ALLUSIONS TO HORACE AND HOMER ON THE FRONTISPIECE TO CORYATS CRUDITIES (1611)

Critics writing on Coryats Crudities (1611), an account of Thomas Coryate's (*c.* 1577-1617) travels within continental Europe, often attend to its striking frontispiece, engraved by William Hole.[1] It includes a portrait of Coryate in an oval frame placed on a plinth and surrounded by three women representing the kingdoms of 'Gallia, Germania, Italia', a series of scenes from Coryate's travels, and the title itself, framed by two classical columns, which reads, *Coryats Crudities. Hastily gobbled vp in five Moneths travels in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia alias Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands; Newly digested in the hungry aire of ODCOMBE in the County of Somerset, & now dispersed to the nourishment of the travelling Members of this Kingdome.*[2] This note examines two classical allusions on the frontispiece which seem to have gone unacknowledged, and considers the ways in which they illuminate Coryate's attitude to travel, and contextualise the humour of the prefatory materials, as well as aspects of the travel descriptions themselves.

The first is a Latin tag running beneath the title, which reads, 'Quadrigis, pedibus bene vivere, navibus atque', or 'to live well with carts and feet and ships'. This is a reworking of a line from Horace's *Epistles* 1.11: 'navibus atque quadrigis petimus bene vivere', or 'we seek to live well with carts and ships'.[3] Addressed to his friend Bullatius, who appears to have been travelling across Asia Minor and the Greek islands, the epistle makes an argument against travel for pleasure, explaining that it is futile for the traveller to 'seek' a good life away from home when all that he is seeking is 'here'.[4] However, Coryate transforms Horace's line in two ways. One, by removing the verb 'petimus', 'we seek', he attenuates its sense of unfulfilled striving, and instead presents travel as a formula for living well. Two, by inserting 'feet' as a mode of transport alongside Horace's 'carts' and 'ships', Coryate gestures to his own association with perambulation, an association that is made repeatedly in the mock encomiastic 'Panegyrick Verses', penned by the circle of wits to which Coryate belonged, which constitute a significant part of the extensive prefatory matter to the Crudities.[5] Richmond Barbour has described the ways in which Coryate sought to 'exploit London's appetite for exotica by inscribing himself into the remote scenes he traveled to describe', and as David Baker notes, this self-inscription extends to the imagery of the frontispiece.[6] Coryate's reworking of Horace thus might be

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[1] Thomas Coryate, Coryats Crudities (London, 1611). Hereafter 'Crudities'. The most detailed study of the frontispiece is in David J. Baker, "'My Liquid Journey": The Frontispiece to Coryat's Crudities (1611)' in Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England ed. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (London, 2007), 118-136. Other examples include Thomas N. Corns, 'The Early Modern Search Engine: Indices, Title Pages, Marginalia and Contents', in The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print ed. Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday (London, 2000), 93-102, 94-95; Helen Wilcox, 1611: Authority, Gender and the Word in Early Modern England (London, 2013), 68-90, esp. 75-79; Philip Palmer, '"The progress of thy glorious book": material reading and the play of paratext in Coryats Crudities (1611)', Renaissance Studies, 28 (2014), 336-355; Benjamin Bertram, Bestial Oblivion: War, Humanism, and Ecology in Early Modern England (New York, 2018), 203-241; and MG Aune, 'Thomas Coryate versus John Taylor: the emergence of the early modern celebrity', Cahiers Élisabéthains, 101 (2020), 85-104.

[2] For a useful discussion of the language of indigestion in the Crudities, and its connections to humanist discourses of reading and travel, see Katherine A. Craik, 'Reading Coryats Crudities (1611), Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900 44 (2004), 77-96.

[3] Horace, Epistles I.XI.28-29 in Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica ed. and trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (London, 1926). The above is my translation.

[4] On the sources and contexts of this epistle, see Rachel I. Skalitzky, 'Horace on Travel (Epist. 1.11)', The Classical Journal 68 (1973), 316-321.

[5] On the 'Panegyric Verses' and their contexts, see Michelle O'Callaghan, The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England (Cambridge, 2007), esp. 10-59; and Noel Malcolm, The Origins of English Nonsense (London, 1997), esp. 12-18, 19, 32, and 44.

[6] Richmond Barbour, Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626 (Cambridge, 2003), 116; Baker, 135.

understood as another kind of self-inscription, one which involves inserting himself, and his feet, into a classical text.

Coryate makes a further and more direct reference to Epist. 1.11 in his 'Epistle to the Reader'. After a lengthy discussion of 'notable examples of travelling' which focusses primarily on ancient authorities who travelled 'to purchase experience and wisdom' such as Euclid, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Galen, Coryate writes: 'In which they differed much from many of our English travellers, to whom I may very truly apply that memorable speech of Æschines, in his Oration against Timarchus, οὐ τὸν τρόπον ἀλλά τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξαν.*'[7] This appears to be a misquotation: it is likely that Coryate was referring to the speech of Aeschines 'Against Ctesiphon', which includes the claim, 'οὐδέποτ᾽ ἦν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καλὸς κἀγαθός· οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μετήλλαξεν', or 'the man who was base at home was never a good and honourable man in Macedonia, for by his journey he changed his position, not his disposition'.[8] In a note on this line, indicated by the asterisk, Coryate adds: 'This is answerable unto that in *Horace. Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*'. Here, Coryate quotes, accurately, a line from the final section of Horace's epistle which translates 'they change their clime, not their mind, who rush across the sea'.[9] Through these references to Aeschines and Horace, Coryate suggests that ancient travellers, with whom he implicitly aligns himself, were superior to those of his own day, because the former travelled in search of knowledge, while the latter prioritised pleasure and thus returned from their journeys utterly unchanged. This distinction should not be taken entirely seriously, however, not least because Coryate's own approach to travel emphasised pleasure ('pleasure' is a recurrent term in Crudities, especially in its prefatory matter, in which Coryate declares that 'Of all the pleasures in the world, travell is […] the sweetest and the most delightfull').[10] Coryate's references to Epist. 1.11 thus do not amount to a straightforward endorsement or rejection of Horace's position: although he takes the opposite view on the subject of pleasurable travel, he nonetheless uses the language and ideas of the epistle to articulate, however ambiguously, his own approach.

The second allusion on the frontispiece is a phrase in Greek that makes up part of the text framing Coryate's author portrait: 'πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα', that is, 'he saw many men and cities'. This is an abbreviation of a phrase from the famous opening passage of Homer's Odyssey, in which the poet invokes the Muse; the 'he' referred to in this passage is Odysseus himself.[11] Coryate's allusion to the Odyssey is especially significant in the context of early modern travel, in which Odysseus is upheld as an exemplary traveller, renowned for his prudence. Odysseus's exemplarity informs much of the humour in the 'Panegyrick Verses' in the Crudities, which compare Coryate to Odysseus repeatedly. In a panegyric addressed 'To the Topographicall Typographicall THOMAS', for instance, Hugh Holland parodies the opening passage of the Odyssey, the very passage alluded to on Coryate's frontispiece: 'I sing the man, I sing the wofull case, / The shirt, the shoes, the shanks that serv'd to trace / Seven Countries wide'. Making the comparison to Odysseus more explicit, Holland adds: 'So is he wise, and equald with *Ulysses*. / Who townes of many men hath seene & manners'.[12] Such comparisons diminish the English traveller's achievements by calling attention to the smallness of their scale.[13]

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[7] Crudities, sig.b5r.

[8] Aeschines, Against Ctesiphon in Speeches trans. C.D. Adams (Cambridge, MA, 1919), 78-9.

[9] Crudities, sig.b5r.

[10] ibid., sig.b2v.

[11] The phrase reads, in full: 'πολλῶν δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω'; or 'Many were the men whose cities he saw and whose minds he learned'. Homer, Odyssey, Volume I: Books 1-12 trans. A.T. Murray rev. George E. Dimock (Cambridge, MA, 1919), 1.2-3.

[12] Crudities, sig. d7r-d8r.

[13] Other examples include comparisons to Coryate to 'the errant Knight *Ulysses*' and further poems by Holland outlining 'A parallel between Don Ulysses of Ithaca and Don Coryate of Odcombe'. Crudities, sigs.c3v and d8v-ev.

Yet the Odyssey also illustrates the dangers of travel, in that Odysseus's journey is not a straight line, but interrupted by diversions, accidents, and temptations.[14] Recognising this, Coryate makes several references to the Odyssey in his description of Venice: describing the Venetian gondoliers as 'these seducing and tempting Gondoleers of the Rialto', he claims that the traveller might need 'with *Ulysses* stop his eares', and counsels his readers 'to beware the Circaean cups, and the Syrens melody'.[15] Coryate is, however, seduced himself by a Venetian courtesan; in yet another reference to the Odyssey, he describes Venetian courtesans as 'amorous Calypsoes'.[16] Like the Crudities as a whole, then, the allusions to Horace and Homer on the frontispiece are witty and subversive, enabling Coryate to situate his account within a longer history of travel, and to bring the travellers of the ancient world into dialogue with the English travellers of the seventeenth century.

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For a discussion of the panegyrists' presentation of Coryate as a version of Odysseus, see Jessica Wolfe, Homer and the Question of Strife from Erasmus to Hobbes (Toronto, 2015), 175.

[14] For further discussion of prudence, accident, and the significance of Odysseus to early modern travel writing, see my '"Strange accidents": navigating conflict in Sir Thomas Smithes voiage and entertainment in Rushia (1605)', in Travel and Conflict in the Early Modern World eds. Gábor Gelléri and Rachel Willie (Abingdon; New York, 2021), 58-78.

[15] Crudities, 168.

[16] Crudities, 263-271. Page 263 is misnumbered as 261. Coryate's writing on Venice, especially the courtesan episode, has received significant critical attention. Examples include Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Italians and Others: Venice and the Irish in Coryat's Crudities and The White Devil', Renaissance Drama 18 (1987), 101-119; and Melanie Ord, Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature (Farnham, 2012), 123-154, esp. 145-154.