and published in 1576, Lambarde writes,

I had some while since gathered out of divers auncient and late Histories of this our Iland, sundrie notes of such qualitie, as might serve for the description and Storie of the most famous places throwe out this whole Realme: which collection (bicause it was digested into Titles by order of Alphabet, and concerned the description of places) I called a Topographicall Dictionarie: and out of which, I meant in time . . . to draw . . . fit matter

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<sup>38</sup> Rebecca Brackmann, *The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England: Laurence Nowell, William Lambarde, and the Study of Old English* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 18.

<sup>39</sup> Brackmann, 19, 87–119.

<sup>40</sup> Brackmann, 108. Brackmann’s study builds on that of Robin Flower, who places Nowell’s place-name glossary in the larger context of Nowell’s work. See Robin Flower, “Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 21 (1935): 3–29. John Leland: *Genethliacon illustrissimi Eaduerdi Principis Cambriae, Ducis Coriniae, et Comitum Palatini* (London: Reyner Wolfe, 1543); *Cyanea cantio* (London: Reyner Wolfe, 1545); *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii Regis Britanniae* (London: Reyner Wolfe and John Herford, 1544).

<sup>41</sup> Brackmann, 108.

for each particular Shire and Countie. Now, after that it had pleased God to provide for me in Kent, I resolved . . . to begin first with that Shire, and therein . . . to make estimation and triall, both of the thing it selfe, of mine owne abilitie, and of other mens likings.<sup>42</sup>

Lambarde's dictionary, a form of gazetteer, was underway in 1567, in progress until at least 1577, and first published in 1730 as *An Alphabetical Description of the Chief Places of England and Wales*.<sup>43</sup> Lambarde occasionally cites Nowell's work, and Brackmann argues that the *Alphabetical Description* "might well have been inspired by Nowell's similar undertaking in the *Abcedarium*."<sup>44</sup> Lambarde also references a range of other sources, including Leland. The Leicester entry in the *Alphabetical Description*, for instance, collates historical information from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, and Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*.<sup>45</sup> Although the *Alphabetical Description* was ultimately left as an unfinished work-in-progress, evidence suggests that Lambarde developed it as a stand-alone project to a greater extent than Nowell's *Abcedarium* place-name interleaves.<sup>46</sup> Brackmann notes that the *Alphabetical Description* has a higher degree of refinement and a "greater chronological sweep than the *Abcedarium* index, going from an ancient and Anglo-Saxon past to the present far more consistently than Nowell did."<sup>47</sup> Nonetheless, despite its attempt at comprehensiveness, the *Alphabetical Description* is not a travelogue and does not convey the same attention to local or contemporary details as Leland's *Itinerary*. For example, Leicestershire does not receive its own entry at the beginning of the *Alphabetical Description* as about half of the counties do, situating them in the country in relation to other counties and listing a variety of features such as market towns, rivers, religious houses, and hospitals. Further, numerous places in Leicestershire elude Lambarde's attention. There is no entry in the

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<sup>42</sup> Lambarde, vi.

<sup>43</sup> William Lambarde, *An Alphabetical Description of the Chief Places of England and Wales*, ed. Fletcher Gyles (London: 1730).

<sup>44</sup> Brackmann, 126.

<sup>45</sup> Lambarde, *Alphabetical Description*, 180–1. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, 5 vols, ed. Neil Wright (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988); Henry of Huntingdon, *The History of the English People, 1000–1154*, ed. D. E. Greenway (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002); Polydore Vergil, *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, A.D. 1485–1537*, ed. Denys Hay (London: Royal Historical Society, 1950).

<sup>46</sup> Brackmann, 124–6.

<sup>47</sup> Brackmann, 129.

*Alphabetical Description*, for example, for Burrough Hill, which so fascinated Leland, and market towns like Loughborough, Ashby de la Zouch, and Lutterworth are absent. So although Lambarde's adaptation of Nowell's and, via Nowell, Leland's place-name glossaries helped to establish a new form of encyclopedic reference system for topographical information—a system that would become increasingly prevalent in chorographies—the *Alphabetical Description* is not sufficiently detailed enough to provide comprehensive historical, topographical coverage on its own.

Other contemporary attempts to represent the country in its entirety also have their shortcomings. For example, while Christopher Saxton's *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* (1579) improved on previous attempts to map Leicestershire, Saxton's maps are at times limited, ironically, by their scope. Saxton travelled the country to conduct the surveys upon which his maps are based, and he made use of local information and informants on topographical and toponymical matters, so his maps are detailed to an extent unmatched by previous cartographers, though, regrettably, preliminary documentation and notes that he might have kept during his travels have not survived.<sup>48</sup> Twenty-six of Saxton's thirty-four maps represent a single county, though eight maps combine two or more adjacent counties. Writing that "No credible explanation for this arrangement has ever been promulgated," William Ravenhill notes that as the maps were compiled into an atlas they "had to be adjusted to a scale to fit into a rectangular frame within the space provided by a single copper-plate, the image to be printed subsequently on a royal sheet of paper about twenty-five by twenty inches in size."<sup>49</sup> The maps are thus distinguished by variations in scale, with maps of larger and combined counties using far smaller scales than other maps. Leicestershire, a county of average size, is paired with a comparable neighboring county, Warwickshire (see Fig. 2.2). The resulting scale is quite minute, which limits the variety and granularity of the topographical features that can be represented.<sup>50</sup> As well, the orientation of the map necessarily differs from most of the others, which, as R. A. Skelton

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<sup>48</sup> On Saxton's *Atlas*, see especially Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-Making* (London: British Library, 1980), William Ravenhill's introduction in *Christopher Saxton's 16<sup>th</sup> Century Maps* (Shrewsbury: Airlife, 1992), and R. A. Skelton, *Saxton's Survey of England and Wales* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1974).

<sup>49</sup> Ravenhill, 14, 17.

<sup>50</sup> Saxton's twenty plate 1583 wall map of England and Wales further highlights this challenge. While the map is massive, Leicestershire is necessarily reduced and represented in less detail than in the 1579 Leicestershire-Warwickshire version. See Skelton, *Saxton's Survey*, plate XI.



explains, are generally oriented towards magnetic north, “corresponding to the easterly declination then obtaining in England, so that the side lines of the border are inclined at an angle to the true meridian resulting from rotation of the map in an anti-clockwise direction.”<sup>51</sup> In the case of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, because “the greatest extension of the area covered lies NE-SW, the inclination of the side lines is in the opposite sense, doubtless to accommodate the map within the rectangular frame.”<sup>52</sup> Saxton’s desire to map every county and the resulting combination of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, coupled with the formatting constraints of his atlas, thus had undesirable ramifications on his finished work.



Fig. 2.2 Saxton’s map of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, from his *Atlas* (*Christopher Saxton’s 16<sup>th</sup> Century Maps*, 60–1).

As another example of the limitations that attend country-scaled chorographies, clergyman William Harrison’s “Historical Description of the Island of Britain,” which was first published in 1577 as the introductory sections of Raphael Holinshed’s *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, is of necessity so broadly conceived, in covering British human and

<sup>51</sup> Skelton, *Saxton’s Survey*, 10.

<sup>52</sup> Skelton, *Saxton’s Survey*, 10.

physical geography, that little systematic attention can be given to local topographies.<sup>53</sup> Harrison revised and expanded his survey for the second edition of the *Chronicles* (1587).<sup>54</sup> In the second edition as in the first, Harrison's purview meanders over historical, social, and political features of the country, making only infrequent and brief sojourns into regional matters. In a dedicatory epistle to Sir William Brooke, Harrison explains that his chorographical project was tempered by practical contingencies, such as his reliance on secondary sources of information. Harrison writes,

It is possible that your Honour will mislyke hereof, for that I have not by myne owne travaile and eyesight viewed such thinges, as I doe here intreate of. In deede I must confesse that except it were from the parish where I dwell, unto your Honour in Kent, or out of London where I was borne, unto Oxford and Cambridge where I have beene brought up, I never travailed 40 miles in all my lyfe.<sup>55</sup>

Performing the standard function rather of the chronicler, and recognizing the limits of his own first-hand experiences and observations, Harrison thus relies on other authorities when needed. He draws extensively on Leland's original manuscripts, although, as noted, Leland's observations were themselves mainly confined to the routes of his travels.<sup>56</sup> In the interest of providing more systematic, comprehensive coverage, Harrison supplemented Leland's records with other sources, including a number of Saxton's then unpublished maps, which he was given access to by Saxton's patron Thomas Seckford. For example, using Saxton's earliest engraved maps—those engraved in 1574 and 1575, with two of the 1576 maps—Harrison compiled a list of the number of market towns and parishes in seventeen counties (excluding Leicestershire).<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> William Harrison, "Historical Description of the Island of Britain," in *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, ed. Raphael Holinshed (London: John Harrison, 1577), books 1–3.

<sup>54</sup> William Harrison, "Historical Description of the Island of Britain," in *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles*, ed. Raphael Holinshed (London: Henry Denham, 1587), vol. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Harrison, dedicatory epistle to Sir William Brooke, both editions.

<sup>56</sup> Harrison discusses his use of Leland's manuscripts in his epistle dedication to William Brooke (in both editions of the *Chronicles*). Also see Oliver Harris' thorough study of the history of Leland's manuscripts in the century following his death: "Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten: the Early Custodial History and Dissemination of John Leland's Manuscript Remains" *Bodleian Library Records* 18 (2005): 460–501.

<sup>57</sup> Following Saxton's progression from southern to northern England, his Leicestershire/Warwickshire map was engraved in 1576, so Leicestershire's exclusion from Harrison's list suggests that the map was engraved later in the year and was thus unavailable to

As quantitative data gleaned from an incomplete set of maps, unsupported by expository commentary, and riddled with inconsistencies between Harrison's and Saxton's texts, Harrison's list suggests the limited realization of ambitious goals. In another chorographical gesture, Harrison includes a chapter, "Of the Partition of England into Shires and Counties," to remark on the history of England's county system and on contemporary administrative and legal matters.<sup>58</sup> Little of Harrison's discussion is county-specific, with many of the counties only being named once in the chapter, in a list that loosely situates them in relation to each other in the country. Acknowledging the brevity of his chapter, Harrison concludes,

And thus much have I thought good to set downe generally of the sayde counties and their maner of governance, although not in so perfit order as the cause requireth, bycause that of all the rest there is nothing wherewith I am lesse acquainted then with our temporall regiment, which to saye truth doth smally concerne my calling.<sup>59</sup>

Harrison's difficulty in accommodating the "temporal regiment," that is to say secular organization, of English counties in his "Historical Description" might perhaps be accounted for in part by his ecclesiastical "calling" and his prevailing historiographical inclination to convey England's past and present through the lens of, to quote G. J. R. Parry, the "radical Protestantism" that informs his other major work, "The Great English Chronology."<sup>60</sup> However, the content of both editions of the "Historical Description" is predominately secular, so Harrison's modesty in this case is convincingly read as a conventional use of litotes and a tacit admission that the envisioned workload required to produce anything more nuanced was too formidable or too far outside of his expertise and experience. Regardless, the sweeping national purview of Holinshed's *Chronicles* hardly required anything more detailed or precise from Harrison.

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Harrison. For a concise overview of Harrison's indebtedness to Leland, see George Edelen's introduction to William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1968), xx–xxii. On Harrison's use of Saxton's maps, see Edelen's note, in the same edition, to Harrison's list of market towns and parishes (219–20).

<sup>58</sup> Harrison (1577), book 2, 74–5; Harrison (1587), vol. 1, book 2, 153–6.

<sup>59</sup> Harrison (1577), book 2, 75.

<sup>60</sup> William Harrison, "The Great English Chronology," Trinity College Dublin MS 165. Harrison wrote his "English Chronology" in the 1570s. On Harrison's religious, historiographical views, especially as they relate to his "English Chronology," see G. J. R. Parry, *A Protestant Vision: William Harrison and the Reformation of Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987), qtd. 3.

Beyond their national scope, and beyond Harrison's use of Saxton's unpublished maps, it has been suggested that Harrison's "Historical Description" and Saxton's *Atlas* were complementary projects and that the *Atlas* was intended to serve as a companion volume to Holinshed's *Chronicles*. A number of oblique remarks by Harrison, Holinshed, and engraver Nicholas Reynolds attest to a series of maps that were prepared by printer Reyner Wolfe to accompany the *Chronicles*, but Wolfe's death in 1573 seems to have prevented the completion of the ultimately unpublished, and now lost, series.<sup>61</sup> Edward Lynam proposes that these unfinished maps were given to Saxton to assist him in producing his own, and he presents evidence that Thomas Seckford, Saxton's patron, pursued the possibility of adding the *Atlas* maps to the *Chronicles* before eventually publishing the *Atlas* independently.<sup>62</sup> While the connection of the *Atlas* and the *Chronicles* remains speculative, a combined Saxton-Harrison text would have its merits in representing a more complete chorography than either the *Atlas* or "Historical Description" in isolation. Still, aforementioned challenges of scope would remain. In the wake of his *Alphabetical Description*, with its similar set of ambitions and inadequacies, Lambarde's approach to the immensity of country-wide topographical projects was to resume the work envisioned by Leland when contemplating his *Itinerary* as the basis for a county-by county, fifty volume chorography "De Antiquitate Britannica / Civilis Historia." Echoing Leland's plans, Lambarde calls the *Alphabetical Description* "but a Breviate, for Store," and notes that, after Kent, "the rest of the Shires might be from hence described."<sup>63</sup> His *Perambulation* derives mainly from the contents of the *Alphabetical Description* but incorporates some thirty new scholarly sources, discusses twenty-nine more Kentish towns, and adds information to reiterated entries.<sup>64</sup> In all, the *Perambulation* combines the raw historical, topographical data that characterizes the *Alphabetical Description* with Leland's precise attention to local history and topography. Referring to his desire to expand on the general overview of Kent provided in the introduction of the *Alphabetical Description*, Lambarde begins his *Perambulation* with a section

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<sup>61</sup> See Skelton, *Saxton's Survey*, Appendix A, Documents 2, 8, 9, page 16.

<sup>62</sup> See Edward Lynam's introduction to his edition of Christopher Saxton, *An Atlas of England and Wales* (London: British Museum, 1934), and Edward Lynam, *British Maps and Map-Makers* (London: William Collins, 1944), 17–20.

<sup>63</sup> Lambarde, *Alphabetical Description*, i.

<sup>64</sup> Retha Warnicke, *William Lambarde: Elizabethan Antiquary* (London: Phillimore, 1973), 29–30.

that locates the county in England and surveys its history, explains Kent's administrative and juridical divisions, records the taxes levied on Kentish towns, and provides a series of lists of Kentish forests, parks, hills, rivers, bridges, cities and market towns, fairs and their dates, castles, religious institutions, nobility and gentry, and notable writers.<sup>65</sup> Despite its title, the rest of Lambarde's *Perambulation* is not a travelogue in the manner of Leland's, strictly speaking, in that while Leland's *Itinerary* is organized as a narrative around real travels taken by Leland, topographical information in Lambarde's *Perambulation* is organized according to two speculative, that is to say fictive, circuitous routes through Kent.<sup>66</sup> The first section contains entries for places in the Diocese of Canterbury, which comprises eastern Kent. Entries are ordered to describe a clockwise loop around the circumference of the Diocese, beginning with its easternmost point. This circumnavigation of sorts is followed by entries that pertain to places in the interior of the Diocese. The second section of the *Perambulation* repeats this procedure for the Diocese of Rochester, Kent's western portion. Lambarde explains the Canterbury/Rochester split as a "convenient severance" on geographical and jurisdictional bases.<sup>67</sup> The *Perambulation* is thus neither a travelogue like Leland's *Itinerary* nor a topographical dictionary in the manner of Nowell's annotated *Abcedarium Anglico-Latinum* or Lambarde's *Alphabetical Description*. Rather, the *Perambulation* is organized according to both periegetic and taxonomic means of presenting chorographical information. Though less a matter of personal observation than scholarly collation and analysis, by framing a county rather than the country as the basic unit of chorographical inquiry, and then anatomizing the county at minute scales, the *Perambulation* avoids Leland's rambling diegetic trajectories while retaining his commitment to local details, in this respect surpassing the comprehensiveness of previous national, encyclopedic models.

Lambarde's successful application of his *Alphabetical Description* commonplace book, his development of an effective organizational structure for county chorographies, and his fidelity to Leland's original project might have all contributed to his chorographical plans after

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<sup>65</sup> Lambarde, 167.

<sup>66</sup> For something closer to a travelogue, see the diary Lambarde kept as a travelling justice of the peace in Kent ("An Ephemeric of the Certifiable Causes of the Commission of the Peace from June 1580 till September 1588," Folger MS X.d.249). Many of the duties Lambarde relates seem routine, such as licensing alehouses and trying local criminal cases, but these activities involved travelling across the county and becoming closely acquainted with the people and the life of the county.

<sup>67</sup> Lambarde, 70–1.

surveying Kent. His desire to pursue similar chorographies for other counties is given nuance by the following statement, which concludes his Rochester section:

I can but wish in like sort, that some one in each Shyre woulde make the enterprise for his owne Countrie, to the end that by joyning our Pennes, and conferring our labours . . . we might at the last by the union of many partes and papers compact one whole and perfect bodie and booke of our English Topographie.<sup>68</sup>

Although his reflections on the *Alphabetical Description* at the outset of the book suggest that he might have wished to embark on this national project himself, here he advances the necessity of collegiality and incremental progress by many writers working in tandem. The above note was published in 1576, but twenty years later, by the 1596 edition of his *Perambulation*, Lambarde was already able to update his commentary on the state of English chorographies by writing that from 1576–1596

I finde my desire not a little served by Master Camden's *Britannia*: wherein, as he hath not onely farre exceeded whatsoever hath been formerly attempted in that kynd, but hath also passed the expectation of other men and even his own hope: So do I acknowledge it written to the great Honour of the realme with men abroad and to the singular delight of us all at home, having for mine own particular found my self thereby to have learned much even in that Shyre wherein I had endeavoured to know most.<sup>69</sup>

Camden's *Britannia* was first published ten years after the *Perambulation*, in 1586, as a county-by-county historical and chorographical survey of Britain. Retha Warnicke writes that Lambarde continued to revise his *Alphabetical Description* until Camden sent him a manuscript draft of the *Britannia* for review, and that, in halting his project, "Lambarde must have been convinced that his own manuscript was of little worth when compared to Camden's great achievement."<sup>70</sup>

Lambarde returned his commentary on the *Britannia* to Camden in 1585, suggesting half a dozen revisions for Camden's section on Kent, but noting modestly that "I seem to myself not to have

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<sup>68</sup> Lambarde, 474.

<sup>69</sup> Lambarde, 474–5. Lambarde continues, writing

Neverthelesse, being assured that the Inwardes of each place may be best knownen by such as reside therein, I can not but still encourage some one able man in each Shyre to undertake his owne, whereby both many good particulaities will come to discoverie every where, and Master Camden him selfe may yet have greater choice wherewith to amplifie and enlarge the whole. (475)

<sup>70</sup> Warnicke, 26.

known Kent, till I knew Camden.”<sup>71</sup> Though there is some suggestion that Lambarde only had access to a partial draft of the *Britannia*, he remarks, with respect to his own then abortive project, that “In the reading of these your painful topographies, I have been contrarily affected; one way taking the singular delight and pleasure in the perusing of them; another way by sorrowing that I may not now, as I wouted, dwell in the meditation of the same things that you are occupied withal.”<sup>72</sup> Lambarde’s comments are echoed by Harrison at the end of the “Of the Partition of England into Shires and Counties” section in his 1587 “Historical Description.” After apologizing for the chapter’s limited content, Harrison adds that

What else is to be added after the severall shires of England, with their ancient limits . . . and commodities yet extant, I reserve unto that excellent treatise of my friend, W.

Camden, who hath travailed therein very farre, and whose work . . . shall in short time (I hope) be published, to the no small benefit of such as will read and peruse the same.<sup>73</sup>

Lambarde and Harrison thereby acknowledged the finitude of their individual projects while recognizing the continuation of their larger goals in Camden’s work.

The *Britannia* achieved immense popularity, and Camden’s original 1586 Latin text was republished five times before the first English translation was published in 1610.<sup>74</sup> Camden travelled widely throughout England and Wales to conduct his research, and his prose intermingles scholarly collation and analysis with observations from his travels and information

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<sup>71</sup> Warnicke references the letter as Julius MS. C. V. 9, f. 25a. It is reprinted in John Nichols, ed., *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (London: John Nichols, 1780–1790), 512–513, qtd. 512.

<sup>72</sup> Lambarde, 512. The following passage from the letter seems to signal Lambarde’s access to only part of the *Britannia* draft: “If you have in purpose to perform the rest, go on boldly, good Mr. Camden; wherein if you shall use the same dexterity that hitherto you have done (as I feare not but you will) Acesii et Heliconis opera dixerim” (512).

<sup>73</sup> Harrison (1587), vol. 1, book 2, 156.

<sup>74</sup> William Camden, *Britannia siue Florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio* (London: Ralph Newberry, 1587); *Britannia* (London: George Bishop, 1590); *Britannia* (London: George Bishop, 1594); *Britannia* (London: George Bishop, 1600); *Britannia* (London: George Bishop and John Norton, 1607); *Britain, or A chorographically description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adioyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: George Bishop and John Norton, 1610).

acquired from local informants and sources.<sup>75</sup> Camden's known travels took him to Suffolk, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire in 1578, Yorkshire and Lancashire in 1582, Devon in 1589, into Wales in 1590, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Oxfordshire in 1596, and Cumberland (now Cumbria) in 1600.<sup>76</sup> These tours helped enable him to revise and expand his *Britannia*; every edition after the first bears both minute and conspicuous traces of his continual, meticulous editorial process. A testimony to his attention to detail, his Leicestershire section gains some twenty extra passages of substance, among other editorial changes, between its 1586 and 1607 iterations. Most of these additional passages incorporate new information from secondary scholarly sources rather than stemming from Camden's personal observations. Indeed, beyond a brief foray along Leicestershire's southwestern border following Watling Street—the ancient route that divides Leicestershire from Warwickshire—Camden does not seem to have visited the county to prepare his survey. While the timeframe of this Watling Street journey is not precisely known, the Leicestershire section of the 1607 edition adds a clue, which is translated in the 1610 edition: “The very tract of which street I my selfe diligently traced and followed even from the Tamis to Wales, purposely to seeks out townes of ancient memorie (laugh you will perhaps, at this my painfull and expensfull diligence, as vainly curious).”<sup>77</sup> This recollection might stem from Camden's 1590 trek to Wales, only to be included in 1607, or he might have followed this route some years prior to 1590, given that all editions of the *Britannia* published before 1607, including the 1586 and 1587 editions, convey similar, albeit reordered, details about southwestern Leicestershire. Nonetheless, because Leland's travels in the county did not extend to the western reaches traversed by Camden, and because of Camden's industrious collation of existing scholarship, the Leicestershire section of the *Britannia*—the first dedicated chorography of the county—greatly expands on the coverage of its predecessors.

Camden's section begins by placing Leicestershire in relation to neighboring counties before proceeding, in the manner of Lambarde's *Perambulation*, to describe towns on Leicestershire's border. Camden's initial remarks veer towards the pejorative. Noting that the

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<sup>75</sup> On Camden's travels, and for a concise overview of his project, see R. L. DeMolen, “The Library of William Camden,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 128 (1984): 326–409.

<sup>76</sup> DeMolen, 328.

<sup>77</sup> Camden (1610), 517. In the 1607 edition, this addition is on page 386.



county's southern border is marked by the Avon and Welland Rivers, he writes that in southern Leicestershire

we meete with nothing worth relation, unlesse it be, on Wellands banke, . . . with Haverburgh commonly called Harborrow, a towne most celebrate heereabout for a faire of cattaile there kept: and as for Carleton, . . . the husband-mens towne, . . . wherein (I wote not whether it be worth the relating) all in maner that are borne, whether it be by a peculiar propertie of the soile, or the water, or else by some other secret operation of nature, have an ilfavoured, untunable, and harsh maner of speech, fetching their words with very much adoe deepe from out of the throat, with a certaine kind of wharling.<sup>78</sup>

With the benefit of expositions derived from personal familiarity, his chorography becomes more positive and illuminating as he describes the region east of Watling Street, along Leicestershire's western border. In contrast to Leland's neglect of western Leicestershire, Camden's Watling Street passages are the most detailed part of his chapter. Camden's account follows Watling Street north, and he relates historical information about towns large and small between Leicestershire's southwestern and northwestern border. These histories are generally restricted to trivia about noteworthy individuals, families, and events in the region. Apart from details about Watling Street itself—its bridges, state of repair, route, and so forth—few details convey western Leicestershire as a traveller at the turn of the seventeenth century would have seen it; Leland's focus on local human and physical geography is largely outside of Camden's historical purview. Lacking sustained first-hand observations of Leicestershire, and proceeding more in the speculative, scholarly manner of Lambarde's *Perambulation*, Camden's chorography—though still periegetic—is framed as less of a travelogue than Leland's *Itinerary*. Nonetheless, overtures of personal familiarity persist in occasional, relatively obscure local details, and Camden can still claim to know, from his Watling Street journey, that at High Cross, the intersection of the Roman Watling Street and Fosse Way, “thereabout stood sometime a Crosse, in steed of which, is erected now a very high post with props and supporters thereto.”<sup>79</sup> Likewise, he can further acknowledge conversations with local informants, adding that “neighbours there dwelling reported unto me, that the two principall high-waies of England did heere cut one another

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<sup>78</sup> Camden (1610), 517.

<sup>79</sup> Camden (1610), 518.

overthwart, and that there stood a most flourishing Citie there, named Cleycester.”<sup>80</sup> He even emulates Leland’s inclination for amateur archeological fieldwork by noting that in the vicinity of High Cross, “on both sides of the way, there lay under the furrowes of the corne fields great foundations and ground workes of foure square stone: also that peeces of Roman money were very often turned up with the plough.”<sup>81</sup> However, as noted, these personal observations are infrequent, and Camden’s first-person observer should not always be unreservedly identified with Camden himself. For example, after discussing the Watling Street edge of the county, Camden’s chorography moves into the interior by following the Soar River northeast from High Cross to Leicester. After a history of Leicester that suggests only a second-hand, scholarly familiarity with the city, Camden considers how to proceed to describe the rest of the county, writing “Here am I at a stand, and looke about mee what ways to follow for the seeking out of ancient townes.”<sup>82</sup> Though ostensibly a periegetic gesture that maintains the spirit of his Watling Street passages by framing the chorography as a travel narrative, the “I” and the “mee” of this passage are in fact rhetorical devices that do not identify Camden, the travelling observer of Watling Street, but rather serve to orient readers to the survey that follows. This suggestion of mimesis, in the construction of a present tense narrator/traveller describing a route through Leicestershire, is revealed to be rhetorical by Camden’s rather more forthright admission of his reliance on received wisdom, rather than first-hand knowledge, about the county. He prepares readers for a discourse on “ancient townes” along the suitably ancient Fosse Way, but he cannot accurately ascertain the route from his references, which include Higden’s *Polychronicon*, the *Iter Britanniarum* from the Roman *Antonine Itinerary*, and “the common voice.”<sup>83</sup> He concludes, reservedly and without further elaboration, that northeast of Leicester “there are places of antique memorie that by some of their remaines and tokens shew themselves,” adding that north of the city “I could not my selfe ever as yet meete with any [places of antique memorie]; what others have done I know not, and would willingly learne.”<sup>84</sup>

With minimal personal experience in the county, the extent of Camden’s discourse is determined by the limits of the Leicestershire histories and chorographies he collates. Indeed, his

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<sup>80</sup> Camden (1610), 518.

<sup>81</sup> Camden (1610), 518.

<sup>82</sup> Camden (1610), 520.

<sup>83</sup> Camden (1610), 520.

<sup>84</sup> Camden (1610), 520.

invention of a fictional first-person narrator might even be an attempt to ameliorate these limitations and manage his use of available scholarly sources. As a work of aggregation, Camden's original 1586 Leicestershire section draws from a wide range of sources, including *Domesday Book*, Knighton's *Chronicle*, and Marianus Scotus' *Chronicon*.<sup>85</sup> Camden also occasionally draws from Leland's *Itinerary* without attribution, typically reiterating Leland's interest in local topographical features.<sup>86</sup> Successive emendations to the Leicestershire section between the 1586 and 1610 editions of the *Britannia* incorporate a variety of additional references. Camden adds poetic verses by Bernard Andreas of Tholous and Venantius Fortunatus in the 1587 and 1607 editions, respectively. While the 1586 edition includes a quotation attributed to Matthew of Westminster, the 1587 edition corrects this to Matthew Paris, extends the quotation, and adds additional references throughout the section to Paris' *Chronica Majora*. The 1587 edition also adds a quotation from *Domesday Book* and a chronological list of the Earls of Leicester, "as Thomas Talbot a Skilfull Antiquary hath delivered me a note of them out of the Kings Records."<sup>87</sup> To supplement this list, the 1594 edition adds information on Earl Robert de Beaumont from Henry of Huntingdon's epistle "De Contemptu Mundi" and cites charters from the reign of Edward III drawn from the records of the Duchy of Lancaster.<sup>88</sup> As a testimony to Camden's scholarly reach and perseverance, and as a blend of first-hand and speculative, rhetorical periegesis, the Leicestershire section of the *Britannia* thus serves as the county's first dedicated chorography.

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<sup>85</sup> Marianus Scotus, *Chronicon* (Basel: Jacobus Parcus, 1559).

<sup>86</sup> For example, while Leland writes that "To thes Borow Hilles every yere on Monday after White-Sonday cum people of the contery therabowt, and shote, renne, wrastel, dawnce, and use like other feates of exercyse" (Leland, vol. 4, 19–20), Camden notes that Burrough Hill is "in nothing so famous, as in this, that the youth dwelling round about were wont yeerely to exercise themselves in wrestling and other games in this place" (Camden [1610], 522). Camden had access to Leland's text from the outset of his *Britannia* work; he incorporates Leland's observations into his 1586 edition. Camden used a 1576 transcription made by John Stow from Leland's originals, which were owned at that time by Henry Cheke (Harris, "Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten," 471).

<sup>87</sup> Camden (1610), 523.

<sup>88</sup> "De Contemptu Mundi" was added to later editions of Henry of Huntingdon's history. The first charter Camden mentions is the 1361 inquisition on the death of Henry of Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster, and the other is the 1362 charter, made at the request of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, granting that all pleas and sessions in the county would be only be held in Lancaster.

Camden's efforts to compile a sufficiently comprehensive account of England's counties in a single volume followed the intent originally outlined as the basis of Leland's "De Antiquitate Britannica / Civilis Historia" project. Other contemporary writers chose to pursue Leland's vision in the manner advocated by Lambarde, by preparing separate volumes for individual counties. Despite its unprecedented combination of scope and detail, the *Britannia* manifests the shortcomings of nationally-scaled chorographies; it will suffice to note, simply, that if Camden's Leicestershire section were published as a volume unto itself, it would be a slight, partial offering. As well, as noted, in spite of his considerable travels and prevailing desire to base his survey on his own observations, the ambitiousness of his undertaking required him to rely on existing scholarship, and that reliance occasionally leads to passages that are speculative and incomplete. However, although Camden's overall success might have served to dissuade chorographers like Lambarde and Harrison from continuing to work on country-scaled projects, other chorographers continued to focus on individual counties. Working separately, in the late 1500s and early 1600s Richard Carew, John Norden, and William Smith produced increasingly detailed, county-scaled chorographies.

Carew, to begin, develops a unique, refined sense of narrative voice in his *Survey of Cornwall* (1602). For example, his passages on the estuary region of the River Fowey, in southeastern Cornwall, are, at times, poetic:

[i]f I could as playnly shew you, as my selfe have oftentimes delightingly seene it, you might, and would avow the same, to be a place of diversified pleasings: I will therefore do my best to trace you a shadow thereof. . . .

In passing along, your eyes shall be called away from guiding your feete, to descry by their fardest kenning the vast Ocean, sparkled with ships, that continually this way trade, forth and back, to most quarters of the world. . . . Againe, contracting your sight to a narrower scope, it lighteth on the faire and commodious haven, where the tyde daily presenteth his double service of flowing and ebbing, . . . and his creeks (like a young wanton lover) folde about the land, with many embracing arms.<sup>89</sup>

Here, as elsewhere, the *Survey*'s diegetic orientation ("I travelled here, and this is what I saw") is punctuated by a mimetic appeal to the reader ("If you travel here, this is what you will see").

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<sup>89</sup> Carew, *Survey*, 133.

These types of passage thereby engage readers as wandering chorographers, themselves, in a highly stylized way; for instance, in this passage, implicated by its mode of direct address, readers are transported to where the River Fowey meets the English Channel in order to appreciate the area's visceral, affective "pleasings." Though infrequently quite so effusive, in its framing of vistas and prospects from which to view various parts of the county, Carew's prose conveys more detailed aesthetic descriptions than Camden's *Britannia* (or, indeed, most other contemporary chorographies). As a point of further contrast, though, Carew's text is not as rooted in the antiquarianism that drives Camden's. Whereas Camden's commitment to ancient Britain ultimately increases his reliance on secondary scholarship and counterbalances his need for supplementary first-hand observations and information from local informants, Carew's focus is predominantly contemporary, and he derives much of his *Survey* from knowledge cultivated over a lifetime spent in the county. Though scholarly and historical when necessary, Carew's description is thus an expansive overview of Tudor, rather than Roman or Anglo-Saxon, Cornwall.

Carew's *Survey* is divided into two books. The first book deals with the county as a whole and recalls Harrison's "Historical Description" in relating a broad range of social, political, and economic points of interest while also covering the more broadly topographical features of Cornwall. Unlike Harrison's text, Carew's first book is not organized into discrete sections. Rather, content is combined without demarcation. As a result, the book, while suitably capacious, is cumbersome as a reference guide. The second book recovers the taxonomic sensibility largely absent in the first. Divided into hundreds, the administrative divisions of Cornwall, the second book reduces the county-wide information of the first book into regional sections. Hundred-by-hundred, supplementary local details are added to correspond with noteworthy places, primarily consisting of towns and manor houses, but including natural landmarks, particularly hills, which Carew uses, rhetorically, as aforementioned vistas that permit his aesthetic, topographical surveys. Framing his hundred sections as "circuits," Carew's second book is periegetic in that, as in the above quotation, he invites his readers to experience Cornwall by means of sequential journeys through the hundreds, via his diegetic, mimetic descriptions. For example, following the above quotation, he follows a pathway leading from the estuary of Fowey River to the fishing villages Polruan and Bodinnick, and he scans the town of Fowey on the other side of the estuary before arriving at Hall, an estate on the east side of the

Fowey. Local details and curiosities pepper this trail, which leads to a short history of the vicissitudes of marriage and the contemporary inheritance of Hall. The information in this second book, then, expands upon the often aestheticized, poetic observations of Carew's traveller with supplementary scholarly, non-diegetic prose. The two books of Carew's *Survey* thus form a comprehensive whole; the first takes a broad view, while the second's periegetic orientation facilitates its perceptive focus on specific locations.

Leland's grand undertaking was also continued in Cornwall by John Norden, who outlined his goal to facilitate "the moste requisite understanding of the perticulers topographically and historicall of Englande and Wales" in the dedicatory epistle of his *Description of Cornwall* (1610, pub. 1728).<sup>90</sup> Calling his larger project (of which his *Description of Cornwall* is a part) the *Speculum Britanniae*, Norden used this title to gather a series of chorographies that he produced between 1591 and 1610. His earliest text, which he wrote while engaged as a surveyor in the county, covers Northamptonshire (1591, pub. 1720).<sup>91</sup> He begins with the utmost modesty, writing in his dedicatory epistle to Sir William Hatton (né Newport) that

although I knowe that your unaquaintance with the Matters contayned in this Travayle, is not such, that you greatlye want the use of this Delineacion and Discription, yet, if it may please you to afforde a favourable Acceptance hearof, you shall finde some Delight, some Use greatly to content you.<sup>92</sup>

He articulates his purpose with a greater sense of surety in his next chorography. "Imitating the artificial Painter, who beginneth alwaies at the head, the principall part of the bodie," the first published installment of the *Speculum Britanniae* was his *Historicall and Chorographicall Discription of Middlesex* (1593), "which above all other Shyres is graced, with that chiefe and head Citie London."<sup>93</sup> Framed thusly in the manner of a blazon, the remainder of Norden's chorographies covered counties in southern England, the Isle of Wight (which was part of Hampshire until 1890), Guernsey, and Jersey.<sup>94</sup> Aside from his *Discription of Middlesex*, only

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<sup>90</sup> First published as John Norden, *Speculi Britannae pars: A Topographical and Historical Description of Cornwall* (London: William Pearson, 1728).

<sup>91</sup> John Norden, *Delineation of Northamptonshire* (London: s.n., 1720).

<sup>92</sup> John Norden, *Delineation of Northamptonshire*, v.

<sup>93</sup> John Norden, *Speculum Britanniae: The First Parte an Historicall and Chorographicall Discription of Middlesex* (London: Eliot's Court, 1593), 9.

<sup>94</sup> John Norden, "Chorographical Description of Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Wight, Guernsey, and Jersey," 1595 (BL Add. MS 21853).

one of these texts, his *Description of Hartfordshire* (1598), was published in Norden's lifetime, while his aforementioned chorographies of Cornwall and Northamptonshire were first published from manuscript in the eighteenth century, with his *Description of Essex* following in 1840.<sup>95</sup> Two other chorographies have been lost entirely, save for their maps (Kent and Surrey).<sup>96</sup> To answer his critics and justify his prevailing methodology, he also wrote *Norden's Preparative to His Speculum Britanniae* as "a reconciliation of sundrie propositions by divers persons tendred, concerning the same."<sup>97</sup>

In general, Norden's chorographies are rather terse and lack sustained historical commentary. He focuses on contemporary county life, and in short prose sections he summarily discusses local features such as natural resources, regional industries, waterways, and significant towns. What distinguishes Norden's texts from those of his peers, though, is his cartographical sensibility. His chorographies feature maps that he produced to improve on those in Saxton's *Atlas*. Norden's maps include a variety of details not present in Saxton's, such as roadways, tables to explain pictographic symbols, and reference systems to diagram regional administrative divisions. Aside from their aforementioned prosaic surveys, Norden's chorographies are largely designed as gazetteers, to supplement his maps with local, contextual information. It should be noted, in passing, that while other contemporary chorographies sometimes included a map or maps (e.g. Lambarde's includes a single map; Carew's does not), the use of a chorography to supplement a map, rather than the other way around, was a novel development in the genre. Norden's texts combine a novel graticule, grid-reference system in his maps with alphabetically ordered lists of places. Entries in these lists include reference points (a letter and a number) that allow readers to locate specific places on his maps. For instance, his fairly representative Hertfordshire chorography includes lists of towns, parishes, and manor houses with reference points in this manner. In some cases, these entries hearken back to the alphabetical lists of Leland, Nowell, and Lambarde, and provide expository details. As an example of the

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<sup>95</sup> John Norden, *Description of Hartfordshire* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1598); *Description of the County of Essex* (London: Camden Society, 1840).

<sup>96</sup> On these lost manuscripts and for a summary of Norden's life and work, see Frank Kitchen, "John Norden (c. 1547–1625): Estate Surveyor, Topographer, County Mapmaker and Devotional Writer," *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 43–61.

<sup>97</sup> John Norden, *Norden's Preparative to His Speculum Britanniae* (London: John Windet, 1596), title page qtd.

sophistication capable in county-specific chorographies, Norden's consistent use of this conjoined apparatus of maps and lists thereby offers a further refinement on Saxton's nationally-scaled model.

Due to their quality, many of Norden's maps were used in Camden's 1607 *Britannia*, the first edition to include maps. John Speed also chose five of Norden's maps for his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611–1612), the companion piece to his *History of Great Britaine* (1611) and the first atlas of Britain, which pairs short selections of Camden's chorographical prose with maps of single counties.<sup>98</sup> To satisfy this last point, Speed could not rely entirely on Saxton's maps, which occasionally combined counties, or on Norden's work, which covered only select counties, so Speed used a number of maps that had originally been produced by cartographer and herald William Smith for an abortive, and perhaps competing, atlas project some ten years prior to the publication of the *Theatre*. From roughly 1575 to 1595, Smith was a prolific author of city and county-based chorographies, which he often supplemented with maps, although none of his work in this respect was published during his lifetime. Smith's earliest extant chorography is his "Breffe Discription of the Royall Citie of London" (1575), which is a concentrated yet extensive study of the city.<sup>99</sup> After sketching a history of London from its Roman roots, he surveys the city's landmarks, infrastructure, and processes of municipal governance. He concludes with a chronology of London mayors and sheriffs from 1190 to 1618, the year of his death, peppered with commentary on notable events in local history. Smith was a haberdasher by trade and, judging from his chorographical work, evidently travelled frequently between England and Germany between 1570 and 1590. While in Germany, he resided in Nuremberg and wrote a chorography of the city with a similar scope and format to his overview of London.<sup>100</sup> Smith also prepared a short tract, his "Angliæ Descriptio" (1580), to continue his

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<sup>98</sup> John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine Presenting an Exact Geography of the Kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles Adjoyning: with the Shires, Hundreds, Cities and Shire-townes, within ye Kingdome of England* (London: John Sudbury and George Humble, 1611–1612).

<sup>99</sup> Smith, "The Breffe Discription of the Royall Citie of London, Capitall Citie of this Realme of Englande" (London Metropolitan Archives CLC/262/MS02463). Andrew Gordon discusses Smith's "Discription" in *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text, and Community* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 60–84.

<sup>100</sup> Smith, "A Breeff Description of the Famous and Beautifull Cittie of Norenberg, in High Germany: Or rather certaine notes observed, of their Government, Customes and Ceremonies" (Lambeth Palace Library MS 508).



conversations about England with the manuscript's dedicatee, Nuremberg public official Christopher Führer.<sup>101</sup> In his dedication, Smith notes that he has been away from England for a long time and lacks the benefit of English books on the country. He thereby acknowledges the brevity of his manuscript, which begins with a geographical and historical overview before proceeding to a county-by-county survey of England and Wales and an extended genealogical table of English monarchs. Smith also mentions to Führer his willingness to expand the coverage of his manuscript if so desired. The "Angliæ Descriptio" is thus an apparent precursor to Smith's "Particuler Description of England" (1588), which conforms to the same basic structure of the "Angliæ Descriptio" whilst adding new preliminary sections on England as well as more fully developed county surveys, maps of major towns and cities, and the illustrated coats of arms of dozens of English earls and bishops.<sup>102</sup> Whereas some county entries in the "Angliæ Descriptio" are detailed, if succinct, and comprise a variety of details such as the history of county names, the relative locations of counties and their primary cities, the presence of noteworthy architecture and places of antiquarian interest, and commentary on local parishes, many entries are essentially cursory. Leicestershire, for example, receives a single sentence description cribbed from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, in which the founding of Leicester is attributed to King Leir.<sup>103</sup> Smith's longer entry in the "Particuler Description," by contrast, is typical of his county entries in general and locates Leicestershire in relation to other counties, then provides the locations of Leicestershire's market towns and forests in addition to coats of arms pertaining to local gentry and the city of Leicester.<sup>104</sup> Modest entries such as this indicate Smith's cartographical and heraldic foci; antiquarian, historical commentary is minimally represented in the "Particuler Description," which, despite containing an entry for every English and Welsh county, has therefore been mostly overlooked in favour of Camden's effusive prose and more broadly evident scholarship. That is, the "Particuler Description" and the *Britannia* are

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<sup>101</sup> Smith, "Angliæ Descriptio. Que paucis complectitur Ommium in hac Regione provinciarum nomina, situs, Limites, et alia, quæ ad easdem cognoscendas sunt necessaria" (BL Add. MS 10620).

<sup>102</sup> William Smith, "Particuler Description of England," 1588 (BL MS Harley 1046, fol. 173). This was published, faithfully, as *The Particular Description of England*, eds. Henry B. Wheatley and Edmund W. Ashbee (Hertford: Stephen Austin, 1879).

<sup>103</sup> "Lecestria, sic dicta est ab urbe Lecestriae (Britannis Caerleir vocata) quam construxit Leir, Britannorum Rex" (14v).

<sup>104</sup> 87r-88r.

mainly related in form rather than in content. However, between his “Angliæ Descriptio” and “Particuler Description,” Smith produced a chorographical study of Cheshire that, in mirroring the depth of insight of his London and Nuremberg manuscripts, compares favourably with the work of his peers and more firmly positions Smith within the course of Leland’s unfolding project. Extending back to the Kingdom of Mercia and the Danelaw, Smith’s 1585 “Countie Pallatine of Chester” begins by explicating the county’s eventual, historical status as a palatinate.<sup>105</sup> A subsequent section describes the county’s physical and human geography, taking especial note of local towns, rivers, forests, and agricultural lands. Preceded by Leland’s notes on the hundred of Weral, Smith then lists the villages in Cheshire’s seven hundreds. These lists are followed by descriptions of Cheshire’s main market towns. Smith’s section on Chester is by far the most sustained of these descriptions and closely follows the format of his London and Nuremberg studies. Smith concludes with a series of historical commentaries and lists, first covering the Earls of Cheshire since the Conquest, then the gentry in each hundred, and then the mayors and sheriffs of Chester from 1330 to 1586.

The “Countie Pallatine of Chester” is Smith’s only extended county chorography. While his writing had previously demonstrated his interest in heraldry and genealogy, after 1597, when he became Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms, an officer of the College of Arms, he dedicated himself exclusively to heraldic and genealogical studies, aside from the aforementioned series of county maps that he produced from 1602–1603. Returning to Speed’s use of Smith’s maps, for Leicestershire, which had been conjoined with Warwickshire in Saxton’s *Atlas*, Speed modified a map of the county that Smith made in 1602 with the oversight of William Burton.<sup>106</sup> Burton recounts, in his *Description of Leicester Shire*, to be covered in greater detail in the next chapter, that he “rectified (certain yeres passed, Christopher Saxtons mappe of this Countie) with an addition of 80 townes.”<sup>107</sup> These towns are retained in Speed’s version and maintain Smith and

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<sup>105</sup> Smith, “The Valeroyall of England. Or: Countie Pallatine of Chester. Containing a Geographical Description of the said Countrey or Shyre, with other Things therunto apartayning” (Bodleian MS Ashmolean 765). This manuscript is the copy text for the version in William Smith and William Webb, *The vale-royall of England, or, The county palatine of Chester illustrated wherein is contained a geographical and historical description of that famous county*, ed. Daniel King (London: John Streater, 1656), 1–99.

<sup>106</sup> Speed also acknowledges his indebtedness to Smith’s Cheshire maps in the cartouche of his own (*Theatre*, book 1, 71–2).

<sup>107</sup> Burton, *Description*, note to the reader.

Burton's preferred spellings of place names, which occasionally vary from Saxton's. Speed also incorporates features that distinguish his work as a cartographer around the border of the map: an inlaid town plan of Leicester, heraldic arms, and historical notes (see Fig. 2.3). Smith's original 1602 map, by contrast, has none of these, but it does include features as are likewise found in Norden's maps, such as tables to explain pictographic symbols and help diagram hundred borders (see Fig. 2.4). The atlas project that Smith was engaged in is not well known. From 1602–1603 twelve county maps made by Smith were engraved by Flemish engraver Jodocus Hondius. Alexander Globe comments that these “new maps were intended for an atlas to supersede Saxton,” and that Hans Woutneel, a Flemish refugee to London, was to be the publisher.<sup>108</sup> Although a small number of copies of Smith's maps were printed from Hondius' plates, Globe notes that “It is unlikely that many copies were offered for public sale.”<sup>109</sup> Woutneel seems to have died between 1603 and 1608, curtailing the project. Speed came into possession of Hondius' plates shortly after Woutneel's death, but, because Speed was then working on his own atlas, Smith's maps were not published by themselves; Globe writes that “Speed or his printers, John Sudbury and George Humble, appear to have kept them out of circulation to prevent competition with their proposed *Theatre*.”<sup>110</sup> Speed's atlas, then, combines and revises Saxton's, Norden's, and Smith's maps.

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<sup>108</sup> Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent, London Printseller circa 1642–1665* (Vancouver: U of British Columbia P, 1985), 99.

<sup>109</sup> Globe, 100.

<sup>110</sup> Globe, 100.

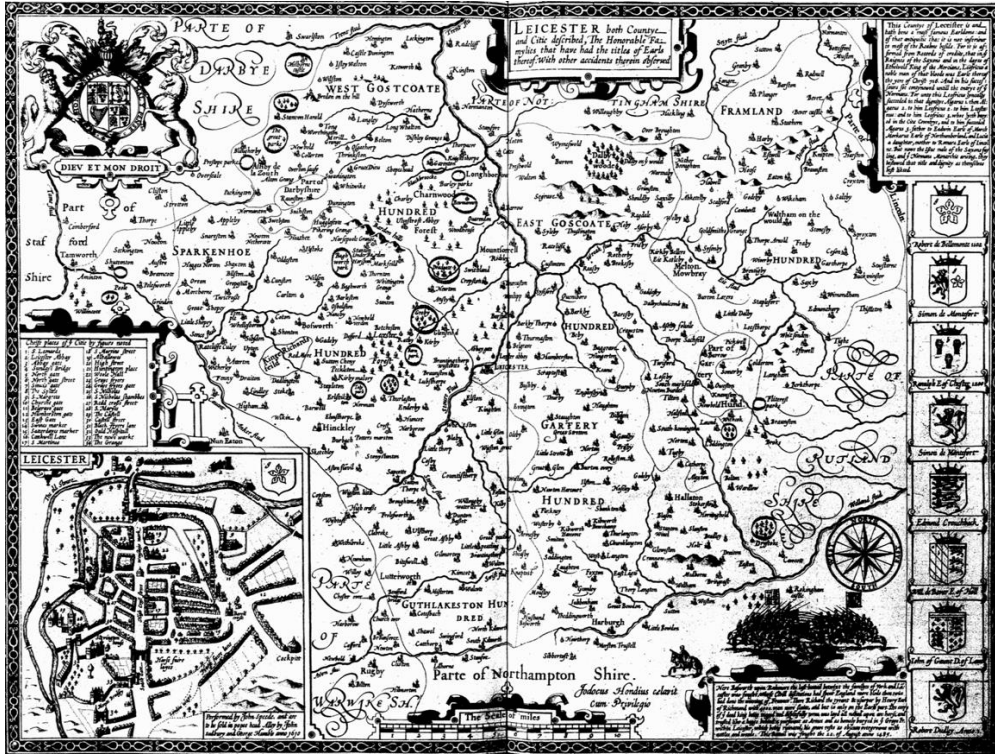


Fig. 2.3 Speed's map of Leicestershire, from his *Theatre* (Book 1, 61–2).



Fig. 2.4 Smith's 1602 map of Leicestershire and Rutland (*English County Maps in the Collection of the Royal Geographical Society*, 2 vols., ed. Edward Heawood [London: Royal Geographical Society, 1932], vol. 2, map 14).

There is some indication that, in the initial development of Woutneel's atlas, Smith's efforts to supersede Saxton's maps with his own involved first separating Saxton's combined counties into individual maps. As Globe notes, Smith's earliest maps in the Woutneel series include Northamptonshire, which Saxton groups with Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Rutland, as well as Surrey, which Saxton represents alongside Kent, Sussex, and Middlesex.<sup>111</sup> Smith also separates Warwickshire and Leicestershire into two maps, although he pairs Leicestershire with the diminutive Rutland. In composing the series, Smith relied on his earlier manuscripts of Cheshire and Lancashire, Norden's maps of Hertford, Surrey, and Hampshire, and both Saxton's and Norden's Essex, and he revised Saxton for the remainder: Leicestershire and Rutland, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Staffordshire, Suffolk, and Warwickshire.<sup>112</sup> For these six adaptations of Saxton's work, Smith added tables to explain pictographic symbols and diagram hundreds, which are bordered with dotted lines. Otherwise, most of these six maps follow Saxton's closely. Smith's Warwickshire and Leicestershire/Rutland maps are the only two to show further changes. Warwickshire includes roadways and lists places that Saxton's map does not, though these additions occur mainly in regions adjoining Leicestershire. It is possible, then, that the places added to the Warwickshire map stem from Burton's assistance to Smith's efforts; Burton, after all, owned and extensively annotated a set of Saxton's maps, including the Leicestershire/Warwickshire map.<sup>113</sup> Smith's Leicestershire/Rutland map does not add roads, but it does include, as mentioned, some eighty additional towns in its Leicestershire portion (one addition, the village Newbold, is made to Rutland, which otherwise follows Saxton's). In all, the Woutneel series indicates Smith's drive to produce maps that, while part of a nationally-scaled project like Saxton's maps, represent a greater degree of attention to local topographical features. Globe speculates that Smith had

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<sup>111</sup> Globe, 99. Smith's 1602–1603 series of maps is also discussed by Ian James Saunders, "The Mapping of Lancashire," *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 67.2 (2015): 200–14.

<sup>112</sup> See Globe, 98–104.

<sup>113</sup> These maps are contained in "[A bound collection of maps formerly the property of William Burton]" (Royal Geographical Society CA15F-032). With the exception of some, but not all, of his additions to the Leicestershire, but, tellingly, not the Warwickshire, portion of his Leicestershire/Warwickshire map, none of Burton's annotations in this set are represented in Smith's 1602–1603 series. So while Burton might have helped guide Smith's revisions to Saxton's Warwickshire, Burton's Saxton maps in Royal Geographical Society CA15F-032 do not appear to have been used in the collaboration of Burton and Smith.

sources of local information beyond Saxton and Norden who helped to guide his improvements, but this point is conjectural beyond Smith's recourse to Burton's assistance, which is only known through Burton's limited acknowledgement of his involvement.<sup>114</sup> In any case, by surveying the degrees of correspondence and variation between Saxton's, Norden's and Smith's maps, it is evident that, besides Saxton and Norden, Burton was Smith's most significant source of local information.

## **Conclusion**

Prose chorographies and maps became increasingly sophisticated in tandem and, treating the county as the standard unit of geographical exposition, conveyed finely detailed representations of individual British regions. The context of Burton's collaboration with Smith, and the nature of Burton's own chorographical endeavours in Leicestershire, will be assessed at length in the next chapter. As can be seen in this chapter, though, with the production of a host of representative, exemplary texts, the norms of the chorography genre had become well-established by the time of Burton's involvement. Written without a standardized set of guidelines or instructions as part of a continuous, ad hoc project, and informed by loose, largely implicit bonds of influence and community between authors, early modern chorographies and attendant regional maps came to best fill the place of the grand silver table map—a vision of national honour and integrity—that Leland envisioned as the outcome of his incipient labours. As the successors of medieval records, these chorographies combined available scholarly data with the pronounced narrative voices of their authors. As such, while medieval records might have been based on information gathered by itinerant surveyors, early modern chorographies are explicitly periegetic; the regional geographies delineated by writers like Leland, Lambarde, and Camden are organized as travel accounts by means of complex, idiosyncratic interplays of diegesis and mimesis. That is, their chorographies are simultaneously diegetic (e.g. in the manner of Leland's diary, or Lambarde's eponymous, speculative and organizational perambulation) and mimetic (e.g. in non-narrative representations of geographical data, or in the imitative gestures of Camden's occasionally fictive speaker or Carew's invitations to experience the aesthetics of Cornwall vistas) in various ways. In summary, travel-oriented research tended to become travel-oriented

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<sup>114</sup> Globe, 98–9.

chorographical narratives and representations. This generic context, then, sets the stage for a consideration of the uniqueness of Burton's work, which was, as will be seen, decidedly, and of necessity, non-periegetic.



## CHAPTER 3

### A SEDENTARY SURVEY:

#### ASSESSING WILLIAM BURTON'S ENCYCLOPEDIA *LEICESTERSHIRE*

At the outset of his 1622 *Description of Leicester Shire*, William Burton remarks that the county “hath the proportion of an hart, broad at the top, and narrower towards the bottom, which shape it truly beareth, for that it lieth almost in the hart and center of the whole Continent of the Kingdome.”<sup>1</sup> Lending topographical legitimacy to Leicestershire’s colloquial esteem as England’s heart, Burton frames his chorographical survey as an attempt to “remove an Eclipse from the Sunne . . . [and] give light to the Countie of Leicester, whose beauty hath long beene shadowed and obscured.”<sup>2</sup> Burton links his enterprise to many of the chorographies discussed in the previous chapter. He seeks to follow the “examples of many grave and worthy men,” and acknowledges his indebtedness to Camden’s *Britannia*, Speed’s *History of Great Britaine*, Lambarde’s *Perambulation of Kent*, Carew’s *Survey of Cornwall*, the surveys of Norden’s *Speculum Britanniae* project, and Saxton’s *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales*.<sup>3</sup> This chapter will demonstrate that, although these other chorographies did not focus exclusively on Leicestershire, if they mentioned Leicestershire at all, Burton was nonetheless reliant on and influenced by such textual precedents; he mined them for content and methodological strategies he could use, and he positioned his book as a link in the same generic chain of county-based English chorographies. That is, Burton signals his participation in a broader community of

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<sup>1</sup> William Burton, *The Description of Leicester Shire: Containing Matters of Antiquitye, Historye, Armorye, and Genealogy* (London: William Jaggard, 1622), 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Description*, dedicatory epistle.

<sup>3</sup> *Description*, note to the reader. William Camden, *Britannia sive Florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et insularum adjacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio* (London: Ralph Newberry, 1586); John Speed, *The history of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans Their originals, manners, warres, coines & seales: with ye successions, lives, acts & issues of the English monarchs from Julius Caesar, to our most gracious soveraigne King James* (London: John Sudbury and George Humble, 1611); William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent conteining the descriptio, hystorie, and customes of that shyre* (London: Ralph Newberry, 1576); Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (London: William Jaggard, 1602); Christopher Saxton, *Atlas of the Counties of England and Wales* (London: s. n., 1579). Bibliographical references to Norden’s work will be made later, on a text by text basis. Note that references to the *Perambulation* will cite William Lambarde, *A Perambulation of Kent*, ed. Richard Church (Bath: Adams and Dart, 1970).



chorographers who worked to produce descriptive studies of their country's counties.<sup>4</sup> Of course, as the previous chapter established, chorographies tend to contain formal, editorial idiosyncrasies, even while they are linked to one another by overarching generic patterns. Notably, many chorographies balance and weight their diegetic and mimetic elements differently, while still being periegetic texts. As will be seen by means of a detailed assessment of the first and (abortive) second editions of Burton's *Description*, the defining idiosyncrasy of this chorography is its turn away from the periegetic conventions established by its predecessors. Instead of featuring a diegetic, first-person travel narrative as the basis of its survey of Leicestershire, the *Description* advances an encyclopedic approach similar to that which is found in the preliminary, supplemental surveys and gazetteers of Leland, Lambarde, and Nowell. However, with an extensive reliance on scholarly research taking the place of first-hand observations, the *Description* is unique as a completed, standalone, non-diegetic, and encyclopedic chorography. In what follows, then, the nature of Burton's indebtedness to other chorographers will be qualified, and the novel facets of his labours will be assessed with reference to the work of his peers.

Returning to the considerations that concluded the previous chapter, Burton's collaboration with Smith in revising Saxton's Leicestershire came in the early years of Burton's chorographical work. Burton was born in Lindley, Leicestershire, on 24 August, 1575. He studied at Brasenose College, Oxford, and was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1593. He wrote an unpublished Latin comedy, "De Amoribus Perinthii et Tyanthes," in 1596, and in 1597 he published a translation of Achilles Tatius' "The History of Cleitophon and Leucippe."<sup>5</sup> Burton dedicated this latter work to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton and Shakespeare's patron,

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<sup>4</sup> *Description*, note to the reader. Learned communities working in a broad spectrum of scientific fields at grassroots and institutional levels flourished in early modern England. On the collaborative social networks that connected these communities, see especially Deborah Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2007), Lisa Jardine, *Ingenious Pursuits: Building the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), and Elizabeth Yale, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2016). While this scholarship focuses on scientific disciplines aside from geography, Yale draws attention to the circulation of manuscript natural histories and topographies between chorographers, some of whom feature in this chapter.

<sup>5</sup> William Burton, *The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe*, eds. Stephen Gaselee and H. F. B. Brett-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1923).

although it is unknown “whether Burton had any intimate relations with [Wriothesley], or whether he merely chose him as the recipient of the Epistle Dedicatorie as one known to receive favourably the efforts of young men of letters.”<sup>6</sup> H. F. B. Brett-Smith, who published the 1923 *editio princeps* of Burton’s translation with Stephen Gaselee, writes that Burton’s adaptation of Annibale della Croce’s Latin edition “is vigorous and usually faithful; the English is idiomatic, but remarkably close to the original.”<sup>7</sup> On Tatius’ romance, Gaselee comments that Tatius’

worst fault is obvious; he was only too clearly the possessor of a well-stocked commonplace book, of which the contents must be introduced somewhere in the story at any cost: at moments when the action should be proceeding with headlong speed, the enthralled reader is held up with some insufferable disquisition or description—the physiological process by which impressions strike the eye and gradually reach the source of the sensations, the story of the origin of purple-dyeing, an account of the hippopotamus, the phoenix, or the elephant, or a set of tasteless rhetorical antitheses.<sup>8</sup>

Similar criticisms have been levelled against Burton’s *Description of Leicester Shire*, perhaps most notably by John Nichols, who draws heavily from Burton’s chorography in his four volume series *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (1795–1815). Of Burton’s 1622 first edition, Nichols writes that “the printed volume, though a folio of above 300 pages, if the unnecessary digressions were struck out, and the pedigrees reduced into less compass, would shrink into a small work.”<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless, Nichols was sympathetic to Burton’s approach and, continuing, acknowledges the special merit of Burton’s inclusivity:

it was the style of the times in which our Author lived, for writers in general to indulge themselves in fondness for digression; affecting to pour forth their whole slate of common-place learning on all occasions, whether applicable or not; and it must be admitted that the digressions of our Author in particular are in general so pleasant and so pertinent, as deservedly to be entitled to notice.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> In Burton, *Clitophon and Leucippe*, xviii.

<sup>7</sup> In Burton, *Clitophon and Leucippe*, xix–xx.

<sup>8</sup> In Burton, *Clitophon and Leucippe*, xvi–xvii.

<sup>9</sup> Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 3, ix n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 3, ix n. 2.

Certainly, at a basic, generic level, the digressions that would mar a romance are less damning in a “well-stocked commonplace book” or chorography, wherein comprehensiveness, the prevailing pursuit of chorographers from Leland to Burton, was a primary goal.<sup>11</sup>

Burton’s exhaustiveness stems in part from his sporadic engagement with the chorography for over forty years. In a 1641 prefatory note that was not published until after his death in 1645, but was intended to introduce the never-published second edition of his book, Burton recalls that he began his work in 1597

not with an intendment that ever it should have come to public view, but for my own private use, which, after it had slept a long time, was on a sudden raised out of the dust, and by force of an higher power drawn to the press, having scarce an allowance of time for the furbishing and putting on a mantle.<sup>12</sup>

Few clues further inform the development of the chorography between 1597 and 1622, but this period of “sleep,” to use Burton’s parlance, was initially punctuated, as mentioned, by his cartographical work with Smith in 1602. Burton was called to the bar in 1603, but poor health soon prompted his retirement to an estate at Fauld in Staffordshire.<sup>13</sup> In 1604, he wrote a preface for a collection of Leicestershire coats of arms, monument inscriptions, and church antiquities by Rouge Croix pursuivant William Wyrley, who had previously served as Staffordshire antiquarian Sampson Erdeswick’s amanuensis.<sup>14</sup> Burton lauds Wyrley’s energies in traversing the county for ancient curiosities, and he notes that Wyrley’s efforts in this regard began a decade before his own. Including Burton and Erdeswick, a dozen contributors are listed at the beginning of Wyrley’s manuscript, with Wyrley receiving primary credit for performing most of the labour and study involved.<sup>15</sup> It is tempting to speculate that Burton and Erdeswick were substantially

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<sup>11</sup> Burton responds to his critics at length on this and other points in the preface of his second edition. See Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 3, xx–xxii.

<sup>12</sup> Burton qtd. by Nichols in *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 3, xx.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Cust, “Burton, William,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, 2004–2015), 24 February 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4141?docPos=3>.

<sup>14</sup> See “William Wyrley,” *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 63, ed. Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1900), which identifies Wyrley’s text, at least in part, as “Church Notes of Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Northampton, York, Rutland, and Staffordshire” (College of Arms MS Vincent 197). See also Anthony à Wood, “William Wyrley,” *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 2, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., ed. Philip Bliss (London: F. C. and J. Rivington et al., 1815).

<sup>15</sup> William Smith is among those acknowledged by Burton, perhaps for their recent collaboration of the 1602 Leicestershire map.

involved in the manuscript. By all accounts, Erdeswick and Wyrley had an idiosyncratic arrangement. In a quotidian scenario, Erdeswick drew regularly on his assistant Wyrley's research for the "View of Staffordshire," Erdeswick's manuscript magnum opus, but Wyrley was given only minor acknowledgement.<sup>16</sup> By contrast, the work for which Wyrley is primarily known, *The True Use of Armorie* (1592), was in fact written by Erdeswick, who, in this case, chose to generously interpret the compensations of an amanuensis and allow it to be published under Wyrley's name.<sup>17</sup> Erdeswick related this fact to Burton, who in turn passed it along to William Dugdale, the Warwickshire chorographer, who committed the matter to posterity.<sup>18</sup> Erdeswick and Burton's relationship, then, included conversations about Wyrley and authorship. Writing in 1604, one year after Erdeswick's death, Burton claims keen interest in the future of Erdeswick's literary remains, of which he is demonstrably knowledgeable. If Erdeswick had contributed significantly to the 1604 Leicestershire manuscript, and if his death thereby helped to motivate Burton to oversee its further preparation, then Wyrley's authorship of the document might be viewed as a natural corollary and a rather fitting legacy of his prior relationship with Erdeswick. In this arrangement, Burton would feature in an advisory role to Wyrley, which is reasonably well-established by his preface. Burton notes his longstanding working relationship with Wyrley on Leicestershire matters while commenting with some regret that his own lingering sickness prevented him from the same vigorous activities that he credits to Wyrley.<sup>19</sup> Burton comments at some length about his own slowly developing chorography, and he implies that his own incomplete work, though forestalled by his health, bore the potential to supersede Wyrley's and constitute a work on the level of other great county chorographies. Burton conveys

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<sup>16</sup> M. W. Greenslade, "William Wyrley," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford UP, 2004–2015), 24 February 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30174>. Sampson's work was first published as *A Survey of Staffordshire* (London: Edmund Curl, 1717).

<sup>17</sup> See Greenslade, "William Wyrley." William Wyrley, *The True Use of Armorie* (London: Gabriell Cawood, 1592). In annotations intended for his abortive second edition, Burton acknowledges Erdeswick as the author of *The True Use of Armorie*, "which he putt forth under the name of his servaunt William Wirley" (Staffordshire Record Office D649/4/1).

<sup>18</sup> Greenslade, "William Wyrley."

<sup>19</sup> Burton and Wyrley collaborated on surveys of Leicestershire churches between 1598 and 1609. Their work in this regard is represented in the Leicestershire section of "Church Notes" (College of Arms MS Vincent 197) and is reproduced by Augustine Vincent, who dates their work, in his 1619 "Visitation of Leicestershire" (College of Arms MS Vincent 127).

his esteem for Wyrley's 1604 manuscript, as a preface should, but he nonetheless frames Wyrley's study of Leicestershire's heraldry and churches as partial and preliminary to his own.

Burton's preface was followed by the "sleep" to which he later referred. Then at long last, as he says, a "higher power" drew his chorography to the press in 1622. Nichols interprets this influence as that exerted by Burton's dedicatee, George Villiers, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Buckingham, though the details of Villiers' supposed involvement are unknown beyond Burton's very conventional dedicatory address.<sup>20</sup> At any rate, Villiers was a native of Leicestershire and a favourite of the king. Burton is more forthcoming, in his chorography's preface, with respect to his other influences. As he was a lawyer by training, with, he notes, a complementary side interest in the study of antiquities, he associates his work with that of writers who likewise supplemented their professional careers with chorographical endeavours. Burton writes that

as those two learned writers Georgius Brunius and Hieronimus Henninges (the one Author of *Theatrum Urbium*, the other of *Theatrum Genealogicum*) doe say of themselves, that though by profession and calling they were Divines, yet being drawne by a naturall instinct, the one to the love of Pictures, Perspectives, Mappes, and other Geographical delights, the other to the studie of Genealogies, that therefore no man should lay any imputation upon them, for those their labours, sith that (say they) Saint Hierome, Bede, Isodore, Orosius, Aeneas Sylvius, Rodericus Toletanus, and many Fathers of the Church, did delight themselves with humane learning, and each of them set forth Histories, or some other Treatises, expressing their varietie of content therein.<sup>21</sup>

In finding precursors who balanced professional and scholarly callings, Burton suggests points of correspondence between their various fields of research and the four focal points that he highlights in the full title of his work, *The Description of Leicester Shire, Containing Matters of Antiquitye, Historye, Armorye, and Genealogy*. On genealogical and, presumably, armorial matters, Burton acknowledges herald Augustine Vincent for the receipt of information from documents stored in the Tower of London. Another contact with ties to the Tower, auditor Francis Goston, provided Burton with insight into the finances of Leicestershire parishes by

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<sup>20</sup> Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 3, xx.

<sup>21</sup> Burton, *Description*, note to the reader. Georg Braun and Franz Hoogenberg, *Civitas Orbis Terrarum*, 6 vols. (Cologne: s. n. 1572–1618); Hieronymus Henninges, *Theatrum Genealogicum* (Magdeburg: s. n. 1598).

means of records kept by the Royal Mint. More generally, Burton further notes the “kind assistance and good directions” of noted Leicestershire poet John Beaumont.<sup>22</sup> Of special significance, though, is Burton’s reflection that his project to restore Leicestershire “to her worth and dignity” was “animated . . . by the examples of many grave and worthy men”: he praises “that most learned and never enough admired” Camden, “who most exactly hath discovered the whole continent of all Britannia”; “that industrious and well deserving” Speed; “that grave and sage” Lambarde; “the eloquent and noble” Carew; and “that excellent Surveyor” Norden.<sup>23</sup> In outlining specific details of his “labours and endeavours,” though, Burton takes care to modestly affirm the sagacity of his unique, individual scholarship as well as his inclination, when permitted by his health, to survey the county “by my own view and travell.”<sup>24</sup>

To accommodate the ambitious antiquarian, historical, armorial, and genealogical scope of his undertaking, the *Description of Leicester Shire* is organized into reasonably effective and well-defined sections, notwithstanding Burton’s later, aforementioned comments that the book was produced with “scarce an allowance of time for the furbishing and putting on a mantle.” Burton bookends the main body of his chorography with “A Generall Description of Leicester-Shire” and a series of short appendices followed by a general table of contents. The “Generall Description” presents a broad overview of the county, beginning with an outline of Leicestershire’s borders. Burton describes the county’s division into the hundreds of Goscote, Guthlaxton, Framland, and Gartree in the reign of Edward I, as well as the subsequent subdivisions under Edward III of Guthlaxton and Goscote, forming the new hundreds Sparkenhoe and East and West Goscote. Burton discusses the county’s agricultural merits, such as its regions of rich soil and the fine quality of wool produced from Leicestershire sheep, alongside its other natural resources like limestone and wood. He also charts the courses of the rivers that border and intersect the county. Burton concludes the section with brief remarks about the history of local secular and ecclesiastical polity. In a manner reminiscent of the lists that

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<sup>22</sup> Burton, *Description*, note to the reader.

<sup>23</sup> Burton, *Description*, note to the reader.

<sup>24</sup> Burton, *Description*, note to the reader. As this chapter goes on to explain, this last comment is rather at odds with the chorography itself. Burton’s text bears no explicit indication that he actually derived information from his own first-hand observations or that he travelled to conduct his scholarship. His flagging health presumably forestalled whatever intentions he might have had in this respect.

punctuate Leland's Leicestershire passages, and perhaps to compensate for Leicestershire's exclusion from the county-by-county lists in Lambarde's *Alphabetical Description* and Harrison's "Historical Description," Burton's "Generall Description" catalogues local castles, abbeys, priories, nunneries, colleges, hospitals, and commanderies of the Hospitallers and Templars. He also lists Leicestershire's historical and contemporary market towns, indicating current market days and the dates of town fairs. Lastly, a list of parks and their owners offers an update from the similar list in Leland's *Itinerary*. The "Generall Description" is less oriented towards providing historical information than Camden's Leicestershire section in the *Britannia*, which, despite its relative brevity, was Burton's most sustained, contemporary chorographical precedent. Burton's intent in this section is to simply introduce his reader to the county's human and physical geography, and, in contrast to Camden's partial survey in this regard, Burton offers a fairly comprehensive, if succinct, view, while retaining his antiquarian, historical considerations for the body of the book. Nonetheless, the "Generall Description" is representative of Burton's chorographical scholarship; his first sentence draws on Leland for the etymology of the name Leicestershire, and the section includes additional references to Ptolemy, Mercator, and William of Malmesbury. It should be added that Burton's tone is entirely laudatory throughout the introduction. Whereas Camden's Leicestershire section begins by noting that there is "nothing worth relation" in the southern part of the county except for a town whose populace "have an ilfavoured, untunable, and harsh maner of speech," Burton introduces a county in which "The ayre is generally good, pure, and healthfull, by reason whereof, many sweet and pleasant seats and dwellings are heere found, healthfull by nature, and much beautified by Art and industry."<sup>25</sup> Burton's appendices, which take the form of additional lists, are rather more specific in nature than the lists chosen for the "Generall Description": he appends a table that outlines the historical possession of the advowsons of Leicestershire churches by abbeys and priories operant in the county; lists of Leicestershire Knights of the Garter and local knights who served in the wars of Edward I; and a chronological list of county sheriffs from the reign of Henry II to 1622. In all, Burton's bookends adequately and conventionally frame the body of his chorography, titled "A Particular Description of Leicester-Shire."

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<sup>25</sup> Burton, *Description*, "Generall Description."

Burton's "Particular Description" constitutes the bulk of the book and consists of some 375 alphabetically-organized entries corresponding to significant places in the county, including towns and villages, manor houses, parish churches, castles, and historical sites. Rather than follow a periegetic means of organizing his Leicestershire chorography, then, as in the *Itinerary*, the *Perambulation*, or the *Britannia*, Burton chooses the encyclopedic, gazetteer system of Leland's geographical indexes, Nowell's revised *Abcedarium*, and Lambarde's *Alphabetical Description*. However, just as Leland's indexes supplement his *Genethliacon Illustrissimi Eaduerdi, Cygnea Cantio*, and *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturii*, so too were Nowell's and Lambarde's glossaries designed and used primarily as reference guides for larger projects. Burton's "Particular Description" alone uses an alphabetical system in a self-contained, fully-realized chorography. The aforementioned 1641 preface to the planned second edition sheds light on his decision in this regard:

though some have moved me to change, and follow that order taken by Mr. Camden in his *Britannia*, who, imitating John Leland in his "Cantio Cygnea," [sic] beginneth at the head of a river or stream, and so setteth down those towns near adjacent to the same; but because the rivers and streams here are few, and towns many, and that I should hereby be forced to a great land-leaping; and for that also this alphabetical order will serve as an Index or Repertory upon any sudden occasion of search; I thought best to persist still in my first intended course.<sup>26</sup>

Camden's periegetic means of surveying Leicestershire, in tracing the Avon and Welland Rivers along the county's southern border to Watling Street, then following Watling Street north to the Soar River, and then describing the course of the Soar to Leicester, is thereby dismissed by Burton as he affirms the comprehensiveness and navigability of his own chorography. However, although Burton advances the alphabetical model beyond the examples of Leland, Nowell, and Lambarde, his "Particular Description" does not apply the further taxonomic distinctions favoured by Lambarde, in his separation of Kent into the Dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester, or Carew, in his hundred-by-hundred study of Cornwall. Likewise, Domesday Book represents Leicestershire first by landowner and then by hundreds. Entries in Burton's "Particular Description," by contrast, are not subdivided in a comparable manner; he begins with Abbey

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<sup>26</sup> Burton qtd. in Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, vol. 3, xx.



Gate, in the hundred of East Goscote, and ends with Worthington, in West Goscote. Ironically, Burton's decision to forego taxonomic distinctions and thereby simplify his text increases its accessibility as a reference guide; readers need not search for places by diocese, landowner, or hundred, but simply, intuitively, by the place's name. The map of Leicestershire that he and Smith composed in 1602 is reduced, focusing only on Leicestershire, rather than Leicestershire and Rutland, in the version that graces Burton's *Description* (Fig. 3.1). Norden's sophisticated combinations of grid-reference systems in his maps and coordinates in his chorographies' entries, which allows readers to pinpoint locations quickly and with ease, could not be replicated in Burton's chorography, of course, for the simple reason that Smith's map and Burton's text were produced twenty years apart. Nonetheless, the improvements that Smith and Burton made to Saxton's map, in adding towns and demarcating the borders of local hundreds, make Smith's map a useful compliment to Burton's prose and enhance the functionality of the chorography as a whole.



Fig. 3.1 Map of Leicestershire, from Burton's *Description of Leicester Shire* (1622). Image obtained from the *Folger Digital Image Collection*.

Place-name entries in the “Particular Description” follow a standard pattern. At their most basic, entries situate places in Leicestershire by noting the hundred they are in and providing some further detail as to their location. For example, Muston is a village in “the hundred of Framland, standing upon the river of Dene, in the North East point of the Shire, running up between the Counties of Lincolne and Nottingham.”<sup>27</sup> Many entries go on to provide histories of local landownership. The level of detail in these histories is variable, and they range from a few sentences to a few paragraphs in length. In these sections, Burton often includes marginal references to his sources, which are typically manorial court rolls. As these histories of lords and manors regularly contain genealogical and heraldic information, it seems that these rolls were most likely among those obtained by him from his associate Augustine Vincent. Burton diagrams extensive pedigree charts from Vincent’s rolls; these charts themselves constitute about twenty percent of the length of the “Particular Description.”<sup>28</sup> References drawn from materials provided by auditor Francis Goston are similarly conspicuous; these references pertain to rolls cited for basic information about the operations of local parishes, including accounts of their finances and, as is summarized in an appendix, patronage (i.e. advowson rights).

Details derived from Vincent’s and Goston’s rolls are ubiquitous and substantially broaden the scope of Burton’s chorography, which, after all, only found two recent precursors in the comparably brief Leicestershire passages of Leland and Camden. In using Vincent’s court

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<sup>27</sup> Burton, *Description*, 195.

<sup>28</sup> Strangely, Burton does not seem to have made use of Vincent’s 1619 “Visitation of Leicestershire” (College of Arms MS Vincent 127), which is a standard record of county pedigree charts that draws on MS Vincent 197, “Church Notes,” to add the arms from churches collected by Burton and Wyrley between 1598 and 1609. In contrast to the pedigree charts in the “Visitation of Leicestershire,” Burton’s charts are succinct, partial, and, above all, selectively chosen. He does not appear to ever replicate charts from the “Visitation of Leicestershire” verbatim. Nichols’ complaint with respect to the preponderance of pedigrees he perceived in Burton’s 1622 chorography should thus be tempered by the fact that Burton was actually economical in his inclusion of pedigrees. On a similar note, Burton evidently made no use, either, of MS Vincent 10 (College of Arms), “Pedigrees,” a vast alphabetized collection of English genealogical charts that he wrote and maintained. Although “Pedigrees” extends beyond Leicestershire, whenever “Pedigrees” and the 1622 *Description* overlap one another and represent the same families, little similarity exists between the two texts; at times, “Pedigrees” provides more comprehensive coverage and exposition, and at other times the opposite is true. “Pedigrees,” then, like Vincent’s “Visitation of Leicestershire,” should not be considered an important resource for Burton as he prepared genealogical lists for his *Description*.

rolls as the foundation for much of his historical coverage, and only infrequently delving into Leicestershire's Roman and Saxon past, Burton rarely finds it necessary to cite Camden's antiquarian information. However, Camden's chorography of the county was invaluable to Burton in providing him with second-hand access to Leland's Leicestershire observations via Camden's unattributed use of the *Itinerary* manuscripts to help supplement his descriptions of local topographical features. While Burton possessed some of Leland's manuscripts prior to 1622, it is clear that he did not have access to the complete Leicestershire section of Leland's *Itinerary*. In 1586, Humphrey Purefoy, Burton's uncle, acquired Leland's original "Collectanea," "De uiris illustribus," and "Itinerary" manuscripts.<sup>29</sup> In 1598, the year of Purefoy's death, Burton began to gather and assemble a fragmentary volume of loose leaves from the "Itinerary" notebooks. Although this volume eventually contained eighteen fragments, Burton likely only had one of these before 1622; this volume thus plays no part in Burton's chorography.<sup>30</sup> Humphrey's son Thomas inherited Leland's manuscripts, and Burton therefore had limited access to them. Around the time of his association with Smith, Burton transcribed a thirteenth-century roll of arms from the "Collectanea."<sup>31</sup> When Thomas died in 1612, he left his cousin four folio volumes containing both the "Collectanea" and "De uiris illustribus," both of which feature prominently in Burton's *Description*.<sup>32</sup> From these texts, Burton derives historical facts about Leicestershire religious institutions and the biographies of local authors. However, beyond his acquisition of a single fragment, it is unlikely that Burton had sustained access to the "Itinerary" manuscripts before 1622 because his chorography is entirely reliant on Camden's paraphrases of Leland's travelogues. Even when Camden's glosses omit noteworthy topographical details present in Leland's manuscripts, Burton follows Camden. Further, Burton eventually came to own the Purefoys' set of "Itinerary" manuscripts, to be discussed later; to these, he added marginalia and bracketed corrections. None of these revisions is represented in his 1622 chorography, which, again, suggests that he did not have the majority of the *Itinerary* in hand

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<sup>29</sup> Harris, "Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten," 465.

<sup>30</sup> Harris suggests that Burton only obtained a single fragment before 1628, when he began to transcribe the rest of the "Itinerary"; therefore, Burton's title-page inscription in the volume of loose leaves, dated 1598, would pertain to this one fragment alone ("Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten," 466). Also see L. Toulmin Smith, introduction to the *Itinerary*, xxv.

<sup>31</sup> Harris, "Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten," 466–7.

<sup>32</sup> L. Toulmin Smith, introduction to the *Itinerary*, xxiv.

until after 1622. As a result of his reliance on Camden in this respect, Burton is not able to acknowledge Leland for information that Camden draws from the *Itinerary*; as noted, Camden was not forthcoming in his indebtedness to Leland. Camden primarily uses Leland's observations to supplement his own partial first-hand experiences in the county and thereby bolster the scope and the reliability of his periegetic narrative in the *Britannia*. Without access to Leland's travelogue, Burton does not have this same opportunity.

At any rate, Burton's *Description of Leicestershire* is a conspicuous departure from the travelogue form that predominates in contemporary chorographical writing. Unlike his precursors, Burton seldom enters into his chorography in the first person to relate his individual, non-scholarly familiarity with the county. In fact, whereas other chorographers conducted personal surveys to help ground their scholarship, it is unclear from Burton's chorography that he did the same; that is to say, the contents of his book do not ostensibly derive from his own first-hand observations to any perceptible or otherwise substantive extent.<sup>33</sup> Burton's decision to alphabetically, rather than periegetically, organize his text makes sense in this context. Passages that might have been informed by personal anecdotes in another chorography are instead supported by scholarship, here. For example, in his entry for the town of Carleton Curley, Burton paraphrases Camden's comments about the populace's "harsh and wratling kinde of speech."<sup>34</sup> Presumably, Burton never went there himself; he is unable to add anything original to Camden's observations. However, citing half a dozen scholars who had observed similar phenomena, Burton supplements Camden's musings with a series of speculations about the possibility that this local impediment was connected to "some peculiar property of the water, soyle, or ayre."<sup>35</sup> Unable to claim the same kind of empirical or first-hand credibility afforded to his periegetic precursors, Burton relies instead on the merits and depth of his scholarship. The image of Burton that emerges from his book is of a man who, wracked by unfortunate, lifelong sickness, was unable to engage with his county through sustained travel and was instead reliant on the receipt of information from his associates and on the first- and second-hand observations of previous chorographers. A corollary effect of this limited perspective is that, outside of the "Generall

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<sup>33</sup> This is the case in spite of Burton's aforementioned prefatory comment that, when he was able to, he surveyed the county "by my own view and travell."

<sup>34</sup> Burton, *Description*, 67–8.

<sup>35</sup> Burton, *Description*, 67–8.

Description,” Burton’s text does not include aesthetic details about Leicestershire landscapes. Regrettably, this lack inhibits the sort of poetic reveries that add so much vitality to a survey like Carew’s. Burton’s impassioned flights of fancy tend to be scholarly rather than perambulatory, as in his commentary on the natural causes of Carleton Curley’s local dialect, or in a strange passage that associates the large stature of a fourteenth-century Leicestershire knight, Sir John Talbot, with the historical existence of giants; Burton goes to considerable lengths in presenting the controversy surrounding giants and the apparently abundant scholarship that affirms their past reality. In any case, whereas Leland and Camden produced fragmentary chorographies of Leicestershire in part due to the limits of their travels in the county, Burton’s efforts, even in the absence of any personal periegetic reflections, are relatively comprehensive owing to his scholarship. His attention to the small-scale secular and religious histories of Leicestershire is fundamentally unmatched by the work of his peers in Leicestershire or in other counties, Lambarde, perhaps, notwithstanding. And so, at the end of his “Particular Description,” Burton can validly reassert, from his preface, that the prevailing intention of his chorography was

that truth might bee discovered, and that those clouds of darknesse and blacke mystes, wherewith this Counties lustre hath long beene shadowed, might at length be dispersed, and that her Sunnes glorious rayes, so long eclipsed, might shine out to the view of every one; which now doth somewhat cleare appeare, and by some more happy genius, and judicious penne may heereafter be better illustrated.<sup>36</sup>

Despite Burton’s modesty, he was to play the role of this “happy genius” for the remainder of his life. In 1623, he wrote a chorography of his birthplace, “Antiquitates de Lindley.” With additional genealogical histories and a range of documentation pertaining to local land ownership, the manuscript builds on the *Description*’s coverage of Lindley Manor and its environs.<sup>37</sup> Two years later, Burton prepared another revised chorography for a nearby village, his “Antiquitates de Dadlington.”<sup>38</sup> His work in producing these small-scale histories was part of

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<sup>36</sup> Burton, *Description*, 317.

<sup>37</sup> Nichols offers an epitome of the “Antiquitates” (vol. 4, 651–66).

<sup>38</sup> Nichols does not epitomize this manuscript.

a larger project to expand the *Description* for a second edition.<sup>39</sup> In a 1627 letter to antiquary Robert Cotton, Burton writes that

[u]pon the first edition of my book, I was challenged by your Lady, for that I had nothing to say for Thedingworth; and now, being almost ready for the second, having gotten some Roman, Saxon, and other antiquities of good note, which will almost make the book as big again; to prevent that censure, I have made bold to intreat your help for the illustration of that town, as also for what other notes it shall please you to bestow upon me.<sup>40</sup>

Burton goes on to request that Cotton loan him a copy of Knighton's *Chronicle*, which would have provided Burton with even more Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest content via Knighton's references to Higden's *Polychronicon* and Walter of Guisborough's *Chronicle*. Camden had previously made sparing use of Knighton's commentary on Leicester's Church of St Mary de Castro and Abbey of Saint Mary de Pratis, but Burton does not cite Knighton through Camden in his chorography and instead favours Goston's rolls and Leland's "Collectanea" for information on Leicester's religious institutions.<sup>41</sup> To supplement his in-progress second edition with Knighton's *Chronicle*, then, Burton relies on Cotton, for whom he had done a similar service by transcribing a portion of the "Collectanea" in 1619.<sup>42</sup>

Further progress on the development of the second edition came in 1628, when Burton gained access to the "Itinerary" manuscripts. Two years earlier, five of Leland's "Itinerary" notebooks were brought to scholarly attention by their owner John Hales, another nephew of Humphrey Purefoy and Burton's cousin.<sup>43</sup> Hales shared the notebooks with Simon Archer, who, with his assistant William Dugdale, was engaged in chorographical work that Dugdale would eventually take the lead on and publish as his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*.<sup>44</sup> Archer and Burton

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<sup>39</sup> Burton had previously produced another short manuscript chorography for the Staffordshire parish of Hanbury, "Antiquitates de Falde et Coton" (BL Add. MS 31917), in 1615. He retired to his estate at Fauld in 1603 after leaving his legal practice, eventually dying there.

<sup>40</sup> Nichols, vol. 2, 842.

<sup>41</sup> Camden (1610), 520.

<sup>42</sup> Harris, "Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten," 467.

<sup>43</sup> For the history of the transmission of Leland's "Itinerary" from Hales to Archer to Burton to the Bodleian, I rely on Harris, "Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten," 467–71.

<sup>44</sup> Richard Cust, "Sir Simon Archer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 25 August 2015, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/626>.

were friends, and so, in 1628, Archer shared Leland's manuscripts with Burton and they began to make comprehensive transcripts. Oliver Harris writes that Burton's letters to Archer imply "a reluctance to surrender the volumes, and at some point Hales must either have agreed that his cousin [Burton] could keep them or simply have forgotten about them. By 1632 they were regarded as Burton's property."<sup>45</sup> That same year, he donated all of the "Itinerary," "Collectanea," and "De uiris illustribus" manuscripts then in his possession to Oxford's Bodleian Library.<sup>46</sup> By 1640, additional quarto notebooks, constituting the remainder of Leland's extant "Itinerary," had been discovered in Hales' possession; Burton gathered these into his own library, incorporated them into his earlier transcripts, and, shortly before his death, transferred ownership of them to the Bodleian.<sup>47</sup>

In the meantime, following his initial efforts to transcribe Leland's "Itinerary" in 1628 and 1629, the second edition of Burton's chorography approached completion. In addition to his known work in revising single entries from his first edition (Lindley, Dadlington, and Thedingworth), Burton had ready the large amount of antiquarian content that he mentions in his 1627 letter to Cotton. Further, Burton found an early application for the "Itinerary"; sometime after he had acquired Leland's manuscripts, Burton incorporated some of Leland's notes into an alphabetized genealogical and historical commonplace book, which was never published but exists in a mid-seventeenth century copy.<sup>48</sup> Despite a note added to this manuscript copy by Anthony Wood, in which Wood states that the "matter of this book is mostly taken from Leland's 'Itineraries,'" very little of the manuscript actually derives from Leland's writing.<sup>49</sup> While a few passages reiterate Leland's prose verbatim, and thereby help to place the manuscript's date of authorship, at least in part, in the context of Burton's post-1622 work, the manuscript does not derive significantly from Leland's "Itinerary" notes. This being the case, Burton might have completed most of the manuscript prior to his acquisition of the "Itinerary." He might have even written it prior to 1622, although the manuscript and his *Description* have little in common; for the most part, the manuscript does not pertain to Leicestershire. So while Lambarde's own topographical dictionary guided his early progress on the *Perambulation of*

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<sup>45</sup> Harris, "Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten," 468.

<sup>46</sup> Harris, "Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten," 467, 469.

<sup>47</sup> Harris, "Motheaten, Mouldye, and Rotten," 469–71.

<sup>48</sup> Burton, "Historical and Genealogical Commonplace Book" (College of Arms MS Vincent 11).

<sup>49</sup> Burton, College of Arms MS Vincent 11.

*Kent*, the same relationship cannot be claimed to exist between Burton's alphabetized commonplace book and the *Description*. However, Burton's commonplace book demonstrates that he had begun to use Leland's writings to inform his chorographical studies. In another example, Burton obliged on William Gregory, rector of Chelvey, Somerset, to travel to nearby Wells Cathedral for him to investigate a series of hangings in the Cathedral that Leland notes were donated by Polydore Vergil, whose ecclesiastical sinecures had included the living of Church Langton, Leicestershire.<sup>50</sup> It is tempting to suggest, in passing, that Gregory's travels on Burton's behalf are precisely the kind of undertaking that a healthier chorographer might have made and then represented as part of a first-person narrative. In any case, it seems that Burton, inspired by the "Itinerary," wished to include commentary on Vergil in his second edition, and that Burton therefore requested Gregory's assistance. Upon completion of his task, in 1630 Gregory wrote to Burton to describe the hangings, and he concludes, "I doubt not but this is enough if not too late for your booke."<sup>51</sup> Not only was Burton actively seeking whatever new information he could to supplement his revised chorography, but his work was evidently at an advanced stage of development. Further, in 1633 he received sketches of Vergil's family arms from Wells Cathedral's hangings, most likely from Thomas Gerard, who was working on a study of Somerset.<sup>52</sup> Burton's labours, then, were exacting and ongoing, as can be seen by this single example (perhaps one of a great multitude of such examples), in which Leland's passing association of Vergil with Leicestershire prompted Burton to mobilize a network of correspondents over a period of several years. At long last, by 1638, a copy of his second edition was sent to London for publication. Burton, then sixty-three, was constrained by his lingering health problems, and he remarks in a 1638 letter to Simonds d'Ewes, who was to write an introductory epistle, that "I have been so cruelly handled with the stone and colic, that I fear I shall never be able to perform any long journey, and so shall not be in London at all at the setting forth of my book to the press."<sup>53</sup> Committing the management of his publication to a friend, John Lambe, Burton goes on to note that his book "is so much enlarged, that it will rise to a treble

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<sup>50</sup> See Oliver Harris, "Polydore Vergil's Hangings in the Quire of Wells Cathedral," *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 149 (2006), 71–7.

<sup>51</sup> Gregory qtd. in Harris, "Polydore Vergil's Hangings in the Quire of Wells Cathedral," 72.

<sup>52</sup> Harris, "Polydore Vergil's Hangings in the Quire of Wells Cathedral," 73.

<sup>53</sup> Burton qtd. in Nichols, vol. 2, 843.



proportion.”<sup>54</sup> Presumably, his original text, the Roman and Saxon additions he mentions to Cotton, and whatever other additions he made to the original would each constitute one third of this planned edition.

However, Burton’s revised chorography never made it to print. Records of its fate are sparse, but antiquarian Richard Gascoigne had the second edition in his custody in 1640, and he blamed the outbreak of the civil war for the postponement of his publication.<sup>55</sup> In his 1641 preface, Burton anticipates that his revised edition will soon be printed.<sup>56</sup> This is the same note in which Burton recalls beginning his chorography, for personal use, in 1597. Burton relates that his prevailing concern in preparing a second edition was “to certify such errors as first escaped, as to make answers to the exceptions taken against it.”<sup>57</sup> He defends his 1622 edition, saying that “if all the shires were illustrated in the same manner, much light and benefit would arise thereby.” Nonetheless, most of his preface is spent addressing issues that critics raised against his first edition. He clarifies that his descriptions of historical titles, land tenures, and genealogies were made without prejudice or other bias on his part. Burton handles the scurrilous personal attacks of critics who found fault in his abnegation of his legal profession in favour of antiquarian studies, deemed by them (in Burton’s formulation) “an over-curious searching after things past without profit, led for the most part by conjectures and uncertainties.”<sup>58</sup> Burton notes that “not having an able body” forced him to discontinue his legal practice, though he claims not to have neglected his study of the law.<sup>59</sup> He defends antiquarianism as “the recovering of that was almost perished, the renewing of old and obsolete, the bringing up of Truth from the cave of Ignorance and Envy, the restitution of errors to true knowledge, of lameness to uprightness, of wrong to right, of darkness to light, of dead to life.”<sup>60</sup> He next defends his insertion of historical commentary into his antiquarian coverage, his delineation of descents, pedigrees, and other so-called digressions, and his style as neither “too much forced and extravagant” nor “ordinary and trivial” by bolstering his historiographical methodology with references to the ideological tenets

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<sup>54</sup> Burton qtd. in Nichols, vol. 2, 843.

<sup>55</sup> See Nichols, vol. 2, 844.

<sup>56</sup> Printed in Nichols, vol. 1, xx–xxii.

<sup>57</sup> Burton qtd. in Nichols, vol. 1, xx.

<sup>58</sup> Burton qtd. in Nichols, vol. 1, xxi.

<sup>59</sup> Burton qtd. in Nichols, vol. 1, xxi.

<sup>60</sup> Burton qtd. in Nichols, vol. 1, xxi.

of Cicero, Aristotle, Henry of Huntingdon, Michael Eltzinger, Hugo de Barcinona, Josephus, Heinrich Salmuth, and St. Augustine.<sup>61</sup> He concludes by simply requesting the “gentle acceptance of this my work, not for any worth or merit it can challenge, but for my own labour, travail, and endeavours.”<sup>62</sup>

Notwithstanding the stirring sentiment of his preface, Burton’s second edition was evidently lost entirely shortly thereafter. He died in 1645, leaving his library and all of his own writings to his son, who in turn passed along his father’s manuscripts to antiquary Walter Chetwynd. These manuscripts were passed through Chetwynd’s family until they entered the collection of Charles Chetwynd-Talbot. Searching this collection in 1798 for a Staffordshire chorography, a Mr. Shaw discovered three invaluable manuscripts in addition to the 1641 preface: “Burton’s own printed History, copiously interleaved, and enlarged with various marginal notes, &c. for a second edition, by the Author, . . . a large volume of the same, with other additions in [Walter Chetwynd’s] own fair writing, . . . [and] a duplicate” transcribed from Chetwynd’s version.<sup>63</sup> The last two of these manuscripts were prepared after Burton’s death with Chetwynd’s oversight and are not overly significant to this present study of Burton’s work, specifically.<sup>64</sup> Both manuscripts derive fairly faithfully from the first, more significant manuscript identified by Shaw. This manuscript, to be identified hereafter as Burton’s “Leicester Shire,” is the closest extant text to a second edition of the *Description*. Indeed, Burton added a note to the title page to this effect, identifying it as “The second edition corrected and enlarged by the Author.”<sup>65</sup> Nonetheless, significant differences appear to exist between “Leicester Shire” and the storied fair draft copy of the second edition that was lost in London sometime after 1638. Recalling Burton’s 1627 and 1638 letters to Cotton and d’Ewes, respectively, the fair draft would have been three times the length of the 1622 text, with one third of the draft consisting of additional Roman and Saxon antiquarian notes. With the copious interleaved pages and

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<sup>61</sup> Burton qtd. in Nichols, vol. 1, xxi–xxii.

<sup>62</sup> Burton qtd. in Nichols, vol. 1, xxii.

<sup>63</sup> Shaw qtd. in Nichols vol. 3, xiv–xv. The three manuscripts, held by the Staffordshire Record Office, are catalogued as D649/4/1, Burton’s interleaved copy (“Leicester Shire”), D649/4/2, Chetwynd’s transcription of the same, and D649/4/3, the edited transcription of D649/4/2.

<sup>64</sup> All three manuscripts are treated in some detail by Daniel Williams, “William Burton’s 1642 Revised Edition of the ‘Description of Leicestershire,’” *Leicestershire Archeological and Historical Society* 50 (1974–1975), 30–6.

<sup>65</sup> Burton, “Leicester Shire.”

annotations mentioned by Shaw added to the printed 1622 *Description*, “Leicester Shire” is only approximately twice the size of Burton’s first edition. Further, “Leicester Shire” adds very little in the way of Roman and Saxon content. Therefore, “Leicester Shire” seems to be preliminary to the fair draft copy, perhaps only distinguished in lacking the apparently extensive antiquarian additions that Burton mentioned to Cotton. However, “Leicester Shire” is certainly not at the fair draft stage; there might have been hundreds of other differences, small and large, between this manuscript and the one that was sent for publication. In any case, it is more likely that, although it is an intermediary between the 1622 *Description* and the lost fair draft manuscript, “Leicester Shire” represents a fairly well-developed, comprehensive edit of the first edition, notwithstanding the missing block of Roman and Saxon notes.

“Leicester Shire” thus offers invaluable insight into the scope of Burton’s abortive second edition, even in the absence of the fair draft manuscript. It is abundantly clear that Burton was a methodical, thorough editor, which speaks to the years he invested in his project; every print page is covered with changes in Burton’s hand. Very often, print pages are alternated with manuscript interleaves that provide the content of new additions and annotations, which are carefully marked for inclusion by symbols added to the printed face. On occasion, passages in the original edition are pasted over with slips of paper containing revised text. Most of Burton’s activity, however, is concentrated on the addition of new text that does not come at the expense of the old. Burton’s prefatory note to the reader is amended to clarify the sources of his numerous quotations throughout, which include works by Seneca, Onofrio Zarrabini da Catignola, and Pietro Crinito. He also amends his paragraph that pays tribute to English chorographers, calling John Stow a “paynfull and true lover of Antiquities” and noting that Lambarde’s Kent was “in view againe by the expert Herald John Philipot.”<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Burton, Note to the Reader (Staffordshire Record Office D649/4/1). These comments on Stow and Philipot do little to date Burton’s emendations; Stow’s *Survey of London* was published decades prior to Burton’s first edition, and Philipot did not publish his “New description of Kent” in his lifetime or in Burton’s, despite obtaining the privilege to do so in 1637 (Stow, *A Survey of London* [London: John Wolfe, 1598]; Philipot’s work was published posthumously under his son Thomas’ name as *Villare cantianum, or, Kent surveyed and illustrated* [London: William Godbid, 1659]). However, changes made by Burton to his “General Description” and “Particular Description” sections indicate that his work on “Leicester Shire” extended to, but did not pass, 1641, the year of his revised prefatory note; Burton’s catalogue of sheriffs is updated to John Pate of Kettleby, who was sheriff in 1640, while a pedigree chart in the Brokesby entry is updated to 1641. That is, Burton’s work on “Leicester Shire” continued, if only in some small

Burton also thoroughly edited his “General Description” and “Particular Description” sections. The “General Description” is enlarged at its outset with a variety of historical, geographical trivia; Burton adds information from a patent roll on Royal land grants in Hundred Guthlaxton, appends the Priory of Belvoir and its founder, Robert de Tosny of Belvoir, to his list of Leicestershire priories, includes the market days for twenty additional towns, and supplements his discussion of the chase of Leicester with lengthy historical commentary on the forest’s decline over the course of generations. He organizes the remainder of the section into two parts detailing the county’s ecclesiastical and temporal governance, respectively. First drawing on William of Malmesbury’s *Chronicle* to introduce the history of the diocese of Leicester, Burton transcribes rolls that afford a summary historical overview of the financial records of Leicestershire religious institutions. Burton also offers a table showing the former groupings of Leicestershire churches under local monasteries. Characterizing the unpolished nature of his “Leicester Shire,” he then precedes his study of the county’s temporal, that is to say secular, government with a rather out of place list of writers who were born or who resided in the county. Burton subdivides Leicestershire’s civil and martial administrations, with the civil branch further divided into particular and general jurisdictions. One of the most distinguishing features of Burton’s preparations of a second edition, as represented in “Leicester Shire,” is his frequent addition of extended, and often heavily annotated, digressions on a variety of (usually) tangential subjects. And so, after discussing the administrative positions that constitute the county’s government, and the official duties and responsibilities of local nobility, Burton moves from a history of Leicestershire’s joint administration with Warwickshire into a general history of England’s division into counties. In addition to administrative rolls, Burton references a litany of authorities including John Ockham, Sir John Fortescue, Henry of Huntingdon, Polydore Vergil, John Hooker, Michael Dalton, Matthew Paris, William Fitzstephen, Calybutte Downing, and William of Newburgh. Ultimately, Burton’s scope is too great, and the few pages that he dedicates for this interlude are not overly coherent. With almost no explicit mention of Leicestershire, the section seems better suited for a book like Harrison’s than for a chorography of a single county. Nonetheless, in demonstrating both his capacity for productively editing and supplementing his first edition, and his competing tendency to veer into lengthy, less ostensibly

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form, past his completion of the fair draft he sent to London in 1638 until at least 1641, when he authored the aforementioned prefatory address intended for his envisioned readers.

germane considerations, Burton's survey of the county's governance typifies, on a larger scale, the changes that he makes to entries in his "Particular Description" section.

Nearly all of Burton's place-name entries bear some evidence of his editorial work. Very often, as noted, this work was extensive. Annotated with colourful crescent moons, fleur-de-lis, stars, crosses, circles, diamonds, and bird symbols, Burton adds supplementary citations and references where he neglected to do so in his 1622 text. Annotations on interleaved pages are necessary whenever, as is frequently the case, those comments cannot be accommodated in the margins. Further textual layers are added whenever he deems it necessary to annotate his annotations. Insofar as his additions are contained in the alphabetical structure of his place-name entries, Burton's supplements remain legible and pertinent. He rewrites over a dozen entries in their entirety, adds another dozen new entries for places not included in the *Description*, and he deletes only one entry, his single sentence note for Baresby. When necessary, he fills in gaps that occasionally punctuate his 1622 edition; for example, in his revised entry for the manor of Barrow, Burton completes the blank spaces that he had left for the names of the patron of the vicarage and the inheritor of the local church's impropriation. He also continues points that he was previously unable to treat fully, as when, on the topic of knighthood, he writes in his 1622 edition that "A third, and the cheefest kinde of this Knights service, is Grand Sergeantie, of which I shall speake heereafter more at large."<sup>67</sup> While this last remark goes unfulfilled in 1622, in his "Leicester Shire" manuscript Burton dutifully adds further commentary on the privileges and duties of knighthood. Other notable lacunae are likewise filled, as in his addition of a biography of Lady Jane Grey, who is nearly absent from the 1622 edition, to the revised Bradgate entry, her family owning the manor there.

As mentioned, extended digressions on topics only loosely associated with Leicestershire are among Burton's most conspicuous additions. His tendency to indulge in tangential interludes in his 1622 edition has already been noted with respect to his passages on the likelihood of the historical existence of giants and on the connection of various physiological disorders to "peculiar propert[ies] of the water, soyle, or ayre." At different points in "Leicester Shire," Burton adds similarly diverse, and often heavily annotated, musings on the history of heraldry; the sport of falconry; the "delightfull and pleasing skill" of painting, and the historical patronage

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<sup>67</sup> Burton, *Description*, 9.

of art by European royalty; the prophetic visions that Richard III is said to have had the night before the Battle of Bosworth Field, with reference to other historical reports of visions experienced by European monarchs; the provenance and significance of Domesday Book, and its influence on the registers and surveys kept by Leicestershire abbeys; the efforts under Pope Sixtus V to restore destroyed antiquities in Rome; and the supposed existence, in Knaptoft parish, of an “antient heryeloome, . . . a Griffons clawe,” which is supplemented by an extended discussion of griffons.

Although Burton’s tangents somewhat divert his titular concentration on Leicestershire’s “Antiquitye, Historye, Armorye, and Genealogy,” passages in which he allows his focus to wander retain the scholarly acumen that characterizes his first edition. Regardless of his subject matter, his references to other authorities are never less than copious. Outside of his tangential passages, which are essentially discrete blocks of scholarship set into his chorographical entries, Burton’s “Particular Description” section is supplemented with the addition of information from a broad range of sources. To begin, he makes detailed, extensive use of charter rolls, inquisition records, deeds, and letters patent to compile new manor histories and genealogical expositions, which are conveyed both in prose and in the form of pedigree charts, updated beyond 1622. In that most entries add some new detail derived from these types of records, “Leicester Shire” offers a vastly expanded history of local landownership over the first edition. At times, he transcribes documents such as wills, deeds, and land grants in their entirety, even adding his own annotations. Burton also derives additional information from sources that he had used previously. For example, while he makes sparing use of Camden’s *Britannia* in his 1622 edition, Burton cites Camden more frequently in “Leicester Shire,” even showing himself to be a sophisticated reader of Camden’s by highlighting a difference between the treatment of Leicester’s original, Roman name in Camden’s earlier and later editions. A large number of Burton’s new citations stem from previously unused sources. He makes frequent use of scholarship published after 1622, but he also adds new references to texts published decades earlier; perhaps he did not have access to these before 1622, or perhaps he simply did not have the time to parse these texts in the preparation of his first edition.

The matter of Burton’s access to supplementary texts has been mentioned with respect to Leland’s *Itinerary* manuscripts. While Burton likely owned only a small fragment of the *Itinerary* before 1622, he obtained the bulk of Leland’s extant notebooks within a decade of

publishing his first edition. Burton also owned part of a manuscript of Leland's King Arthur history, which, in "Leicester Shire," becomes the basis for a lengthy tangent by Burton on the veracity of the Arthur legend and on the merits of myths in general, in which he cites Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* to conclude that learned writers have produced works "whose mythology well considered will afford variety of profitt and content."<sup>68</sup> As well, Burton makes further use of the *Collectanea* and *De uiris illustribus*, and, as he notes, he had access to, and perhaps drew upon, additional fragments of Leland's writing held in the collections of his associates.<sup>69</sup> The remainder of Leland's *Itinerary* came into Burton's possession before 1642, when his work on "Leicester Shire" appears to have largely concluded. That is, Burton had the advantage of full access to Leland's observations while he prepared his second edition, and he repeatedly draws information from the *Itinerary* to supplement his "Leicester Shire." In an especially significant instance, in his entry for Burrow, Burton signals his place in the chain of Leicestershire chorographies, from Leland, to Camden, to himself. As noted, Leland had observed that "To thes Borow Hilles every yere on Monday after White-Sunday cum people of the contery therabowt, and shote, renne, wrastel, dawnce, and use like other feates of exercyse." Camden, without attribution, paraphrases this comment in his 1610 edition to note that Burrough Hill is "in nothing so famous, as in this, that the youth dwelling round about were wont yeerely to exercise themselves in wrestling and other games in this place."<sup>70</sup> Burton was aware of both accounts, and he writes that Burrow is

in nothing so famous as in this, that the young men dwelling about there were wont yearly to recreate themselves with sportes and several exercises in this place. Which had beene so accustomed of antient tymes yerly on the Monday next off Whitsundaye, as Leiland sayth in his *Itinerary*.<sup>71</sup>

While Burton paraphrases Camden, he adds information from Leland's text that Camden omitted. It should also be noted, in passing, that Burton follows his passage with a short treatise on the merits of physical exercise, drawing on sources that extend back to ancient Greek

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<sup>68</sup> Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London: William Ponsonbie, 1590); Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* (London: William Ponsonbie, 1596).

<sup>69</sup> See "Belgrave" entry, Staffordshire Record Office D649/4/1.

<sup>70</sup> Camden (1610), 522.

<sup>71</sup> See "Burrow" entry, Staffordshire Record Office D649/4/1.

philosophy. His tangent aside, Burton's use of the *Itinerary* manuscripts are another example of the astute, thorough scholarship that typifies his work.

To further connect the work of Leland, Camden, and Burton, it can be surmised that the *Itinerary*, *Britannia*, *Description*, and "Leicester Shire" demonstrate a trend within chorographical writing on Leicestershire. Leland's first-hand observations as a traveller are followed by Camden's blend of scholarship and real and rhetorical travel. Burton, then, abandons the first-person, periegetic mode in favour of the encyclopedic and the scholarly. Camden's effort over a period of decades to revise his *Britannia* in part by means of travel thus meets its foil in Burton's necessarily sedentary editorial work, and, correspondingly, their texts differ in a number of organizational, stylistic, and content-based ways. It remains to be established whether Burton's shift away from the periegetic mode favoured by his peers became a broader trend that was borne out in subsequent writing that was produced to accompany other counties. In any case, the trajectories of his predecessors developed a multifaceted tradition of travel-oriented chorographies. Lambarde preferred the encyclopedic approach in his preliminary writing, but his *Perambulation*, as noted, develops an eponymous, periegetic orientation. Carew's *Cornwall* further develops the aesthetic, poetic potential of this orientation towards chorography as travel writing. In Burton's writing, his mobility restricted by ill health, the traveller's eye is consistently supplanted by the scholar's. Topographical description is limited by such a move, perhaps, as is the ability to record the kinds of cartographically-attuned observations made by Norden and Smith. Nonetheless, Burton's approach resulted in the period's most sustained survey of Leicestershire, which marks the successful fulfillment of his exacting scholarly ambitions and stands as a model of contemporary achievements in regional geography. Some later chorographers, too, took Burton's encyclopedic approach as the basis for their own studies, even as the periegetic orientation of Lambarde and Carew was maintained in such works as Thomas Westcote's "View of Devonshire" and William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*.<sup>72</sup> James Wright, for example, attributes Burton's example as the methodological influence for his own, similarly encyclopedic study of Leicestershire's diminutive neighbor in

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<sup>72</sup> Thomas Westcote's manuscript was first published as *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX*, eds. George Oliver and Pitman Jones (Exeter: William Roberts, 1845); William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (London: Thomas Warren, 1656).



*The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland* (1684).<sup>73</sup> It is, of course, to be regretted that Burton's second edition was never published; enhanced by decades of refinement, it might have helped to foster the sustained recognition and imitation of the *Description* as a model, successful chorography. However, in his ongoing endeavors to "remove an Eclipse from the Sunne . . . [and] give light to the Countie of Leicester," Burton's participation in the Leland's broader generic project, amidst a community and continuum of other chorographers, is defined by his lifelong commitment to his sedentary scholarly, encyclopedic methodology.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> James Wright, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland* (London: Bennet Griffin, 1684), "Preface to the Reader."

<sup>74</sup> *Description*, dedicatory epistle.

## CHAPTER 4

### DRAYTON'S PERIEGETIC CONCEIT:

#### CHARACTERIZING *POLY-OLBION*'S MUSE AS A CHOROGRAPHER

Although the bases of his literary comparisons are underdeveloped, in his entry for the village of Drayton, Leicestershire, William Burton exhibits his familiarity with Italian poetry alongside his national bias:

This place gave the name to the Progenitors of that ingenious Poet Michael Drayton Esquire, my neere Countriman and olde acquaintance; who, though those Transalpinnes account us Tramontani, rude and barbarous, holding our braines so frozen, dull, and barren, that they can affoord no invention or conceits; yet may compare either with their olde Dante, Petrarch, or Boccace, or their Neotericke [Lucrezia] Marinella, [Ascanio] Pignatello, or [Tomasso] Stigliano; but why should I goe about to commend him, whose owne workes and worthinesse have sufficiently extold to the world?<sup>1</sup>

Defending English poetics against foreign antipathies, Burton places his friend Michael Drayton's "workes and worthinesse" alongside past and current Italian luminaries. While, by the time of Burton's commendations in 1622, Drayton was well established on the basis of his prolific authorship of a diverse corpus of eclogues, historical and lyric poetry, Petrarchan love sonnets, literary epistles, and plays, Burton might well have considered Drayton a literary peer on the basis of Drayton's magnum opus, his *Poly-Olbion*.<sup>2</sup> Published in two stages, with the first

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<sup>1</sup> William Burton, *Description of Leicester Shire*, 92.

<sup>2</sup> H. F. B. Brett-Smith takes the association of Burton and Drayton further, calling Burton a patriot upon instinct; he came of that sturdy midland stock, deep-rooted among its broad pastures and silent streams, that bred both our poets of Agincourt, of whom one was his friend. He had at command their magnificent and varied speech; he helped, in his degree, to build the monument of their heroic age. ("William Burton, Translator," in William Burton, *The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe*, eds. Stephen Gaselee and H. F. B. Brett-Smith [Stratford-upon-Avon: Oxford Basil Blackwell, 1923]: xxiii–xxx, qtd. xxxi) In his *Description of Leicester Shire* Burton's display of "magnificent and varied speech" might have been tempered somewhat by the nature of his prosaic undertaking, certainly when compared to a poem like Drayton's bombastic, jingoistic "Ballad of Agincourt" (1606). Nonetheless, Burton acknowledges the "kind assistance and good directions" of noted Leicestershire poet John Beaumont in his note to the reader, and Burton makes numerous literary references throughout his chorography. On occasion, these references might be assumed to stem from the interest in literary pursuits that he cultivated during his younger days. As Stephen

eighteen songs printed in 1612 and the full set of thirty songs following ten years later, in 1622, coincidentally coinciding with Burton's *Description of Leicester Shire*, Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* is, as its full title suggests, *A Chorographical Description of Tracts, Rivers, Mountaines, Forests, and other Parts of this renowned Isle of Great Britaine, With intermixture of the most Remarquable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of the same: Digested in a poem.*<sup>3</sup> Burton's defense of the inventiveness and the conceits of English poetics finds an exemplary testimonial in Drayton's poetic adaptation of county-based chorographies. This chapter seeks to evaluate the nature of Drayton's contribution to early modern English chorographical writing. I argue that the travels of Drayton's Muse<sup>4</sup> around Britain enhance the generic similitude of *Poly-Olbion* and the bulk of contemporary prose chorographies, whose authors similarly favoured periegetic means of organizing and narrating their historical, geographical surveys. To help qualify Burton's esteem for Drayton's poetry, then, I engage with Drayton's invention of a wandering, chorographically-minded Muse: the central conceit of his poem.

In "A Comparative Discourse of Our English Poets with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets" from his *Palladis Tamia* (1598), a collection of critical reflections on religion, morality, conduct, and art, Francis Meres writes,

As Joan. Honterus in Latine verse writ 3 Bookes of Cosmography with Geographical tables: so Michael Drayton is now penning in English verse a Poem called *Poly-olbion* Geographical and Hydrographical of all the forests, woods, mountaines, fountaines, rivers, lakes, flouds, bathes and springs that be in England.<sup>5</sup>

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Gaselee summarizes in the introduction to his and Brett-Smith's edition of Burton's English version of the romance of Clitophon and Leucippe, Burton

knew Italian and Spanish well, in addition to the classical languages; while still a schoolboy he seems to have written some account, or variation on the theme, of the loves of Philomela and Procne, and later on a comedy of the loves of Perinthius and Tyanthe, both in Latin, neither of which were published. (xviii)

<sup>3</sup> Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (London: Lowndes, Browne, Helme, and Busbie, 1612); *Poly-Olbion* (London: Marriott, Grismand, and Dewe, 1622). In this chapter, I reference the standard edition of the poem: *Poly-Olbion*, ed. J. William Hebel (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1933); I will cite the line numbers that pertain to this edition. Please note that I will cite *Poly-Olbion* parenthetically rather than in the footnotes.

<sup>4</sup> I capitalize "Muse," here, to distinguish Drayton's protagonist/conceit from more general references to muses (e.g. in a classical or more broadly literary sense).

<sup>5</sup> Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, ed. Nicholas Ling (London: Cuthbert Burbie, 1598), 281.

This is the earliest known mention of Drayton's poem, and, interestingly, this puts Drayton's commencement in the heyday of the development of the chorography as a genre. In his "Comparative Discourse," Meres likens notable contemporary English poets to historical and recent continental poets who produced what he deems to be similar kinds of work. Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* is placed alongside Theocritus' *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues*, "the sweete wittie soule of Ovid lives in mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare" on the basis of the latter's poetry;<sup>6</sup> Warner has the sententiousness of Euripedes; Musaeus finds voice in Marlow and Chapman, and so on. In an extended series of comparisons with classical poets that would no doubt have appealed to Burton's critical, nationalist sensibilities, Meres praises Drayton for helping to bring the English language to the same poetic heights as Greek and Latin, for the force of his historical, elegiac, and tragic poems, and for the overall "purity and pretiousnesse of his stile and phrase."<sup>7</sup> More generally, Meres also celebrates the rareness of Drayton's duality as both a wit and "a man of vertuous disposition, honest conversation, and wel governed cariage."<sup>8</sup>

In the midst of his hagiographical adulations of Drayton and other English poets, Meres' association of Drayton and Johannes Honter, a Transylvanian humanist, warrants further attention. While Meres finds his other analogues of Drayton in the pantheons of Greek and Latin poets, and while the bulk of the "Comparative Discourse" as a whole pertains to English and classical poetic parallels, rather than to Italian and English comparisons, like Burton, Honter is one of the very few recent continental poets referenced by Meres. This rare recourse to contemporary poetics suggests, at first glance, that *Poly-Olbion* does not find its clearest precedents in classical literature. Strictly speaking, this is true; Drayton's poem is fundamentally informed by its generic context, in that *Poly-Olbion* is an exemplary representative of a nascent poetic offshoot of prosaic early modern English chorographies. However, explicating and comparing key aspects of Honter's and Drayton's poems can help to qualify Meres' association of the *Rudimenta Cosmographica* and *Poly-Olbion* in his "Comparative Discourse," which, as has been mentioned, is mainly concerned with establishing classical and English connections.

Honter conceived of his aforementioned "3 Bookes of Cosmography," his Latin poem *Rudimenta Cosmographica* (1541, revised ed. 1542), as a poetic adaptation of his own 1530

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<sup>6</sup> Meres, 282.

<sup>7</sup> Meres, 281.

<sup>8</sup> Meres, 282.

prose treatise of the same title.<sup>9</sup> Honter operated a small printing press in Transylvania and, as part of his sustained interest in modernizing local educational curricula, began to produce schoolbooks from around 1535 onwards. In 1541, he transformed his prose overview of cosmography, which is indebted in form and content to classical texts, most notably to Ptolemy's *Geography*, into hexameters as, in the words of Robert Karrow, "a pedagogical tactic to make it more readily memorized by students."<sup>10</sup> He circulated this version to his academic associates and, the following year, produced a revised edition intended for a broader audience; this edition was very popular and was reprinted almost ninety times between 1542 and 1692.<sup>11</sup> In his poem, Honter refashions the original two sections of his 1530 primer into 1366 hexameters in four parts (Meres, noting "3 Bookes," seems to have been mistaken): astronomy; Europe; Asia and Africa; and scientific and technical terminology.<sup>12</sup> Further, Honter's 1542 edition includes a set of maps that essentially constitute a world atlas. The *Rudimenta Cosmographica*, then, is singular in that it is written in verse, but his poem is nonetheless readily located as part of the ongoing renaissance project to update and make accessible classical geographical knowledge. Honter's versification of the *Rudimenta Cosmographica* is thus a gesture that is comparable to Ringmann's, Waldseemüller's, and Münster's preparations of editions of Ptolemy's *Geography* in advance of less ostensibly classical texts like *Cosmographiae Introductio* and *Cosmographia*.

In contrast, *Poly-Olbion* is not intended to serve primarily as a pedagogical intervention in the development of the "Geographical and Hydrographical" sciences, in spite of Meres' understandably preliminary gloss on a poem that might have only been broadly conceived of in 1598. Rather, Drayton historicizes and mythologizes Great Britain by participating in classically-inspired poetic forms, such as the river poetry genre and invocations of a muse, that had found contemporary favour in England. Meres' comparison, then, might be deemed somewhat loose in relation to the classical facets of the *Rudimenta Cosmographica* and *Poly-Olbion*. The poems are also generically dissimilar due to their cosmographical and chorographical foci. Returning to the

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<sup>9</sup> *Rudimenta Cosmographica* (Braşov: Johannes Honter, 1541); *Rudimentorum Cosmographiae* (Krakow: Mathias Scharfenbergius, 1530). On Honter's life and work, see Robert W. Karrow, "Johannes Honter," in *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps* (Chicago: Speculum Orbis, 1993), 302–15.

<sup>10</sup> Karrow, 308.

<sup>11</sup> Karrow, 310.

<sup>12</sup> Karrow, 308.

didacticism of the poems, though, whereas Honter's *Rudimenta Cosmographica* was intended to serve as a primer for students, Drayton directs his *Poly-Olbion* towards a "lunatique Age" "when Verses are wholly deduc't to Chambers," and in which "nothing [is] esteem'd . . . but what is kept in Cabinets, and must only passe by Transcription" ("To the Generall Reader," v). That is, in publishing his work, Drayton sought a broader readership than the private coterie of his contemporaries. He bemoans that "the Idle Humerous world must heare of nothing, that either savors of Antiquity, or may awake it to seeke after more, then dull and slothful ignorance may easily reach unto" (v). His motivation, then, is to give his English readers a poem by which they might "see the Rarities and Historie of their owne Country delivered by a true native Muse" (v).

In a move that introduces a pastoral focus on rural landscapes rather than on settlements, Drayton uses a periegetic conceit to convey his poem as a form of travel narrative. He criticizes those who might, "rather than . . . take paines to searche into ancient and noble things, chooset to remaine in the thicke fogges and mists of ignorance, as neere the common Lay-stall of a Citie; refusing to walke forth into the *Tempe* and Feelds of the Muses" (v). Locating the classical Vale of Tempe, which was associated with Apollo and the Muses, in the English countryside, Drayton invents a new "industrious," "laborious," and "wandring Muse" to serve as his readers' guide as they journey with the Muse into a landscape enlivened more by antiquarian intrigues and mythological conceits than by the scientific focuses of Honterus or some of the forms of contemporary travel writing discussed in Chapter 1 (1.5, 1.132, 2.471). Drayton characterizes his Muse as, at times, the poem's speaker; the Muse is capable of flight, and she provides narration and expository commentary to supplement bird's-eye-view surveys of English and Welsh counties, the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man. In this capacity, her flight notwithstanding, the Muse's role recalls the narrators of Camden's *Britannia* or Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*; the Muse is both the "I" and the eye, whose wandering, periegetic perspective gives structure and coherence to the poem as a narrative of travel and a sequential series of observations and representations of different places. At other moments, however, there is some ambiguity as concerns the distinction between Drayton's speaker and the Muse. For example, the first song begins with a conventional invocation. Asking "What helpe shall I invoke to ayde my Muse," Drayton's speaker, who, in this moment, seemingly represents Drayton himself, requests the assistance of the "Genius of the place," a kind of ancient spirit guide and personification of

Albion (1.7, 1.8).<sup>13</sup> The speaker calls on this entity to “Direct my course so right, as with thy hand to showe / Which way thy Forrests range, which way thy Rivers flowe” (1.13–14). In lines such as these, the speaker, Drayton, is seemingly the first-person “I” in these proceedings, and the “Genius,” later simply the Muse character in the poem’s narrative, is the second-person addressee. Nonetheless, this preliminary invocation, ostensibly spoken entirely by the speaker qua Drayton, is concluded by a counterintuitive reversal of narratological agency: “*Thus scarce she said the Muse*, but hovering while she hung / Upon the Celtick wastes, the Sea-Nymphes loudlie sung” (1.43–4).<sup>14</sup> In this transition, the Muse is located geographically as a concrete, physical entity in flight, and the first set of many secondary spirits, the sea nymphs, begin the song proper by lending their voices to *Poly-Olbion*’s increasingly pronounced sense of polyvocality. The conflation of Drayton’s speaker, who, again, is perhaps Drayton himself, and the Muse, the “Genius of the place,” whose peregrinations inform the central conceit of the poem as a periegetic chorography, and the attendant webs of first, second, and third-person narration in

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<sup>13</sup> T. V. F. Brogan writes that genius is the crucial middle term, developed mainly in the 18<sup>th</sup> c., in the millennial transition from theories which view the sources of poetic originality and creation as external—i.e. concepts of divine inspiration and poetic madness—to theories which posit them as internal—i.e. as processes of imagination or of the subconscious. Originally genius meant the distinctive character of a place, thing, or person—e.g. *genius loci*, the spirit of a place. (“Genius,” 455)

Given the poem’s ambiguous distinctions here between the D-speaker, the Muse, and the “Genius of the place,” and the unconventional hierarchy that develops between the D-speaker and the Muse later in the poem (as will be discussed), is it possible that Drayton’s invocation of Albion’s *genius loci* anticipates the theoretical transition that Brogan locates in the 1700s? That is, when the D-speaker and the Muse/Genius are casually (or carelessly) conflated, does that signal some sort of anxiety or uncertainty on Drayton’s part about how to represent the internal/external sources of poetic inspiration? Other poets explored ways to negotiate and represent internal and external sources of poetic inspiration; doing so was not, in and of itself, unusual or unconventional. For example, in “Lycidas,” Milton refers to his friend Edward King (qua Lycidas), who was drowned in a shipwreck off the coast of Wales, as the “Genius of the Shore,” and he suggests that the coastline will be enriched by King’s spirit (line 183). Milton’s *genius loci* identifies the spirit of the place (a real geographical location, after all) in an unambiguous manner, yet the poem is invested in personal, elegiac reflections. That is, “Lycidas” looks both inwards and outwards for inspiration, and the poem conveys a balance of internal and external sources of meaning; there is no slippage or confusion between the identities of Milton, King/Lycidas, and this genius. Drayton is perhaps less successful in striking this balance than Milton, which might suggest, again, that *Poly-Olbion* conveys Drayton’s uncertainty with respect to the relationship between different sources of poetic inspiration.

<sup>14</sup> Italics added for emphasis.

this preliminary sequence, is beguiling. Given this conflation, the Muse seems to not only be a conventional source of inspiration—a wellspring of poetic resources that the poet might call upon—but the embodiment of what the poem will describe: no less than Albion itself! Furthermore, in a sense, the Muse seems to invoke herself, in that distinctions between the Muse and a higher, meta-level “I,” Drayton’s speaker, or Drayton himself, are vexed or, perhaps, confused. The Muse is thereby introduced, paradoxically, as the poet, the speaker, the poem’s protagonist, and the subject of the poem all at once. To complicate matters further, the Muse is typically referred to as a kind of winged spirit, and a line in the second stanza, which details something of the circumference of the poem’s geographical purview, asserts that “My verse with wings of skill may flie a loftie gate” (1.25). Putting aside the question of the identity of the speaker for a moment, this line suggests, via its symbolism, that the Muse is, in a sense, the poem itself. To understand the nature and purpose of *Poly-Olbion*’s Muse in relation to a qualification of the poem as a chorography, then, in the pages that follow I will explore 1) invocations of the Muse, and the relationship between the Drayton speaker (who will hereafter be referred to as the “D-speaker”) and the Muse; and 2) the Muse’s role as the poem’s protagonist, and the nature of the Muse’s identity in general (including associations of the Muse and the poem in general). Pursuing these points of analysis will result in a comprehensive understanding of how Drayton’s Muse functions as the central, chorographical conceit of *Poly-Olbion*.

### **Invocations of the Muse, and the Relationship between the Drayton Speaker and the Muse**

As mentioned, there are moments in the poem when the identities of the D-speaker and the Muse are not easy to differentiate. These moments highlight an occasional lack of clarity with respect to divisions of narratological agency; that is, in terms of their style, modes of delivery, and general subject matter or content, the poetic labours shouldered by the D-speaker are not always easily distinguished from those assigned to the Muse. *Poly-Olbion* has several discrete types of speakers: the D-speaker; the Muse; a cast of personified geographical features; and a depersonalized voice used to narrate advancements of the plot, such as a brief transition from one speaker to another. With a few exceptions, the speech of the rivers, forests, and so on, and the third-person narration of plot points, tend to be readily identifiable as such. Only the D-speaker and the Muse are regularly conflated.



Before these conflations can be evaluated, more needs to be said about the D-speaker and the Muse in isolation. Identifying the D-speaker as a straightforward projection of Drayton into the poem is fair, given continued references to “my invention,” “my subject,” “my worke,” “my Song,” and so forth (2. 4, 2.7, 2.9, 2.15). The D-speaker’s panegyric song for Warwickshire, Drayton’s native county, attests to this equivalency, beginning, as it does, with a stanza that might suit the conventional autobiographical posturing of contemporary dedicatory epistles, in miniature:

My native Country then, which so brave spirits hast bred,  
If there be vertue yet remaining in thy earth,  
Or any good of thine thou breathd’st into my birth,  
Accept it as thine owne whilst now I sing of thee;  
Of all thy later Brood th’unworthiest though I bee. (13.8–12)

Likewise, the D-speaker regularly enters the verse to narrate and orient Drayton’s real-life labours. For example, in the fourth song, prior to an extended section on Wales, the D-speaker requests “a bowle of Meath, my working spirit to raise: / And ere seven Bookes have end, I’le strike so high a string, / Thy Bards shall stand amaz’d with wonder, whilst I sing” (4.112–114). Here Drayton not only sets the energized tenor of the verse that follows, which is narrated by the D-speaker, but he sketches a rough outline for the Welsh surveys of the next seven songs, and he positions himself in relation to other British poets, which is a sustained, if not overly prominent, facet of his poem. It only makes sense to attribute these lines directly to Drayton, rather than to some fictive persona.

However, it must be noted that Drayton is careful not to unduly represent argumentative commentary through the D-speaker mouthpiece, even when those arguments could very well be no different than Drayton’s own private beliefs. Although the D-speaker can safely be identified as a direct representation of Drayton’s voice, then, questions of argumentation and authorial intention tend to reflect a higher level of sophistication on his part as a poet. For instance, the sixth song, which is otherwise narrated in its entirety by the D-speaker, is punctuated by an extended historiographical diatribe spoken by the River Wye. At the conclusion of a foray into Welsh history, which leads to high praise of Welsh, then all British poets, the river refers to the interment of King Arthur at Avalon as a matter for

memorable Bards, . . . which still

Posteritie shall praise for your so wondrous skill,  
That in your noble Songs, the long Descents have kept  
Of your great Heroës, else in Lethe that had slept. (6.259–262)

Affirming the Arthurian tradition thusly, the Wye attacks “those fools that all Antiquitie defame, / Because they have found out, some credulous Ages layd / Slight fictions with the truth” (6.276–278). In essence, the passage asks contemporary readers of historical texts to accept the merit of truths that are intermixed with “fictive ornament[s]” (6.286). *Poly-Olbion* is repeatedly positioned as a new installment in the bardic tradition. It would have been overly immodest, perhaps, to have the D-speaker, rather than the River Wye, make the association between Drayton’s *Poly-Olbion* and the “noble songs” of “memorable Bards.” Further, while Drayton’s prefaces rail at his detractors, the river’s “fools” are critiqued using sleight of hand. The fiction of a river capable of speaking is balanced with the validity of its historiographical points. To consider these points on their own merit, then, and avoid being implicated as foolish, a reader must accept some measure of riverine “ornamentation.”

One might imagine that, in this moment, Drayton affirms the reading practices of someone like John Selden, provider of the sober, well-researched and referenced historical “Illustrations” that append each song in the first part of *Poly-Olbion*.<sup>15</sup> Drayton’s poem is itself nothing if not a study in the affixation of fictive ornamentation to chorographical scholarship. Although Selden prepares readers from the outset for discrepancies and points of contention between himself and Drayton, Selden’s general attitude is one of (occasionally bemused) sympathy to Drayton’s undertaking (“From the Author of the Illustrations” viii). Selden does not hesitate to comment on Drayton’s hyperbolic turns, and he offers words of caution when Drayton seems to rush his speculations, but Selden’s attitude is broadly positive, both with respect to the findings and purview of Drayton’s research, and to the conviction that Drayton demonstrates in making his assertions, even if, at times, these convictions are expressed rather too vociferously for Selden’s comparably impartial taste. Selden’s approach is to invariably assess and verify Drayton’s historical claims, but, in practice, Selden’s role is to offer supplementary research and analysis to clarify matters that Drayton might have hastily or colourfully styled according to the needs of his versification. Where Drayton might provide an allusion, then, Selden gives readers

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<sup>15</sup> On the interplay of Drayton’s and Selden’s histories, see Anne Prescott, “Marginal Discourse: Drayton’s Muse and Selden’s ‘Story,’” *Studies in Philology* 88.3 (1991): 307–28.

prose that more closely approaches that which might be found in a conventional chorography. The marginalia of the two writers further distinguishes their roles in the poem's conjoined project. Both annotate heavily; however, Drayton's preference is to provide topical signposts and expository details, and to define terms, whereas Selden's notes are bibliographic, in reference to the sources that he brings to bear on the scholarly side of Drayton's poetic proceedings. Drayton's more narratological expositions are thereby met by their scholarly foils in Selden's margins. In assiduously supplementing Drayton's poem, Selden bolsters the overall legitimacy of Drayton's project; Selden seeks to help Drayton establish a bridge between his poetry and the historical and geographical genres at play. Above all, then, and to make a point that is especially germane here, Selden ultimately supports Drayton's poetic conceits, particularly Drayton's inclusion of a Muse character.

In his illustrations, Selden posits a reading of the D-speaker as a surrogate for Drayton himself. Selden frequently refers to points that he attributes directly to "the Author," and these points include, but are not limited to, matters raised during the D-speaker's narrations. That is to say, Selden makes no explicit distinction between the D-speaker and Drayton. Similarly, and in a move that highlights the limits of Selden's engagement with Drayton's conceits, issues and ideas raised by the poem's most vocal contingent, the host of speaking rivers, forests, and hills, are likewise invariably attributed by Selden to Drayton, except in a few minor instances.<sup>16</sup> Selden's attributions in this regard are not surprising in the least; they are consistent with the scholarly register of his appendices. Selden is never likely to attribute Song IX's extended overview of the geography and political history of Wales, for example, to a personified incarnation of the Welsh county Merionethshire ("Mervinia"), or to Mount Snowdon, or to Ynys Môn (the Isle of Anglesey), or to the cohorts of singing mountain and water nymphs that round out the Song's

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<sup>16</sup> See, for instance, the first paragraph of Selden's illustrations for Song XVII. The paragraph concludes "and Thames, as K. of all our Rivers, summarily sings the Kings of England, from Norman William to yesterdaies age" (Drayton 341). Indeed, the River Thames is the speaker (singer) for much of the song. Although the first paragraphs of Selden's illustrations regularly engage the conceit of the Muse, as will be discussed, this is one of only a few instances in which Selden admits a personified geographical feature into his prose. It should be pointed out, too, that whereas the Thames character is not brought into the proceedings of the body of Song XVII's illustrations, the Muse is a common enough feature of both introductory paragraphs and body sections. That is, the Muse is far and away Selden's (almost exclusively) favoured fictional conceit.

cast of speakers. In his supplementary notes, the authorities that Selden prefers to cite instead include a litany of (human!) ancient, medieval, and contemporary historians. Selden justifies his restraint with respect to fictive conceits: “If in Prose and Religion it were as justifiable, as in Poetry and Fiction, to invoke a Locall power . . . I would therin joyne with the Author” (p. 15). Although his commentary here might be tongue-in-cheek, and one wonders just how inimitable Selden personally found Drayton’s freedom to indulge in the affordances of poetic license, Selden’s concern is generic; Selden’s D-speaker, again, referred to simply as “the Author,” is in conversation with the luminaries of British historiography, not with the landscape.

However, in a move that is seemingly incongruous with the ostensible austerity of his prose, and yet marks his genuine fidelity to Drayton’s poem, Selden readily admits one fictive interlocutor into his coterie of chorographical authorities: the Muse. Given that the Muse is unquestionably the poem’s main “Locall power,” a rather blunt question must be posed, if only in passing, here: in light of his abovementioned protestations about the proprieties of “Prose and Religion,” how might Selden justify his invocations of the Muse? The Muse has already been introduced in general terms, as Drayton’s aerial “Genius of the place,” whose perambulations define the course and contours of the poem’s geographical purview. Selden’s invocations are occasionally idiosyncratic, in the sense that the character takes on new roles under Selden’s stewardship, but they generally follow the logic of Drayton’s invocations, which makes (for my purposes) Selden’s characterizations useful as entry points into a broader discussion of the Muse. It is possible, too, that, in largely borrowing the attributes and posture of Drayton’s Muse, Selden side-steps the thorny issues that he himself raises about the place of fictive elements in his chosen genre of acutely-scholarly prose.

In any case, Selden’s use of the Muse character largely follows patterns that are established in Drayton’s verse. For example, Selden begins every section of his illustrations with a short paragraph to summarize the preceding song’s geographical survey. These paragraphs tend to mirror the short “Argument” verses that precede the main body of every song, especially with respect to representations of the Muse. Consider Selden’s preamble to his notes on Song III alongside a portion of Drayton’s argument. Selden writes, “Discontinuing her first course, the Muse returnes to Somerset and Wiltshire, which lie twixt the Severne and Hantshire; as the song here joynes them” (p. 59). Now Drayton:

The Muse then seekes the Shires extreames,

To find the Fountaine of great Tames;  
Falls down with Avon, and discries  
Both Bathes and Bristowes braveries:  
Then viewes the Sommersetian soyle;  
Through Marshes, Mines, and Mores doth toyle,  
To Avalon to Arthurs Grave,  
Sadlie bemoan'd of Ochy Cave.  
Then with delight shee bravelie brings  
The Princely Parret from her Springs:  
Preparing for the learned Plea

(The next Song) in the Severne Sea. (p. 48)

Both passages provide contextual framing for the chorographical work at hand, though the Muse's route and purview are outlined differently by Selden and Drayton. Selden is succinct, and, rather than repeat details of the narrative, he signposts his faithfulness to the county-based orientation of conventional chorographies. Selden includes Wiltshire, whereas Drayton's verse admits only Somerset, even though both counties are surveyed in the song. Drayton's general approach follows that of large-scale county chorographies, in that, like the sections of the main body of William Camden's *Britannia*, say, the discrete songs of *Poly-Olbion* each pertain to certain counties; however, in this instance, and in numerous others, Drayton's prefatory "Argument" is necessarily supplemented by Selden's explicit clarification that *Poly-Olbion* is organized as a fairly conventional county-by-county study. Although Selden conveys a tighter focus on the poem's representation of counties, Drayton's summaries of the Muse's actions are far more detailed and colourful. In the above examples, Selden's Muse discontinues one course and returns to another, while Drayton's "seekes," "finds," "falls down" a river, "discries," "viewes," "toyles," and "with delight . . . bravelie brings" the River Parrett from its source. Nonetheless, despite their apparent stylistic differences, the two synopses are complementary. Even in his brevity, Selden might as well be describing the perambulations of someone like Leland or Camden. Similarly, stylistic flourishes and all, Drayton's argument might not be too ornate to accompany a chorography like Richard Carew's emotive, aesthetically-minded *Survey of Cornwall*. Selden's overarching focus on the scholarly side of chorographical writing, rather than the diegetic approach of Drayton and many other chorographers, would seem to place

Selden in the company of a writer like Burton, who eschewed travel narratives as a matter of course, of necessity favouring scholarly collation to the representation of first- or second-hand observations. However, Selden's use of the Muse's travels to preface his illustrations gives them a periegetic orientation that situates his writing along the same travel-based chorographical arc populated by most of his peers. *Poly-Olbion's* Muse, then, is essentially a travelling chorographer in both Selden's and Drayton's prefatory passages.

Although Selden somewhat recasts the Muse's journey, then, in order to help orient readers to the scholarly chorographical discourse of his illustrations, the conceit of the Muse provides a similar narratological function for both Selden and Drayton. Further, unlike his disinclination to acknowledge Drayton's rank-and-file geographical personifications as speakers in their own rights, Selden regularly attributes lines or passages of verse directly to the Muse. Selden's illustrations highlight three such moments in Song III. First, Selden refers to the song's narrative of a love triangle between the Wellesbourne and Avon rivers and the Salisbury Plain, and highlights that, in line 86, in "prosecuting this fiction, the Muse thus adds; 'How that Bathe's Avon waxt imperious through her fame'" (p. 62). Selden pauses at this line to briefly discuss the fact that there are multiple rivers named Avon in Britain. Further on in his illustrations, in reference to daytime fluctuations in the water quality of the hot springs in Bath, Selden writes that the Muse "expresses" this matter "in a fervent sympathy of love twixt the Water and the Sun" (p. 65, with reference to lines 3.219–26). Later, in a note on Cadbury Hill, the site of Cadbury (formerly Camalet) Castle, Selden comments that "Antique report makes this one of Arthurs places of his Round Table, as the Muse here sings" (p. 68). Strictly speaking, the Muse character does not "prosecute" or "express" or "sing" in the sections of verse that inspire these illustrations. That is to say, the Muse is not the speaker in these sections. While occasionally incorporating the voices and stories of personified geographical features in the region, the song is narrated in the first person by the D-speaker.<sup>17</sup> As the Muse travels around the region to advance the song's survey, the D-speaker addresses and represents her in the second and third person. This might seem convoluted, and this manner of characterization will be

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<sup>17</sup> Though the song's first person point of view is rarely made explicit, it is the song's consistent narrative style. The identification of the D-speaker as the speaker is based on the song's overarching similarity to other song's in which the D-speaker is more active and self-referential. Consider, too, parallels between lines 404–8 and other instances in which the D-speaker refers to the work of other poets.

described further in the next paragraph, but for now it is enough to observe that the D-speaker, not the Muse, delivers the lines that Selden attributes to the Muse. If these passages from Song III were spoken by personified geographical features of the region—a conceit that Selden generally declines to participate in—then his attribution of the passages to the Muse might simply suggest a kind of concession on his part: an allowance of one fictional speaker to stand in for a multitude. However, Selden alternates, seemingly without following a coherent pattern, between attributing the lines spoken by geographical features to the Muse or to Drayton himself.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, Selden’s idiosyncratic association of these passages in Song III to the Muse, rather than Drayton, bolstered by the fact that Selden’s illustrations prove him to be a supremely fastidious reader, certainly capable of determining a matter like narrative agency, even in Drayton’s convoluted verse, might simply signal Selden’s readiness to use the Muse at will, when desired, to help narrativize his illustrations. In summation, Selden demonstrates his comfort in engaging, however ironically, given his historiographical protestations, with this one fictive conceit to the extent that he redirects the Muse to articulate chorographical matters in the illustrations that are conveyed by other speakers in Drayton’s verse. That said, Selden’s Muse, a kind of *de facto* protagonist in the illustrations, in the absence of other fictional characters, is not so different from Drayton’s Muse.

Although their Muses are not entirely one and the same, Selden’s engagement with the character marks his fidelity to Drayton’s general use of the Muse as a *periegetic* conceit. Selden’s Muse adds a sense of narrative zest and direction to his occasionally rote illustrations, in keeping with Drayton’s use of the Muse as a vehicle to traverse the poem’s assorted tableaux and propel the verse along its geographical, narratological course. Drayton rarely affords the Muse much agency as an independent entity with her own “will,” so to speak.<sup>19</sup> In general, she is

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<sup>18</sup> Selden does, at times, attribute passages spoken by geographical features to the Muse. See, for example, his illustrations in Song VIII, in which Selden notes that the Muse, rather than the River Severn, the passage’s speaker, sufficiently justifies a historical point (p. 152). However, as noted, Selden’s Muse does not always stand in for Drayton’s personified geographical features, and the Muse is sometimes attributed with the D-speaker’s lines, too. As well, Selden sometimes attributes the speech of geographical features directly to Drayton, as in the illustrations for Song IV, in which an argument made by a group of nymphs is acknowledged to be Drayton’s (p. 91). This means that there is no consistent pattern to Selden’s use of the Muse character. Rather, this seems to be a matter of narratological style.

<sup>19</sup> Examples of a free, “independent” Muse will be considered further in the following section.

only given that kind of active freedom in the arguments that precede the main verse of each song. There, she is able to “seek,” “find,” “descry,” “view,” and so forth, as figured in Song III’s argument, noted above. That is, only the prefatory arguments consistently feature the Muse as an independent surveyor or chorographer. The rest of the time, she finds herself in company with a loosely-defined group consisting of herself, the D-speaker, and the reader, known mainly through actions narrated in the first-person plural by the D-speaker (e.g. in lines like “From [Old] Sarum thus we set” (3.13), or “leave we Severne here” (6.179)). The reader’s involvement has already been mentioned with reference to Drayton’s note “To the Generall Reader,” which introduces the conceit that to read the poem is to “walke forth with the Muses” and embark on a journey. However, outside of its prefaces, the poem does not explicitly address its readership in significant ways. Readers, then, “travel” simply as passive observers; they are enlisted as participants in the journey, but they are not overtly implicated or directly involved in the events or histories represented in the poem. Instead, the pursuits and prerogatives of the D-speaker and the Muse are foregrounded. Their individual roles in the poem are highlighted by the nature of their relationship; indeed, the relationship of the D-speaker and the Muse is a fundamental aspect of the poem’s periegetic conceit.

In general, the Muse’s actions are narrated in the third person either implicitly or explicitly by the omnipresent D-speaker. Even passages that introduce a more independent Muse are interspersed with or framed by first-person plural interjections to clarify that she is a member of a group, as in the lines “Awhile thus taking breath, *our* way yet faire in view, / The Muse her former course doth seriously pursue” (10.1–2).<sup>20</sup> The D-speaker’s use of the first and third person, here, is typical of the hierarchy that *Poly-Olbion* establishes between the characteristically subordinate Muse and the presence of Drayton in the verse. Very often, the course of the narrative is controlled by the D-speaker, who appears in order to direct the Muse to survey this region or that. In other words, the D-speaker regularly exerts control over the path of the Muse’s travels. Song XIX, for example, begins with the D-speaker’s exhortation to “Beare bravely up my Muse, the way thou went’st before, / And crosse the kingly Thames to the Essexian shore” (19.1–2). After a brief interlude on Canvey Island, the D-speaker continues:

But Muse, from her [Canvey] so low, divert thy high-set song

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<sup>20</sup> Italics mine.



To London-wards, and bring from Lea with thee along  
The Forrests, and the Floods, and most exact show,  
How these in order stand, how those directly flow. (19.13–16)

The D-speaker not only dictates the Muse's course, but the scope of her song ("thy song") as well. She is told where to go and what to "show." However, the rest of the song features a variety of geographical features who speak for themselves. The Muse does not speak at all. That is, in this song, Drayton uses the conceit of a travelling Muse to introduce the song's focus on Essex. After this introduction, when he no longer needs the Muse to carry the song's narrative, that is, its systematic, periegetically-oriented survey of the county's geography, Drayton temporarily drops the Muse conceit in favour of his river and forest nymphs, who communicate their trials and tribulations without requiring an interlocutor. In this song, the Muse is at first an integral, then entirely dispensable, figure, based purely on Drayton's narratological exigencies. The D-speaker and the Muse interact, here, to the extent that Drayton needs to contextualize and versify the route of his chorographical surveys. Whereas a conventional periegetic chorography might feature a travelling author, even to the point of supplementing that perspective with fictive conceits, as in Camden's *Britannia*, or mimic a travelling perspective, as in Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, Drayton opts to feature a character who can serve as a foil for his D-speaker by physically traversing the countryside and facilitating the representation of other conceits, manifested as speaking geographical features that, in turn, relate their various points of chorographical interest. The Muse's journey thus provides the poem with an organizing metanarrative that, above all, is highly malleable, which is evinced by the D-speaker's authority over the Muse, and by the fact that a song can be attributed to the Muse even when she is not its speaker. *Poly-Olbion* is grounded by its recourse to a conventional wandering traveller figure, but, subject to the poem's flexible logic of representation, that figure's perspective can be minimized, even made ambiguous, in service of the poem's prevailing prerogative to convey polyvocality. That is, a song can be Drayton's/the D-speaker's, the Muse's, and a region's (populated by a host of voices) at the same time, whereas a section of a conventional chorography would be Camden's, or Lambarde's, or Burton's. Further clarifications can be gained by assessing other examples of the D-speaker and the Muse's interactions.

The D-speaker occasionally asks the Muse rhetorical questions. For example, in Song III, amidst a survey of the environs of Glastonbury, the D-speaker asks, "dallying in this place so

long why doost thou dwell, / So many sundry things here having yet to tell?" (3.343–4). The following line, "Occasion calls the Muse her pynions to prepare," begins the third-person narrative that closes out the song, in which the D-speaker describes the Muse's flight over a historically and geographically-situated River Parrett (3.345). Although the D-speaker directly addresses the Muse, her flight can only be considered a response in a superficial sense; the question primarily signposts a shift in the "Occasion"—the chorographical needs and prerogatives—of the D-speaker's verse. This is less of a communicative moment between two characters—a rebuke, or a directive—than it is a means to usher in the transition from one set of geographical features to another. The D-speaker's questions for the Muse follow this general pattern. At another moment, the D-speaker asks the Muse why England's best wrestlers hail from Cornwall and Devonshire:

Muse, may I demaund, Why these of all the rest  
. . . most active are and strong?  
From Corin [i.e. Corineus] came it first, or from the use so long?  
Or that this fore-land lies furth'st out into his sight,  
Which spreads his vigorous flames on everie lesser light? (1.252–6)

Here, the D-speaker answers his first question with the speculations raised in the next two. In general, then, and however counterintuitively, the Muse is not an active participant in these apparently dialogical moments; rather, the Muse is a narratological conceit used to stage and facilitate Drayton's own personal (and excuse the pun) musings.

Insofar as general patterns thus inform the D-speaker and Muse's interactions, a closer reading of a single song can offer a sustained assessment of their dynamic. Song XIII provides an extended example of how the two figures are represented in tandem. The song's argument introduces the scope of "her thirteenth Song": "our Shire of Warwick." Note the D-speaker's usual conflation of first and third-person narration, here. The argument notes that the Muse will partake in some birdwatching and then, "Huntresse-like," pursue the county's herds of deer before, "like a Hermit," examining "the Simples [i.e. medicinal herbs] every where that growe." Then the Muse will "showe" the River Anker, "tell" Guy of Warwick's "famous deeds," and "proceed" to the Vale of the Red Horse. The D-speaker's introduction paints the Muse in characteristically active terms, yet the verse proceeds entirely at the discretion of the D-speaker. The Muse character does not literally birdwatch, or hunt deer, or search for herbs, nor does she

become a hermit. She neither “shows” the region’s geography nor “tells” its history. Rather, aside from interludes voiced by personified geographical features, the D-speaker is the song’s only speaker. Navigating “our intended course,” the D-speaker occasionally issues the Muse directives. For instance, early in the song, she is instructed to “first of Arden tell” (13.13). However, in what follows, she does not speak; rather, the D-speaker follows this directive with a short introduction of the Forest of Arden, who, personified, then takes over the narrative. Later in the song, the D-speaker concludes a passage on medicinal herbs by saying that “from our hermit heere the Muse we must inforce, / And zealously proceed in our intended course” (13.235–6). The D-speaker then concentrates on the region’s rivers, before issuing the Muse another, similar order: “Hence, Muse, divert thy course to Dunsmore” (13.311). These two examples of the D-speaker’s directives are representative of invocations that occur frequently in *Poly-Olbion*. In these, the Muse serves as a narratological device that allows Drayton to transition from one point of focus to another (e.g. from medicinal herbs to rivers, in this case, and from rivers to the area around High Cross, Leicestershire, and Clifton-upon-Dunsmore, Warwickshire). These transitions do not require an active Muse character, and, indeed, aside from these brief inclusions, she is only engaged as a participant in the song in the most cursory, perfunctory manner. Here, the conceit that the poem follows the Muse’s travels, and represents her observations, conversations, and reflections, operates at its most superficial level. The directives that her character receives, to speak of this or that, or travel here or there, mainly serve to reorient the D-speaker’s chorographical focus; they introduce a modicum of energy to the poem’s surveys, but they do not tend to develop the Muse as anything more than a means to smooth over what might have otherwise been abrupt transitions between different chorographical considerations.

As Song XIII ends, after a chorographical survey voiced by the Vale of Red Horse, the D-speaker says, “Thus Red-horse ends her tale; and I therewith agree / To finish heere my Song: the Muse some ease doth aske, / As wearied with the toyle in this her serious taske” (13.424–6). “Her song,” as per the argument, has, finally, become “my song.” A tired Muse—to say nothing about the extent to which she constitutes a “tired” conceit over the course of thirty songs—is relieved of her agency by Drayton, who toils on. Nonetheless, the next song’s argument again represents the Muse in active terms, and the pattern repeats again amidst new surroundings, as it does in the next song, and the next after that. While her travels serve as an organizing

metanarrative that suits the poem's periegetic conceit as a chorographical travel account, the hierarchical relationship of the D-speaker and the Muse further clarifies the conditions of the Muse's necessity. She is useful at times as a narratological device that allows Drayton to demarcate transitions in a poem defined by its breadth of focus; that is, she is admirably well-suited to serve as a means to organize a monument of chorographical collation. At the same time, she is, in practice, dispensable when the thoughts of a personified geographical feature are brought to the foreground, or when the D-speaker expounds on a topic or performs the poetic marshalling requisite to maintain the poem's overall integrity and cohesiveness as a chorographical survey. However, it would be unfair to reductively relegate the Muse to the sidelines. She does speak, and she is the poem's de facto protagonist, in spite of and against the backdrop of its polyphonic, polyvocal milieu and the entrenched hierarchies of agency and narrative control that the D-speaker presides over. In the interest of continuing to explicate the complex, multifaceted nature of her significance, the following chapter will concentrate on moments when the Muse attains greater independence as a character in her own right, rather than serving predominately as a literary device or narratological tool. Although she is indubitably, intrinsically subject to the whims of Selden's muted diegetic needs and Drayton's more involved, polyvocal narratological prerogatives, qua the D-speaker et al., this section will thus focus more on her distinctive "voice," as it were, and on a variety of incarnations of her character.

### **Further Parsing the Muse's Identity: the Muse as Protagonist, Albion, and Poem**

As Bruce Carroll notes, relationships between poets and their muses can be implicitly hierarchical, in that invocations of a muse can involve juxtaposing the muse's extraordinary, divine access to truth and the human poet's humble capacity for reflection and representation.<sup>21</sup> A poet, then, might invoke a muse in this conventional hierarchical sense in order to signal the lofty heights of their aspirations modestly, alongside an acknowledgement of their own limitations. However, Carroll establishes that early modern English poets increasingly handled the juxtaposition of muse and poet in new, unconventional ways in order to affirm the creative powers and agency of a poet practicing their craft. Carroll takes the close of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella 1*, then, "Fool, said my Muse to me, looke in thy heart and write," as an invitation for

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<sup>21</sup> Bruce Carroll, "The Early Modernization of the Classical Muse" (doctoral dissertation, The University of New Mexico, 2014).

the poet-speaker to derive their inspiration not from the muse, but rather from their own heart.<sup>22</sup> Carroll locates this manner of self-assertion in the sonnets of Sidney, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, Samuel Daniel, and Michael Drayton. By studying how poets use muses to negotiate their roles as the creators of poems, Carroll locates the anxieties that existed around the inclination to subvert conventional poetic hierarchies and affirm human artistic production and early-modern conceptions of personhood. That is, in Carroll's assessment, sonnets are seen as being introspective and self-reflective in support of a contemporary humanistic ontology.

Carroll does not examine Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, but the previous section's assessment of the hierarchical relationship between the Drayton-speaker and the Muse evinces Drayton's participation in the trend of reassessing and refashioning poetic conventions to suit contemporary and personal artistic interests. Nonetheless, the lines between conventional and unconventional invocations and deployments of a muse can be hard to establish and harder still to generalize, due to the variety and subtlety of poetic confrontations with literary norms. For example, a line as well-known as Milton's "Sing heavenly muse" might seem to be more conventional than Drayton's invocations of the Muse in a number of ways.<sup>23</sup> Milton invokes Urania, the muse of astronomy, and heavenly matters generally, to aid his

... adventurous song,  
That with no middle flight intends to soar  
Above the Aonian mount, while it pursues  
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme. (13–16)<sup>24</sup>

These lines might suggest the conventional hierarchy that Carroll identifies between a divine muse and humble poet. However, Urania is called upon as a source of information here, yet she never "sings" directly. The implication, instead, is that Urania will sing through Milton. As well,

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<sup>22</sup> Carroll, 5.

<sup>23</sup> Milton, "Paradise Lost," in *John Milton: The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 355–618, qtd. line 6.

<sup>24</sup> It should be noted, in passing, that one of the things that makes Milton's use of muses so distinct is his ongoing negotiation of the implications of invoking pagan muses to inspire Christian works. Calling on the heavenly muse and the pagan goddess of astronomy simultaneously, and Milton's handling of this kind of contradiction, certainly informs a central aspect of Milton's play with the conventional hierarchy of divine muse and humble poet. On this matter, see Philip Edward Phillips, *John Milton's Epic Invocations: Converting the Muse* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

Milton's reference to flight here refers only to the poem itself, and Urania does not figure as a flying protagonist figure. These aspects of the poem might serve to reaffirm the role of the poet and tip the balance of the conventional hierarchy toward progressive, tempered deployments of the muse alongside affirmations of the poet's creative powers. That is, Milton's invocation of Urania might participate in the contemporary trend of rethinking poetic conventions surrounding the muse. Of course, this example only serves to prove the point of how difficult it is to make generalizations with respect to conventional and unconventional uses of a muse; after all, in marked contrast to Milton's muse, Drayton's Muse *does* sing and fly, and these are central aspects of Drayton's unconventional representation of his Muse. That is, Milton and Drayton both participate in the contemporary trend of reimagining the hierarchy between poets and muses, but they do so by invoking and representing very different muses. Beginning with a consideration of her ability to serve as the protagonist of *Poly-Olbion*, this section will focus on some of the things that make Drayton's Muse highly idiosyncratic and unique, even against the backdrop of other poets' negotiations of conventional poetic hierarchies.

The Muse's paradoxical status in *Poly-Olbion* finds her playing a bit part at times, sidelined by authorial exigencies and a domineering D-speaker, and carrying on her winged shoulders the poem's entire periegetic conceit at other moments. She is not a consistent figure. Nonetheless, she finds her voice and freedom when she can, and, at such times as this, the poem articulates the methodology she follows as a surveyor, advances some degree of dialogue between her and British geographical features, and represents her expository prerogatives in comparison to those of other speakers, including the D-speaker. However, in general, focusing on moments when the Muse assumes the height of her agency as the poem's protagonist also further clarifies the extent of her prevailing neglect. As will be seen in this section, sparse, fleeting moments of independence add nuance and dynamism to the Muse's characterization, but they only somewhat counteract her overarching utility and *raison d'être* as a literary device. Along these lines, the section will conclude by examining Drayton's conflation of the Muse, towards the end of the poem, with rhetorical and literary concepts like "Invention" ("Argument," Song 23) and "the Song" ("Argument," Song 26). These broader identifications serve to illuminate the Muse's overall embeddedness in the foundations of Drayton's literary, chorographical project.

After an extended introductory preamble that outlines the first song's focus on Cornwall and the Channel Islands, the Muse is addressed by two geographical features: St Michael's Mount and the River Hayle. The Mount is rather agitated, and first weeps in memory of British saints, then bemoans being cut off from the Cornish mainland by the historical submersion of Mount's Bay. The river overhears and intercedes, addressing the Muse directly and calling her away from "the wayward Mount [and] his distempred heate" towards "things of ours most worthy thy delight" (in this case, the region's capacity to produce precious gemstones) (1.116, 1.118). The Muse's proximity to this melodrama is not unusual in the poem; the Muse is regularly called upon as an observer in the various situations that unfold between geographical features. In Song 23, for example, in the "fertill fields" of Northamptonshire, "the Muse doth hap to meet / Upon that side which sits the West of Watling-street, / With Helidon a Hill," along with the rivers that flow from the hill (23.35–7). While "meeting" a hill and some rivers intimates that the Muse and the geographical features might converse, or that they might otherwise interact with one another, in what follows, the hill and the rivers are merely described in turn by the D-speaker, and the Muse's presence is diminished and becomes merely implicit. The Muse's inclusion in the passage is only required in order to reorient the poem's geographical setting, rather than develop some manner of significant relationship or acquaintance between her, the hill, and the rivers.

Similarly, at the end of Song 2, half a dozen Hampshire forests bid the Muse farewell as she leaves the county. *Poly-Olbion* contains numerous, recurring references to the degradation of Britain's woodlands in the service of industry, and, here, these increasingly diminutive Hampshire forests ask the Muse to tell other endangered forests, and the Arden and Sherwood forests, specifically, "that as they waste, so everie day doe wee: / Wish them, we of our griefes may be each others heirs; / Let them lament our fall, and we will mourne for theirs" (2.478–80). This plea is direct, urgent, and implicates the Muse in an emotive, ecological network. She is called upon to perform a specific action in the poem's larger narrative, and to connect different songs, and different regions, in the fulfillment of that charge. However, she offers no reply to the Hampshire forests, nor is there any indication of her reaction, emotional or otherwise, to this entreaty. In Song 13, the Arden Forest speaks of being diminished by enclosure and deforestation, but this is a monologue, not part of a conversation with the Muse, and no mention is made in the song by the Muse or any other speaker about the aforementioned Hampshire

forests. Song 26's section on Sherwood Forest begins as the Muse sparks the forest's jealousy by telling it that the earlier part of the song includes high praise for Charnwood Forest. What follows is a survey of the Robin Hood legend, delivered by the Sherwood. Deforestation is not mentioned, and further interactions between the Muse and the Sherwood are negligible. Given the highly idealized nature of Drayton's usual paeans to Britain's natural virtues, and his tendency to idealize Britain's past—a past stocked with abundant, virgin forests—his repeated cries of alarm at the contemporary depredations and rapacity afflicting Britain's forests stand out as especially poignant moments. In his capacious, penetrating study of Drayton's forests, Andrew McRae assesses deforestation in *Poly-Olbion* in relation to Drayton's antipathies toward such matters as industrial development, new approaches to property, and Jacobean land-use policies.<sup>25</sup> McRae argues that Drayton sought “to give shape to a discourse of environmentalism” by his representations of ailing forests, and that the poem seeks to describe an ecology, in Britain's forests, that Drayton hopes will survive for posterity.<sup>26</sup> That is, McRae evaluates Drayton's environmental sensibilities in relation to the poem's larger historiographical interest in locating the roots of Britain's current, endangered vitality in its past and, further, ensuring that that remaining vitality is preserved by, in this case, advancing in verse “an assessment of trees as more than merely economic resources.”<sup>27</sup> Why, then, does the Muse not play a more active role in helping to represent the poem's vested interest in the health and harvest of Britain's forests? Why is the Muse not used with a more consistent sense of purpose as a device to explicitly develop the theme of ecological degradation? Having her, as she is asked to, deliver a message of fidelity and mutual suffering between forests, for example, would seem to be a reasonably straightforward way to make the poem's larger narrative more thematically consistent and engaged; she is poised to perform this function, but she is not utilized to full effect. *Poly-Olbion* might be, as McRae posits, “a vital achievement in the history of environmental writing,” but limitations in the Muse's characterization, capacity to speak, and interactions with, as McRae terms them, the poem's “sympathetically anthropomorphized trees,” diminish the force and cohesiveness of its environmentalism.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Andrew McRae, “Tree-Felling in Early Modern England: Michael Drayton's Environmentalism,” *The Review of English Studies*, 63.260 (2012): 410–30.

<sup>26</sup> McRae, “Tree-Felling,” 412.

<sup>27</sup> McRae, “Tree-Felling,” 430.

<sup>28</sup> McRae, “Tree-Felling,” 430.



However, returning to the first song, the Muse's encounter with St Michael's Mount and the River Hayle offers a supplement to the rule of paucity that characterizes the Muse's interactions with Britain's personified landscape. After the Muse is addressed in turn by the island and the river, in passages that are only superficially dialogues, she is afforded a rare opportunity to speak, in a short monologue. In flight above western Cornwall, she says to herself

To guide my course aright,  
What Mound or steddie Mere is offered to my sight  
Upon this out-stretcht Arme, whilst sayling heere at ease,  
Betwixt the Southern waste, and the Sabrinian seas,  
I view those wanton Brookes, that waxing, still doe wane;  
That scarcely can conceive, but brought to bed againe;  
Scarce rising from the Spring (that is their naturall Mother)  
To growe into a streame, but buried in another. (1.133–40)

The beginning of the passage speaks to her methodology as a surveyor and navigator; she is guided by visual landmarks, and this leads to her observations on the courses of the “wanton Brookes” that she flies over. The Muse's orientation, here, is reminiscent of contemporary approaches to map-making in which points, including visible beacons, were located on a map by means of techniques like triangulation or traverse surveying. The Muse's bird's-eye-view in flight, then, essentially simplifies and takes the place of mapping by means of bearings, distances, and angles determined by the use of instruments like theodolites, compasses, or plain tables. That is, the Muse's reflections on the methodology of her chorographical survey, and the requisite observations needed to “guide [her] course aright,” describe a rudimentary form of contemporary cartography. In this sense, her travels—specifically, the travels that she determines the course of—as well as her attendant chorographical surveys, help to “map” *Poly-Olbion's* Britain.<sup>29</sup>

A number of other moments, though perhaps fewer than might be expected, convey the Muse in that way, as akin to an itinerant, self-determined chorographer in the style of a Leland or

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<sup>29</sup> It should be pointed out that geographical features themselves are sometimes capable of performing a similar surveying function in a comparable manner. In Song 7, for example, the Malvern Hills (characterized in the singular in the poem) use their lofty vantage point to view and describe the surrounding region.

a Camden.<sup>30</sup> Song 3, for example, begins as the dawn ushers “forth the Day to light the Muse along” (3.3). Readers are invited to enjoy the “sweetness of *her* Song,” echoing the Argument’s refrain that in this portion of the poem the Muse “seekes,” “find[s],” “discries,” “viewes,” and “toyle[s]” in her chorographical charge, performing her surveys of Somerset and Wiltshire “bravelie” (3.4) and with “delight” (“Argument”).<sup>31</sup> Although, in contrast to these overtures of agency and centrality, the D-speaker provides the bulk of the song’s narration, the Muse enters into the verse with some measure of independence at two moments. At the conclusion of a tense display of animosity between Salisbury Plains and the counties’ forests, “whilst the sportive Muse delights her with these things, / She strangely taken is with [the counties’] delicious Springs” (3.181–2). Her lighthearted mood, here, marks a distinct break from the heated exchanges that precede this moment, and provides perspective on the general tone of the song; readers are given a key with which to understand the emotional tenor, and general gravity, perhaps, of the squabbles between this region’s geographical features. In what follows, the Muse’s fascination with waterways results in a short stanza that details a number of the River Thames’ tributaries in turn, with quick expositions of each, as her interest flits from one to the next. As per the previous quotation, this stanza is narrated in the third person, centering on the Muse. The following stanza maintains the third person, but departs from a concentration on the Muse while continuing to describe various local rivers. Nonetheless, the Muse is represented as the catalyst for the song’s turn in this direction, towards waterways. She largely fades from view

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<sup>30</sup> In addition to the examples of this from Song 3 that follow, another instance of the Muse explicitly performing a surveyor’s role is in Song 27, at lines 19–20. In that song, the Muse is initially greeted enthusiastically by the region’s geography, but then the remainder of the song is about only them, and she disappears from sight, with the exception of lines 19–20, as mentioned. This passage, and the contextual lines that follow, reads,

But whilst the active Muse thus nimbly goes about,  
Of this large Tract to lay the true Demensions out,  
The neat Lancastrian Nymphes, for beauty that excell,  
That for the Hornpipe round doe beare away the bell. (27.19–22)

That is, roughly speaking, while the Muse conducts her survey (and, again, the Muse is not mentioned again in the rest of the song), local geographical nymphs supersede her in her charge. In what follows, the nymphs dictate the verse (i.e. the survey), supplanting the Muse entirely, and “bearing away the bell.” In a sense, then, the Muse’s broader survey, in flight high above the region, almost seems to detach her from the goings on of the geography, and she is not implicated in the transmission of local knowledge.

<sup>31</sup> Italics mine.

until later in the song, when she is depicted in flight as a surveyor, once again. After a section on the Wookey Hole Caves and the Somerset Levels,

Occasion calls the Muse her pynions to prepare.

Which (striking with the wind the vast and open aire)

Now, in the finnie Heaths, then in the Champains roves;

Now, measures out this Plaine; and then survayes those groves. (3. 345–8)

As her “roving” thereby becomes tantamount to “measuring” and “surveying,” the passage continues on in this manner for another 20 lines and details her perspective of Somerset’s agricultural geography; she evaluates the region’s husbandry practices in relation to the vicissitudes of local soils and ideal farming outputs. As the “active Muse strains out these various things,” she reflects, generally, on the contrast between Somerset’s productivity and connection with labour, and neighboring Wiltshire’s preoccupation with sport, drawing on earlier associations of Wiltshire with dog- and horse-racing, hunting, and falconry (3.369). The song then shifts entirely away from the Muse and focuses on the River Parrett and its attendant history and setting, before ending in a manner that is typical to most songs, as the “breathlesse Muse awhile her wearied wings shall ease” (3.433).

These moments from Song 3 place the Muse at the centre of the poem’s periegetic conceit; her perspective, as a wandering traveller, defines the chorographical focuses of these passages. However, these moments also show just how quickly she flickers in and out of focus. This song is unusual for its inclusion of the Muse as an active part of its narrative (i.e. as an active character), yet she is only included in brief, fleeting interludes narrated in the third-person. The main narrator is the D-speaker, as in passages in other songs, referenced above, in which the Muse is more explicitly controlled. However, in the lines prior to her survey of Somerset’s agriculture, the D-speaker drops the third-person register and poses the Muse a question: “dallying in this place so long why doost thou dwell, / So many sundry things here having yet to tell? / Occasion calls the Muse her pynions to prepare” (3.343–5). With “Occasion” obliquely occupying the role of the D-speaker, the proceedings seem to be a matter of course more than a command, but the Muse’s subsequent flight, and relative independence in conducting the survey, is still circumscribed by the D-speaker’s oversight. Likewise, both of the examples of the Muse’s agency, cited above, conclude as the focus drifts away from her perspective: in the first, her attention to a series of rivers only informs the initial section of a longer passage on rivers that

does not involve her; in the second, as the “Muse strains out these various things, / Cleere Parret makes approach,” and the verse abandons the Muse, mid-flight, in favour of a digression on, and spoken by, the River Parrett. That is, these moments in which the Muse achieves some centrality are fleeting, and her independence must be carefully qualified and delimited.<sup>32</sup>

Nonetheless, the Muse does, however infrequently, speak in the first person. In Song 14, for example, she narrates a love triangle between Clent Hill, Feckenham Forest, and the River Salwarpe (14.7–48).<sup>33</sup> In Song 16, she reacts to the sight of London with wonder and amazement, first expounding upon its virtues and providing descriptive commentary, before advancing a (rather oddly located) criticism of how the import of foreign luxury goods causes great wealth to leave England from the hands of the gentry (16.317–58). Later, in Song 18, she delivers an extended oration in which she lauds the county Kent and select islands in the Thames (18.659–728). In these passages, which are few and far between, she exhibits a rare form of self-determination; otherwise, her focus is almost always determined by geographical features, who add their own interjections to the proceedings, or by the D-speaker, whose prerogatives, as mentioned, mainly require that the Muse serve the function of a narratological device. That is to say, while *Poly-Olbion*, in its capaciousness, includes passing moments in which the Muse speaks for herself, expressing thoughts and observations independent of any explicit control or interference by the proximity of the poem’s other speakers, these moments are exceptions to the rule.

At times, it requires great care to merely discern whether the Muse is the speaker or not. For example, Song 20 is narrated by the D-speaker, but at one point he seems to delegate this

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<sup>32</sup> The poem is replete with examples of her limited agency. Returning yet again to the first song, following her experiences with St Michael’s Mount and the River Hayle, the Muse is called by the River Chore (Cober) to view the Loe, a lake (1.141–2). That is, her focus is determined by the geographical features that she encounters; she is controlled, even in and around moments when she displays more agency.

<sup>33</sup> The Muse might narrate the interstitial bits that follow in the gaps between the speeches of these geographical features, but at 14.172 the Muse is narrated in the third person, so whatever narration she has performed to that point seems to come to an end. At 14.217, this new narrator, most readily identified as the D-speaker, calls on the Muse to speak, and she does, beginning at 14.223. Then, from 14.250–3 the D-speaker intercedes again, and prompts the Muse to deliver another short oration (14.254–70). In passing, it should be highlighted that this song, which begins with an active, independent Muse, progressively introduces the D-speaker, who usurps the Muse’s role and assumes an attitude of explicit narratological control over her speech.

responsibility to the Muse. Introducing the stanzas on falconry that follow, the D-speaker remarks, “Industrious Muse, proceed then to thy Hawking sport” (20.210). The falconry stanzas do not explicitly identify the speaker, but the onus seems to have been placed on the Muse. However, the stanzas are preceded and followed by first-person references that clearly and conventionally demarcate the D-speaker as the section’s authoritative voice. In this section of the song, then, the Muse and the D-speaker seem to be conflated, and it is not clear if the falconry stanzas are narrated in the Muse’s voice. Similarly, in Song 22 the Muse is repeatedly credited as the speaker in order to redirect the song’s focus from one topic to the next. However, the Muse is not, in fact, the speaker; that role belongs to either the River Ouse or the D-speaker, or to a convoluted mashup of both. Likewise, in Song 29, the Muse does not speak, but she is explicitly invoked by various geographical features as the song’s voice.

In light of the challenges posed by confused, convoluted attributions of narratological agency, one must ask a rather blunt question: does it necessarily matter whether the Muse or another speaker is talking? That is, does the Muse (or the D-speaker, or the poem’s cavalcade of geographical features) possess a voice that is uniquely hers? At any given moment, a speaker, regardless of identity, will convey a specific perspective. A hill might be jealous of a river, for example, or, as noted, the Muse might be excited at the sight of London. Nonetheless, the rhetoric and the manner of speech of the poem’s various speakers is largely consistent. There do not exist marked, consistent differences in the types of chorographical information offered by individual speakers. Local historical details, for example, might be equally the purview of a forest, or the D-speaker, or the Muse, and differences in their historiographical registers, or tones, or styles of delivering information, might be so imperceptible as to not significantly exist. For instance, the first twenty lines of narration and exposition in Song 9 might follow from the Argument as the Muse’s speech, but it does not really matter. That narration and exposition is no different from the preambles and contextualizations that are voiced by the D-speaker in other songs. Song 10 even seems to invite this kind of comparison. The Muse speaks from lines 13–45, and this is followed by a section (46–82) spoken by the general, non D-speaker narrator, who had previously introduced the Muse’s passage. This second speaker’s rhetoric does not vary markedly from the Muse’s. The break between the two simply distinguishes a change in subject matter. In this moment, then, is the interplay of speakers merely a device used to shift the song’s focus? Song 11 also captures this ambiguity, as, in the first 140 lines, the D-speaker and the

Muse alternate their speech. Initially, the D-speaker provides the song's mythical context, and then the Muse records the tributaries and course of the River Weaver. These functions are not exclusive to either speaker, though. Other moments of the poem see them switch these roles, as the Muse delves into Britain's myths, and the D-speaker waxes geographical. Further, the manners in which they express themselves do not reveal any meaningful differences in their characterizations. Again, the switch from one speaker to another might simply be a literary facade designed to facilitate the transition from one chorographical subject to another.<sup>34</sup> A reader might ask, then, whether the superficial characterizations of individual speakers, and the general similitude of them as chorographers, reveals the limited depth of the poem's veneer of polyvocality. In other words, given the extent to which we might qualify and question the poem's representations of different characters thusly, how superficial is the poem's conceit of representing multiple speakers, including the Muse's?

Indeed, towards the end of *Poly-Olbion*, especially, the coherence of the Muse as a discrete character declines even further. Elsewhere in the poem, as noted, the Arguments showcase her at her most assertive; the Arguments are laden with verbs that convey her energy, mobility, loquaciousness, and perspicacity. In the Argument of Song 23, though, the Muse is referred to only as "Invention." Invention, here, performs the same functions as the Muse in other, earlier Arguments; Invention "comes," "shewes," "goe[s]," and "makes her way." Song 25 likewise lacks the Muse in its Argument, replacing her with "our progress." In Song 26, the Argument personifies "the Song," which, like Invention in Song 23, performs the same actions the Muse usually would, in flying and surveying. Song 28, then, refers once more to Invention in place of the Muse. All of these songs represent the Muse in the same standard, typical ways as other songs; she interacts with geographical features and the D-speaker in established ways, and her travels generally figure as a means to orient the songs' geographical trajectories. However, again, the Arguments are typically her most independent moments; in them, she is momentarily liberated from the constraints and limitations that are inherent to her character's interactions with the poem's other speakers. These songs aside, the Arguments are among her clearest

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<sup>34</sup> In addition, the Muse is called upon to speak by the Weaver. Geographical features can speak to her, but not to the D-speaker. This slight nuance, again, reads more as literary artifice, and the maintenance of a conceit, than as an organic, substantial aspect of the section's narrative or general plot.

representations as an authoritative, self-possessed, travelling chorographer. When she is identified as “Invention” (Whose invention? Drayton’s?), or as the song itself, it matters less, perhaps, that the poem has endeavoured to feature a discrete, flying spirit capable of leading an idiosyncratic, yet generically paradigmatic chorographical project; that is to say, she ceases to be a chorographer when she is made synonymous with these more nebulous terms. As her character is conflated with these broad concepts, she becomes, ironically, irreducible and indistinct, and more nakedly fictive and literary. The facade of the conceit is dropped in these moments.

Nonetheless, Drayton’s Muse achieved enduring currency in the minds of his peers. Selden’s sobriety still permitted the Muse’s flight of fancy. Likewise, the three poems that preface the Second Part of *Poly-Olbion* all involve the Muse in some capacity. For his part, George Wither praises Drayton by affirming that

Thy Muse hath borne me; and (in foure dayes) showne  
More goodly Prospects, then I could have knowne  
In foure yeares Travailes; If I had not thus  
Beene mounted, on thy winged Pegasus. (“To His Noble Friend, Michael Drayton,  
Esquire, upon His Topo-chrono-graphicall Poeme,” 3–6).

As a conveyance whose wanderings give structure to the poem’s prevailing narrative of travel and sequential logic of chorographical representations, the Muse succeeds, in spite of whatever faults or limitations inhere in her characterization. However circumscribed she might be by the poem’s narratological demands, and however effaced she is by the voices of more forceful speakers, the story of her journey serves to enhance the compelling, unique energy of Drayton’s poem and thereby make such an extended, chorographical experiment more engaging. Less of a Leland or a Camden than a methodology, perhaps, Drayton’s Muse is surely a memorable symbol and testament of periegetic, literary ambition.

## CONCLUSION

At the outset of John Leland's *Cygnea Cantio*, his swan follows the course of the River Thames without knowing why. Gradually, the poem's chorographical surveys and nationalistic overtures coalesce to clarify that the swan's journey is a process of edification and ideological growth. As it travels, Leland's swan becomes a chorographer whose observations and insights comprise an elaborate affirmation of king and country. Inspired by the sense of purpose that it achieves, the swan calls on other swans to direct their energies to complementary projects. If *Cygnea Cantio* had been written as a retrospective piece instead of heralding the inception of the chorographical project that was to follow, the swan might have named Lambarde, Camden, Burton, Drayton, and their peers directly. If Leland's poem was the swansong to his *Itinerary* manuscripts, then that song was heard and admirably well-received by those other chorographers, whose work in prose, verse, and maps vivified and helped fulfill Leland's vision of a comprehensive English geography.

As this dissertation has maintained, the chorographies produced in early modern England informed and navigated the emergence of a distinct genre of geographical literature. As a genre, these chorographies negotiated the development of conventions of form, style, and subject matter. Notably, their various modes of representing travel helped to structure their engagements with narration, their means of organizing and indexing the masses of information they collate, and the ways they orient and involve their readers in chorographical scholarship. This single aspect of chorographies, their tendency to be periegetic, helps to reveal the heterogeneity and diversity of the genre, in that the period's chorographies represent travel in very different ways. The chorography genre, then, grew in the period to accommodate the periegetic conceits of Leland's swan, Camden's fictitious first-person "I," and Drayton's Muse. Even a break from the generic norm to invoke or convey travel, as in Burton's *Description of Leicester Shire*, contributes organizational, stylistic, and methodological possibilities to the larger literary project.

Through this period, there were no instructional guidebooks for chorographers beyond the chorographies that they themselves produced. That said, instructional guides inconsistently direct travellers to write. If they had been more intentional in this respect, it is not inconceivable that they might have asked travellers to produce chorographies, which might well have been a flexible enough form of geographical discourse to accommodate a new host of voices. Instead,



English chorographies developed as county-based surveys privileging certain types of geographical and historical information, but it is not hard to imagine chorographies written by navigators, merchants, pilgrims, surveyors, general travellers, and so on, in the same way that instructional guides branched out as a genre to engage different readerships. Still, when given a single county to tackle as a literary subject, the options available to a chorographer were vast, and only circumscribed by the attentions of earlier scholars. As bonds of scholarly indebtedness and inspiration helped to comprise a loose, multigenerational community and form of literary sociality, individual chorographers displayed their personal, scholarly literacies as they crafted their own idiosyncratic geographies of letters. Discursive hybridity thereby came to define the genre.

Formal attempts at standardization came later, but by that point England's county surveys were already well on their way to fulfilling Leland's original, comprehensive vision. In a noteworthy case, in 1682 accomplished Scottish antiquarian Robert Sibbald (1641–1722), who was made "Geographer Royal" "with a remit centred on providing a description of Scotland," wrote and disseminated a fascinating list of chorographical "Queries" that essentially constitute a set of guidelines for would-be chorographers.<sup>1</sup> However, Sibbald was not addressing the Leland's and Camden's of his day. Instead, he produced his queries as part of a bid to solicit assistance in the completion of a Scottish atlas, which was envisioned as "not only a natural history of Scotland but a geographical description that combined historical data with the results of contemporary survey."<sup>2</sup> By his project, Sibbald sought to remedy the contemporary lack of sustained Scottish chorographies, and in a series of preliminary works written in the early 1680s he records his process of parsing available scholarship and gathering relevant documents to aid

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<sup>1</sup> Darrell J. Rohl, "The chorographic tradition and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scottish antiquaries," *Journal of Art Historiography* 5 (2011), 7. Chorographical questionnaires were also distributed by Robert Plot as part of his chorographical projects, and this general mode of standardizing surveying processes is reminiscent of William Petty's direction of the Down Survey. See S. Mendyk, "Robert Plot: Britain's 'Genial Father of County Natural Histories,'" *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 39.2 (1985), 159–77, and Marcus Gallo, "William Penn, William Petty, and Surveying: The Irish Connection," *Faculty Bibliography* 58 (2019).

<sup>2</sup> Charles W. J. Withers, "Geography, Science and National Identity in Early Modern Britain: The Case of Scotland and the Work of Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722)," *Annals of Science* 53 (1996), 29–73, qtd. 48.

in his research.<sup>3</sup> One of these preliminary works, his *Scotia Illustrata* (1684), was partly based on his questionnaire, which consisted of twelve main questions and additional inquiries for five specific groups of respondents: the nobility, the clergy, the gentry, the “Royal Burrows” (i.e. Royal Burghs), and the universities and colleges.<sup>4</sup> The main set of questions focuses on points of inquiry that would be perfectly at home in a fully-developed, period chorography:

- I. What Nature of the County or place? And what are the chief products thereof?
- II. What Plants, Animals, Mettals, Substances cast up by the Sea, are peculiar to the place, and how Ordered?
- III. What Forrests, Woods, Parks? What Springs, Rivers, Loughs? With their various properties, whether Medicinal? With what Fish replenished, whether rapid or slow? The rise of the Rivers, and their Emboucheurs?
- IV. What Roads, Bayes, Ports for shipping, and their Description? And what Moon causeth High-Water? What Rocks, and sholes on their Coast?
- V. What Ancient Monuments, Incriptions, graved and figured Stones; Forts and ancient Camps? And what Curiosities of Art are, or have been found there?
- VI. What great Battels have been there fought, Or any other Memorable Action of Accident?
- VII. What peculiar Customs, Manners or Dispositions the Inhabitants of each Country or Town have among them?
- VIII. What Monasteries, Cathedrals, or other Churches have been there, and how named?
- IX. What places give, or formerly have given the Title to any Noble-man? As also, what ancient Seats of Noble-Families, are to be met with?
- X. What the Government of the County is? Whether Sherifffdom, Stewartry, or Baillery?
- XI. What towns of Note in the County, especially Towns Corporate? The names of the Towns both Ancient and Modern? Whether they be Burrows Royal, of Regality or Barony? The Magistracy of Towns Corporated, when Incorporated? And by whom built?

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<sup>3</sup> The work of English chorographers regularly drifted into parts of Britain besides England, but Scotland was still underrepresented. For example, although Camden’s survey ventures into Scotland, in a preliminary work to his atlas, Sibbald writes that Camden “is no friend to us in what he writeth” (qtd. in Withers, 50).

<sup>4</sup> Sibbald’s questionnaire is reprinted as Appendix II in Withers, 66–8.

With the Return of Parliament-Men? The Trade of the Town? How inhabited, and their manner of Buildings? What Publick or Ancient Buildings? Their Jurisdiction?

XII. In what Bishoprick each County or any part thereof is? Who is Sheriff, Stewart or Baily? And who commands the Militia? What Castles, Forts, Forrests, Parks, Woods, His Majesty hath there?<sup>5</sup>

The five supplementary sets of questions delve further into the specifics of local governance, family histories, religious considerations, and educational institutions. Additionally, a short time later Sibbald distributed a supplementary notice to his respondents, “In order to an exact Description” (1682), to guide their completion of his initial set of questions.<sup>6</sup>

As Charles W. J. Withers notes, “Here is geographical understanding of a country emerging as a form of political knowledge through economic survey, through qualitative measurement of a nation’s social order, as well as via chorographical description embracing natural history and antiquarian knowledge.”<sup>7</sup> At least, that was Sibbald’s hope. In reality, his undertaking was almost prohibitively expensive and entailed decades of work, yet he was never able to publish his atlas “for a variety of reasons—too little cash, too much material, lack of focus.”<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, Sibbald’s questionnaire elicited considerable attention and feedback from a wide network of respondents. He received at least seventy-seven answers to his questions from some sixty-five contributors, including several geographers.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, some responses were quite sustained and detailed, though not all were as attentive to Sibbald’s rather too-prescriptive directives. In any case, by promoting a large-scale effort to produce and gather chorographical information about Scotland, and by sparking his countrymen to write regional surveys, Sibbald’s efforts mark an attempt to accomplish by advertisement and correspondence what Leland had hoped to carry out personally, yet inadvertently inspired in successive generations. Sibbald’s questions essentially digest and reframe the material produced by early modern chorographers into an accessible, step-by-step instructional guide. Indeed, Sibbald’s list of questions is strikingly similar to the one produced by Albrecht Meier in order to facilitate and mould the writing of general travellers while abroad. Sibbald’s series of questions for specific types of

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<sup>5</sup> Withers, 67.

<sup>6</sup> Reprinted as Appendix III by Withers, 68–9.

<sup>7</sup> Withers, 53.

<sup>8</sup> Withers, 52.

<sup>9</sup> See Withers, Appendix IV, 69–73.

respondents even recalls the production of instructional guides for different types of travellers, though of course those guides tended not to be interested in making their readers into authors.

Sibbald had thus sought to connect the Ptolemaic imperative to improve geographical literacy and engagement with the project to produce chorographical surveys for the edification and enrichment of Scotland. In effect, this act marks a marriage of two genres—instructional guides for travellers and chorographies— that had always been tantalizingly close. However, despite Sibbald’s clarity with respect to the contents of chorographies, his instructions provide little detail about how to actually construct and structure responses to his inquiries. Leland, Lambarde, Camden, Burton, Drayton, and their peers all organized their texts differently, and it seems as though, for all his attention to detail, Sibbald might have led his contributors to do the same. One wonders how the sheer degree of hybridity, diversity, and idiosyncrasy that characterizes the efforts of just a handful of English luminaries might have been multiplied in the correspondences of Sibbald’s sixty-five diligent respondents-turned-chorographers. Without Sibbald’s atlas, it is hard to know how he might have navigated that heterogeneity and attended to the generic conventions forged and re-forged by his English predecessors who, though they lacked the directives and correctives of instructional guides, developed scholarly communities and continuities that advanced the integrity, vitality, and purpose of geographical literacy.

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