'Wide Excursions':
Dr Edward Browne (1644-1708) and the Writing of Travel in Restoration England

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Abstract

This thesis offers the first comprehensive study of the life and works of Dr Edward Browne (1644-1708), whose travel accounts were mined by his contemporaries for information on lesser-travelled parts of Europe. It asks four key questions to explore how travel accounts were created in the seventeenth century: 1) How did the traveller take notes in the field? 2) How did his relationships at home and abroad affect the manner in which he wrote notes and letters? 3) How did these archives, and the relationships behind them, feed into work that he ultimately published as a travel account? and 4) How did the traveller and his writings develop across the course of his life? This thesis thus draws explicit connections between the history of notetaking and epistolarity, the history of travel, the history of science, and the history of the family. By following the life and works of a single writer, this thesis demonstrates that travel accounts are deeply embedded within their material and contextual backgrounds, and suggests that Browne's work was the result of his specific Restoration moment. It contributes a significant case study to the growing body of literature that foregrounds the multidisciplinary and multiform nature of the writing of travel.

The dissertation begins with an analysis of Browne's unpublished account of his 1662 domestic tour, before assessing his two major continental tours of 1664-5 and 1668-9. Using these travels, it asks how he presented his lived experiences across different kinds of documents, such as journals and letters. It then demonstrates how the archives and experiences resulting from these travels were reshaped into multiple publications. Throughout, but especially in the final chapter, I draw attention to the vital yet hitherto under-studied role that Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682) played in Edward Browne's publications.

Access Condition and Agreement

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I must thank my supervisors for their tireless hard work and support. Dr Tom Roebuck has guided me in my intellectual splashing-around for seven years with endless patience for my false starts, and boundless enthusiasm for promising alleyways. I am as confident as it is possible to be that I would not be where I am today without Tom's constant support. His generosity, both academic and personal, is a model for us all. Professor Matthew Woodcock has offered a voice of reason throughout, and I am indebted to him for my favourite characterization of Sir Thomas Browne as an 'inveterate tinkerer.'

I could not have completed my PhD—or, for that matter, my MA or my BA—without the unmatched community of Medieval and Early Modern scholars at UEA. Watching the commitment and passion of every member of this department, in research, teaching, community outreach, and personal friendships, has been a privilege, and something I can only hope to emulate in whatever comes next for me. On an individual level, I could not write my acknowledgements without mentioning *Doctor* Blessin Adams, whose journey through her own PhD gave me hope for my own, and whose invincible positivity and true friendship never fails to counteract my own moments of insecurity and doubt. Anna Wall must also surely make an appearance here, as my partner in early modern notebook crime since I joined UEA and as a sounding board for my various musings and frustrations (except for the time she ran away on a boat). My sister, Helen, devoted her time to creating the beautiful illustrations in this thesis and, though seventeenth-century Hungarian geography will never be either of our strong points, I am indebted to her for her support, both illustrative and personal.

As is so often the case, those outside of one's immediate academic bubble get the brunt of the burden of caring for those who, for whatever reason, choose to put themselves through the sometimes-maniacal process of writing a PhD. My partner, Rob, has seen me beat my head against a brick wall more times than I can count (and, after seeing me hit my head on the brick wall, still decided that he wanted to do his own PhD), and to help break that wall down a bit. He has given me more history lessons than I ever received in school, explaining potted histories of the Reformation, family trees of historic Norfolk families, facts about obscure Polish monarchical histories, and murky early modern geographic boundaries. His wholehearted enthusiasm not just for the niche corners of paleographic decryption that have coloured several days and evenings (including one spent with his unceasingly kind and loyal parents identifying place names on old East Anglian maps), but for the world at large gives me hope, and pushes me to see the good everywhere.

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Abbreviations

Publications

Cossacks   *A Discourse of the Original, Countrey, Manners, Government and Religions of the Cossacks, with another of the Precopian Tartars, and the History of the Wars of the Cossacks against Poland* (London: T.N. for Hobart Kemp, 1672).

Brief Account   *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli. As Also Some Observations on the Gold, Silver, Copper, Quick-silver Mines, Baths, and Minral Waters in those parts, with the Figures of some Habits and Remarkable places* (London: T.R. for Benj[amin] Tooke, 1673)

Several Travels   *An Account of Several Travels Through a great part of Germany: in Four Journeys. 1. From Norwich to Colen. II. From Colen to Vienna, with a particular Description of that Imperial City. III. From Vienna to Hamburg. IV. From Colen to London. Wherein the Mines, Baths, and other Curiosities of those Parts are Treated of Illustrated with Sculptures* (London: Benj[amin] Tooke, 1677)

Compiled Travels   *A Brief Account of Some Travels in divers Parts of Europe, Viz. Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli. Through a great part of Germany, and the Low-Countries. Through Marca Trevisana, and Lombardy on both sides the Po. With some Observations on the Gold, Silver, Copper, Quick-silver Mines, and the Baths and Mineral Waters in those Parts. As Also, the Description of many Antiquities, Habits, Fortifications and Remarkable Places* (London: Benj[amin] Tooke, 1685)

Archives

'Dresden Draftbook'   British Library (BL) Sloane MS 1855: Thomas Browne's draft copy of what became Edward's *Several Drafts*, also containing annotations in Edward's hand.

'Late Copybook'   BL Sloane MS 1861: Thomas Browne's copies of Edward's letters from his 1668-9 continental journey.

'Early Copybook'   BL Sloane MS 1868: Thomas Browne and Elizabeth Lyttelton's copies of Edward's letters from his 1664-5 continental journey.

'Lyon Journal'	BL Sloane MS 1886: Edward Browne's journal from September to December 1664.
'Trinity Notebook'	BL Sloane MS 1900: Edward Browne's notebook kept during his time at Trinity College, Cambridge, c. 1658-1662. Includes the Derbyshire Account, drafts of the thesis submitted for his Bachelor of Medicine, and educational notes.
'Dresden Journal'	BL Sloane MS 1905: Edward Browne's journal from August to December 1668.
'Paris Journal'	BL Sloane MS 1906: Edward Browne's journal from December 1663 to August 1664.
'Vienna Journal'	BL Sloane MS 1908: Edward Browne's journal from April to August 1668
'Letterbook'	BL Sloane MS 1911-13: Edward Browne's original correspondence, including many letters from his second continental journey as well as letters from the 1670s and 80s. This manuscript also includes drafts of articles published in the *Philosophical Transactions.*
'Hungary notebook'	BL Sloane MS 1922: Edward Browne's notebook documenting his observations in Hungary and thereabouts, around March 1668.

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Note on Transcriptions

Transcriptions from manuscript sources adopt a semi-diplomatic approach. Original spellings have been retained except where it obscures the meaning of the text, and punctuation has been inserted where the original omits obvious sentence breaks. Abbreviated words have been expanded, with italics marking the additions (e.g. '*tha*t' for 'yt,' or 'w*hi*ch' for 'wch'). Circumflexes (^) mark the beginning and end of interlineal additions. Elisions are retained and marked with a strikethrough. Manuscripts and Edward Browne's publications are cited according to the list of abbreviations above. All manuscripts are preserved in the British Library unless otherwise stated.

Dates in the body of my discussion are given according to the Gregorian calendar. Where the original text uses both the Gregorian and the Julian calendar (as in 4/14 February), the first number is the Julian date and the second the Gregorian.[1] References to the year are according to the new style throughout.

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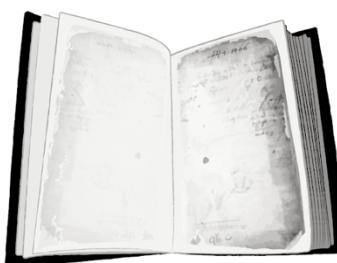
[1] In some of the letters copied by Thomas Browne and Elizabeth Lyttelton it is unclear which calendar is used: Edward's letters reliably use the Gregorian date which was adopted in mainland Europe, but because Thomas more reliably uses the Julian or the double version, it is not always possible to discern which is used in some copy letters.

Introduction

This thesis offers the first extensive study of the life and works of doctor, traveller, and writer, Edward Browne (1644-1708) FRS FRCP. I draw on hitherto unpublished and unstudied manuscript sources to ask how Browne came to write and publish accounts of his multiple journeys within and without England. My thesis raises questions of how an early modern traveller used writing as a tool to understand and record not only the world, but also his own position within it. From education to career, and from family to professional networks, my thesis traces the sinuous path of a writer in Restoration England to argue that writing about travel could encompass the variety of a writer's life. Furthermore, I highlight that Edward Browne's works are the product of his precise material and intellectual contexts, and offer an invaluable source for studying the development of the writing of travel between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Edward Browne was best known to his near contemporaries for the several accounts that he produced about his extensive continental travels.[1] His contemporaries most often refer to him as a 'traveller' or 'physician' with various epithets attached ('learned,' 'curious,' 'ingenious'), and his works professed to be 'accounts' of his travels. This terminology suggests that the text attached to Browne's publications is not about travel as its own end, but about an individual's observations: the traveller (who was also a physician, in this case) merely reports what he happened to see, rather than setting out to produce a personal account of his journey. Modern terminology, in contrast, binds the acts of travel and writing together indissolubly under terms like 'travel writing' and 'travel writer': while these terms

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[1] See the above list of Browne's publications.

are necessary in describing the scope of scholarly investigations, when left uninterrogated they have the potential to frame 'travel writing' as a discrete and homogenous fragment of an author's life. Scholars have increasingly addressed this problem: Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester suggested that 'reading the travelogue depends on multifaceted and cross-disciplinary approaches'; Kuehn and Smethurst noted that their volume would 'not explain what travel writing is, but… reflect on where it might extend through permeable borders and margins'; William Sherman observed that 'early modern travel writing was so varied that it may not even be appropriate to describe it as a single genre.'[2] Travel writing can thus be defined by its slippery position at the edges of cultural, geographic, and disciplinary boundaries. However, while its generic instability is a vital element of travel writing, it is paramount also to locate the specific disciplinary, geographic, and social influences behind any given travel account, in order to understand how distinct factors facilitate the writing of travel. In first stepping back to ask not 'what is travel writing?' but rather 'how do travellers write about travel?', the trans-disciplinarity of writings about travel and the heterogeneity of forms that they encompass becomes obvious. It allows us to ask not just what it *is*, but where it has come *from.* We can come to understand not only who writes about travel in demographic terms, but how a travel writer comes into being. As Jowitt and Carey note, modern scholarship increasingly seeks 'to expand the generic parameters of what constitutes travel literature and how it should be

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[2] Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester, 'Introduction,' in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies*, eds. Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), xxvi; Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, 'Introduction,' in *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies,* eds. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 2; William Sherman, 'Stirrings and searchings (1500-1720),' in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 30.

understood': my thesis continues this scholarly turn to address travel writing as a cumulative, rather than teleological, genre, both conceptually and materially.[3]

The late seventeenth century offers a particularly fertile ground in which to pose these questions. The earlier portion of the century has been widely studied, with writers such as Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616), Thomas Coryate (1577-1617), Samuel Purchas (1577-1626) and Fynes Moryson (1566-1630), producing some of the most renowned works on travel in the period.[4] In turn, scholars have frequently asked about the earliest iterations of the 'Grand Tour,' and about the effects of global discovery upon texts about travel.[5] Likewise, eighteenth-century specialists have investigated the later form of Grand Tour, in which the 'tourist' began to emerge in his more modern (and romantic) guise, also exploring the relationship between the rise of popular travel and the development of the novel.[6] However, less critical attention has been paid to the developments that occurred during and after the Restoration, which links these two periods and during which England's political,

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[3] Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, 'Introduction: early modern travel writing: varieties, transitions, horizons,' *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 2 (2009): 98.

[4] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589); Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities* (London, 1607); Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1613); Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson, gent.* (London, 1617).

[5] See John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667; Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968); Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013); Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).

[6] See John Towner, 'The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism,' *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985): 297-333; Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992); Sarah Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour* (London: Institute for Historical Research, 2020); A. V. Seaton, 'Grand Tour,' in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies*; Jean Viviès, *English Travel Narratives in the Eighteenth Century: Exploring Genres* (London: Routledge, 2016); Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983).

religious, and intellectual structures were affected by the return of Charles II, the Act of Uniformity, and the rise of empiricism, amongst many other factors. As time went by, printed accounts of travels also proliferated: 'by 1800, European printers had published 5,562 works of travel writing, of which 456 appeared in the sixteenth century, 1,566 in the seventeenth, and 3,540 in the eighteenth.'[7] This vast proliferation of printed travel material, which was part of a wider growth in print generally, in conjunction with the changes that befell English habits of travel between the early seventeenth and mid-to-late eighteenth centuries make it a period that is particularly ripe for further study.

The archives of Edward Browne span the entirety of these upheavals. His earliest notes date from 1658, and his latest from during his period of tenure as treasurer to the Royal College of Physicians, between 1700 and 1704. Browne's writings scatter this half-century, albeit more densely at particular times than at others. Through these papers, which have been dispersed across a variety of archives since Browne's death, we can see the course of Browne's life, from his early education, to his lengthy periods of continental travel in 1664-5 and 1668-9, to his Presidency of the Royal College of Physicians. These archives also demonstrate the extent of Browne's social and intellectual engagement with the world: early commonplace books tell us how he read; journals show us the people with whom he interacted; correspondence across several networks demonstrates the multitude of his roles; and prescription books from the late 1670s highlight his dedication to his medical practice. Browne's archives offer a unique perspective on how a writer in the later seventeenth century conceived, prepared, and amended his writings. By assessing the whole of Browne's life, from his early education to his practices of self-revision, we can

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[7] Gerald Maclean, 'Early Modern Travel Writing (I): Print and Early Modern European Travel Writing,' in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing,* eds. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2019), 65.

come to see how all of his various styles of writing, and his various roles, intersect: a 'travel writer,' I suggest, is not a single entity but an amalgamation of each writer's education, experiences, and purposes. Travel is an inherently dynamic process: it follows that to write about travel, too, should facilitate writerly flux and constant movement, even once the physical travels are over.

It is somewhat surprising, given the volume of Edward Browne's archives and literary output, and his notable status within the Royal Society and the Royal College of Physicians, that he has been generally overlooked by scholars of the early modern period.[8] His papers have never been published or studied collectively; in Geoffrey Keynes' partial edition of one diary from Browne's first continental tour, Simon Wilkin's edition of portions of Browne's journals and letters, and Valys Caposti's short article containing selected parts of Browne's Trinity Notebook, Browne's papers are divorced from one another and from their contexts, and do not shed any real light on him as a writer or an intellectual figure.[9] Concomitantly, little scholarly attention has been paid to Browne's works. The most significant work on Browne thus far is arguably C. D. Van Strien's 1993 *British Travellers in Holland During the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces*.[10]

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[8] Browne was admitted fellow to the Royal College of Physicians in July 1675, and acted as Treasurer between 1694-1704 and President from 1704 until his death in 1708. Browne was also elected lecturer at Surgeon's Hall in June 1675, was made physician at St Bartholomew's, and was physician-in-ordinary to King Charles II.

[9] Geoffrey Keynes, *Journal of a Visit to Paris in the Year 1664, by Edward Browne, M.D., F.R.S, P.R.C.P* (London, 1923); Simon Wilkin, *Sir Thomas Browne's Works*, vol. 1 (London: Pickering & Co, 1835); Valys Caposti, 'The Commonplace Book of Edward Browne,' *The Reliquary* 11, no. 42 (October 1870): 73-8. Matthews draws attention to some of Browne's diaries, but necessarily omits some important non-diary documents such as notebooks and letters: William Matthews, *British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries Written between 1442 and 1942* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950).

[10] C. D. Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland During the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

However, while Van Strien offers some assessment of Browne's second continental journey (1668-9), his book's focus is not Browne as a travel writer, but rather how British travellers engaged with the Low Countries at the end of the seventeenth century. While the book's appendices include some of Browne's letters, and Van Strien occasionally draws on Browne's journal notes, this volume does not offer all that much information on Browne *or* Locke, primarily using them as figures around which to orient the text. In turn, Browne appears as a somewhat one-dimensional figure, divorced from his earlier travels and those that followed. Likewise, the relationship between his extensive notes and his published work is left untouched. J. D. Spillane devoted a chapter of his 1984 *Medical Travellers* to Browne but, somewhat like Van Strien, assesses only one part of Browne's life in relation to one specific pursuit; in this case, Browne's identity as a 'doctor' which, in fact, seldom surfaces in his 1668-9 journey.[11] Like Van Strien, Spillane does not address how Browne's travels arose, or how they reappeared in his later life and publications. Robert Iliffe's 1998 article on travel and the Royal Society offers the most extensive account of Browne's first continental tour and is currently the text which sheds most light on Browne as a traveller.[12] However, like Van Strien and Spillane, Iliffe nonetheless focuses on one part of Browne's life, doing little to explain *why* he travelled and how he used his travels. Browne also features as a central figure in articles concerned with the history of Hungarian tourism and mining practices, such Miklós Kázmér's chapter on 'Dr Edward Browne's visit to the mining towns of Lower Hungary in 1669,' Browne's accounts being some of the earliest available on

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[11] John D. Spillane, *Medical Travellers: Narratives from the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1984).

[12] Robert Iliffe, 'Foreign Bodies: Travel, Empire and the Early Royal Society of London. Part 1. Englishmen on Tour,' *Canadian Journal of History* XXXIII (1998): 357-385

tourism and mining practices in that region.[13] Again, their scope does not extend beyond

Browne's engagement with Hungary. Finally, Robert D. Hume and Allardyce Nicolls have

both turned to Browne's Trinity Notebook for the playlists contained therein. Both Hume

and Nicolls ignore the remainder of the notebook, using the playlists to examine Restoration

theatre rather than Edward Browne himself.[14]

Despite these investigations into Edward Browne, he is, perhaps, most well-known to

modern scholars as the son of Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682). A sizeable body of critical

literature has been produced with Thomas at its centre, encompassing an almost exhaustive

range of questions about his intellectual and authorial activities.[15] Wilkin's 1835-6 edition of

Browne's works remains an invaluable resource, containing as it does a huge selection of

Browne's private papers, and even parts of his sons' journals. However, as Keynes notes in

the preface to his own edition of Thomas Browne's correspondence, Wilkin 'seems to have

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[13] Miklós Kázmér, 'Dr Edward Browne's visit to the mining towns of Lower Hungary in 1669,' in *Natural Heritage of the Carpathian Basi,* ed. J. Kubassek (Érd: Hungarian Geographical Museum, 2004). See also George Bisztray, 'The World Visits Hungary: Reflections of Foreign Travellers, 1433-1842,' *Hungarian Studies Review* 33, nos. 1-2 (2006): 1-16; and Renée Raphael, 'Reading Mines and Mining Texts: Reading and Observational Practice in the Writings of Edward and Thomas Browne and the Early Royal Society' (paper presented at *Truth and Error in Early Modern Science: Thomas Browne and His World* conference, The Huntington, January 22-23 2016).

[14] Robert D. Hume, 'Dr. Edward Browne's Playlists of "1662": A Reconsideration,' *Philological Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (1985): 69-81; Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1952-9), 1:308-11. One brief article traces the various editions of Browne's printed works: see L. L. K., 'Foreign Editions of Dr. Edward Browne's "Travels",' *Notes and Queries* 12 (1916): 461-462.

[15] There are wide range of monographs on Sir Thomas Browne, including: Reid Barbour, *Sir Thomas Browne: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013); Claire Preston, *Thomas Browne and the Writing of Early Modern Science* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005); Kevin Killeen, *Biblical Scholarship, Science and Politics in Early Modern England: Thomas Browne and the Thorny Place of Knowledge* (Aldershot, Ashgate 2009); Frank Livingstone Huntley, *Sir Thomas Browne: a Biographical and Critical Study* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1962); and Jeremiah Finch, *Sir Thomas Browne: a Doctor's Life of Science and Faith* (New York, Schuman, 1950).

thought that his readers would be easily shocked or bored by the letters containing medical details and references, and he therefore entirely omitted twenty or more of the letters to Dr Edward Browne and portions, large or small, of a great many others.'[16] This inevitably limits the possibility of studying Thomas's correspondence in full detail for those without access to the manuscript archives. Though Keynes' edition includes all the letters from Thomas to Edward that he was aware of, stating that 'nothing has been omitted from this edition,' it includes no reciprocal correspondence from the family, although it does include responses from other correspondents, such as Hamon L'Estrange, William Dugdale, and Christopher Merrett.[17] This creates—falsely—the impression of a one-way relationship between Thomas Browne and his family that is not replicated when it comes to placing Browne in his non-domestic networks. This trait is not exclusive to Keynes: for instance, Claire Preston's 2005 study of Thomas Browne highlights the extent to which he was involved in early modern scientific networks, arguing that we cannot understand Thomas's works fully without also attending to the networks which surrounded them.[18] Preston is precisely right but, with the exception of Barbour's biography of Browne, scholarship has largely omitted a discussion of one of the most vital of Browne's networks: his family.

By paying extended attention to Edward Browne in his own right, rather than simply drawing on elements of his experience and correspondence that are explicitly pertinent to

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[16] Geoffrey Keynes, *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne* (London: Faber & Faber, 1928), 4:x.

[17] Keynes, *Works,* 4.x.

[18] Arno Löffler is the only scholar so far to address the role of Thomas in Edward's works in any detail: see Löffler, 'Sir Thomas Browne als Redaktor von Edward Browne's Travels,' *Anglia* 88 (1970): 337-40. Brent Nelson comments on the intellectual culture of the Browne family, though the scope of his chapter is limited: see Nelson, 'The Browne Family's Culture of Curiosity,' in *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed,* eds. Reid Barbour and Claire Preston (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 80-99

Thomas, we can uncover hitherto unseen connections between father and son.

Paradoxically, turning our attention away from Thomas affords a greater understanding of

him, his works, and his literary practices. For instance, in his biography of Thomas, Frank L.

Huntley concluded that Thomas 'must have visited other countries besides France, Italy, and

Holland, since he mentioned having seen circumcisions performed at Vienna,' making this

assessment based on one of Thomas's notebooks.[19] However that note is taken from a

section of Keynes' edition of Thomas's notes which is, in fact, part of a series of lectures that

Thomas wrote for Edward *in* Edward's voice.[20] More recently, Reid Barbour's seminal

biography posited that Thomas may have travelled from Montpellier to Padua via Genoa,

because one notebook refers to the epitaph of 'Roldano prince Doria's dogge, still to bee

seen & reade in his garden at Genoa.'[21] However, on November 14 1664 Edward sent his

brother Thomas Jr. the epitaph of Prince Doria's dog, along with a note that 'my father will

interpret it to you,' making it likely that Thomas's note arose from Edward's observation and

consequent interaction with his brother.[22] These instances highlight the extent to which

Thomas internalized and synthesised his son's accounts of his own travels, and demonstrate

the ongoing need to be acutely aware that the whole family, not just Thomas, is implicated

in the Browne archives. Just as Thomas internalised some of Edward's experience, he may

likewise have assimilated information sent him by his younger son Thomas Jr. Similarly, the

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[19] Huntley, *Sir Thomas Browne,* 58.

[20] Barbour also suggests that Sir Thomas was at Vienna, but later notes that the Rome, Vienna and Amsterdam circumcision passage was written for Edward, complicating this placement of Sir Thomas in Vienna: Barbour, *A Life,* 422. Edward Browne's notebooks and letters record circumcisions seen at Rome and Amsterdam specifically, and confirm that he was observant of medical and Jewish practices in Vienna too.

[21] Keynes, *Works*, 3.226.

[22] Wilkin, *Works,* 73: Early Copybook, f.101r.

relationship between Thomas and his daughter Elizabeth Lyttelton (c. 1646-1736) is evident throughout both his archives and hers. Only by paying extended attention to each member of the family can we fully understand the dynamics at play, and realise that familial intellectual pursuits were mutually beneficial.[23] A thorough study of Edward Browne and his works inevitably raises new questions about Edward and Thomas individually, but it simultaneously extends and challenges scholarly understandings of familial collaboration in the early modern period.

My thesis offers the first assessment of Edward Browne not as Thomas Browne's son, a playgoer, a natural philosopher, a doctor, or a member of the Royal Society, but as all of these and more. By assessing Browne's pursuits and writing habits throughout the course of his life, a task made possible—and even invited by—his extensive archives of autograph documents, we can begin to ask not just how Edward Browne became a travel writer, or to ask how writing emerged from manuscript archives, but to reassess what it *meant* to be a writing traveller at the end of the seventeenth century, at the border between the elite Grand Tour and popular tourism, 'fact' and fiction, and utility and pleasure.

Edward Browne's life and writings encompass a vast array of topics of ongoing interest to scholars of this period, and perhaps it is Browne's somewhat liminal position at the edges of such a variety of fields that has led to his being overlooked by modern scholars.

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[23] Thomas Jr's account of his own voyage along with some of his correspondence with his father is reproduced in Wilkin, *Works*, 114-152. Barbour suggests that 'in all likelihood it was from wounds or sickness received in the disastrous battle of the Texel, August 11, 1673, at the climax of the Third Dutch War that Browne's dear son Thomas died: Barbour, *A Life,* 413. Edward's Lyon Journal transcribes part of a French letter upon the death of Admiral Opdam, who died at Texel in the Second Anglo-Dutch War: Lyon Journal, f.56v. While insufficient evidence to be conclusive, this may support the conclusion that his brother Thomas Jr. had died at Texel in the Anglo-Dutch wars.

However, by embracing this liminality, and turning our attention not to his individual endeavours but to Browne *as* an individual, this thesis demonstrates that no intellectual or familial pursuit was truly independent of another, and that only by trying to see the whole picture can we truly understand its component parts. This study's interdisciplinary scope encompasses scholarship on notetaking practices, antiquarianism, natural philosophy, travel, collaboration, and archival studies, among other subjects. These scattered fields are intimately connected over the course of a life and, ultimately, through the many metamorphoses of Edward Browne, a connection enabled—and necessitated by—the overarching practice of writing about travel.

Literature Review

Early Modern Travel

Of vital importance to my study is scholarship on physical travel in the seventeenth century. John Stoye's seminal *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1668* is one of the earliest histories to treat travel seriously as a topic meriting its own field of study.[24] Using gentlemen's journals and letters of the seventeenth century, Stoye demonstrates the role that a European tour played in a gentleman's education. Stoye draws on the archives of a range of travellers to offer an invaluable view of the inception of what would become the 'Grand Tour.'[25] Following Stoye, John Towner asked how the Grand Tour might be viewed as 'a key phase in the history of tourism,' arguing that over the course of the seventeenth century the primary motivations for undertaking a Grand Tour shifted from being primarily educational to

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[24] Stoye, *English Travellers.*

[25] For a more recent assessment of the beginnings of the Grand Tour, its practitioners and their (primarily courtly) motivations to the mid-seventeenth century, see Chaney and Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour*.

primarily cultural.[26] While Towner's is a wide-reaching overview of the progression and general routes of Grand Tours, Towner himself suggests that these generalizations are based only on those journals and letters which have been preserved, which are generally the records of gentlemen and state officials. Edward Chaney has offered a monograph on the *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, though this collection of previously-published essays focuses on the specific role that early modern Anglo-Italian relations played in the creation of the more structured tours of the eighteenth century, rather than investigating the origins of the Grand Tour in wider European contexts.[27] Gerrit Verhoeven too has noted the changing purposes of the Grand Tour, placing it in conversation with modern tourism to suggest that while the early Grand Tour gestured towards exclusivity in its length and purposes, as the century progressed—and particularly after the turn of the eighteenth century—the Grand Tour became less exclusive, turning towards the format of tourism that we recognize today.[28] Antoni Mączak's pioneering *Travel in Early Modern Europe* offers a rich study of how travel was conducted in practical terms in the early modern period, focusing on various elements, including accommodation, transport, and diet, to paint a comprehensive picture of how travellers moved about the continent. [29] Mączak explores the infrastructure of travel alongside its social and cultural contexts to provide an integrated

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[26] Towner, 'The Grand Tour.'

[27] Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998).

[28] Gerrit Verhoeven, 'Foreshadowing Tourism: Looking for some modern and obsolete features—or some missing link—in early modern travel behaviour (1675-1750),' *Annals of Tourism Research,* 42 (2013): 262-283. For more the paradox of tourism as simultaneously commodified and seeking to seem authentic, see Jonathan Culler, 'Semiotics of Tourism,' *American Journal of Semiotics* 1, no. 1 (1981): 27-40.

[29] Antoni Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Ursula Phillips (Cambridge, Mass: Polity Press, 1995).

perspective on the act of travel, though the scope of his volume precludes an investigation into what arose from travel.

From this baseline of literature on the practicalities and motivations of travellers in the early modern period, studies of travel have investigated particular topics. For instance, several books—including Paula Findlen's *Possessing Nature*, Barbara M. Benedict's *Curiosity,* and Marjorie Swann's *Curiosities and Texts*—are dedicated to the relationship between curiosity and travel in the early modern period, and the European culture of collecting which inspired so many travellers.[30] Rosemary Sweet's *Cities and the Grand Tour* takes a location-focused structure to highlight the diversity of experience in the Grand Tours that developed in Italy in the long eighteenth century, tracing the development of perceptions of individual cities by drawing on both published and manuscript sources.[31] These studies all take an interdisciplinary approach, asking how travel facilitated investigation into other topics. However, each of them by necessity takes a sharply-delimited approach to its investigation. The early works on the Grand Tour focus on *how* various different people travelled and where they went, and more recent topical studies are limited to discussions of particular places and ideas. While each is a valuable source on the history of travel, their tight focus precludes them from exploring the life of one individual traveller, asking how, when, and why they chose, accomplished, and *used* their travels. This thesis encompasses the various topics covered by these scholars to assess travel within the context of a single life.

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[30] Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

[31] Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012).

Consequently, I offer a wide-ranging analysis of not just how and why travel was conducted, but of how one particular traveller responded to his changing environments, and how travel shaped his intellectual interests and, indeed, the course of his life.

Travel Writing

As the number of travellers increased in the early modern period, so texts about travel and advice to travellers multiplied. The '*ars apodemica*' have recently begun to receive critical study in their own right. Justin Stagl's 1995 *History of Curiosity* was the first study to investigate how early modern institutions began to attempt to methodize travel, in the process untying 'curiosity' from earlier associations with impiety and turning it into a valuable tool in knowledge production.[32] In 2013, Daniel Carey noted that 'the rise of a secular mode of travel… was accompanied by a growing body of advice,' offering a survey of key apodemic writers, such as Theodor Zwinger and Justus Lipsius, and identifying the role that advice played in systematizing the collection of knowledge.[33] In 2019, Carey contributed a chapter on travel advice to the *Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, and in the same year Karl Enenkel and Jan de Long released *Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern Travel Culture,* the first multi-authored work to address the *ars apodemica* exclusively.[34]

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[32] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995).

[33] Daniel Carey, 'Arts and Sciences of Travel, 1574–1762: *The Arabian Journey* and Michaelis's *Fragen* in Context,' in *Early Scientific Expeditions and Local Encounters: New Perspectives on Carsten Niebuhr and 'The Arabian Journey,'* eds. Ib Friis, Michael Harbsmeier, and Jørgen Bæk Simonsen (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2013), 27.

[34] Daniel Carey, 'Advice on the Art of Travel,' in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* eds. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, 392-407 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2019); Karl A. E. Enenkel and Jan L. de Jong, eds. *Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern Travel Culture, 1550-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2019). *Artes Apodemicae* includes a contribution from Justin Stagl which frames the *ars* in their social and cultural history.

Work on the *ars apodemica* continues to grow, and it is vital to continue to ask how far the *ars* are reflected in travellers' lived practices.

Many scholars have explored how travellers reported their travels, and the impact of Percy G. Adams' *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800*, one of the first to do so, is still felt in scholars' preoccupation with the 'truth' of a traveller's tale.[35] Adams' work exemplifies the pitfalls scholars may face in trying to separate 'truth' from 'lie' in an era which relied so heavily on reported fact and tales of travel to create reliable knowledge, and in which first-hand experience was not the only reliable mode of fostering new learning. Luigi Monga has contributed widely to discussions of early modern 'hodoeporics,' asking how travel writing helped to formulate national and international history, and highlighting the ways in which travelling and writing developed alongside one another. [36] In a similar vein, Peter Mancall's *Bringing the World to Early Modern Europe* traces the development of travel writing from Hakluyt to Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), assessing different forms and purposes of travel narrative.[37] However, although it professes to address the relationship between the act of travel and description of it, the lengthy period covered in this survey precludes it from offering a thorough picture of any period or style. Furthermore, due to the huge variety of

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[35] Adams, *Travel Liars*.

[36] Luigi Monga, 'Travel and Travel Writing: An Historical Overview of Hodoeporics,' *Annali d'Italianistica* 14 (1996): 6-54; 'A Taxonomy of Renaissance Hodoeporics: A Bibliography of Theoretical Texts on "Methodus Apodemica" (1500-1700),' *Annali D'Italianistica* 14 (1996): 645-62; 'Crime and the Road: A Survey of Sixteenth-Century Travel Journals,' *Renaissance and Reformation* 22, no. 2 (1998): 5-17; 'Cycles of Early-Modern Hodoeporics,' *Annali d'Italianistica* 18 (2000): 199-238; 'Mapping the Journey/ translating the World,' *Annali d'Italianistica* 21 (2003): 408-26; 'The Unavoidable "Snare of Narrative": Fiction and Creativity in Hodoeporics,' *Annali d'Italianistica* 21 (2003): 7-45; '"Doom'd to Wander": Exile, Memoirs, and Early Modern Travel narrative,' *Annali d'Italianistica* 20 (2002): 173-186.

[37] Peter Mancall, *Bringing the World to Early Modern Europe: Travel Accounts and Their Audiences* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

kinds of travel writing—a variety highlighted by Sherman—such a survey inevitably raises more questions than it can answer.[38]

More recently, studies have begun to assess particular kinds of travel narratives. This turn has fruitfully subdivided discussions on 'travel writing' into more manageable categories such as the 'relation.' In 2011, both Andreas Motsch and Thomas V. Cohen and Germaine Warkentin offered articles on travel 'relations.'[39] That two distinct articles essentially 'introduced' the genre of the 'travel relation' in the same year highlights the need for specificity in ongoing investigations into travel writing in order to avoid the problems attendant on trying to discuss such a heterogeneous amalgamation of styles as a homogenised whole. Even within the 'relation,' though, more specificity is required: while Motsch demonstrates the performative nature of the 'relation' in defining it, pinpointing it as an area ripe for further study, Cohen and Warkentin, while also highlighting relation's 'tale' function, note that there are many ways to define even the narrower term of 'relation.' Indeed, while more specificity is needed, perhaps concretely defining sub-genres within travel writing is not the most efficient way to progress scholarly conversations, because the borders between a 'relation' and other genres of travel writing—such as a survey or an anthropological report—are not fixed but fluid. This is another benefit of focussing on a single traveller's life: by tracing how a traveller writes across various modes, it becomes clear that distinctions between kinds of writings were not always clear in the

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[38] Sherman, 'Stirrings and searchings,' 30.

[39] Andreas Motsch, 'Relations of Travel: Itinerary of a Practice,' *Renaissance and Reformation* 34, no 1/2 (2011): 207-236; Thomas V. Cohen and Germaine Warkentin, 'Things Not Easily Believed: Introducing the Early Modern Relation,' *Renaissance and Reformation/ renaissance et Reform* 34, no. 1/2 (2011): 7-23.

early modern period, and by excluding one from a study of another, it becomes impossible to see the ways in which different approaches functioned symbiotically.

Judy Hayden's 2012 *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse*, addresses the difficulties of trying to separate out different fields of writing when it comes to reports of early modern travel.[40] Her volume makes 'evident the early modern connectedness and intersection of literature and science, a multifarious cross-fertilization facilitated through the travel narrative.'[41] Where some earlier studies focussed on travel accounts themselves, Hayden's volume uses accounts as vehicles for assessing the connections between distinct fields in the early modern period. Hayden's volume furthermore draws not on genre but on theme (science) to delimit the scope of study, offering a productive way to approach the act of writing about travel. However, because each contributor chooses a different focal point, the overall narrative of Hayden's volume becomes, somewhat like the articles that have preceded it, a series of unconnected studies which do not quite amount to the full story because—as Hayden notes of the boundaries between genres—it is the juncture between states of observing and writing that shape the product. Hayden is not the only scholar to draw on the New Science as a fertile site of investigation with regards to travel writing. Carey's work has also addressed the relationship between 'travellers and travel narratives in the early Royal Society,' and has discussed how scientific practices supported the credibility of travel writers (harking back to Adams'

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[40] Judy A. Hayden, ed., *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse,1569-1700* (London: Ashgate, 2016 and Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

[41] Hayden, 'Introduction,' in *Travel Narratives*, 24.

concern with 'truth').[42] Matthew Walker too has noted the Royal Society's dependence on travel for knowledge production.[43]

Although Hayden, Carey, and Walker among others have been keen to address the relationship between travel writing and scientific practices, as Marcitello and Tribble note 'today's disciplinary divides are back formations, impositions of binary order upon a much richer and heterogeneous historical reality.'[44] Inevitably, a scholarly focus on either genre *or* topic to discuss the vast gamut of travel writing occludes some—if not all—of this heterogeneity. However, if we focus on one individual, as Walker has done in the case of Francis Vernon, a different story emerges.[45] In line with Hayden's and Marcitello and Tribble's concern *not* to divorce science, literature, travel, and production, one central contention of my own work is that it is travel itself that gives rise to the cross-fertilizations we can observe between Edward Browne's career, intellectual investigations, social networks, and literary practices. By following him chronologically through his life, a full story of how one kind of writing arises from another, and how each arises from experiential or intellectual pursuits, emerges. In this, the 'travel writer' and the 'travel writing' are not themselves the point of focus, but rather demonstrate the sinuous interconnections across an individual's life and works.

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[42] Daniel Carey, 'Compiling nature's history: Travellers and travel narratives in the early royal society,' *Annals of Science* 54, no. 3 (1997): 269-292; Daniel Carey, 'The problem of credibility in early modern travel,' *Renaissance Studies* 33, no. 4 (2019): 524-547.

[43] Matthew Walker, 'Francis Vernon, the Early Royal Society and the First English Encounter with Ancient Greek Architecture,' *Architectural History* 56 (2013): 29-61.

[44] Howard Marcitello and Evelyn Tribble, eds., 'Introduction', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Early Modern Literature and Science* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), xxxv.

[45] Walker, 'Francis Vernon.'

Autobiographical Forms

My thesis does not separate 'travel writing' from the rest of an author's life or works, but frames it as the natural consequence of—and precursor to—them. In order to do so, it draws extensively on the ways in which Edward Browne wrote himself in journals, letters, and other notebooks. Travel writing and life writing are intimately connected, as suggested by the emphasis placed on the intersections between travel writing and narrative by scholars such as Motsch, Cohen and Warkentin, and Monga. In this way, writing about travel becomes a way of writing about and shaping the self. Stephen Greenblatt's seminal *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* highlights the mutability of the 'self,' which morphed according to social and cultural expectations: Greenblatt sees 'selves' and their works as products of their conditions.[46] In his study of autobiography, Michael Mascuch too frames autobiography as a kind of performance of self-creation.[47] However, like Paul Delany's 1969 study, Mascuch's work adopts quite a narrow definition of autobiography as a 'unified, retrospective, first-person prose narrative.'[48] In so limiting the boundaries of 'autobiography,' texts that are rightly seen as autobiographical, such as journals, letters, and notebooks, are excluded. This means that neither Mascuch nor Delany has asked how these more 'private' documents fashioned the self *for* the self.

Adam Smyth's 2010 *Autobiography in Early Modern England* usefully extended these definitions of autobiography, arguing that various forms of writing such as the almanac,

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[46] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[47] Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography & Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996).

[48] Paul Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge & Jegan Paul Ltd, 1969). Mascuch, *Individualist Self,* 7.

financial records, common-place books, and parish registers can usefully be employed in discussions of self-writing.[49] Smyth traces how one document was created from multiple layers of sources, and asks how these documents shed light on their writers or subjects. My thesis takes Smyth's lead in addressing not just texts that are self-professedly autobiographical, but also scholarly notebooks, familial letters, and draft-books, using these documents as records of an author's self and development. In 2016, Eva Holmberg drew on the autobiographical turn to ask how early modern travel documents '"fashioned" the traveller's self, or indeed functioned as autobiographical forms,' a topic which has still been little studied by scholars of the period.[50] Like Holmberg and Mark Williams, whose 2019 article demonstrated how the traveller John Clerk III (1649/50-1722) used his letters to shape himself to readerly expectations, my thesis asks how Browne's travel documents present himself as a traveller to his own eyes, to the eyes of his family, and to the eyes of a reading public.[51] While it is widely acknowledged that early modern writers tailored their letters to their audience, a practice that arose from Renaissance letter-writing manuals, there is important work yet to be done on how this phenomenon manifests in letters of travel.[52] Furthermore, instead of asking just how these manuscript documents might be used to see and present the self, my thesis asks how and why the printed products that

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[49] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[50] Eva Johanna Holmberg, 'Writing the travelling self: travel and life-writing in Peter Mundy's (1597-1667) *Itinerarium Mundii*,' *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 4 (2016): 608.

[51] Mark R. F. Williams, 'The Inner Lives of Early Modern Travel,' *The Historical Journal* 62, no. 2 (2019): 349-373.

[52] See James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512-1635* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 20 and 63-73.

Browne eventually produced effaced the self, turning ostensibly autobiographical base materials into depersonalized printed texts.

Notetaking, Epistolarity, and Archival Studies

Browne's manuscript travel documents are born from a variety of different forms. While my thesis focuses on the more autobiographical of these—journals and letters—a vast array of notebooks, in the broadest sense of the word, lie behind Browne's later publications. The preponderance of early modern advice to readers is well documented. As Peter Beal's influential article on early modern notetaking practices states, 'the practice of keeping notebooks and commonplace books in general was one of the most widespread activities of the educated classes in contemporary England.'[53] Beal also notes that 'the commonplace book method was a *process,* involving a series of paper books, each performing specific functions.'[54] Erasmus (1466-1536), Jeremiah Drexel (1581-1638) and John Locke (1632-1704) proposed increasingly specific methods of organising commonplaces and other notes.[55] This advice was inevitably adapted (or ignored) according to need; merchants 'were long famous for keeping two separate notebooks,' one intended to record events as they happened and the second to sort them into categories and Robert Boyle, disregarding much

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[53] Peter Beal, 'Notions in Garrison: The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book,' in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts,* ed. W. Speed Hill (New York: Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), 131. Edward Browne toyed with keeping a traditional commonplace book: Sloane MS 1833 is a composite volume which includes a sparsely-filled alphabetised commonplace book with a few extracts from Justinius, Juvenal, and Horace.

[54] Beal, 'Notions in Garrison,' 145.

[55] See Michael Stolberg, 'John Locke's "New Method of Making Common-Place Books": Tradition, Innovation and Epistemic Effects,' *Early Science and Medicine* 19 (2014): 448-470; Ann Blair, 'Notetaking as an Art of Transmission,' *Critical Inquiry* 31, no. 1 (2004): 90.

of the accepted advice, allowed his loose sheets of notes to fall into disarray through poor indexing.[56]

Ann Blair has contributed enormously to scholarly understandings of early modern notebook culture, exploring how different kinds of notetaking influenced the ways in which people thought and wrote.[57] Placing notetaking within its cultural settings, Blair's work inimitably demonstrates the degree to which notetaking was a part of the texture of the early modern every day. Extending Blair's work towards memory studies, Richard Yeo explores how notebooks transformed from primarily being memory prompts, to external information stores.[58] Yeo focuses mainly on notetaking within the field of natural history, and specifically points to how the Baconian goal of creating comprehensive, reproducible, and shareable knowledge databases necessitated the shift from personal memory to concrete tools. In his article on Boyle, Yeo asks how various notetaking theories manifested in practice.[59] This article neatly demonstrates the benefits of focusing on a single figure: by highlighting Boyle specifically, Yeo illustrates the fluidity of the boundaries between different kinds of notes, and raises new questions about how far notetaking theory reflected lived practices. As Boyle's case suggests, each reader developed his own method of managing (or mismanaging) his knowledge. Like Boyle, Edward Browne's archives follow no

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[56] Richard Yeo, 'Loose notes and Capacious Memory: Robert Boyle's Note-taking and its Rationale,' *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 336.

[57] Ann Blair, 'Humanist methods in Natural Philosophy: the commonplace book,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 4 (1992): 541-55; *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2010); 'The Rise of Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe,' *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 303-16.

[58] Richard Yeo, 'Between Memory and Paperbooks Baconianism and Natural History in Seventeenth-Century England,' *History of Science* 45, no. 1 (2007): 1-46; 'Notebooks as memory aids Precepts and practices in early modern England,' *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 115-136.

[59] Yeo, 'Loose Notes.'

distinct theory, and one kind of note blends into another within the space of a few folios. As Angus Vine highlights, the materially miscellaneous form of initial notes, like those of Boyle and Browne which often fall under no single terminological definition, has a significant influence on the production and circulation of knowledge.[60] By asking how one individual's notes functioned throughout the course of his life, we can begin to understand how— indeed, if—the culture of notetaking transformed across the century.

Alberto Cevolini's recent volume *Forgetting Machines* offers an admirable variety of studies on notetaking throughout the early modern period, including contributions from Ann Blair and Richard Yeo as well as chapters on medical notetaking and the art of memory, among others.[61] However, despite the richness of this volume, it does not investigate how these various notetaking practices were manifested in individual and institutional practices, and how they may have developed over time in specific cases. My thesis combines the person-focused approach of Yeo's article on Boyle with an appreciation of the wide range of early modern notetaking practices, to facilitate an extended discussion of how an individual's notetaking practices developed, while avoiding the separation of the multiple kinds of notebook that is inherent in an essay collection specifically investigating different kinds of memory practice. By combining the extensive theorization of notetaking with a biographical approach, we can begin to ask not just what the whole field of notetaking looked like in the late seventeenth century, but also why it was a topic of such vital importance to contemporary practitioners and to modern scholarship.

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[60] Angus Vine, *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organization of Knowledge* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2019).

[61] Alberto Cevolini, ed. *Forgetting Machines: Knowledge Management Evolution in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Just as drawing rigid distinctions between kinds of notetaking can hinder scholarly understanding of the interplay between texts, limiting the discussion to notebooks alone may force anachronistic thresholds onto different types of manuscript writing. In the case of Edward Browne, the notebooks and letters are intimately connected, and a study of one advances a study of the other. Gary Schneider's *Culture of Epistolarity* explores the motivations and practices behind sending and receiving letters, with an emphasis on the politics of epistolary conversation.[62] However, the politics that Schneider identifies are not always present in epistolary conversations. Schneider's focus on England in particular precludes a discussion of how letter-exchange functioned when only one side was engaged in the conversation, such as when a traveller was abroad for an extended period of time with no certain address at which to receive mail. Some of Schneider's generalizations also lead to an over-simplification of the epistolary genre and, although he recognizes that letter-writing entails a kind of textual acting, there are further questions to be asked about the spaces in between letters; how do the intersections between kinds of letters, or different modes of address, shed light not only on the writer but also the receiver? Here, the biographical approach has another benefit: by assessing how one letter-writer changed his style according to his audience, and watching the correspondence develop over time in tone and purpose, it becomes clear that letter-writing, like notetaking, could serve multiple purposes in the early modern period. Indeed, James Daybell complicates the boundaries between kinds of letter-writing, noting that by the early seventeenth century letters were 'multifaceted and layered forms, often collaborative and mediated, and intended for wide,

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[62] Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).

sometimes even more "public" dissemination.'[63] As Schneider suggests, the culture of letter-writing underwent significant changes in the second half of the century; Daybell himself recognises that epistolarity modes were ever-changing. My thesis thus extends Daybell's line of questioning into the later seventeenth century, assessing precisely *how* letters might be created from multiple layers, and how they were eventually disseminated to a wider audience in the era of ready print.[64]

Amy Smith has also made vital contributions to scholarly conversations on letter-writing, turning her attention to eighteenth-century letters in relation to travel narratives.[65] Smith's work highlights the necessity to refine terminology to describe different kinds of letters, while also challenging perceptions of what a 'letter' might look like. Because Smith's key focus is the eighteenth-century, her discussion of travel narratives looks quite different to that which we find even two decades earlier: while the eighteenth-century epistolary travel narratives capitalized on the letter's potential to demonstrate character progressions in a published narrative, Edward Browne's publications specifically obscure their foundation in letters. Where printed letter collections were popular for their phenomenal disclosures of public information, Browne instead reframed his private letters as publicly-oriented information. Smith's work forces us to ask where this disjuncture stems from: as the latter half of the seventeenth century marked an as-yet unstudied development in 'travel writing,'

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[63] Daybell, *The Material Letter,* 12.

[64] Daybell's book offers an unparalleled study of the practical elements of letter-writing, but it addresses a period earlier than that with which I am primarily concerned.

[65] Amy Smith, 'Travel Narratives and the Familial Letter Form in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,' *Studies in Philology* 95, no. 1 (1998): 77-96; 'Naming the Un-'Familiar': Formal Letters and Travel Narratives in late Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain,' *The Review of English Studies* 54, no. 214 (2003): 178-202; 'Tobias Smollett and the Malevolent Philip Thicknesse: Travel Narratives, Public Rhetoric, and Private Letters,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 66, no. 3/4 (2003): 349-372.

so perceptions of epistolary politics may have morphed. My thesis offers one case study into this intermediary period of travel and letters, and demonstrates the value of continued academic research into the Restoration period in developing our understanding of how travel writing and letter writing were transformed.

The function of epistolary networks extends beyond conversation and travel writing. As Elizabeth Yale has shown, for instance, a vast quantity of early modern topographical knowledge was created only through extensive social networks, many of which functioned primarily through epistolary exchange.[66] Drawing on immense manuscript archives, Yale's book traces the journey of knowledge production in early modern natural philosophy. My thesis echoes Yale's focus on collaborative networks and the role of notes in knowledge production, and transfers it to both a familial and international scale to argue that not just 'scientific' knowledge but all knowledge relied on networks of cooperating agents that are visible only through manuscript remains. Yale has, more recently, edited a volume of essays alongside Vera Keller and Anna Marie Roos entitled *Archival Afterlives*.[67] Extending Yale's research on scientific networks, this volume specifically asks 'what role did the paper remains of scientists past have to play in the creation of new knowledge?'[68] While the importance of this question cannot be overstated, it provokes further questions, such as how an individual used his *own* archives, and not just those of his predecessors, to create new knowledge. Furthermore, because this volume focuses on one institution's archive, that of the Royal Society, disciplinary boundaries—even one as broad at 'natural

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[66] Elizabeth Yale, *Sociable Knowledge: Natural History and the Nation in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

[67] Vera Keller, Anna Marie Roos and Elizabeth Yale, eds., *Archival Afterlives: Life, Death, and Knowledge-Making in Early Modern British Scientific and Medical Archives* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

[68] Keller, Roos and Yale, *Archival Afterlives*, 2.

philosophy,' which can easily morph into 'science'—are inevitably reinforced.[69] However, in the case of Edward Browne and many other members of the Royal Society, only part of his archive is stored within the Society's walls. Studying an individual, then, rather than an institution, grants us a clearer sense of how that individual moved across and between disciplines, and how their work on natural philosophy, say, was directly engaged with their work on travel writing, despite the two archives *now* being somewhat discrete.

The work of scholars such as Yale and Hunter highlight the collaborative nature of knowledge production, and further studies of individuals—often those associated with the Royal Society—tend to demonstrate collaborative working processes. For instance, Anne M. Thell's article-length study on the collaboration between Robert Hooke and Robert Knox in the production of Knox's *Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* (1681) is particularly illuminating, demonstrating that Hooke as an editor was just as much a key figure in the production of the *Relation* as Knox in his role as first-hand witness and 'author.'[70] Anna Marie Roos has also identified a collaborative practice within the family of Martin Lister (1639-1712) who trained his daughters in the arts of engraving in order to exert greater authorial control over his own works.[71] My own thesis builds on this scholarship, asking not only how Browne's original field notes came to be recorded, developed, and disseminated with the support of an editorial figure in his father, but how the familial networks of

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[69] The same problem is attendant in Michael Hunter's *Archives of the Scientific Revolution: The Formation and Exchange of Ideas in Seventeenth-century Europe* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998)*,* where the focus on 'scientific' archives precludes a nuanced attention to how an individual's archive moves across disciplines.

[70] Anne M Thell, '"The reall truth; in testimony whare of I have hereunto set my hand": Robert Hooke, Robert Knox, and *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* (1681),' *Studies in Travel Writing* 19, no.4 (2015): 291-311.

[71] Anna Marie Roos, 'The Art of Science: A "Rediscovery" of the Lister Copperplates,' *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 66, no. 1 (2012): 19-40. See also Anna Marie Roos, *Martin Lister and his Remarkable Daughters* (Oxford: Bodleian Library Publishing, 2019).

cooperation that Roos identifies also played a part in Browne's publications. As Heather

Hirschfeld highlighted almost two decades ago, the term 'collaboration,' like 'notebook,'

might have many different meanings.[72] It seems vital, in light of studies such as Thell's,

Roos', and more, to ensure that the term 'collaboration' itself does not become all-

encompassing, standing in for the many forms of cooperative work. This means, perhaps,

importing more precise terminology into discussions of works where more than one person

was involved. It is possible, as Jack Stillinger notes, to take the idea of 'collaboration' to an

extreme, by entirely rejecting the notion that '"pure" authorship is possible under any

circumstances.'[73] However, while useful in complicating contemporary understandings of

authorship, Stillinger's text has a tendency to place each 'collaborator' on an equal footing

with the named author. While this may be the case in some instances, it is not always true.

By particularising the ways in which we name various contributions to a work, we can arrive

at a truer sense of 'collaboration' itself, where two hands work, calculatedly and explicitly,

to produce one text. By reserving 'collaboration' for these moments of active shared

authorship, we can build a more useful picture of the scale of authorship, where perhaps

the 'pure' author (if he is indeed possible) is placed at one extreme, and a work where

multiple people contribute evenly to the final product at the other. Each of these other

kinds of cooperation is, in a sense, collaborative, but in order to advance scholarly

conversations about practices of multiple authorship, we must have more stable terms for

discussing the *extent* to which any given work is multi-authored.

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[72] Heather Hirschfeld, 'Early Modern Collaboration and Theories of Authorship,' *PMLA* 116, no. 3 (2001): 610.
[73] Jack Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (New York: Oxford UP, 1991).

The Family and Thomas Browne

While many studies of collaboration and archival practices have focused on professional or institutional relationships, my own thesis extends this discussion to include the family. For Lawrence Stone in his extensive study of *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in Early Modern England,* the family was 'the only viable unit of study,' since it highlights the extent of and problems inherent within different kinds of social interactions, and because it 'forces the historian to take into consideration the wider [societal] forces which are all constantly at work in modifying the nature of the family.'[74] While I do not wholly agree that the family is the *only* viable unit of study, it is clear that it should be taken into consideration in any investigation that deals with a figure who remains deeply enmeshed with their family life, precisely because of the factors that Stone outlines. As Oded Rabinovitch has recently demonstrated, the family—both as individual members and as an ideological community— might frame and shape a number of literary and intellectual endeavours.[75] Rabinovitch argues that extra-textual family roles and plans, and specifically what he calls a 'family strategy' in his case study of the Perraults, intervene throughout any given actor's pursuits. While the Perraults are a fascinating example of how one family might develop 'strategy' over several generations, pursuing a specific familial goal, there is much work yet to be done on this field.[76] My thesis offers a contrasting yet complementary case study for Rabinovitch's, demonstrating that familial networks could influence not only in extra-textual and strategic matters, but also the physical processes of producing a text.

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[74] Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in Early Modern England* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London, 1977), 19.

[75] Oded Rabinovitch, *The Perraults: A Family of Letters in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U.P., 2018).

[76] The question of whether the Browne family had a 'strategy' is outside the scope of the current thesis, but demands attention in future scholarship.

Brent Nelson has begun to demonstrate the familial culture within the Browne family specifically, gesturing towards the intensive intellectual exchanges between Thomas Browne and his sons.[77] However, because Nelson's study is limited to a single-chapter contribution, it does not offer a significant analysis of the ways in which Thomas actively intervened in Edward's travels and works, which is a task that extends beyond a single chapter or even a doctoral thesis. Arno Löffler has produced the only study to identify specific contributions that Thomas made to Edward's works, although his article is too brief to uncover the full extent of Thomas's involvement. While it usefully highlights that Thomas repeatedly supplemented one section of Edward's published work with adjectival descriptions, I will demonstrate that Thomas's influence on Edward and his publications reached well beyond this.[78] Furthermore, while both Nelson and Löffler demonstrate Thomas's influence on his family (and primarily Edward), neither investigates the reciprocal influence of Thomas's family on his own literary output. This would become an almost impossibly large task, if we were to attempt to consider all the ways in which a family life might shape a figure. However, there are specific moments at which the influence of Thomas's children, and Edward and Lyttelton in particular, is felt tangibly within his works. I have already noted that Edward's findings made their way into Thomas's notebooks, but they can also be found in Thomas's revisions of *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1672). As will become clear in the later stages of this thesis, Edward's experiences might also be located in the posthumous *Musaeum Clausum* (1682). Indeed, Thomas's final work, the *Christian Morals*, only saw the press because of the ongoing endeavours of Edward and Lyttelton in

[77] Nelson, 'Culture of Curiosity.'

[78] Löffler, 'Browne als Redaktor.'

recovering and publishing their father's final work.[79] There are many studies of Thomas Browne, but besides Reid Barbour's extensive biography of Thomas, few attempt to take into account his place within his family. My thesis intends to demonstrate that by striving to understand the intellectual lives of the figures who surrounded Thomas throughout the greater portion of his life, we can bring greater clarity to our understanding of Thomas himself, and of the dynamic familial context in which he existed.

Thesis Aims and Research Questions

Much like Edward Browne's own investigations, my thesis is located largely at the peripheries of things. By interrogating the often-blurred boundaries between travel and writing, between writing of and for the self and others, and between individuality and commonality, my thesis looks not just at documents and practices in of themselves, but at how one act or form can become another, and how multiple ideas, roles, and practices co-exist and facilitate progression. Several questions are particularly key to this investigation.

At a fundamental level, my thesis asks: how did travel writing come about in the later seventeenth century? While previous studies have asked how travel itself happened and how it was written about—mostly towards the earlier part of the century—or about how the self is moulded and preserved through archives, there has as yet been no holistic study of the progression of a travel writer. This is where my thesis intervenes. By assessing a single writer throughout his life, it becomes clear that various fields which have previously been interrogated in their own right are intricately related to one another: advice on general notetaking cannot be separated from advice on travel writing; published accounts

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[79] Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals* (Cambridge, 1716).

of new lands cannot exist without personal texts such as notebooks. To draw all of these fields together allows us to see them all anew, as well as to shed light on a new object of study. The questions that feed into this discussion can broadly be stated as: 1) How did the traveller take notes in the field? 2) How did his relationships at home and abroad affect the manner in which he wrote notes and letters? 3) How did these archives, and the relationships behind them, feed into work that he ultimately published as a travel account? and 4) How did the traveller and his writings develop across the course of his life?

The second key goal of my thesis is to offer the first significant assessment of the life and works of Edward Browne. While Edward Browne has been mentioned in passing in relation to various other fields, the most extensive reliable information on him thus far remains Kees Van Strien's entry into the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.[80] There is far more to be learned from Edward Browne's life and works than a single biographical article can cover. My thesis demonstrates that Edward Browne is not just an interesting figure in relation to other fields of study, but that a study of him in his own right is valuable. As a notable figure in several key institutions, a study of Browne's life can benefit scholars investigating diverse areas of the later seventeenth century. Furthermore, such a study has extensive implications for our understandings of the fields it encompasses. From early domestic tourism to late seventeenth-century translation, Browne's works and their intellectual and material histories are deeply engaged with questions that underpin this period of study. By assessing him from a biographical standpoint, this thesis also offers new perspectives on the role of families in literary creation, and particularly the ways in which the Browne family influenced one another's intellectual and textual pursuits.

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[80] Kees Van Strien, 'Browne, Edward (1644–1708), physician and traveller,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004).

One further question runs throughout the whole thesis. Across his different modes of writing, Edward Browne's texts first and foremost force us to ask: what constitutes a travel writer? At one stage, the travel writer appears as a jocular adventurer, recalling his travels for a winking audience. At another, he is the serious natural philosopher whose travels are the conduit to the Baconian project of the systematisation of knowledge. At yet another, the travel writer is an antiquarian, using present-day settings to muse on classical history. All of these styles can rightly be called travel writing, and their author a travel writer. However, they are evidently not singular: rather, both travel and the writing of travel necessitate constant movement. This leads us to ask whether we can reliably use the term 'travel writer' as an authorial identifier. The writer inevitably changes across his experiences and journeys, and at each stage of his life a different position contributes to his writerly identity. Rather than the singular role of travel writer or single genre of travel writing, to write about travel allows a whole host of other identities to commingle together in one pursuit. My work offers a multiplicity of answers to what a travel writer is: in this multiplicity, I would like to propose an ongoing investigation into what we mean when we talk about 'travel writing' or a 'travel writer.'

Map of the thesis

This thesis is, to no small extent, biographical. For this reason, each of its four chapters focuses on a different key period of Edward Browne's life, progressing from his undergraduate education through to his latest writings. By taking this biographical approach, my thesis draws in various facets of Browne's material and intellectual practices to offer a clear narrative of his development, and to argue that the term 'travel writer' in fact unites many other distinct roles.

Chapter one draws on an eclectic notebook that Browne kept during his time at Trinity College. Sloane MS 1900, hereafter the 'Trinity Notebook,' offers up much hitherto unexamined material about Browne's education, social networks, and even his later professional relationship with his father. After a brief biographical account of Browne's early education, this chapter focuses on an account of a tour of Derbyshire that Browne took with his brother, Thomas Jr., in 1662.[81] First, I use other material within this notebook to uncover Browne's earliest methods of keeping field records. I then ask how Browne wrote his Derbyshire account: this mock-heroic narrative is far from a dispassionate record of where he and his brother went, though it draws into its mock-heroic framework natural history, antiquarianism, and anthropological observations. By analysing the text as a document designed to convey a specific persona, I demonstrate that Browne's reading habits played a direct role in his writing habits. It also becomes evident that Browne adapted his writing to suit a particular audience. Assessing the account in its entirety—rather than excising particular parts of it as Wilkin and Caposti have done in the past—immediately demonstrates that Edward Browne, as both a traveller and as a writer, deserves extended scholarly attention. Moreover, it places Browne's later works in an entirely different light: the curated nature of this account and this persona serve to form starker distinctions with the kinds of travelling and writing that Browne undertook in his later years. That said, many of the themes that reappear across Browne's life are nascent in the Derbyshire account, making this a foundational text to any study of Edward Browne.

Chapter two turns to Browne's first continental tour. After receiving his Bachelor of Medicine in 1663, he took a tour of Europe, landing in Calais in April 1664, and proceeding

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[81] This chapter particularly engages with the concept of the early modern domestic tour explored by Andrew McRae in *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009).

to Paris, Lyons, Rome, Naples, Venice, and Padua before returning home in 1665. This chapter uses the two journals that Browne compiled during this period, Sloane MSS 1906 and 1886 (hereafter the 'Paris Journal' and the 'Lyon Journal' respectively), in conjunction with a book of transcribed letters preserved in Elizabeth Lyttelton's and Thomas Browne's hands (Sloane MS 1868, hereafter the 'Early Copybook'), to interrogate the different reasons for Edward Browne's tour, and to demonstrate that his own intentions did not always match his father's. This tension becomes apparent in the divergences between journal and letter: by investigating the moments of concurrence and departure between the two types of document, it becomes clear that Browne once more shaped his own personality in his epistolary communications, presenting to his father a dedicated medical student in pursuit of worthy acquaintances, while engaging himself—more privately—in a varied range of activities, from sight-seeing at Catholic religious sites to attending the theatre with friends. Across the course of this chapter, we will see that as Browne's tour progressed, his notetaking and letter-writing styles both changed according to his geographical and intellectual surroundings. While at the beginning of the tour we see two different presentations of Browne, by the end Browne's letters present a more complete view of his experiences.

In chapter three, we turn to Browne's second tour. Having earned his M.D. at Oxford in 1667, Browne returned to continental Europe. Travelling in 1668 and 1669 through more peripheral areas of Europe, from the Low Countries to Vienna and Greece, this journey demonstrates a very different kind of travel to that of four years earlier. Now, Browne admits that he is uncertain of his destinations and purposes, writing letters—again based extensively on his journals—that reflect not just specific parts of his experience but the whole gamut. However, there are still competing interests throughout this tour: before

departing, Browne had joined the Royal Society, and this journey offered him the opportunity to contribute to their goal of collecting knowledge on the natural history of Hungary in particular. As Browne had employed different modes of address in his early letters and had actively shaped his persona in the Derbyshire account, he changes form once more in the correspondence with the Royal Society. While the familial letters narrate a coherent story of Browne's journey, the letters to the Royal Society offer focused, objective, reporting. Furthermore, Browne develops a different style of notetaking to record his natural philosophical findings, using Sloane MS 1922, or the 'Hungary notebook,' as a scientific notebook for precise and detailed information. On the same tour, Browne visited Italy and Greece, and these additional excursions highlight the tensions between interests that were 'useful,' such as the investigations for the Royal Society, and those that were more aligned with personal curiosity, such as his observations on Ottoman cultures. Besides demonstrating how different kinds of note result in different kinds of report, this chapter highlights how one journey could be turned to multiple uses, and how a traveller might enlist an institution such as the Royal Society to validate his own curious wanderings. A vast quantity of notebook *and* epistolary material arose from this journey: besides the Hungary notebook, Browne kept two further daily journals—Sloane MSS 1908 and 1905 (hereafter the 'Vienna Journal' and the 'Dresden Journal,' respectively)—and sent home a plethora of letters, originals of which are preserved in Sloane MS 1911-13 (hereafter the 'Letterbook') and Thomas Browne's copies, often in somewhat edited form, in Sloane MS 1861 (hereafter the 'Late Copybook'). By once more probing the boundaries between these forms, it becomes clear that Browne was still very much in control of his written persona, and employed it to specific ends.

The final chapter asks how Browne transformed from traveller to published writer. It offers the first assessment of his translation of Pierre de Chevalier's 'Discourse of the Cossacks' suggesting that, although distinct from his physical travels, this translation was nonetheless catalysed by them, and can offer new insights into Browne's cultural interests and into the role that countries such as Poland played in late seventeenth-century English perceptions both of other nations and itself. The bulk of this chapter asks how the glut of manuscript material that Browne produced was transformed into published accounts. I demonstrate that, without the journals and letters—and, accordingly, the preserving activities of Browne's family—his travels would never have seen the press. In addition, it becomes clear that Thomas Browne had a far greater hand in Edward's publications than has yet been acknowledged; several drafts of Edward's travels are copied in Thomas's hand, many with interlineal additions, suggesting that Thomas actively contributed to his son's writing. One of Thomas's draftbooks, Sloane MS 1855 (hereafter the 'Dresden Draftbook') also contains amendments in Edward's hand: here, father and son work together to produce one single text. This is collaboration to a high degree: while throughout the thesis it seems that Edward wrote (and travelled) by drawing on others' expectations, advice, and writings, this is a striking example of just how implicated Thomas was in Edward's work. By also drawing on corollary texts like Edward's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* of Themistocles and Sertorius, it becomes evident that Thomas played a tangible role in almost all of Edward's published works. The publications assessed in this chapter demonstrate the full range of Edward as a traveller and writer: by asking how one text differs substantially from the next, and how each is rooted in experience and manuscript materials, the identity of 'travel writer' becomes more complex than ever. The variety held within Edward's works,

individually and collectively, demonstrates just how many identities can be united within a travel writer.

The conclusion offers a change of perspective. While it becomes clear throughout the thesis that Edward was greatly influenced by Thomas, the conclusion asks how the reverse may also be true. By looking to Thomas's later works, such as the 1672 edition of *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* and the posthumous *Musaeum Clausum,* I demonstrate that the father-son influence was not unidirectional. Rather, Edward's influence—both as an active agent and a passive presence—is felt tangibly in Thomas's works. My conclusion suggests that, not just in the field of Browne studies but across studies of this period more generally, paying extended attention to the figures who surrounded more famous names can demonstrate the multifarious ways in which individuals were implicated within and influenced by their social milieu**.** Finally, my conclusion asks why Edward Browne's works are of significant ongoing value to scholars working on the writing of travel in pre-modern periods. My thesis shows that, by attending to one individual, we shed light not only on one person but on every network and field with which they engaged. In doing so, it becomes abundantly clear that even in the later seventeenth-century, 'no man is an island': rather, constituent individuals conjoin together to form a true 'community in learning.'[82]

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[82] John Donne, 'Meditation XVII,' in *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (London, 1624), 415; Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (London, 1643), 2.3.

Chapter One

'Our Darbishire Adventure': Edward Browne's First Travel Relation

KEY
A- NORWICH
B – KING'S LYNN
C – LINCOLN
D – PEAK CAVERN (THE DEVIL'S ARSE)
E – CHESTER
F – WARWICK
G – PETERBOROUGH
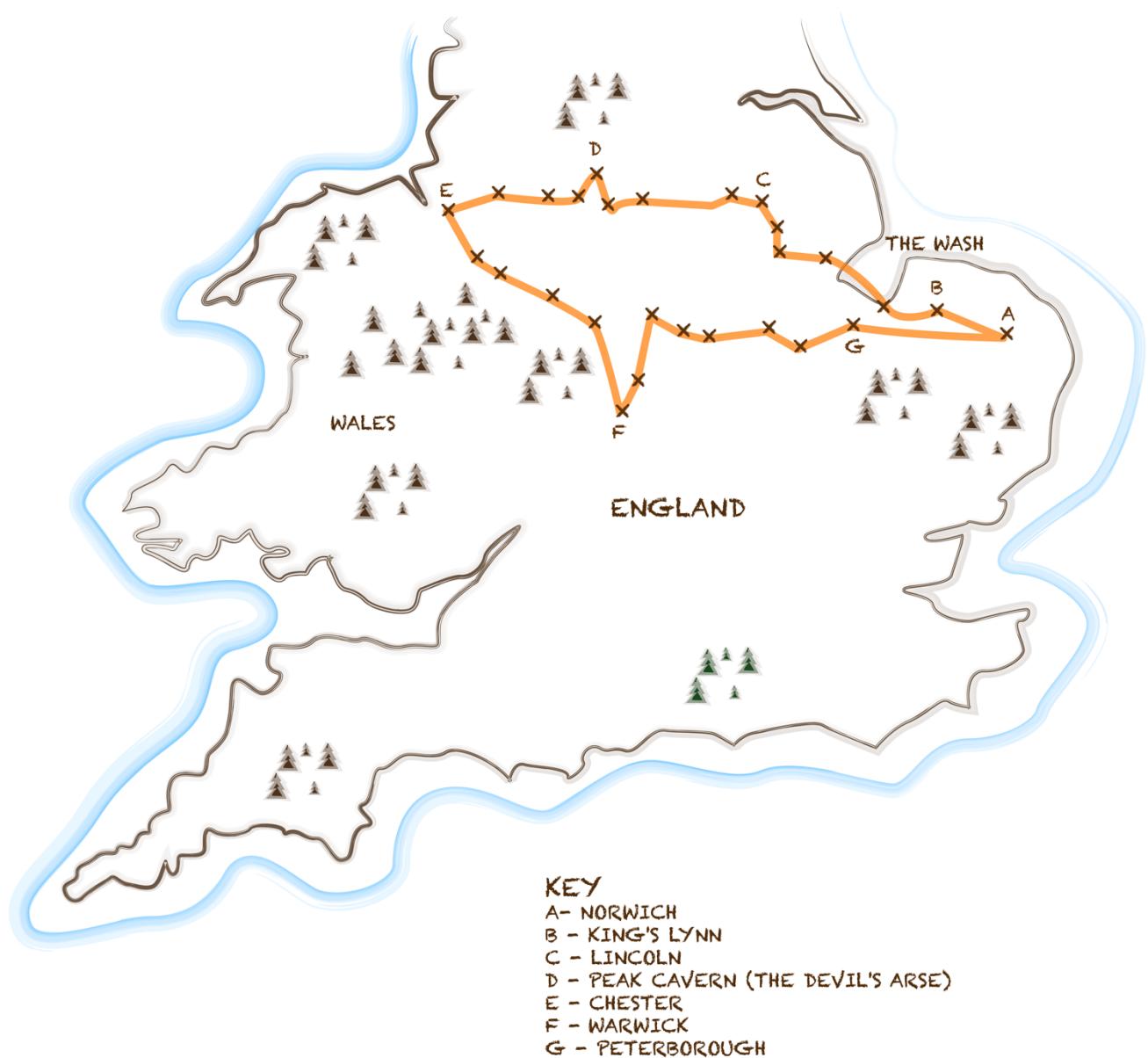
Figure 1: Edward Browne's Tour of Derbyshire

Introduction and Early Biography

Edward Browne was born in 1644 to Thomas and Dorothy Browne, most likely in the parish of Tombland, Norwich.[1] Browne's first educational institution was Norwich Grammar School. Here, he would have encountered texts such as *Tabula Cebetis*, the New Testament, the works of Lucan, Virgil, and Ovid among other classics, and his education would have included Latin, Greek, and even some Hebrew.[2] In 1657, Browne was admitted pensioner at Trinity College Cambridge, where he would have met with four different college masters: John Arrowsmith, who left the post in 1659; John Wilkins, who served for only one year but who was well loved by his collegians; Henry Ferne, a significant propagandist for the Royalist cause who had been promised the post before the Interregnum and who was eventually granted it back after the Restoration; and John Pearson, who served from Ferne's death in

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[1] 1644 is the correct date according to Browne's will and funerary monument. Samuel Johnson and Norman Moore attribute his birth year to 1642, but in the absence of any concrete birth records the will and monument seem the most reliable sources. For transcripts of Browne's will and monument, see Wilkin, *Works,* cviii. Samuel Johnson, 'The Life of Sir Thomas Browne,' in *Christian Morals* (London, 1756), xxxviii; Norman Moore, *The History of the Study of Medicine in the British Isles; the Fitz-Patrick Lectures for 1905-6, Delivered Before the Royal College of Physicians of London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 71.

[2] H. W. Saunders, *A History of the Norwich Grammar School* (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1932).

1662 until 1672.[3] In 1663, Browne graduated with a Bachelors of Medicine, having submitted his two-part thesis on July 7 that year.[4]

At Trinity College, Browne's tutor was James Duport (1606-1679).[5] Though during the interregnum Trinity College 'was far more theologically diverse than the predominantly Presbyterian character of the parliamentary appointees might suggest,' Duport was nonetheless 'virtually the only tutor at Trinity who publicly espoused Royalist and Anglican sympathies,' making him one of the few tutors whose theological and political beliefs might resonate with Sir Thomas and thus making him a suitable tutor for Edward.[6]

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[3] When Wilkins was ejected from the Mastership in favour of Charles II's nominee, 'the fellows of Trinity [petitioned], though unsuccessfully, for his retention at the Restoration': E. J. Bowen and Harold Hartley, 'The Right Reverend John Wilkins, F.R.S. (1614-1672),' *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 15 (1960): 49. Wilkins is thought to have established 'a scientific group in Cambridge similar to the one he had had at Oxford,' though this is not certain: Dorothy Stimson, 'Dr. Wilkins and the Royal Society,' *The Journal of Modern History* 3, no. 4 (1931): 550. A 'Mr Arrowsmith' is mentioned in Browne's diaries as a companion between Norwich and Attleborough; it is possible that this is the son of the Master of Trinity, who 'became a fellow of Trinity in 1656.' Browne's entrance at Trinity College is a little unusual, given that the majority of Norwich students entered Caius or Corpus at Cambridge, where many scholarships were available for Norfolk scholars. See Saunders, *A History of the Norwich Grammar School,* 173, and John Venn and J.A. Venn, eds., *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1922), 1:232.

[4] The two parts of Browne's thesis are entitled 'Judicium de somniis est Medico Utile' and 'Non datur Venenum quod determinato tempore interficiat.'

[5] In a diary entry from Paris of 1664, Browne notes that he 'met divers not only of my country men, but fellow Collegians and Fellow pupils to Dr Duport': Paris Journal, f.74v.

[6] John Gascoigne, 'Isaac Barrow's academic milieu: Interregnum and Restoration Cambridge,' in *Before Newton: the life and times of Isaac Barrow,* ed. Mordechai Feingold (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 257; Mordechai Feingold, 'Isaac Barrow: divine, scholar, mathematician,' in *Before Newton*, 10. The subject of Sir Thomas's religious and political stances is much debated. Though he is frequently cited as latitudinarian and tolerationist, he is nonetheless largely orthodox, both with regards to the church and political rule. For more on Browne's religio-political views, see—among others—Jonathan F.S. Post, 'Browne's Revisions of *Religio Medici*,' *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 25, no. 1 (1985): 145-163; Reid Barbour, 'Dean Wren's *Religio*

It would seem that not only college bonds more broadly, or the bonds between tutor and pupil, but the bonds between the students of a particular tutor remained significant even after a student's college days were over. In a journal entry from Paris in 1664, Browne notes that he chanced upon an old friend, Richard Hopkins, who had entered Trinity as pensioner just one month before Browne, on 28 September 1657.[7] Though Hopkins entered the Inns of Court in 1658, it is clear from Browne's 1664 encounter with him that they had become friends. This might be confirmed by a faint scrawl on a page within Sloane MS 1833, which from its darkened appearance seems to have once been a cover page, of Hopkins' name—along with Browne's name and address in London and both '1658' and 'May th 23 1658.'[8] In the same journal entry, Browne adds also that he 'met divers not only of my country men, but fellow Collegians and Fellow pupils to Dr Duport,' each level of connection (country—college—tutor) offering an increasing sense of camaraderie.[9]

The notebook from Browne's time at Trinity further elucidates his college years. Dating roughly from 1660-1663, it contains 86 folios and is written from both ends, in multiple orientations: the back flyleaf is covered with handwriting or ink tests, the majority of which record the name 'Isaac Craven,' though 'Edward' and 'Edward Browne' also make an appearance here along with some faded Latin and several scribbles. One Isaac Craven was admitted to Trinity College as sizar, a student who 'performed certain duties now discharged by college servants' as a way of financing his studies in April 1656.[10] In 1657 he

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Medici: Reading in Civil War England,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (2010): 263-272; and Preston, *Browne and Early Modern Science,* chapter 2.

[7] Paris Journal, f.74v.

[8] Sloane MS 1833, f.196r.

[9] Paris Journal, f.74v.

[10] 'sizar, n,' *OED Online*, March 2021.

was admitted scholar, proceeding BA in 1659-60 and MA in 1663. The dates during which

Craven was at Trinity thus tally exactly with Browne's, with the additional year as sizar for

Craven. It is clear that the relationships Browne forged at Trinity College remained with him

after he left: over a decade after his Trinity years, Craven wrote a letter encouraging Browne

to visit him and other acquaintances at Cambridge.[11] In addition to Hopkins and Craven,

Browne's Trinity Notebook indicates his acquaintance with 'Dr Croune,' who later

nominated Browne as candidate to the Royal Society, thereby facilitating much of Browne's

ensuing work.[12] The relationships established during Browne's time at Trinity are thus

inextricable from his later experiences.

Beyond the Trinity Notebook's back flyleaf are various Latin transcriptions, including

some lines out of William Camden's (1551-1623) *Britannia* (1586), a verse on the geometry

of distances, and a couplet on the nerves.[13] The facing page includes a list of the distances

between towns in Derbyshire, alongside classical extracts.[14] The notebook proceeds to

general mathematical precepts and conversion tables in Browne's hand, working through

addition (including 'addition of Haberdepois,' the measurements used in medical

prescriptions), subtraction, multiplication, and division. While we would expect Browne to

have acquired these skills by the time he was matriculated, it is possible that he used this

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[11] Letterbook, f.130r.

[12] Trinity Notebook, f.2v.

[13] Trinity Notebook, f.86r.

[14] Trinity Notebook, f.85v. Browne transcribes Martial's Epigram 9.3; a rebus puzzle by Cicero; Propertius' *Carmiin* 1.2.26; Ovid's *Tristia* 5.1; and Catullus's *Elegia* 6. This page also includes three lines of Greek, and a note that 'At Sidon is Zabulon's tombe / At Eden of Anchora Hatcheeth, Shame and Bolaza or / Blouza in Mount libanus they speake the Syriac tongue.' Browne's hand varies, but two distinctive 'p' forms help to identify his contributions to the notebook. The earlier form, which might be described as an 'n' with an extended left descender which creates an open bowl, is confirmed as Browne's by drafts of his medical dissertation, also in this notebook; the later closed-bowl form by his many extant letters.

notebook to record correct definitions or to refresh his memory of mathematical processes. The fact that the handwriting changes across these pages might suggest that they were, in part, an opportunity for Browne to take his tutor's advice to 'not loose his hand.'[15]

The front cover includes a perplexing variety of notations: at the top are rows of numbers to twenty; a line from Ovid's *Tristia;* Isaac Craven's name; 'Grevinus de venenis'; the name 'Averoes,' possibly referring to the 12th-century Muslim Andalusian polymath; and the prescription symbol (℞ or 'Rx'), among a mélange of other notes.[16] On the lower half of the page is a striking figure which looks most closely like an astrological horoscope. The structure echoes that preserved in the papers of Simon Forman, Richard Napier and other early modern astrologers, though here a maze figure has been added to the central square, and further squares or triangles added to the edges of the outer box.[17] While many of these marks identify the book as Edward Browne's in their medical nature, they simultaneously identify it not as an exercise book or daily notebook, but as a miscellaneous repository.

Before his final year of university, in the late summer of 1662, Browne took a tour of Derbyshire with his brother Thomas Jr., and possibly another companion. This journey took the travellers over the Norfolk fens, past Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire to the 'seven wonders' of the Peak District, and as far west as Chester. Throughout, the travellers

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[15] Preston and Oswald, 'Duport's Rules,' 346.

[16] 'Grevinus de venenis' refers to a 1571 work 'on poison' by Jacques Grévin 'who became famous in his twenties as a playwright and poet' while training in medicine at the University of Paris: Frederick W. Gibbs, *Poison, Medicine, and Disease in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 230. 'Averroes' is also mentioned in Isaac Casaubon's *Treatise Concerning Enthusiasm* (addressed below)*,* a title on Browne's 1662 reading list.

[17] See Appendix 1 for an image of this cover. For examples of Forman and Napier's casebooks, see https://casebooks.lib.cam.ac.uk/.

observed cathedrals and tombstones, natural wonders, and the distinctive cultural habits of the various regions. The details of this trip are preserved in a travel relation in the Trinity Notebook. This relation is not a series of diary entries, a travel itinerary, or a string of granular observations: it is a literary document which actively fashions the travellers and the journey. This chapter will ask how this document was created, and will begin to shed light on its intended audience.

This tour was taken when Browne was coming towards the end of his university education, and the relation is the first significant extant piece of writing attributable to him. It includes specific details such as the number of stairs in steeples, tombstone inscriptions, and the names of inns and villages, set within the frame of a journey narrative. While the Derbyshire relation includes many sections which are crossed out or otherwise amended, it is by no means an extempore piece of writing. It is littered with oblique references to Browne's reading, and it engages with many of the prominent tropes of early Restoration England and Cambridge. A reading list preserved in another of Browne's notebooks, Sloane MS 1833, dates to the period Browne returned from this journey, documenting precisely what he was reading. This list is split into three columns for Latin, Greek, and English. It is entitled as a list of 'books which I have read through since I came first to Dr Windets / November 6 1662.'[18] The differences in ink and hand suggest that this was a list that Browne added to consecutively, rather than compiling at one stroke. The influences of the texts on this list are felt throughout the relation.[19] A host of literary and political references place Browne within his social milieu, and fashion an image of a young traveller using his reading to shape his own traveller-identity and literary style. Furthermore, the self-conscious

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[18] Sloane MS 1833, f.2v.

[19] See Appendix 2 for the reading list.

crafting of this account frames it as a text curated for, and to be shared with, a specific audience. This audience was, most likely, Browne's fellow Trinity students, and in many ways the audience is a primary shaping factor in this relation. The evidence of social engagements throughout the Trinity Notebook highlights the extent to which texts like the Derbyshire account might circulate around groups of acquaintances: much as 'many literate people,' particularly in setting such as universities, 'used verse to strengthen social and familial bonds, to respond to important personal experiences and public events, and to demonstrate their sophistication and wit,' Browne here uses his prose relation to the same ends, using experience, reading, writing and sociability to forge a literary identity for himself.[20]

Early Modern Advice to Notetakers

Browne's tutor Duport was particularly keen to advise his students on their educational and moral conduct, offering them a series of 'Rules to be observed by young Pupils & Schollers in the University.'[21] From these rules, it becomes clear that Duport expected 'continual scribbling' in his pupils (though discouraged the slovenly hand that that may espouse); he encouraged meditation upon reading; and he expected his students to continually have a notebook with them, in order to consult the 'rules' and questions, and perhaps even to write down new questions as they appeared during their daily activities.[22] Besides the note-taking advice that resonated across the century and that provided by his tutor, Sir Thomas

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[20] Arthur F. Marotti, 'The Verse Nobody Knows,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (2017): 218.

[21] Wren Library, O.10A.33, quoted in C.D. Preston and P.H. Oswald, 'James Duport's Rules for his Tutorial Pupils: A Comparison of Two Surviving Manuscripts,' *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 14, no. 4 (2011): 317-362.

[22] Preston and Oswald, 'Duport's Rules,' 346 and 350.

also directed his children's notetaking practices: one letter from Sir Thomas to Edward's brother Thomas Jr. instructed him to 'carry small books or papers to set down remarkables or take draughts,' particularly during periods of travel.[23] All of this broad advice is visible throughout Edward Browne's archives where multiple kinds of notetaking practice coexist. Indeed, Browne's many notes underpin his entire oeuvre.

Particularly following the development of the *ars apodemica,* which aimed to codify 'humanist educational travel… and socio-cultural research,' Browne would have encountered further advice on how to take notes about travel.[24] Moryson's *Itinerary* (1617), a copy of which was held in the Browne family library, while advising that the traveller 'trust not to his papers' entirely, recommended that

> yet for the weakenes of memory, let him carefully note all rare
>
> observations; for he lesse offends that writes many toyes, then he
>
> that omits one serious thing, and after when his judgement is more
>
> ripe, he shall distill Gold... out of this dung of *Enniue*. Let him write
>
> these notes each day, at morne and even in his Inne, within writing
>
> Tables carried about him, and after at leasure into a paper booke,
>
> that many yeers after he may looke over them at his pleasure.[25]

Moryson's key stipulation is the immediate impressions be recorded daily—even while the traveller is at a site—and be given time to settle and to transform by the process of double-copying at a later stage into a different repository.[26] James Howell's *Instructions for Forrein*

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[23] Keynes, *Works,* 4.12.

[24] Justin Stagl, '*Ars apodemica* and Socio-Cultural Research,' in *Artes Apodemicae,* 18.

[25] Moryson, *Itinerary,* 11-12.

[26] Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, 'Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (2004): 379-419.

Travellers, also in the Browne library, likewise exhorts its reader to 'always have a *Diary* about him, when he is in motion of his Journeys, to set down what his *Eyes* meetes with *most* remarquable in the day time.'[27] He even reproduces Moryson's sentiment that 'he offend lesse who writes many toyes, than he, who omits one seriouse thing' before adding that 'the pen... doth fertilize, and enrich the memory more than any thing else.'[28] Notetaking, in each of these texts, is a memory aid. Indeed, it seems that notetaking is more important during travel than during reading: while a printed book remains accessible in some format for future consultation, one cannot return to a particular moment in time, especially at a distance from home. While travelling, the whole world becomes a book: the more daily notes, the more likely one is to be able to draw key precepts. Howell also observes that some travellers keep a 'small leger booke' to record persons met and 'some short sentence, which they call *the note of remembrance,* the perusall whereof will fill one with no unpleasing thoughts of dangers and accidents passed.'[29] Both profit and pleasure, then, are served by a thorough notetaking practice.

However, these texts and others like them are directed at the traveller aiming for foreign climes. While their precepts are, undoubtedly, applicable to notetakers travelling within their own country, domestic travellers were not their intended audience. Although Howell concedes that 'it were not amisse to run over *Cambden...* and others who have written of the *English* Kings,' this recommendation aims to increase the traveller's understanding of his own country in preparation for continental travel and relies on book-

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[27] James Howell, *Instructions for Forrein Travel* (London, 1642), 30.

[28] Howell, *Instructions*, 30-31.

[29] Howell, *Instructions,* 53.

learning.[30] This might feel somewhat amiss, given that Howell's opening pages to the reader

lament the possibility that one might 'bee a Sedentary *Traveller* only, penn'd up between

Wals.'[31] The practice of domestic travel, though, was not fully established until the end of

the seventeenth century; ostensibly, 'the only acts of tourism accepted at this time as

genuine and meaningful were those that involved travelling abroad.'[32] This makes Browne's

domestic journey, though not unprecedented, somewhat ahead of its time.[33]

Writing about Britain was well established by the middle of the seventeenth century,

in no small part owing to Camden's *Britannia*. Many other antiquarian and chorographical

studies were compiled from first-hand experience; William Worcester (1415-82), on his

quest to compile 'a comprehensive chorographical description of Britain [kept] a day-to-day

account of his journeys.'[34] As Gasquet describes it, 'note-book in hand he went forth on his

tours, always ready to pick up information from chance acquaintances upon any subject of

interest.'[35] Worcester's notebook was his primary tool in the collection and collation of

information from his travels. John Leland (1503-1552) too embarked upon 'nearly ten years

of travel... during which he visited libraries up and down the country compiling vast

quantities of notes.'[36] Though Leland's investigations apparently drove him mad and

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[30] Howell, *Instructions,* 53.

[31] Howell, *Instructions,* 2.

[32] McRae, *Domestic Travel*, 179.

[33] See Trevor Brighton, *The Discovery of the Peak District: From Hades to Elysium* (London: Phillimore, 2004); 31-40.

[34] Stan A.E. Mendyk, *'Speculum Britanniae': Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 43.

[35] Francis A. Gasquet, 'The Notebooks of William Worcester,' in *The 'Old English bible,' and Other Essays* (London, 1897) 293-4, quoted in Mendyk, *'Speculum Britanniae'*, 43.

[36] Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time* (New York: Oxford UP, 2010)*,* 24. Leland's *Itinerary* was not published until 1710.

eventually incapacitated him, his notes were mined by a multitude of antiquarians, including

'John Bale, John Stow, William Harrison, Camden, Lambrade, Dugdale, and others.'[37]

Leland's notes were thus invaluable for a whole generation of researchers.[38] While, perhaps,

not codified in the manner that the *ars apodemica* envisioned, these are nonetheless a few

early examples of 'domestic' travel and notetaking.

While there are no detailed primary notes from Browne's journey through

Derbyshire, there are notes dating from his and his brother's tour of the South-West of

England.[39] While Browne may have been familiar with theoretical advice on notetaking,

these notes shed light on how Browne actually recorded his travels. Unlike the Derbyshire

account, the notes from the South-West tour are largely undigested, suggesting that these

were the notes Browne made during his travels. Browne's itinerary opens with 'a play & Mr

Howards hunting at Thetford.'[40] The distinctive palaeographic form of the 'Mr,' together

with Browne's known social interactions with the Howards, mark this list as Browne's with

near certainty. The inclusion of an event—a play and the hunting—also marks this as an

experiential account: it is not just a list of significant locations, but denotes a lived journey.

Between Thetford and Hereford, Browne notes only: Ely minster; Wellingborough; 'Brinton

tombes' in Northampton'; '*th*e hill and soape well' at Daventry; 'starre stones' at Shugbu*ry*;

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[37] Vine, *Defiance,* 24; Mendyk, *'Speculum Britanniae,'* 46.

[38] Francis Bacon to Fulke Greville, in Vernon F. Snow, 'Francis Bacon's Advice to Fulke Greville on Research Techniques,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (1960): 371.

[39] Alwin Thaler drew attention to this brief account in 1931, printing a portion of the journey (that part most closely concerned with his interest in the literary connections between Sir Thomas and Shakespeare): see 'Shakspere and Sir Thomas Browne,' *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (1931): 60-64. Thaler suggests a date of 1663 for this journey based on contextual evidence, but the Derbyshire account includes comments on some sites passed in this journey, suggesting that it dates from before the 1662 Derbyshire trip.
[40] Trinity Notebook, f.15r.

'Sr Edward Peto's Windmill'; 'Shakespear tombe in Stretford,' (an entry which, perhaps, reflects Browne's playgoing habits); and 'Worcestor Cathedrall in which is kings Johns tombe between Sr Wolston & St Oswald's Perince Arthur's tombe & chappell, Littletons tombe.'[41] Though each of these sites might offer a wealth of observations, Browne notes only their names. However, additional material about Shakespeare's tomb suggests that these records may only be partial. A pasted-in sheet towards the end of the Trinity Notebook, smaller than the other pages, bears the text of Shakespeare's funerary monument and grave, and the note that 'John of Stratford Archbishop of Canterbury [was] founder of this chancell.'[42] Given the relatively untidy hand of this loose sheet, it seems likely that this was a note made on a spare sheet of paper that Browne had to hand at the monument: this, in turn, suggests that the rest of the notebook's records were made at the end of the day or even after several days.

Though this journey involved significant geographical range, the notes about it are rather sparse. At 'Glocester Colledge' Browne notes a little more information, marking 'the cloisters, *th*e roof of the Quire. our lady & *th*e 12 Apostles Chappels Rob Curtois. Edward 2 King Osserich tombe. the towre & whispring place.'[43] Edward II reappears at Berkeley Castle, where Browne observes '*th*e roome whe Edward II was murdered & *th*e great toad.'[44] The records of Bristol, Bath, Wells, Stonehenge, and Salisbury offer similar levels of detail. However, after a note about Winchester college and its motto of 'manners maketh man,'

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[41] Trinity Notebook, f.15r.

[42] Trinity Notebook, f.64v.

[43] Trinity Notebook, f.15r. 'College' here probably indicates 'a community or corporation of clergy living together on a foundation for religious service': 'college, n.,' *OED Online,* March 2020. The description of this site confirms it as Gloucester Cathedral.

[44] Trinity Notebook, f.15r.

the entries cease.[45] This is not because Browne ran out of space to continue his notes: the folio recording Winchester is empty but for three lines of text, and the following page (notably written in the opposite orientation) contains only a short list of distances.[46] One explanation for this may be that Browne intended to continue his records but fell short of his own expectations: though his observations are sparse, these notes may nonetheless have been intended to serve the secondary purpose advocated by teachers of notetaking and travelling of digesting one's experiences. Stoye highlights the potential discrepancy between advice and practice, asking 'How many [travellers] intended to keep [diaries] and forgot them a few miles south of the Channel, then as now?'[47] Though Browne evidently intended to record something of his travels, it was rather poorly executed. One reason to accept this suggestion is that the entries between Thetford and Hereford, which mark the first leg of the journey, are written in a different ink to those which follow, and are all reasonably uniform. This suggests that they were all written together after the first portion of the journey was completed, possibly from Hereford or the previous stop. That would also account for the lack of detail between Thetford and Hereford: Browne recalled enough to record salient sights, but not to record in the same (albeit still relatively sparse) detail as the journey between Hereford and Winchester.

An accounts list on the verso facing the first page of the South-West record supports Thaler's suggestion that Browne was with his brother Thomas for this journey; after their visit to Worcester College and the castle (2 shillings 6 pence together), Browne lists the cost

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[45] Trinity Notebook, f.16v. The visit to Winchester may well speak to his father's early education there.

[46] Folio 17r notes only the distances between some other destinations: 'Fathel house 7 / Froome --- 5 / Worminster --5/ Shrootne ---10.'

[47] Stoye, *English Travellers,* 18. Stagl offers some considerations on the practical utilization of the *ars apidemica* in *A History of Curiosity,* 90-94.

of fruit (3 pence) and notes that he gave 1 shilling 6 pence 'to my brother.'[48] He also hired

some horses at 7 shillings 6 pence, paid for 'ourselves' at nine shillings, spent 2 shillings and

3 pence at 'Bramede,' and gave '*th*e Butler at Hereford Colledge' one shilling.[49] The next

verso is also reserved for an account list, this time including 'Barclay' (Berkeley) at eight

shillings, 'eye coffee houses' at one shilling and 2 pence, wine at seven shillings, and a guide

at one shilling.[50] This material organisation suggests that the notebook's rectos were

reserved for observational notes, and the versos for accounts.

One further folio relating to this journey helps us to understand Browne's intentions

for the notebook. On folio 32r (15 folios after the other material about the South-West trip)

is a list of locations and the distances between them, conforming with McRae's observation

that some seventeenth-century travel journals 'conclude with lists of places visited or

calculations of mileage covered.'[51] This 21-stage list follows the trajectory of the earlier

entries very closely and confirms its relation to them. Given that only the first half of the

itinerary is noted in any detail in the more journalistic entries, it seems likely that this list

was written in preparation for the trip, rather than retrospectively. The pages between the

itinerary and the notes seem to have been earmarked for filling out, but were ultimately left

blank. That these pages were unused for some time seems all the more likely given that

they were eventually filled with medical prescriptions—including some from 1668—and

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[48] Trinity Notebook, f.14v

[49] Thaler, 'Shakspere and Sir Thomas Browne,' 61. Trinity Notebook, f.14v. Though the references to both
Worcester and Gloucester colleges here might suggest a trip around Oxford, perhaps, the coincidence with the
rest of the account—which lists specific features of the churches and cathedrals in those cities—together with
the constant references to horses at reasonably high prices confirms this as an account of the journey.

[50] Trinity Notebook, f.15v.

[51] McRae, *Domestic Travel,* 193.

other medical notes, including a prescription in Thomas Browne's hand.[52] Having never completed his intended account of the journey, and with memories of each location fading, this notebook later offered up blank pages for an alternative use. Perhaps to distinguish between current notes and old notes, these pages are filled in in the opposite orientation to the journey (upside down by modern pagination).

A few facts about the South-West journey are clear: it began and ended at Norwich and was taken in the company of Browne's brother for at least part of its duration; its focal centres include cultural sites such as Shakespeare's tomb, Wells Cathedral, and Winchester College; and its rewriting was probably envisioned but never completed. While this relation shows some engagement with the recommendations to keep daily notes during travel, it does not show Browne methodically following the precepts. The variety of information included—including monuments, sociability, and natural phenomena such as Wookey Hole—speaks to no singular purpose, but to a kind of domestic tour that, 'by the end of the seventeenth century... had emerged as an acceptable, even a conventional, form for spatial representation.'[53] While these tours were perhaps conventional by the *end* of the century, both of Browne's domestic tours were taken only shortly after the Restoration. They do not have the scholarly purpose of an antiquarian or natural historian like Camden or Dugdale— either delving deeply into the history of a single county or offering a panoptic view of Britain—and the *ars apodemica* frequently defended foreign travel by focusing on the acquiring 'books that cannot be found in England, [and] conversing with learned men.'[54]

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[52] Trinity Notebook, f.29v.

[53] McRae, *Domestic Travel*, 235.

[54] Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 7.

What, then, might it mean to travel within the borders of one's own country, without specifically trying to uncover its history, and without the justifications available to continental travellers? This is, in part, a question best answered by asking how Browne composed his Derbyshire relation.

From Note to Narration: How Browne Wrote his Account

Although the Derbyshire relation is the most extensive piece of writing in the Trinity Notebook, its source notes are not extant here or anywhere else. While Browne's notes from the South-West tour occasionally record specific facts—such as the story of 'William Cannings who employed 800 workemen w*hic*h wrought for a penny a day for eight year together'—these are the anomalies: they may provoke a memory, but are insufficiently detailed to underpin a comprehensive account.[55]

It seems likely, however, that Browne employed a more thorough method of notetaking throughout his Derbyshire tour, given that the relation includes precise notes of the steps in church steeples, distances between towns, and names of inns along the way. While that notebook is no longer extant, we can trace how Browne developed his notes into the relation. This relation is not simply a series of facts about the places Browne saw: it is tied together with a journey narrative, incorporating observations on cities, relics, natural philosophy, cultural habits, and even an extended burlesque poem on the Devil's Arse. It commingles chorography, travel relation, and contemporary genres, and draws on a vast range of written material. While primary notes are vital to the account, they are by no means the sole records behind it. By examining how Browne combined first-hand

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[55] Trinity Notebook, f.16r.

experience and observations with contemporary and classical reading, we can begin to understand how this relation interacts with both the counties it surveys and the context in which it was produced. While, hitherto, it has never been studied as a work of any literary merit, it owes its very existence to the texts that Browne read; perhaps it even intended to make its own intervention into this literary milieu.

Precedents for the Peaks: Camden's *Britannia* and Hobbes' *De Mirabilibus Pecci*

On 'August September 8 1662,' Browne and his companion(s) set out from Norwich.[56] Their tour, which lasted 'little more then [a] fortnight,' took them to King's Lynn, over the wash to Lincoln, and then directly west as far as Chester, with a northerly excursion to the Devil's Arse in the Peak District.[57] From Chester, the 'nil ultra of this voyage,' the travellers proceeded south-east to Lichfield, made a deviation to Guy of Warwick's cave just outside of Warwick, and returned home via Peterborough and Wisbech.[58]

While domestic tourism was still in its infancy when Browne embarked on this trip, the Peak District in particular—and especially it 'seven wonders'—were established sites of interest, mentioned most famously by Camden and Thomas Hobbes, though the 'wonders' also appear in Michael Drayton's *Poly-Albion,* a book that appeared in the Browne library.[59]

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[56] Trinity Notebook, f.59v. Browne's revision of August to September is intriguing: it seems like a significant error to make, though there is no question that it could be a simple error. However, he notes that he was present the day after the 1662 subscription at Chesterfield, which occurred on the 24th of August 1662, suggesting that Browne was in Chesterfield on the 25th of August. Given that this appears in the first half of the relation, neither August 8 or September 8 seems to fit as an appropriate departure date.

[57] Trinity Notebook, f.36v.

[58] See Figure 1 for a map of this tour. Trinity Notebook, f.42r.

[59] Finch, *Catalogue*, 69. For the rise of the Peak District as a tourist destination see Brighton, *Peak District*. While highly informative, there are errors within this text: Brighton mentions Edward Browne on several occasions, drawing from excerpts of Browne's account printed in Valys Caposti's 1870 article. However, he

Browne knew each of these works. On one of the final pages of the Trinity notebook we find a verse taken from Camden's *Britannia*.[60] Omitting Camden's prose observations, Browne transcribes a Latin quatrain:

> Mira alto Pecco tria sunt, barathrum specus, antrum;
>
> Commoda tot, plumbum, gramen, ovile pecus.
>
> Tot speciosa simul sunt, castrum, balnea, chattesworth
>
> Plura sed occurrunt, quae speciosa minus [61]

Holland translates these verses as:

> There are in *High Peake* Wonders three,
>
> A deepe Hole, Cave and Den:
>
> Commodities as many bee,
>
> Lead, Grasse, and Sheepe in pen.
>
> And Beauties three there are withall
>
> A Castle, Bath, *Chatsworth:*
>
> With place more yet meet you shall
>
> That are of meaner worth.[62]

Camden goes on to include the well at Tideswell. Browne's own journey encompasses all of these places. The appearance of this verse in Browne's notebook in a particularly neat italic hand which indicates that care has been taken in its copying, suggests that Browne read the

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misdates Browne's travels, in turn, to 1622 and 1652. While these are most likely typos, *The Reliquary* version of Browne's travels is fundamentally partial, 'leaving out a little discursive matter which occurs here and there of no interest': see Caposti, 'The Commonplace Book of Edward Browne,' 73.

[60] Trinity Notebook, f.86r. Finch, *Catalogue*, 69.The Browne library held Philemon Holland's 1637 translation of the *Britiannia*, with which Browne's transcription agrees.

[61] William Camden, *Britannia,* trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1637), 558 and Trinity Notebook, f.86r.

[62] Camden, *Britannia,* 558.

verse before his trip and arranged his journey accordingly. Browne's reading thus shaped his travels.

That is not to say that he did not consult Camden when turning his travel notes into a full relation. For instance, Browne's expanded relation incorporates a line celebrating the travellers' arrival at Buxton: 'Buxtona quae calidae celebrabere nomine lymphae.'[63] One page before the verse above, Camden's *Britannia* includes a verse couplet of which this is the first line.[64] Browne here omits the couplet's second line, which laments that 'I perhaps shall not thee [Buxton] ever see againe,' picking and choosing the elements of the verse most suited to his own purpose, having only just arrived in Buxton and not yet—in his own story—bidding it farewell. Browne goes on to add his own Latin sentence: 'Buxtoniae thermis vix praefero Bathonianas [I scarcely prefer the baths of Bath to the springs of Buxton]' lauding the baths of Buxton as comparable to the Roman baths of Bath.[65] However, Browne's Latin is not entirely original. In Camden's description of Bath (which precedes that of Buxton), he notes that 'Bathoniae thermas vix praefero Virgilianas,' comparing the baths of Bath to those which Virgil reputedly built at Naples.[66] Browne, then, has clearly read not just the section of Camden that deals with Derbyshire, but has picked out sections from throughout the book to utilise to his own purposes, and had possibly even consulted it before his South-West trip. Furthermore, instead of reproducing Camden verbatim, Browne

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[63] Trinity Notebook, f.45r. Holland translates this line as 'Buxton, that of great name shalt be, for hote and holsome baine.'

[64] Camden, *Britannia*, 557.

[65] Trinity Notebook, f.45r. This comment supports the notion that Browne visited the South-West before Derbyshire.

[66] Camden, *Britannia,* 235. For Virgil's baths, see *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years* eds. Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam (New Haven: Yale UP, 2008), 854.

appropriates the canonical text to enhance his own literary creation. Simultaneously, by comparing Buxton's diminutive, yet ancient, spring to Bath's extensive ones—which Camden has compared to those built by Virgil himself—Browne highlights Buxton's classical heritage, echoing Camden's intention to 'to describe Britain as a province of the Roman empire' even as he (slightly absurdly) changes its scale to a national comparison.[67]

While traces of Camden's account appear in Browne's, Browne did not share Camden's purposes for travelling and writing. Hobbes' *De Mirabilibus Pecci,* however, draws nearer to Browne's mode of travelling. In August 1627, Hobbes embarked on a tour through the Peak District in the company of his employer, William Cavendish, and Dr Richard Andrews. Upon his return, he 'commemorated this trip in his poem of 539 hexameters, describing and praising the so-called "Seven Wonders of the Peak".'[68] Forming part of the 'minor genre of the journey poem,' this was a 'coterie poem, commemorating the relationships, interests and experiences of the Cavendish circle.'[69] Though largely in prose, Browne's relation likewise commemorates the relationships between the travellers and the experiences shared during their journey. Browne visited all seven of the seven wonders named in Hobbes' poem, highlighting his journey's affinity with—or inspiration in—Hobbes'. Luggin highlights that Browne followed Hobbes' route, but also that 'Edward's account

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[67] Gordon Joseph notes that 'during the Saxon and medieval period [Buxton] suffered ab eclipse as a spa': see S. Gordon Joseph, 'The Development of Two Spas—Buxton and Matlock,' *Official Architecture and Planning* 20, no. 5 (1957): 225; Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 23.

[68] Johanna Luggin, 'Thomas Hobbes' Journey Poem *De Mirabilibus Pecci* (1627): A Travel Guide for Early English Domestic Tourism,' in *Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern Travel Culture, 1550-1700,* eds. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Jan de Jong (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 264.

[69] McRae, *Domestic Travel,* 185. Jess Edwards, 'Thomas Hobbes, Charles Cotton and the "wonders" of the Derbyshire Peak,' *Studies in Travel Writing* 16, no. 1 (2012): 3.

never calls the attractions "wonders" and makes no references to Hobbes' poem.'[70]

However, while Luggin uses this to suggest that Hobbes' poem 'only became known to a wider audience and began to serve as a travel guide after the second print of 1666,' Edward Browne's reading list suggests otherwise.[71] At the bottom of the list of Latin readings is 'Hobbaei, de mirabilibus Pecci, Poema.'[72] This inclusion of Hobbes' poem among the other medical Latin texts proves that Browne had read it. While Browne's journey dates from August/September 1662, the reading list dates from November, suggesting that Browne read the poem *after* his trip. However, that is not to say that Browne wrote the relation before reading Hobbes' poem. While this dating suggests that Browne did not model his itinerary after Hobbes', it does show Browne engaging with contemporary travel literature of an entirely different style to Camden's. The fact that Browne's account incorporates elements of *both* styles highlights the hybrid nature of his text.[73] It is neither pure chorography nor sociable reminiscence, but combines earlier traditions to create something new.

Browne's account does incorporate chorographic elements, consistently noting records of tombs and their inscriptions. For instance, at Whitchurch, about twenty miles south of Chester, Browne notes that 'here lies the famous Lord Talbot slain at Bordeaux,' but offers no comment on a tomb or epitaph.[74] In this, he differs from Elias Ashmole and

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[70] Luggin, 'Hobbes' Journey Poem,' 280-281.

[71] Luggin, 'Hobbes' Journey Poem,' 281.

[72] Sloane MS 1833, f.2v.

[73] Browne's commonplace book includes an extract from Drayton's *Poly-Albion,* though the hand seems to be later than the Trinity period: Sloane MS 1865, f.159v. A letter from Thomas to Edward of June 1681 includes the same extract with an additional two lines: Sloane MS 1847, f. 67r. It is possible (though not certain) that Edward's commonplace note thus stems from Thomas's letter.

[74] Trinity Notebook, f.40v.

William Dugdale, who visited Talbot's tomb separately in 1663. Both note that 'there was no epitaph to go with the effigy of Talbot,' although they were both shown an epitaph to Talbot in a manuscript 'out of the old Church Register.'[75] Where Ashmole and Dugdale both actively sought out this information, Browne was satisfied with the immediate sight of the monument: he is not seeking, as antiquaries did, to record every detail of each location.

Talbot features elsewhere in Browne's relation, too; at Chesterfield, earlier in the relation about 90 miles from Whitchurch, Browne has begun to enter the note about Talbot's tomb but crossed it through. This reinforces the deliberate nature of this relation: confusing Chesterfield for Chester, Browne initially entered Talbot's death with his records from Chesterfield. This section of the relation, like that from Whitchurch, also incorporates Latin inscriptions from the church, adding to the possible confusion between the two places. This mistake, and the fact that the scrubbed sentence does not exactly match the final one, highlights that though the bare bones of the relation may have been drafted already, this version of the account is not a straight transcription. Whether the information on Talbot was gathered from Browne's original notes—perhaps taken alphabetically by city, permitting the confusion between Chester and Chesterfield—or whether he took it once more from Camden, we cannot be sure. Nonetheless, the reference to the 'famous' Talbot, without accompanying explanatory material, highlights that Browne's account is less interested than is Camden's and the other antiquaries' in textually recreating the sites he visits.

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[75] Lawrence Manley, 'Eagle and Hound: The "Epitaph" of Talbot and the Date of 1 "Henry VI",' *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 26 (2013): 144. Elias Ashmole, quoted in Manley, 'Eagle and Hound,' 144. This epitaph is believed to have originated in 1590 in Sheffield, and was supplemented by 'some rhetorical flourishes' which had appeared in 'Sir William Lucy's adaption of it in Henry VI.'

There is, sometimes, more specificity about architectural features: for instance, Browne notes that in Boston's church spire 'wee counted 336 staiers up to the top of the lanthorn.'[76] The precise report of the number of stairs suggests that Browne had recorded this information somewhere. What's more, it offers a visitor's perspective on the church. Rather than noting height, for instance, recording the steps expresses physical engagement with the tower rather than a distanced viewing. Throughout Browne's account, this engagement with the environment is emphasized. Browne's destinations rely on sociable and human encounters for their descriptive colour and purpose, and architectural and natural sights rely on human interaction to gain meaning: the steeple that the travellers climbed at Boston 'had been indeed our landmarke over most part of the washes,' and upon Lincoln heath 'wee had the sight of the Minster at Eleven miles distance.'[77] For these travellers, churches were not just architectural marvels, but guiding waymarks forward and reminders of locations passed: upon leaving Lincoln, '*th*e Minster would not bid [them] fare well so soone but for many miles riding... would again salute us with its goodly prospect.'[78] Indeed, the geographical prominence of a church or cathedral seems to be directly reflected in the writing of the relation: at Boston, Lincoln, and Ely (visible at 'eight and twenty miles distance')—where the surrounding land is so flat that these monuments are the primary visible landmarks—the relation records significantly more information about the cathedrals. Where a church is less prominent in the travellers' view, it is also less prominent in the relation. In this, we see again not just an account of individual places, but a reflection of the experience of travelling. Here as in Coryate's *Crudities,* the 'rhetoric of presence infuses

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[76] Trinity Notebook, f.58r.

[77] Trinity Notebook, f.58r and 57v.

[78] Trinity Notebook, f.56v.

[the] travel writing to produce a discourse of sight-seeing.'[79] Even the relation's itinerary denotes movement 'from' and 'to,' along with the distance travelled, such as 'from Boston to Lincoln–26,'[80] each location relying on its partner for its meaning. In a departure from Camden's *Britannia*, which actively divides Britain by region and thereby disassociates geographical knowledge from the motions of travel—which inevitably requires traversing county lines—Browne's account creates an uninterrupted voyage across the nation.

Natural and Experimental Philosophy

Browne takes another cue from Camden and other topographers in observing the mineralogical composition of the places he visits: Camden notes that Derbyshire is 'rich in lead, iron and coales, which it yeeldeth plentifully,' going on to cite Pliny in his observations of its mines.[81] Browne too visited the lead mines, but he departs from Camden in his report. He notes that he visited one 'about twenty fathoms deep,' adding that 'some are more some less,' and that 'the diameter of the hole through which they descend was not a yard. When they find oare they may ~~dig therin~~ follow it eleven or twelve yards and no more.' [82] In addition these factual records—whose specificity indicate their origin in a memorial note—Browne notes that 'wee tooke some peeces of the lead.'[83] This progression from distanced observation to personal interaction pushes Browne's relation into the realms of natural

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[79] Michelle O'Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006)*,* 8.

[80] Trinity Notebook, f.60r.

[81] Camden, *Britannia*, 553 and 556.

[82] Trinity Notebook, f.50r.

[83] Trinity Notebook, f.50r.

history, echoing 'the Baconian imperative to data-collecting,' and the refiguration of natural philosophy 'primarily as an activity of collection.'[84]

Browne also conducted 'experiments' along his travels. At Buxton, he observed that the hot and cold springs arise 'so nigh one another that with my hand into the water I conceaved one finger to freeze til the other could not indure the heat of the hot boyling spring just by it.'[85] In this, Browne engages with the methods of experimental philosophy, which derived facts 'from direct sensory observation': these methods, though Baconian in origin, were implemented and propounded by the Royal Society.[86] While the Society was still in its infancy in 1662, Browne's interest in natural philosophy was nascent even during his Trinity College days.[87] It is also possible that Browne was influenced by John Wilkins' attempt 'to stimulate an interest in the "new philosophy" within Trinity' during his time as master there in 1659-60, Browne's second year.[88] Browne's later acquaintance with John Ray (1627-1705), a lifelong friend of Wilkins' and tutor at Trinity during Browne's

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[84] Michael Hunter, 'Robert Boyle and the Early Royal Society: A reciprocal exchange in the making of Baconian science,' *British Journal for the History of Science* 40, no. 1 (2007): 4. Julie Robin Solomon, **'**'To Know, To Fly, To Conjure: Situating Baconian Science at the Juncture of Early Modern Modes of Reading,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (1991): 553. This episode is also strongly indicative of Browne's later engagements with the Royal Society, which we will come to in due course.

[85] Trinity Notebook, f.44v.

[86] Peter R. Antsey, 'Philosophy of Experiment in Early Modern England: The Case of Bacon, Boyle and Hooke,' *Early Science and Medicine* 19, no. 2 (2014): 107.

[87] The second page of the Trinity Notebook mentions 'Dr Croon' who nominated Browne to the Society. Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society of London,* vol. 2 (London, 1756), 227; Robert L. Martensen, 'Croone, William,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[88] Gascoigne, 'Barrow's academic milieu,' 274.

undergraduate years, points to Trinity as a likely source of Browne's interest in new natural history.[89]

Browne's relation also continually engages with local idioms and colloquialisms, and in this we might see the influence of Wilkins and Trinity's community. Upon entering Nottinghamshire, Browne notes that they had 'no sooner entred this countrey but wee tooke some notice of *th*e civility of *th*e people toward us,' and that some passers-by were 'very ready to instruct us in our way. One told us our *wy ligd by youn nooke of oakes* and another *tha*t *wee mun goe steit forth* which manner of speeches not only directed us but much pleas'd us with ^*th*e^ novelty of its dialect.'[90] Provoked by the border, this comment draws distinct county lines in manner as well as idiom, even as Browne himself crosses them. Alongside literal renditions of dialect, Browne's narrative incorporates local proverbs, such as: 'in spite of our teeth' (in multiple variations); 'when all is wet the skin hold out yet'; '*patience per force*'; and '*laterem lavare*' among others. These colloquialisms situate Browne and his narration in their landscape linguistically, rather than simply relying on descriptions to situate it physically. This attention to idiom presages Ray, who 'left behind a valuable account of local language habits.'[91] Wilkins' own interest in language is well-known.[92] While Browne's interest in language does not extend beyond his replication of the

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[89] A letter of January 1665 also records that Browne had 'read Doctor Wilkins Michanicall Powers': Early Copybook, f.37r.

[90] Trinity Notebook, f.56v.

[91] Ian P. Stevenson, 'John Ray and his Contributions to Plant and Animal Classification,' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 2, no. 2 (1947): 259.

[92] For Ray and Wilkins' sometimes competing theories of language, see Benjamin DeMott, 'Science versus Mnemonics: Notes on John Ray and on John Wilkins' Essay toward a Real Character, and a Philosophical Lanuage,' *Isis* 48, no. 1(1957): 3-12. See also Stephen Hequembourg, 'The Dream of a Literal World: Wilkins, Hobbes, Marvell,' *ELH* 81, no. 1 (2014): 83-113.

Nottinghamshire dialect, he was clearly surrounded at Trinity by key figures in the development of the Royal Society, experimental philosophy, and the creation of knowledge. Their influence, and by extension that of Browne's college is felt throughout Browne's relation.

Browne's choice of terminology too reflects his university, specifically medical, context. Travelling over the fens, for instance, Browne warns his reader that the way is 'somewhat dangerous... For some is a hard sand other a softer and some like a fine green meddowe whose grasse is nothing but ~~Samphire~~ ^Glasswort^.'[93] While the term 'samphire' was commonly used in cookery books and other domestic manuals, 'glasswort,' appears in relatively few books, all of which are medical.[94] It also appears in Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* as a curative. Substituting it for the domestic 'samphire' points towards an intent to highlight erudition. Similarly, in Nottinghamshire Browne comments on a 'veine of Talkum,' another specialist word which appears particularly commonly in herbals.[95] While extending his topographical investigations, these references also indicate his interest in medicine.[96] Appealing particularly to his status as a medical student, and once more demonstrating his interest in natural history, these word choices suggest that the relation is neither traditional chorography or sociable journey text, but the hybrid work of a student investigating the medical and natural sciences.

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[93] Trinity Notebook, f.58v.

[94] For instance, Felix Platter's *Practice of Physick* (1664) and the Royal College of Physicians' *Pharmacopoeia Londinenisis* (1653).

[95] Trinity Notebook, f.56v. Spelt with a k, I have only found 'talkum' in Jean de Renou's *Medical Dispensatory* (1657). Spelt with a c, it also appears in Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*.

[96] One part of Browne's medical thesis is also drafted in the Trinity Notebook.

Narrating the Travels: Browne's Classical Allusions

While Browne's relations of natural phenomena are frequently plain and observational, this is not always the case.[97] Browne's descriptions three of the 'wonders of the Peak' all begin reasonably objectively: Mam Tor is described as 'perpendicularly steep'; the well, 'about three or four miles distance from hence... ebbs and flows not constantly with the sea but oftener by far'; and '^2 miles distance from hence^ was Elden hole a pit such vast depth that *th*e greatest ingines and the boldest felows that could found to goe down could never find any bottome. Divers have descended 8 score fathom and have neither found water nor can perceive any bottom.'[98] While these are hardly extensive descriptions, the inclusion of distances—and particularly the added note about Elden Hole being '2 miles distance' at a later stage of drafting—and the depths contribute to the notion that this relation is, partly, a response to the new natural history and its precepts.

However, this plain style fades when Browne reports another of his own 'experiments,' relating that he and his companion threw some stones into Elden Hole, which 'struck some terrour' in them for the time the stones took to reach the bottom.[99] Browne goes on to postulate that 'anything once thrown in is as safe as if it were in the moon.'[100] While this observation stems from personal experience, metaphorical flourishes certainly

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[97] Sprat describes how those who write for the Royal Society 'return to the primitive purity and shortness, when men delivered so many *things* in an equal number of words': Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society* (London, 1667), 114. Turner notes that 'Both the Puritan and the scientist claim to propagate their discoveries in the plainest language' and that their shared 'need for 'conviction' and the rejection of tainted, second-hand authority are similar': James Grantham Turner, 'From Revolution to Restoration in English Literary Culture,' in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature* eds. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 826.

[98] Trinity Notebook, f.46r.

[99] Trinity Notebook, f.46r.

[100] Trinity Notebook, f.46r.

were not advocated by the new experimental philosophers.[101] Piling the metaphor of the

moon atop his personal terror atop the record of the extensive depth of Elden Hole, Browne

creates a cacophonous effect, actively sending his reader deeper into the hole. He does not

stop there: next, he tells the story, presumably gleaned from local sources, that 'one

wretched villain... rob'd a gentleman and threw him ~~in streight~~ ^together^ with his

horse.'[102] Finally, just in case the reader still underestimates the horror of Elden Hole,

Browne adds that 'Empedocles might have made [him] selfe immortal here without fear of

the discovery of his slippers,' incorporating a direct reference to a figure of antiquity.[103]

Moving from the quantitative explanation of the minimum depth of Elden Hole, to

experiment, to emotion, to metaphor, to local history, and finally to antiquity, Browne's

description leads his reader steadily further away from its physical site in Derbyshire. In this

way, the 'scientific' reporting exists not in opposition to but on a continuum with a

mythological, rhetorical narrative. While Preston suggests that scientific writing often had

an 'uneasy relation to rhetorical tropes, narrative structures, and figurative language,'

Browne's discourse actively unites them.[104] Furthermore, this episode continues Browne's

efforts to unite the contemporary national scene with the classical and mythological. In

Laertius' *Lives,* we hear that Empedocles intended to 'confirm the report that he had

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[101] Zimbardo highlights that 'John Ray banned all use of metaphor from the writing of naturalists': Rose A. Zimbardo, *At Zero Point: Discourse, Culture, and Satire in Restoration England* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 9. For 'virtual witnessing,' see Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), especially chapter 2.

[102] Trinity Notebook, f.46r.

[103] Trinity Notebook, f.46r.

[104] Claire Preston, 'English Scientific Prose: Bacon, Browne, Boyle,' in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640,* ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 270.

become a God' by destroying all trace of himself and throwing himself into the crater of Mount Etna. Unfortunately, 'one of his slippers was thrown up in the flames' to land on the lip of the volcano, thereby giving away his deceit.[105] Browne's reference to this story likens Elden Hole to Mount Etna, though Elden is made both deeper and more destructive. His reference to the moon, too, may stem from stories of Empedocles; in Lucian's *Dialogues*, Icaromenippus meets Empedocles on the moon, where he hears that 'when I threw myself head-first into the create, the smoke snatched me out of Aetna and brought me up here, and now I dwell in the moon.'[106] Perhaps Browne envisages the stones thrown into Elden Hole were spat back out to the safety of the moon, where they joined Empedocles.

Just as quickly as Browne delves into this playful mode of writing, he jumps back out, noting that 'the youning [opening] of the mountain is not past six yard broad but four times as long': the reader is brought back from his journey to the moon with a certain jarring jolt.[107] In this, we might also hear echoes of the 'inconsistent attitudes and tonal registers' of Lucian, whose Menippean satire 'stressed [satire's] ludic or playful capacities by mixing serious points with the absurd.'[108] Browne similarly juxtaposes playful metaphors with quantifiable measurements of natural phenomena, once more advertising that his narrative is a literary construct, which combines profit and delight to provide useful information on the places he visits.

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[105] Diogenes Laertius, 'Empedocles,' *Lives of Eminent Philosophers,* trans. R.D. Hicks, vol. II (London: William Heinemann, 1925), 383-385.

[106] Lucian, 'Icaromenippus, or the Sky-Man,' in *Lucian,* trans. A. M. Harmon, vol. II (London: William Heinemann, 1919), 291.

[107] Trinity Notebook, f. 45v.

[108] Dermot Cavanagh, 'Modes of Satire' in The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 384.

This gentle Menippean satire is present throughout the relation, and is largely imported via the journey narrative that binds the static observations together. For instance, threaded throughout the narrative is the story of an unnamed acquaintance. When the travellers first meet the man at Chesterfield, Browne describes how 'one of our companions came no better arm'd again[st] the weather then with an open'd sleev'd doublet.'[109] Not content to note that he was sodden by the rain, Browne adds that

> the spouting of his doublet sleeves did so resemble him to a whale
>
> that wee that could think our selfe no other then fishes at that time
>
> swimming through that ocean of water that fell dare never come
>
> nigh him.[110]

Browne's metaphor again highlights his role as story-teller, and transfigures the companion into a whale and himself into a fish, an image made all the more appropriate by the fact that 'wee were pretty well sous'd our selves.'[111] This same friend had the misfortune to get left behind during a difficult ride over the moors, but Browne did not forget him: indeed, at his inn in Bakewell the following night he dreamt that his friend had returned, and took this dream as 'a good omen of my finding of him that day.'[112] Sure enough (and perhaps in an indication of Browne's own medical thesis which demonstrates the utility of dreams) the friend reappeared the next day. At breakfast—where for the sound of 'an excellent

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[109] Trinity Notebook, f.56r.

[110] Trinity Notebook, f.56r.

[111] Trinity Notebook, f.56v. The phrase 'pretty well soused' appears in Lucian's 'Icaromenippus' which Browne seems to have been familiar with. However, given that this is not a contemporary translation and that the edition of the *Dialogues* in the Browne library was not in translation we cannot credit Browne's use of this phrase to his reading of Lucian with any certainty.

[112] Trinity Notebook, f.51r.

bagpiper... our meat danced down our throats the merrylier'—the 'open-sleev'd companion' arrived at their inn, 'as if hee had dropt out of the clouds and made up the triumvirat again.'[113] Here too we see echoes of 'Icaromenippus,' in which Menippus, describing a journey to Olympus, berates his friend for thinking that he was reporting a dream. Menippus's reeling friend disbelievingly asks if it truly is Menippus 'dropt from the clouds?'[114] As Menippus's friend discovers that that what he had initially perceived as a dream was reality, Browne finds that his dream has become truth, both returning figures truly having 'dropt from the clouds.'[115] Back in Bakewell, the returned friend declines to continue his adventure with Browne, being 'loth to be so ^often^ metamorphos'd as hee was the day before by the weather.'[116] Instead, he purchased his host's coat and 'turn'd himself into his shape once and for all.'[117] The friend, having been a whale, a dream, and a Menippus, finally assumes his true shape. It is perhaps no wonder that Browne—just before reuniting with his companion—confirms his preoccupation with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; noting the imperviousness of the Yorkshiremen to the rain, Browne notes that 'If

    had been of Darbishire I should never have doubted the truth of Ovids story that wee were all produc'd of stones.'[118] This direct reference to *Metamorphosis* provides another example of Browne's intentional incorporation of classical myth into his own work.

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[113] Trinity Notebook, f.50v. One might suspect Browne of sarcasm, given that 'especial hatred was reserved for bagpipes' in the seventeenth century: Emily Cockayne, 'Cacophony, or vile scrapers on vile instruments: bad music in early modern English towns,' *Urban History* 27, no. 1 (2002): 38.

[114] Lucian, 'Icaromenippus,' 271.

[115] Browne himself reuses this phrase in his *Travels* in a description of the hills between Servia and Macedonia secured by Philip, king of Macedon, who perceived that 'from thence no Enemies could come at him, except they dopped out of the Clouds': Browne, *Brief account*, 31.

[116] Trinity Notebook, f.50v.

[117] Trinity Notebook, f.50v.

[118] Trinity Notebook, f.51v-r.

The deliberate space left between 'if' and 'had' also highlights the unfinished nature of this relation: this gap was left for completion at a later date, though with what it was intended to be filled is unclear.[119]

This heroism and trials of the companion are applied to Browne himself too. While crossing a stream on horseback, he has the choice of riding over a narrow bridge or wading through the water. Having 'heard that elephants had danc'd upon ropes,' tales narrated in Pliny's *Histories* and Suetonius's 'Life of Galba,' Browne 'ventur'd' the former, specifically drawing attention to his adventurous and perhaps risky decision.[120] More dramatically, upon reaching Maxfield after the ride over the moors, Browne displays gratitude, remembering that when 'wee had *tandem aliquando* overcame these dangerous passages with Einaeas in Virgill or rather with ^Heroical^ Tom Coriat as hee travailed over the Savoii an mount-tains *tandem et haec olim miminesse iuvabit*.'[121] Here, Browne's classicism appears via Coryate, who himself, 'when [he] had *tandem aliquando* gotten up to the toppe... said to [himself] with Aeneas in Virgil: *"Forsan & haec olim meminisse iuuabit* [And a joy it will be one day, perhaps, to remember even this]".'[122] Not only does Browne thus place himself in a literary tradition with Virgil, but with Coryate too. The contrast between Coryate and Aeneas is clear: as McRae points out, Coryate's expansive prefaces frame his journey 'as altogether pedestrian, and therefore a matter of comedy rather than

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[119] Simon Wilkin's edition adds an 'I' in this space, without precedent. The original space is undoubtedly reserved for a far longer word than that. Wilkin, *Works,* 1.30.

[120] Trinity Notebook, f.50r; Pliny, 'Book 8,' *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, Volume 3 (London: William Heinemann, 1940), 5; Suetonius, 'Book 7: Galba, Otho and Vitellius,' *The Lives of the Caesars,* trans J.C. Rolfe, vol. 2 (London: William Heineman, 1914), 199.

[121] Trinity Notebook, f.42v-r.

[122] Coryate, *Coryats Crudities,* 70. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. Robert Fagles (New York: Viking Penguin, 2006), 54.

heroism.'[123] This effect is furthered by Browne's use of 'tandem' ('finally') in place of Coryate's 'forsan' ('perhaps'), amending Coryate's conditional statement to a definite one: even Coryate was tentative about the value or purpose of his journey. Browne, on the other hand, is satirically self-assured in his journey's ongoing value.

In this instance, simultaneously serious and satirical, Browne's minor peak in Derbyshire becomes Coryate's Alps, becomes the horrifying tempest endured by Virgil's Aeneas, transposing Browne's rather more commonplace journey onto the epic voyage of Aeneas. The fact that Browne chooses to access Virgil through Coryate, rather than reaching directly to the source, further mocks his own achievement. This explicit reference establishes a chain of descent established from the true heroics of Aeneas, to the escapades of Coryate, and finally to the domestic tour of Browne: he actively adopts this hyperbolic heroic persona to mock his own 'perils.' Nonetheless, even the minor dangers of Browne's road offer a further point of sympathy with Empedocles, whose philosophy was 'grounded upon the oppositional yet complementary forces of love and strife.'[124] Just as Browne and his companion were able to 'entertain one another with some discourse of our that days journey' after passing over the novel but relatively safe realms of the fens, this joint experience of difficulty, exacerbated by the unusual terrain of Derbyshire, supports the creation and affirmation of sociable bonds.[125] Whether the 'dangers' are of the same magnitude as those faced by Aeneas, or whether they are the commonplace dangers of the domestic traveller, the strife of the road functions in the same way, even as these mild dangers simultaneously become the mock-heroic objects.

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[123] McRae, *Domestic Travel*, 188.

[124] Jessica Wolfe, 'The Mythography of Strife*,' Renaissance Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (2005): 1263.

[125] Trinity Notebook, f.58v.

The Knight Errant: Browne's Contemporary Allusions

As Browne plays both the natural philosopher and the classical hero, he also forges himself a role as mock-heroic knight errant, in the mode of a Don Quixote whose escapades, though in reality minor windmills, are elevated to the status of giants. The rhetoric of knighthood pervades the entire narration, and is heightened at moments of potential danger. Upon leaving Chesterfield, Browne persuades a group of locals to lead him and his companions over the moors. This group had paused at Chesterfield 'to take a strengthening cup' to prepare them for their journey over 'this strange mountainous misty, morish, rocky, wild country.' [126] Initially, they took a 'distaste' to the 'swords and pistols with which wee rid,' but they were won around by Browne's endeavours 'and so wee most couragiously set forward again.'[127] These guides, however, rode at a 'furious speed,' dispersing the group until the leader was brushed off his horse by a low-hanging branch. His horse abandoning him, several of the Yorkshiremen 'went to get his ~~hors~~ courser,' and eventually helped 'this dismounted knight to recover his saddle again.'[128] The emphatic use of chivalric terms here, reinforced by Browne's rejection of the word 'horse' for 'courser,' emphasize that this is intended to be a tale of chivalry and knighthood, if somewhat self-consciously overblown. Accordingly, when the 'open-sleev'd companion' fell behind, Browne makes a demonstrative show of his unwillingness to lose him, 'hopping and ballowing out to [his] lost friend' but eventually turning back for fear of falling prey to the same fate.[129] While Browne's initial chivalric attempt to rescue his friend stands in contrast to his companions'

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[126] Trinity Notebook, f.56v.

[127] Trinity Notebook, f.56v-r.

[128] Trinity Notebook, f.55v.

[129] Trinity Notebook, f.54v.

negligence, he ultimately gives up the cause. Nonetheless, a day or two later Browne

describes himself and his companions as 'couragiously mounted,' being '~~palliati~~ ^tunicati^ et

ocreati'; once more we see the chivalric trope of the knight prepared for his quest, though

instead of cloaked ('palliati') the travellers are dressed in tunics and greaves, a kind of

armour which protects the lower half of the leg. The grandiloquent Latinate word choices

here—'tunicati' produces in 13 hits when searched as a keyword on *Early English Books*

Online (EEBO), and 'ocreati' only five—alongside the downgrade from cloak to tunic,

suggests that Browne is acutely aware of the game he is playing. [130] Browne's portrayal of

knighthood is a caricature, gently mocking chivalry. At the end of his journey Browne

presents himself explicitly as a 'knight errant,' but he also admits to his 'rambling folly,'

gesturing towards knighthood as folly.[131] Furthermore, he berates himself for believing any

county could match Norfolk, but nonetheless declares himself ready to be a 'vagabond once

more': once the journey has ended, his knightly status became only that of a vagabond.[132]

Browne's relation thus inhabits the realm of mock-heroic, which 'gathers its characters and

events and objects quite overtly into a story-world, constructed from the conventions of

epic; yet, from another perspective, what it gathers also remains obstinately ordinary, or

rather, the commonness of the world being worked reasserts itself within the

transformation.'[133] Browne self-consciously announces his grounding in epic and chivalric

traditions, while also providing the Menippean juxtaposition of high and low styles and

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[130] It is possible that 'ocreati' is a play on *Don Quixote,* whose name takes as its etymology the Spanish

'quijote,' the thigh-piece of a suit of armour. 'Quixote, n. and adj.,' *OED Online*, March 2020. The Brownes

owned a copy of Gayton's commentary on *Don Quixote,* and Browne elsewhere refers to Quixote: see below.

[131] Trinity Notebook, f.37v and 37r.

[132] Trinity Notebook, f.36v.

[133] Michael Edwards, 'A Meaning for Mock-Heroic,' *The Yearbook of English Studies* 15 (1985): 63.

laughing at his own hyperbole. This is not a biting condemnation of chivalry like Samuel

Butler's *Hudibras* (1663)*,* but playful satire which acknowledges that 'everyone enters a

story, and enacting your role in the story creates your reality': for Browne, narrating the

story necessitates playing a role, of which the knight errant is a single facet.[134]

The Civil Traveller: Sociable and religious 'toleration'

While other Restoration texts pugnaciously attack the ideals of chivalry, Browne only does

so teasingly.[135] This forms one part of his self-presentation as, above all, civil. He is sure,

throughout his travels, to make the pictures of those he encounters seem unbiased,

although in this lack of bias we might read his own political and social ideologies. We have

already seen him recommend the people of Nottinghamshire as highly civil. On the first day,

Browne comments on 'the civility of our friends'; the group of Yorkshiremen men who

Browne met at Chesterfield, though initially inclined 'to their countries natural rudeness' by

reason of alcohol, became 'so civil' that Browne notes their civility three times; at Bakewell

the 'host was very civill'; and, retreating from Poole's Cavern, Browne notes the 'odde kinde

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[134] Anna J. Nardo, 'John Phillips, John Milton, *Don Quixote,* and the Disenchantment of Romance,' *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journals* 47, no. 2 (2014): 181.

[135] Edmund Gayton's commentary on *Don Quixote,* for instance, 'transforms the hero into a "sly coward", "an unabashed liar", "a vagabond", "a hypocritical thief", a "slif fox", or a "meanly-mouthed courtier," to use the words quoted from the text by one of the best-known experts on the English reception of *Don Quixote*, Edwin Knowles': Pedro Javier Pardo, 'From Hispanophobia to Quixotephilia: The Politics of Quixotism in the British Long Eighteenth Century,' in *Literary Hispanophobia and Hispanophilia and Britain and the Low Countries (1550-1850)*, ed. Yolanda Rodriguez Perez (Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 2020), 10.

of civility' of the maidens who offer him water with which to clean his hands.[136] Even when

the civility is 'odd' it emerges as a key descriptor. In turn, this civility reflects on himself.[137]

Browne's own civility becomes particularly clear at Bakewell, where he falls into

conversation with a Derbyshire companion, Rev. John Rowlandson, Vicar of Bakewell.[138]

Noting with surprise that Rowlandson 'had been at an University which I perceived was a

worke of Superarrogation amongst their divines,' Browne assents to the local opinion that

Rowlandson was 'the Oracle of that country.'[139] Browne goes on to relate how 'the day

before [Rowlandson] had most manfully led up a train of above twenty Parsons, and though

they thought themselves to bee great Presbiterians yet they followed ^him^ in the

subscription at Chesterfield and kept themselves in their livings in despite of their teeth.'[140]

While Browne neglects to explicitly accuse or attack the Presbyterians, his tacit judgement

of their self-serving fickleness is evident through hyperbole. At Buxton Browne notes that

they 'had *th*e luck to meet with a Sermon which wee could not have done in halfe a year

before,' reinforcing his own religious conformity in contrast to the Northern dissenters.'[141]

Immediately thereafter, he reports that 'I think there is a true chappell of ease ^indeed^

here, for they hardly ever goe to church.'[142] Again, he juxtaposes his own orthodoxy with

the lack of religious adherence shown by the locals, without explicitly accusing them of

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[136] Trinity Notebook, f.59r; f.56r; f.54r; f.53r; f.52v; f.43v.

[137] For a discussion of the changing nature of 'civility' in early modern England, see Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to civility: changing codes of conduct in early modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

[138] Caposti, 'Commonplace Book,' 75.

[139] Trinity Notebook, f.52r.

[140] Trinity Notebook, f.51v.

[141] Trinity Notebook, f.45v. Ironically, Browne confesses that it was luck rather than planning that led them to the sermon.

[142] Trinity Notebook, f.45r.

dissenting. Despite his clear derision of the faithlessness of these various people, he specifically avoids accusation of lying, 'one of the most dishonorable charges that could be made against a nobleman.'[143]

Browne enacts this civility in other ways too. Although most monuments at Lichfield were 'either defaced or quite ruin'd,' the travellers nonetheless 'exceedingly admire[d]' the relics '*Curios Iam dimidios, nasumq[ue] minorem /corvini et Galbam auriculis nasoq[ue] carentem* [Curii now in halves, a Corvinus minus his shoulders, and a Galba missing his ear and nose].'[144] Browne here inverts Juvenal's comment upon the vanity of monuments to highlight that, even disfigured, the monument still evokes admiration, though as elsewhere in this relation it is undercut by a satiric tone. Browne's overt expression of admiration, even if hyperbolic, highlights the failure of the iconoclasts to disrupt the inherent purpose of the monument. In recognizing destruction and appreciating what remains regardless, Browne tacitly mocks the iconoclastic mission as senseless. This understated condemnation of iconoclasm returns at Lincoln cathedral, where Browne notes that there were once '4 or five fine pictures but ~~taken~~ ^broken^ down in the late troubles... but with small dexter*ity* and by as bad a handicraft for besides *th*e ^quite^ ruining of *th*e pictures hee lost his right fist in *th*e action.'[145] Lampooning the iconoclast's ineptitude, Browne establishes himself as almost

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[143] Linda A. Pollock, 'Honor, Gender, and Reconciliation in Elite Culture, 1570-1700,' *Journal of British Studies* 46, no. 1 (2007): 10.

[144] Trinity Notebook, f.39v. This quotation is a variation of Juvenal's Satire 8, which the Brownes owned in several editions. This translation is taken from the Loeb Classical Library edition of the satires. See E. Courtney, 'The Interpolations in Juvenal,' *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 22 (1975): 151 for more about the variations of this line.

[145] Trinity Notebook, f.57r.

pitying the iconoclast.[146] Rather than commenting on the 'late troubles' overtly, he simply

allows the iconoclast's idiocy to speak for him. Once more he avoids direct accusations,

offering only his observation on the desecrated paintings and a story he has received.

Browne's quiet ridicule manifests itself again at Warwick, where the statue of Sir Guy

of Warwick 'hath been abas'd by some valiant knight of the post.'[147] Transferring the veil of

'knight' from himself to the mistaken iconoclast who attacked a fabled knight, Browne once

more brings into question the value of knighthood. This assailant, though, did not eradicate

the statue entirely, leading Browne to comment that 's*uch* Don Quixot Hectour[ing] wee

have had lately *tha*t I wonder how their ^prowesse^ suffered a windmill to standing in the

land.'[148] Here, Browne turns the fanatic iconoclast who mistook the the legendary Guy for a

religious figure into the foolish Quixote, a bumbling wannabe knight who famously mistook

windmills for giants, thereby making the iconoclast the butt of the joke. He is less than

abhorred; he is simply a tale for the amusement of passers-by.

Parodying Satire: Browne's Journey Poem

Browne's disinclination to enthusiastically condemn religious, political, or ideological

stances makes one section of his relation particularly conspicuous. Upon visiting the Devil's

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[146] This echoes his father's attitude towards believers of other religious denominations; in *Religio Medici*, Sir Thomas asks 'who can but pity the merciful intention of those hands that do destroy themselves?': Keynes, *Works,* 1.49.

[147] Trinity Notebook, f.39r.

[148] Trinity Notebook, f.39r. Browne's reference to *Don Quixote* may stem from any number of sources: the Brownes owned Edmund Gayton's partisan 1652 commentary on *Don Quixote*; Quixote appears widely on the early modern stage; and he serves as the basis for several mock-heroic satires, most notably Butler's *Hudibras*. See Dale B.J. Randall and Jackson C. Boswell, eds., *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The Tapestry Turned* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009) for an excellent bibliography of early-modern texts which refer to Cervantes's works.

Arse, Browne offers a short description and a long poem which are entirely at odds with the rest of the relation.[149] Wilkin omitted this poem from his edition of the relation, and it has therefore been overlooked by many consequent readers. However, it forms a central part of the narration, departing emphatically in form and tone from the remainder of the account. Browne himself announces this departure: immediately following the empirical observations of Bradwell's mines, the travellers

> lead our horses doune a steep ^mountaine^ to Castleton where so
> called from the castle situated upon the left buttock of the Peak hill.
> As soon as wee were got to the town wee prepar'd our selves to see
> ~~the~~ this place so much talk'd of called (save your presence) the divills
> arse, which in my judgement is no unfit appellation considering the
> ^its^ figure for this horrid vast rock whose picture I could wish were
> here inserted but for want of it you must bee content with this
> barren description.[150]

After a rare line break on the page, Browne launches into a grotesque description of Peak Cavern, drawing on his arson of medical vocabulary to create a nauseating journey into the Devil's Arse. Browne's warning of the 'barren description' to follow, together with the *mise-en-page*, announces that a deliberate change of tone is about to take place. McRae notes that when Browne begins this description, 'the category of wonder collapses... undermined

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[149] See Appendix 3 for a transcription of the poem and introductory prose.

[150] Trinity Notebook, f.49v

by strains of burlesque, familiar from the journey poems.'[151] McRae, working from Wilkin's edition and therefore not having seen the poem which follows, may not realise how accurate his assessment of Browne's burlesque is: the poem explicitly shows Browne revelling in its satirical nature. However, the fact that McRae identified burlesque from this 'barren description' alone confirms the extent to which the tone of Browne's relation changes.

The tradition of the Devil's Arse was well-established by the time Browne visited. Camden notes that Peak's Cavern is more commonly 'called, saving your reverence, the Devil's Arse.'[152] Hobbes describes how 'now we're come (I blushing must rehearse)/ As most does stile it to the *Devil's Arse*.'[153] Browne mimics both in his own description of '(save your presence) the divills arse.'[154] Ben Jonson's Pug Divell in *The Devil is an Ass* declares himself from 'about the *Peake* or *Divells* arse.'[155] Jonson's 'Masque of the Gypsies' similarly refers to the cavern, suggesting that its name came from the tale that one Cock-Laurel invited the Devil to a feast in Derbyshire.[156] Following an array of courses including 'a Puritan poacht,' 'sixe pickl'd Taylors,' and 'a rich fat Usurer stew'd in his marrow,' the Devil

from the table he gave a start,

Where banquet, and wine were nothing scarce;

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[151] McRae, *Domestic Travel,* 198.

[152] Camden, *Britannia*, 557.

[153] Thomas Hobbes, *De Mirabilibus Pecci* (London, 1637), 30.

[154] Trinity Notebook, f.49v.

[155] Hobbes, *De Mirabilibus Pecci*, 30; Ben Jonson, *The Divell is an Asse a comedie acted in the yeare 1616, by His Majesties servants* (London: 1641).

[156] Ben Jonson, 'The Masque of the Gypsies,' in *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Art of poetry Englished by Ben: Jonson. With other works of the Author never printed before* (London, 1640), 83.

> All which he flirted away with a fart,

> From whence it was called the Devills Arse.[157]

Browne's account postulates that 'the Monster having drunke hard the day before did vent as fast now,' gesturing to this tradition of gluttonous excess.[158] Furthermore, before Jonson's grotesque feast Puppy inquires 'what sort of order of Gipsies' he might trust, to which Patrico answers: 'A Divells Arse a Peakian,' placing the gypsies at Peak's Cavern.[159] Browne, upon emerging from the cave and encountering some locals, 'ask'd whether they were gypsies.'[160] Further coincidences with Jonson in the poem that follows suggest that Jonson was one of Browne's models for this episode. For instance, Browne compares the locals' habitations to that of the Egyptians, noting that 'if their Nile overflows not its bankes too high [the locals] can suffer no inconvenience at all,' though they 'sometimes *suffer* inundations.'[161] The appearance of the Nile might seem irrelevant in an account of Derbyshire, yet Jonson's 'Masque of the Gypsies' also posits that 'th' *Aegyptians* throng in clusters' from the Devil's Arse.[162] Furthermore, Greaves's *Pyramidographia* (1646), a text also listed on Browne's 1662 reading list alongside Biddulph's *Travels* and Blount's *Voyage*, may well have provided him with the additional material about the Nile, describing how the

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[157] Jonson, 'Masque of the Gyspies,' 87.

[158] Trinity Notebook, f.49v.

[159] Jonson, 'Masque of the Gyspies,' 82.

[160] Trinity Notebook, f.49v. Browne had access to the 1640 edition of Jonson's works in which the 'Masque' appears.

[161] Trinity Notebook, f.49r-48v.

[162] Jonson, 'Masque of the Gypsies,' 50.

Israelites were forced to 'raise walls, and cast up bankes, whereby to hinder the inundation of the stream [the Nile].'[163]

Browne also draws on his medical training in this description, wondering whether the locals 'were onely *Ascarides* which did wrigle up and downe and live in the devils posterrie answerably to wormes in men.'[164] Upon entering the cave, he notes that he and his companions 'travailed some space up the *Intestinum rectum* and had made further discovery of the intralls had the way been good.'[165] Whereas the narrative preceding the 'barren description' simply refers to the site as 'Peak Hill,' this section delights in grotesque wordplay, while explicitly showing (and perhaps abusing) the author's medical training. Browne repurposes his medical and geographic learning—taken from serious sources and interactions—to humorously magnify and ridicule the unearthly reputation of Peak Cavern.

Not content to leave his assessment of the Devil's Arse at the prose description, Browne shoehorns a 96-line poem into his account. The poet begins by discussing the etymology of the 'Devil's Arse,' correcting an unseen assailant who does not believe that the Devil truly lives in Peak Cavern. The first half of the poem concludes that 'this is the rump,' but 'from that very word doth start/ another doubt...'[166] Taking the word play as a point of departure, the poem's latter half proceeds to attack the 1659 Rump Parliament, attesting that the Devil could not possibly be in Derbyshire because he was, in fact, at Westminster. Beyond the linguistic play, the two halves of the poem remain almost entirely independent

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[163] John Greaves, *Pyramidographia, or, A description of the pyramids in Aegypt* (London, 1646), 1.

[164] Trinity Notebook, f.49r.

[165] Trinity Notebook, f.49v.

[166] Trinity Notebook, f.47v.

of one another, and the effect on the poem's narrative is somewhat baffling. This, in part, seems to be the point.

Written in Hudibrastics, the 'comic four-beat couplet' mastered by Butler, the most obvious point of reference for this poem is Butler's *Hudibras* which, sure enough, appears on Browne's 1662 reading list.[167] Hudibrastics 'have a harsh satirical bent, and employ outlandish rhymes and general abuse of metrical norms… in iambic tetrameter couplets,' and Browne copies the form exactly, with the exception of a few moments where his rhythm or rhyme is faulty.[168] At one moment, Browne even inserts a line in order to conform to this pattern. This poem, like the rest of the relation, is certainly not a first draft, though it is also not 'finished,' bearing extensive editorial marks. Whether this particular line was simply missed off in copying the poem from an earlier manuscript, or Browne corrected the faulty meter upon re-reading, it is clear that this was not an unimportant toy within the narrative, but received as much care as the remainder of the relation. Despite the care taken over it, it is bad poetry. This may be partly intentional: part-way through *Hudibras*, Butler remembers that he should have invoked the poetic muse. The muse he selects is the same muse who 'Didst inspire *Withers, Pryn,* and *Vickars,* / And force them, though it were in spight / Of nature, and their stars, to write.'[169] This muse has the capacity to 'make men scribble without skill.'[170] It is possible that Browne has taken up Butler's

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[167] Turner, 'Revolution to Restoration,' 804. An addition in a different ink that he had read '1&2 parts' suggests that at first, and probably by the time he wrote this poem, he had only encountered the first part of *Hudibras* which appeared in late 1662.

[168] David J. Rothman, '"Hudibras" in the Doggerel Tradition,' *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 17, no. 1 (1993): 16.

[169] Samuel Butler, *Hudibras: Part 1* (London, 1662), 24.

[170] Butler, *Hudibras*, 24.

appeal to the muse of bad poets and acts the bad poet himself. Both Butler's and Browne's

work follow Menippean satire in their 'heterovoiced, voluble cynicism and scatology,' and

lead a reader into 'exasperation at the poem's verbosity, or disgust with its obscenity, or

confusion at its multifariousness.'[171]

Other specific word choices echo Butler, such as Browne's reference to 'a countrey

bumkin,' who evokes Butler's 'valiant bumkin.'[172] However, this word is hardly exclusive to

Butler: it appears multiple times throughout *Don Quixote* (first translated to English in

1612), John Donne's *Satyr* (1662), Francis Kirkman's *Wits, or Sport upon Sport* (1662), and

John Mennes' *Wit Restor'd* (1658), but rarely outside of collections of wit.[173] Browne's

reading of this kind of collection is also evident in his reference to the muses ascending

'Pernassus' Biceps,' the name of Abraham Wright's collection.[174] Other phrases such as 'scot

and lot' appear repeatedly in Kirkman's *Wits* as well as in Dudley North's *Forest,* part of

which is transcribed elsewhere in the Trinity Notebook.[175]

The second half of Browne's poem enmeshes itself even more firmly within satirical

culture in its commentary upon the Rump Parliament, the other key target of Browne's

meandering attack. Browne's familiarity with the Restoration satirical tradition is clear.

Though the Rump Parliament appears in *Hudibras,* this is not until the third part, published

well after Browne's c. 1662 text. Browne would, however, have been acquainted with other

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[171] Rothman, 'Doggerel Tradition,' 23. David J. Rothman, 'Hudibras and Menippean Satire,' *The Eighteenth Century* 34, no. 1 (1993): 24.

[172] Trinity Notebook, f.48v. Butler, *Hudibras*, 16.

[173] This is, obviously, not John Donne of St Paul's.

[174] Trinity Notebook, f.47r. Abraham Wright, *Parnassus Biceps, Severall choice pieces of poetry, composed by the best wits that were in both the universities before their dissolution* (London, 1656).

[175] Dudley North, *A Forest of Varieties* (London, 1645). Browne transcribes 'the reason of a Gentlewomans wearing small blacke patches' on folio 7r of his notebook, a variant of a verse in North's *Forest,* 75.

examples of rump satire. Browne's playlists record seeing the 'Rump,' referring to John

Tatham's *Rump, or, The mirrour of the late times a new comedy.*[176] Alexander Brome's *The*

Rump, or Collection of Songs and Ballades, includes one poem entitled 'The Devil's Arse A

Peake' which shares Browne's comparison of the Rump Parliamentarians to 'Ars-worms.' [177]

Another broadside, also from Brome, contains 21 quatrains on the Rump Parliament,

including one verse that, like Browne's poem, compares Rump Parliament to Peak's Cavern:

> But what doth Rebel Rump make here
>
> When their proper place (as Will. Pryn doth swear)
>
> Is at the Devils arse in Derbyshire:
>
> Which &c.[178]

Mark Jenner demonstrates the prominence of Rump poetry in 1659 and 1660, highlighting

that 'above all the term was a *pun*; much of its political and satiric effectiveness came from

its capacity for ambiguity, its ability to transmigrate from one image to another, and

simultaneously to ridicule many aspects of the Republicans and Parliamentarians.'[179] This

use of the rump as a pun is precisely what Browne engages with: by 1662, the Rump

Parliament would have been a slightly outdated satirical target, but Browne's engineering of

'arse' to 'rump' provides an easy direction for his poem and, despite the ultimately arbitrary

nature of this connection, this stark division is reframed as an obvious manoeuvre. Other

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[176] While Browne lists plays seen at Dorset Court in his playlists, this play is allocated to the Cardinal's Cap. Whether this is in error, or the play simply went on tour once it was printed in 1660 is not clear.

[177] Brome, *The Rump, or Collection of Songs and Ballades,* Sig. E6-E7; Anon, 'The Devil's Arse a Peake,' *The Rump*.

[178] Alexander Brome, *Bumm-foder or, waste-paper proper to wipe the nation's Rump with, or your own* (London, 1660).

[179] Jenner, 'Roasting of the Rump,' 89.

equivalences between scatology, an emphasis on feasting, and simple grotesqueness make the Rump tradition an easy one for Browne's poem to emulate. By making the tenuous jump from comical natural phenomena to political partisanship, Browne partakes in the trope of 'denying the seriousness of the interlude of the Interregnum, rendering it a burlesque or an episode in a chapbook romance.'[180] This poem is, even more than a regular rump poem, painted as 'an episode': after it is over, Browne quietly returns to his level-headed reportage of the peaks, never to look back at this period of revelry. Indeed, the placement of Browne's poem encourages the reader to react similarly to the interregnum and its Rump Parliament as faulty excursions away from pleasurable tradition. While 'the greater Restoration satires, and many of the lesser, conclude with a moral exhortation, a visionary scene, or an artistic romp,' Browne signals the end of his poem only with a continuation of the preceding violence, protesting that 'if that any doe take snuffe/ at what most nobly here is written/ I wish such Peakingslaves beshitten.'[181] 'What spectacle,' asks Kevin Cope, 'could be more repugnant than a poem split into two antagonistic halves, halves which seem to beg for a transcendent umpire?'[182] Browne asks the same question, and refuses to offer a solution.

Despite these affinities with collections of 'wit' and the Rump tradition, Browne also engages with an older model: Ben Jonson's 'On the Famous Voyage' (1612). At a linguistic level, Browne echoes one of Jonson's rhymes, linking 'Livy' and 'Privy' together in a couplet that, perhaps as a commentary on contemporary (mis-)usage of Livy, degrades Livy to the

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[180] Jenner, 'Roasting of the Rump,' 118.

[181] Kevin L. Cope, 'The Conquest of Truth: Wycherley, Rochester, Butler, and Dryden and the Restoration Critique of Satire,' *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700* 10, no. 1 (1986): 33; Trinity Notebook, f.47r.

[182] Cope, 'Conquest of Truth,' 34.

level of scatology.[183] In content, Browne's prose introduction frames the journey into the cavern as a trip to the infernal realms of hell, transforming the underground stream in Peak Cavern into the 'Stix,' forging another parallel between his own poem and Jonson's which presents itself as a journey to the underworld.[184] Like Jonson's, Browne's poem's 'rudeness manifests itself in the vein of scatology,' and where Jonson 'takes pains to invoke models of travel drawn from the contemporary social context,' Browne too invokes contemporary interests in the Peak district, the Rump parliament, and the satirical genre.[185]

The form and placement of Browne's poem, however, show its similarities to Jonson's work most clearly: Boehrer identifies several key features of 'The Famous Voyage' which have led to the poem's being dismissed as a somewhat embarrassing interlude in Jonson's oeuvre. Because many of these points can also be applied to Browne's poem, it is worth repeating them in full:

> On the formal level, its massive length (at 196 lines, it is over four
>
> times as long as the second-largest poem in the collection) and
>
> mock-heroic narrative render questionable its presence within a
>
> volume of epigrams. On the contextual level, its placement at the
>
> end of the *Epigrammes* lends it a peculiar prominence which is
>
> further reinforced by its general failure to conform to the alternative
>
> encomiastic and condemnatory structure of the poems that precede

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[183] Trinity Notebook, f.48r; Ben Jonson, 'On the Famous Voyage,' *Works* (London, 1616), 815.

[184] Trinity Notebook, f.49v. The mixture of verse and prose is also typical of Menippean satire.

[185] Bruce Boehrer, 'Horatian Satire in Jonson's "On the Famous Voyage",' *Criticism* 44, no. 1 (2002): 19 and 13.

it. And on the level of content, many (perhaps most) readers have

found it simply disgusting.[186]

Browne's poem displays the same traits: its length can only be seen as excessive; it engages

a mock-heroic tone in its introductory passages and its poet's continued self-righteousness;

it is placed oddly within the surrounding material; and it is frequently disgusting. In an

inversion of Jonson, whose narrative poem sits uncomfortably within his epigrams which

'for the most part [avoid] narrative,' Browne's poem is the only non-narrative instance in his

relation, making it similarly out of place.[187] Indeed, Boehrer adds that Jonson's poem and its

model, Horace's satire 1.5 ('A Journey to Brundisium') 'have elicited much the same critical

reaction, which might be characterized as a mixture of bewilderment and condemnation.'[188]

While Browne's oeuvre is not well-studied enough to confidently make the same claim,

Wilkin's choice to omit it from his edition might suggest a certain bewilderment at finding

this poem within Browne's otherwise quite simple account. While Browne does not repeat

Jonson's words specifically beyond the single rhyming couplet, the spirit of 'On the Famous

Voyage' is manifest in Browne's poem. Jonson, however, is not the object of Browne's

satire: in not choosing to write a voyage poem—opting, instead, to describe his voyage in

prose before descending to pointless verses on an invisible opponent—Browne ensures that

his own poem is not simply a parody of Jonson's poem. Rather, his direct models—such as

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[186] Boehrer, 'Horatian Satire,' 9

[187] Peter E. Medine, 'Object and Intent in Ben Jonson's "Famous Voyage",' *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 15, no. 1 (1975): 110.

[188] Boehrer, 'Horatian Satire,' 12. Katherine Duncan-Jones also notes that Jonson's 'On the Famous Voyage' has 'rarely been discussed either in the seventeenth century or in modern times': Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'City Limits: Nashe's "Choice of Valentines" and Jonson's "Famous Voyage",' *Review of English Studies* 56, no. 224 (2005): 248. Browne's commonplace book indicates that he had read Horace, though Browne does not specifically record reading the *Satires*: Sloane MS 1833, f.2r and 231v.

Hudibras and the collections of drollery—are the imitated targets, and Jonson's tropes

bolster the attack.

The stark division created by the poem's placement suggests that something other

than straightforward play is going on here. The very way that Browne introduces both the

prose description of the Devil's Arse and the poem draw attention to their insufficiency:

Browne admits that the prose is 'barren,' but that is a common enough trope, on its own,

not to draw attention to itself. His introduction to the poem is a little more emphatic,

declaring that 'If this [prose] bee to obscure then thus / *ignotum per ignotius*.'[189] Another

reasonably common colloquialism, 'ignotum per ignotius' highlights that the ensuing poem

will be even more obscure than the prose which preceded it. The poetry only serves to

frustrate our understanding, and to confuse its readers further. Similarly, the reason for the

presence of this poem within the wider narrative is never made clear; it does not describe

Peak Cavern or Browne's journey but rather distracts us with burlesques on historical

political episodes. Along with the specific adoption of the role of 'bad poet,' this all seems to

point towards the idea that the poem may be a parody on the day's preference for drollery.

As Henry Herringman declares in his *Musarum Deliciae* (1655), 'it must be Drollery or it will

not please.'[190] While 'from [the Restoration] onwards, there is a fairly noticeable decline in

any declared purpose, any overt seriousness of intention, with entertainment becoming of

primary importance,' the satire of the early seventeenth-century tended to have a more

serious side.[191] Browne's engagement with the obvious tropes of drollery and Restoration

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[189] Trinity Notebook, f.48v.

[190] H.H, 'The Stationer to the Reader,' *Musaeum deliciae: or, The Muses Recreation* (London, 1655), sig. A3.

[191] Paul A. Scanlon and Adrian Roscoe, eds., *The Common Touch: Popular Literature from 1660 to the Mid-Eighteenth Century,* vol. 2 (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 9

satire may well betray a sense of decline: in composing terrible verse on stock topics, openly

declaring its barrenness, and setting it in such contrast with the remainder of his account,

Browne questions the common obsession with drollery. This poem, bullishly forced into the

middle of the otherwise profitable and engaging relation, forces its reader to ask whether,

despite the superficial amusement it provides, it is really superior to the remainder of

Browne's work. As for Jonson 'humanism produced the classical past as that which has been

purged from the present and as that which must be recovered for the sake of progress,'

Browne's poem exemplifies the worst of modern poetry, simulating, as Traherne had done

in his unpublished 'Commentaries of Heaven,' 'the flippant tone of the age in order to

critique its frivolity,' before turning back to traditional and classical precedents, to highlight

the fallenness of the Restoration 'wits.'[192]

There is one further object of attack in the poem and elsewhere in Browne's

relation. Browne's 1662 reading list includes Meric Casaubon's *Of Enthusiasme*.[193] A growing

concern during the interregnum, 'Thomas Blount defined "enthusiasm" as: "an inspiration, a

ravishment of the spirit, divine motion, poetical fury".'[194] Casaubon's treatment of

enthusiasm went further still, assessing 'enthusiasm,' which could convince its victims of

visions and false apprehensions, with a medical eye to offer naturalist causes for the

phenomenon.[195] Browne's poem too condemns the enthusiast: the poetic voice is framed as

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[192] Will Stockton, *Playing Dirty: Sexuality and Waste in Early Modern Comedy* (Minneapolis: University of
Minnesota Press, 2011), 14. Turner, 'Revolution to Restoration,' 817.

[193] Sloane MS 1833, f.2v.

[194] John West, *Dryden and Enthusiasm: Literature, Religion, and Politics and Restoration England* (Oxford:
Oxford UP, 2018), 13.

[195] See Michael Heyd, *'Be Sober and Reasonable': The Critique of Enthusiasm in the 17th and Early 18th
Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), especially chapter three. We might see this concern with offering medical

a kind of enthusiast, mistaking natural phenomena—the geological features of Peak Cavern which cause it to look (and smell) like the Devil's Arse—for the true devil. This belief that the supernatural is real is constitutive of enthusiasm, particularly to Casaubon who consistently casts a naturalist's eye on the reasons behind possible visions. The poet-persona is condemned, in turn, by Browne, whose terrible poetry alone frames the poet as a buffoon, ready to attack—like the mistaken iconoclasts—as real any belief he encounters. I would like to suggest that here, and elsewhere, Browne's attack is not necessarily on any given opinion but on the expression *of* the opinion: enthusiastic attacks are the subject of his attention. The mistaken iconoclast who mistook Guy of Warwick for a saint was an enthusiast whose visions reveal his idiocy; the enthusiastic defacer of Lincoln cathedral lost his own right fist in attacking the icons; and the poet who declares that the Devil *really does* live in Peak Cavern—which Browne's surrounding relation shows to be a topographical feature—becomes an imbecilic enthusiast whose absurdity is unavoidable. This position, in of itself, is hardly non-partisan; it sets us Browne in difference to enthusiasts, frames him as a civil gentleman-traveller, and in turn frames his own political and religious stances as the only sensible ones. The poem, though, highlights that his 'non-partisan' account is not, truly, non-partisan: it highlights the pitfalls of enthusiasm by enacting them, before returning us solidly to Browne's usual balanced (if not unbiased) relation.

Throughout this relation, Browne undergoes a process of self-fashioning, crafting for himself 'a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving.'[196] This persona, however, is comprised of a plurality of social

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explanations for visions within Browne's medical dissertation, which asserted that dreams could prove useful to the physician.

[196] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 2.

tropes: he follows in Camden's footsteps, setting himself up as an investigator of various counties and their antiquarian history; he shows himself to be a sympathiser of the 'new' sciences, offering up his observations as experiments, and providing linguistic accounts of local habits; he engages with his medical status, choosing specific terminology which reflects his early medical training; and he frames himself as a classical hero but also complicates this by drawing on contemporary critiques of chivalry, acknowledging the Lilliputian nature of his own 'adventures' while simultaneously revelling in these minor escapades. He implicitly expresses his distaste for the mindless iconoclasm and 'hectoring' of the 'late troubles,' while consistently portraying himself as a civil participant in the controversies of the day and refusing to accuse others wholesale of falsity. In the midst of all this, Browne places a satirical poem that starts at Peak Cavern in Derbyshire and ends with the Rump Parliament at Westminster several years earlier. Though it is difficult, at times, to tell whether this is serious satire done badly, or intentionally bad verse intended to disparage bad verse, its wholesale departure from the remainder of the narration marks it as a key element. It is here that Browne's rejection of enthusiastic ideologies *and* writing makes itself the clearest.

The Sociable Purpose of the Relation

This account is a crafted document intended not just as personal recreation but for further use. It is filled with allusions specific to Browne and his companions and, though he does not name himself, his identity is made evident. The question remains, then, why did Browne produce this narration?

Throughout, Browne addresses a reader. Browne frequently uses 'you' to describe the passage of his journeys: for instance, he reports that at Petersham Park in Surrey 'you have a prospect every way there, [whereas] from [Chester] onely on one side the Darby

mountaines ^quickly^ terminating your sight eastward.'[197] Besides this 'you,' which is used to describe a scene or movement rather than as an address, Browne speaks directly to his reader. At the Devil's Arse he begs our forgiveness for the rudeness of the name, and hopes we will be content with a 'barren description.'[198] At Bilzel near Leicester Browne warns the reader that 'you must not suppose [their beds] too soft,' speaking directly to the expectations of a reader.[199] At Warwick, he talks directly to his 'Dear Reader,' once more lamenting the insufficiency of his written description compared to a picture.[200] Though a popular trope, all of this places Browne at his readers' mercy, denouncing the poverty of his writing and creating a hierarchy where the account is intended to *serve* a reader rather than to laud the bravery of its writer or to offer a description of the journey. It also highlights the metatextuality of the narrative: by drawing attention to the written-ness of the account, and to the insufficiency of language, Browne reminds the reader that they are engaging with a self-consciously *written* narrative. In apologising to his reader, Browne draws attention to himself as a writer.

In Coventry, Browne records that he 'had the luck to meet with another old acquaintance here too, Mr Richard Hopkins,' who Browne certainly knew at Trinity College.[201] While 'old acquaintance' might paint a picture of a much more temporally distant relationship, it does serve to confirm the current absence of Hopkins, who had left Trinity for the Inns of Court in 1658, from Browne's immediate sociable networks, an implication bolstered by the recourse to 'luck.' Given that Browne names very few people

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[197] Trinity Notebook, f.43r-42v.

[198] Trinity Notebook, f.49v.

[199] Trinity Notebook, f.37v.

[200] Trinity Notebook, f.39r.

[201] Trinity Notebook, f.38r.

directly in his account, it is significant that Hopkins is named, and that he is described as an *old* acquaintance. Though perhaps not substantial enough on its own to suggest a college readership of this narration, there are other instances where the generality of Browne's account gives way to specificity. Browne notes his decision to stop overnight at Whitchurch 'because one of my acquaintances was seated in this towne.'[202] The next day,

> wee inquired out ^the free *schoole*^ having seen which and given the
>
> boys a play Mr Wakeman my very good friend the Schoolmaster
>
> accompanied us to our In[203]

The reference here to 'giving the boys a play' suggests that Browne and his companions actually performed at the free school; this would fit George Smith's observation that among the Cambridge colleges 'Trinity College alone seems to have set itself to rival or eclipse the theatrical triumphs of the past.'[204] Smith's reproduction of the list of plays performed at Cambridge shows that the 1661/2 year was the first since 1641/2 in which any plays were performed in Cambridge at all; in this year, Trinity put on 'two comodyes' including *The Silent Woman,* a play listed among the titles in Browne's playlists, and which he probably saw in Spring 1660-61. [205] Browne's familiarity with playgoing and possibly play-giving is evident in this episode of his travels, though the other members of his troupe remains anonymous. We can, however, identify the schoolmaster: one William Wakeman, who was in 1662 schoolmaster at the Free School in Whitchurch, subscribed to the Act of

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[202] Trinity Notebook, f.41r.

[203] Trinity Notebook, f.40v.

[204] George Charles Moore Smith, *College Plays Performed at the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1923), 15.

[205] Moore Smith, *College Plays*, 70. Trinity Notebook, f.62v. Hume, 'Browne's Playlists,' 77.

Uniformity.[206] This is likely to be the same William Wakeman who was admitted sizar at

Trinity College in 1656, and who graduated B.A. in 1661; he too may have been part of the

revival of play-giving at Trinity. The specific naming of Wakeman and Hopkins, and the

theatrical context of this particular scene suggest that Browne envisaged a community of

readers who would recognise these names, and that it is this anticipation of recognition that

led Browne to name these characters where others remain, largely, anonymous.[207]

As Michelle O'Callaghan has shown (though largely in the context of the earlier

seventeenth century) 'the transmission and exchange of verses… were a mode of social

bonding that was both exclusive and designed to reinforce and perpetuate a communal,

coterie identity.'[208] Smyth too highlights that, while 'the practice of transcribing fashionable

verses [which] peaked in Oxford in the 1620s… certainly did not die out' before the end of

the century, suggesting that communities continued to be forged and consolidated by the

circulation of manuscript verse.[209] While post-Restoration print collections of verse,

particularly of drolleries, signalled and bound broader communities of reading, Browne here

seems to partake in the same tradition as the earlier 'wits' (as opposed to the Restoration

'wits'), creating an ostensibly anonymous text by which acquaintances could nonetheless

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[206] 'Wakeman, William,' *Clergy of the Church of England Database*, Record ID 62290,
https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/index.jsp.

[207] The only other named acquaintances are 'Mr [Walter] Kirby' and 'Mr [John] Bird,' 'mayor' and 'new elect' of
King's Lynn: Trinity Notebook, f.59v-r.

[208] Michelle O'Callaghan, 'The Duties of Societies: Literature, Friendship and Community,' *Renaissance
Transformations: The Making of English Writing 1500-1650*, eds. Margaret Healy and Thomas Healy
(Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 103.

[209] Adam Smyth, *'Profit and Delight': Printed Miscellanies in England 1640-1682* (Detroit: Wayne State
University Press, 2004), xx.

recognize Browne and which consolidated the social ties created at Trinity College by referring explicitly to old members whom his readers may remember.

In a later journal, Browne notes that on January 8 1664 he 'received a letter from Mr Horden wherein hee wrote word of Mr Craven's play which was to bee acted immediately after the epiphany.'[210] We have already met Isaac Craven, and John Horden appears to have been another Trinity acquaintance, having been admitted pensioner in May 1658 and proceeding B.A. in 1661/2 and M.A. in 1665. Horden was thus at Trinity for the entire time Browne was there; here, he relays news that one of Craven's own compositions would be put on, possibly at Cambridge where he was still a scholar. Furthermore, another of Browne's notebooks contains evidence for his engagement with original composition and dramatic works around this period. At the end of Sloane MS 1855, a quarto notebook which largely consists of a draft of Browne's later published travel account, is a play—apparently unprinted—entitled '*Fraus Pia* [Pious Fraud]'.[211] This transcription includes the 'Dramatis Personae' and prologue in Browne's university-era hand, datable by the p-form. Likewise, the epilogue is in Browne's early hand. The bulk of the play, however, is transcribed in a different, as yet unidentified, hand. The play's London scene gathers a rich congregationalist, a poor man, an orthodox presbyterian, and a congregationalist crier, among others. Entirely in Latin, there are no editorial marks in the text, suggesting that this version was copied directly from another source.[212] It is clear that the sharing of dramatic works was not uncommon at the Trinity College in the late Interregnum and early

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[210] Paris Journal, f.7v.

[211] Dresden Draftbook, f.84r.

[212] In the absence of other extant copies of this play, we cannot know whether Browne amended or added the prologue and epilogue.

Restoration. News of theatrical compositions bound Browne to his Trinity companions after he had left the college, and his own manuscript of a play dating from around his time at Trinity suggest that he was invested in the literary culture of his college.

Finally, Browne's 1664 journal records that on March 18 Craven wrote a letter telling Browne that he had been sent 'by the Society of Trinity College in Cambridge' to congratulate the 'Marquisse and Marchionesse of Newcastle [William and Margaret Cavendish] for their workes presented to our library.'[213] Craven, having carried out his duty,

> was pleas'd to write me a short relation of his journy through
>
> Stamford, Grantham, Newark, Southwell (where is a pretty minster,)
>
> and Mansfield, to Wellbeck the Marquisse his house; where hee saw
>
> many pictures of Vandike, and a fine cabinet, but above all his fine
>
> stable and brave horses for the great saddle.[214]

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[213] Paris Journal, f.53v. The donated works were probably Margaret Cavendish\s *Sociable Letters* and *Philosophical Letters*, both printed in 1664: James Fitzmaurice, 'Margaret Cavendish on Her Own Writing: Evidence from Revision and Handmade Correction,' *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 85, no. 3 (1991): 297-307. A letter dated to February 1663 from John Pearson, then master of Trinity College, and eight other fellows to Margaret Cavendish appears in the collected *Letters and Poems in Honour of the Incomparable Princess, Margaret, Dutchess of Newcastle* (London, 1676) thanking her for her donations and praising her as 'both a *Minerva* and an *Athens* to your self, the *Muses* as well as an *Helicon, Aristotle* as well as his *Lycaeum*': *Letters and Poems*, 11. Browne's journal refers to William Cavendish's 'Noble book of horsemanship,' suggesting that this work may have been among the donated texts: Paris Journal, f.54r. Cavendish's *La method nouvelle et Invention extraordinare de dresses les chevauz* was in 1658. He did not publish the *New Method, and Extraordinary invention, to dress horses, and work them according to nature* was not printed until 1667, making the earlier work the more likely to have been donated. See Lynn Hulse, 'Cavendish, William, first duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (bap. 1593, d. 1676), writer, patron, and royalist army officer,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 2004.

[214] Paris Journal, f.54r.

This short memorandum in a notebook dating from nearly a year after Browne left Trinity College consolidates many of the key points highlighted by Browne's Derbyshire relation. Browne's use of *'our* library,' referring not to the family library at Norwich but to the library of Trinity College, emphasizes the extent to which one might continue to consider oneself a part of one's university college: Browne still feels some ownership over the library there despite no longer being a student or a fellow. Similarly, Craven and Browne's ongoing correspondence confirms the strength of their friendship. Craven's 'short relation,' however, is the most intriguing part of this entry: just as Browne wrote a relation of his own journey, Craven too saw fit to record his domestic journey. Moreover, the phrasing suggests that Craven's relation was written with Browne in mind as a potential reader: Craven, like Browne, did not record his travels simply for his own memorial. Rather, writing was an act of sociability. Browne notes the salient points of Craven's relation in his own diary, suggesting that Craven recorded sights that he knew would interest Browne. While this relation is not extant, Browne's recognition of receipt and of careful perusal highlight the sociable purpose of exchanging travel relations, and continues to display how an envisioned audience might shape a text. While we have no way of knowing whether Craven's relation partakes in similar modes of self-fashioning to Browne's, we can certainly consider the possibility that Craven was one of the readers whom Browne held in mind while writing his narration.

Browne's Derbyshire relation, though only extant in Browne's own notebook, consolidated institutional ties while providing an entertainment that left the reader in no doubt of its author. The multiple roles that Browne adopts over the course of his relation— and the satirical bent of many of its episodes—are likely to have resonated best with a reader familiar with the kind of topics that Browne encompasses. Though this narration has

hitherto been most commonly addressed as a personal account of a journey, and has never captured the extended attention of literary scholars, it deserves to be regarded as one instance of sociable writing which draws together some of the key concerns of its context, author, and readers.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered an assessment of Edward Browne's hitherto unstudied travel relation from his 1662 tour to Derbyshire in the light of Browne's notetaking practices, his reading, and the communities in which he existed. It is clear that, while Browne took notes from his travels, these notes were often not particularly well-managed or detailed: although the Trinity Notebook preserves the skeleton detail of the South-West journey, there are no extant notes from either this or the Derbyshire journey to show Browne systematically recording the practical details of his days' journeys, as was often advised in the *ars apodemica*.

Although it relies on personal experience, the Derbyshire relation was not written from first-hand notes alone: rather, it incorporates swathes of Browne's reading, from the classics, to Camden, to Butler. Each facet of Browne's reading finds a home in his relation, though it rarely announces its presence, despite the fact that Browne *does* make it clear through references to the reader and through classical allusions that this is a highly curated account. His character is moulded by traditional concepts of knighthood and heroics, but also by his university education as a medic and his nascent interest in experimental philosophy. His attitudes towards sectarianism and iconoclasm lie beneath a veneer of non-partisanship, but they are evident throughout, and particularly in the bizarre burlesque prompted by his visit to Peak Cavern. Browne plays with contemporary and classical models

to place himself as a commentator on the state of entertainment: while domestic travel is framed quite self-consciously as a minor travail compared to the voyages of Aeneas, it is valuable nonetheless. Even these commonplace journeys are able to instruct their author *and* their reader.

The reader, ultimately, is the catalyst for the entire relation: this narration only fully makes sense within its university context. The amalgamation of classicism, medical learning, and playful satire, while unsuitable for a familial context or even a wider readership, speak to the concerns of a particular university cohort. The specific references to individuals similarly encourages readers to recognise and recall the sociable bonds that tie them, stemming from a shared experience at Trinity College. Although the experience of the journey is Browne's and his companions,' the narration that weaves together the sites revels in sociability and civility to capture his readers and allow them in on the experience. In Browne's narration, playfulness and utility intersect to create a text that reflects and confirms the social bonds that he hails throughout as the ultimate source of pleasure.

As Browne's social circumstances played a large part in the style of this narration, it is clear that his envisaged readers influenced his writing practices throughout his life. While the Derbyshire relation is an anomaly in Browne's oeuvre in its explicitly playful tone, it nonetheless speaks to its specific audience. In Chapter Two, we will see that Browne's readers still dictated his style: while initially employing his heroic university persona, the journals and letters dating from Browne's 1664-5 journey to the continent offer us an insight into how more extensive daily notes were transformed into epistolary accounts of Browne's activities. These letters, written for family rather than university friends, continue to highlight the importance of paying attention to both reception and to writerly self-fashioning even in what may initially seem to be 'private' documents.

Chapter Two

'He shall pass into the land of strangers': Edward Browne's First Tour, 1664-65
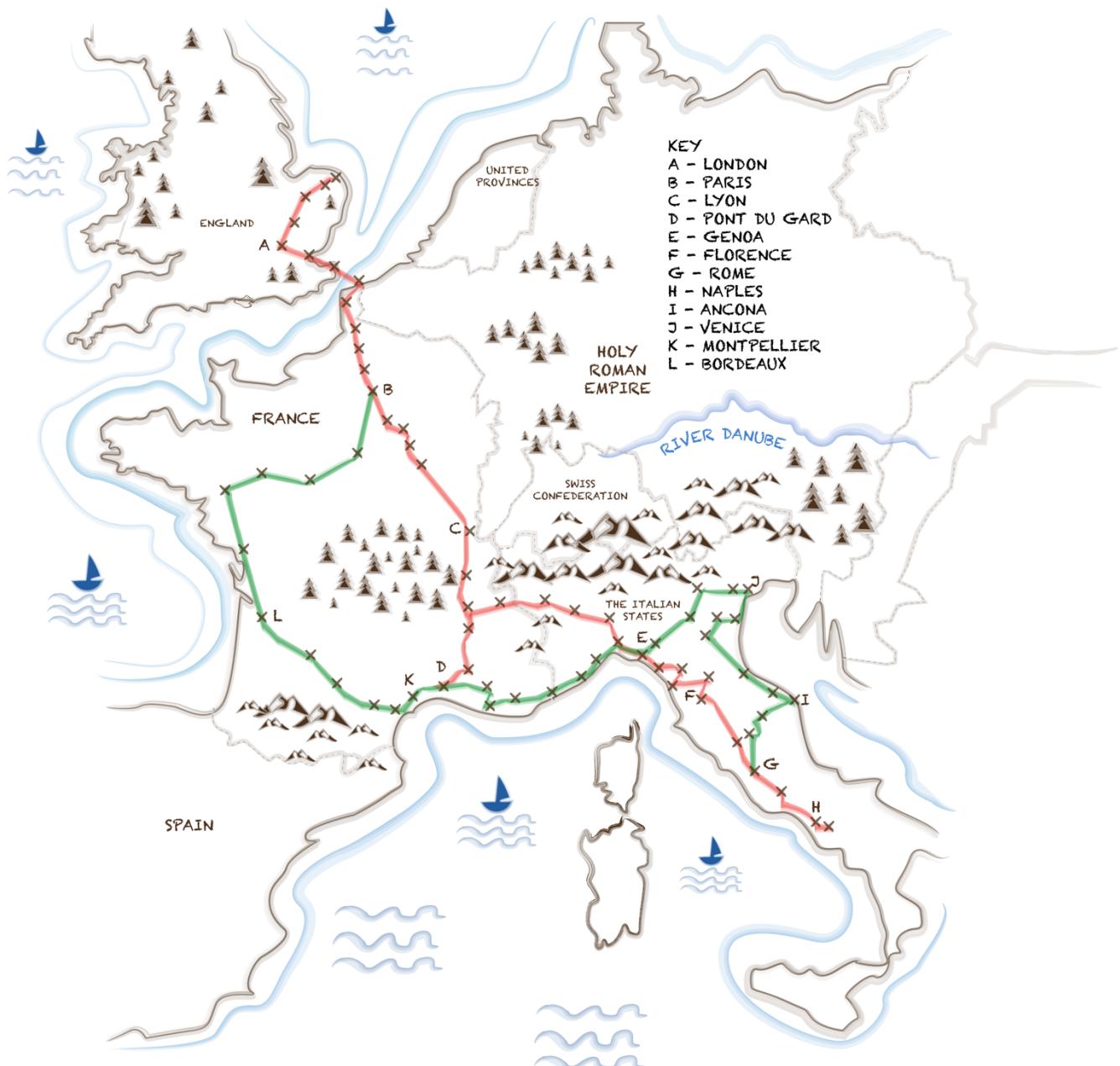
Figure 2: Edward Browne's 1664-5 Continental Tour

Introduction

In the final lines of his Derbyshire relation, Edward Browne waxes lyrical about Norfolk, telling the reader that if he can 'find mee out so pleasant a counter [country], such good way, large heath, three such places as Norwich Yar and Lin ^in any county of england^... I'le bee once again a vagabond to visit them.'[1] By 1664, however, Browne's sights were set on more distant climes and, having completed his Bachelor of Medicine, Browne began a period of time on the continent. In April 1664, Browne set out for Calais and over the next year and a half completed a variant of the traditional 'Grand Tour.'[2] Most commonly,

> A lengthy stay in the French capital might be followed by a visit to
> Geneva... One would then cross the Alps, as expeditiously as
> possible, proceeding via Turin or Milan down to Florence, to stay
> probably for some months. Venice might be next, then Rome, or vice
> versa. The Tourist might go as far as Naples.[3]

This kind of European tour 'nominally aimed to complete [a student's] education in classical and renaissance civilization' while simultaneously serving as 'a social rite of passage intended to convert... schoolboys into urbane men of the world.'[4] As the tour developed, it offered a salve for curiosity, giving the traveller 'a measure of experience, adventure and edification before [he] "resolved to be quiet"... and return home again.'[5] While scholars including Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) had framed the tour 'in terms of *Utilitas*... these

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[1] Trinity Notebook, f.36r.

[2] The term itself was not used until 1670: see Seaton, 'Grand Tour,' 108. See Figure 2 for a map of Browne's tour.

[3] James Buzzard, 'The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840),' in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* 39.

[4] Seaton, 'Grand Tour,' 108.

[5] Stoye, *English Travellers*, 451.

utilitarian incentives diminished in relevance in the late seventeenth century.'[6] These subtle

changes to the purpose of the Grand Tour were in motion by the Edward Browne left on his

travels.

From Calais, Browne proceeded to Paris where he remained until September 1664.

From Paris, Browne travelled to Lyon and Montpellier. He was unable to pass through

Provence because of the plague, so Browne instead crossed the alps at Mount Cenis before

continuing to Turin. His route took him to Florence, Rome, and Naples, the southernmost

point on his journey. In Rome, Browne joined company for a while with John Ray and Philip

Skippon (1641-1691), both of whom had been at Trinity College while Browne was there

(Ray as a tutor and Skippon as a pupil). Moving northwards in 1665, Browne spent some

time at Padua and Venice. He remained in Italy until April, when Thomas Browne's 'order

came to Mr Bouges to pay mee of Mr Hayles the mony which I had taken up of him, forty

pistolls so that all is cleare at Venice,' freeing him of his debts.[7] Browne's return journey

took him past Arles and Toulouse, and Browne had arrived back in Paris by June. He

remained in Paris with several other Englishmen, including Sir William Trumbull (1639-1716)

and Christopher Wren (1632-1723), until the anatomy lectures of autumn 1665 had

finished. While we do not know exactly when Browne arrived back in England, it was not

before November 1665, when he sent the final extant letter from Paris.

Browne's tour encompassed a wide range of interests: he spent time at medical

schools in Paris and Padua, and viewed botanical gardens across Europe; he frequently

made architectural notes on important buildings, antiquities, and bridges; he was

particularly interested in viewing the churches and monasteries of the different Catholic

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[6] Verhoeven, 'Foreshadowing Tourism,' 275.

[7] Early Copybook, f.70r.

sects; and Browne's interest in natural philosophy re-emerges in his time on the continent. Throughout, Browne records his companions, their shared activities, and their habits of living. Given the extent of these travels, it is surprising that they have been largely overlooked in scholarship. Stoye's *English Travellers Abroad* refers to Browne on several occasions, as does Mączak's *Travel in Early Modern Europe*.[8] Part one of Robert Iliffe's 'Foreign Bodies: Travel, Empire and the Royal Society of London' offers a reasonably comprehensive overview of Browne's 1664-5 journey, though it does not offer an in-depth analysis.[9] In a brief chapter on Browne, Spillane notes that 'in 1664 he travelled in France and Italy with a few distinguished young Englishmen, one of whom was Christopher Wren,' but offers no further comment on Browne's early continental tour.[10] This tour, however, is pivotal to our understanding of Browne's multiple roles as a traveller, a writer, a medic, a natural philosopher, a socialite, a son, and a brother. This chapter will offer a detailed analysis of Browne's 1664-5 journey in order to ask how it sowed the seeds of Browne's later travels, habits, and publications.

This chapter asks three primary questions: 1) How did Browne prepare for his travels? 2) What did Browne do during his travels—where did he go, how did he interact with his companions, and what were his primary sites of interest? and 3) How did he report his travels? Over the course of his journey, Browne's method of reporting changed significantly: where early letters are highly selective in the parts of Browne's experience portrayed, later reports offer far more comprehensive accounts of his various activities. This chapter draws on three key documents: two journals and a letterbook. The first journal is

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[8] Stoye, *English Travellers*; Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*.

[9] Iliffe, 'Foreign Bodies: Part 1.'

[10] Spillane, *Medical Travellers*, 26. The printed account of a portion of these travels is addressed in Chapter 4.

the 'Paris Journal,' a daily diary that Browne used between December 1663—before he left for France—and August 1664. The second diary, the 'Lyon Journal,' covers the period between September and December 1664. The entries in this diary are scantier, with one 20-folio section initially left blank, and later filled in with medical notes from the anatomy lecture at Paris in October 1665. The regular entries peter out entirely in December, and the remaining folios are filled with French and Italian language exercises, prescriptions, and other miscellaneous notes. The third document indispensable to this investigation is the 'early copybook,' a transcribed compilation of the letters that Browne sent home throughout his travels.

This chapter aims, in part, to show how one traveller shaped himself, both in diaries—in this case a regularly-kept diary, 'written by oneself for oneself,' as opposed to a diary like Pepys', which 'represents not spontaneity, but the artful construction of spontaneity'—and letters, which 'often tell us as much about their addressees and about the latter's relationship to the writer as about the writers themselves.'[11] As Lloyd Davis observes, a series of complex meetings take place throughout travel, 'not only between oneself and others, and between home and away, but also between those hybrid versions of oneself.'[12] The liminal space of travel, in which one's status is consistently in flux, is an ideal lens for asking how a writer might fashion him or herself, both to the self and to others. While Peter Burke has suggested that a letter expresses 'the thoughts and emotions

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[11] Roger Smith, 'Self-Reflection and the Self,' in *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present,* ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1997), 55; Smyth, *Autobiography*, 55; Eve Tavor Bannet, 'Letters,' *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing,* eds. Alasdair Pettinger and Tim Youngs (London: Routledge, 2020), 119.

[12] Lloyd Davis, 'Cultural Encounters and Self Encounters in Early Modern English Travel Autobiographies,' *Parergon* 19, no. 2 (2002): 157.

of the moment at the moment,' Browne's letters were anything but spontaneous.[13] Rather,

they conform to Schneider's observation that letter-writing constituted 'a self-conscious,

premeditated mode of communication amenable to drafts, to second and third thoughts.'[14]

Far from extemporaneous documents, Browne's letters are curated to tell a specific story.

While the diary entries only run to December 1664, many of Browne's letters from this trip

have been preserved in the letterbook.

This letterbook contains the 28 extant letters from Browne's early travels. They are

written almost exclusively onto the rectos of unfolded sheets of paper which have never

been sealed or postmarked, highlighting that they are copies. Browne's hand, in fact, only

appears once throughout the 104-folio manuscript.[15] The manuscript is written in a

combination of the hand of Browne's sister, Lyttelton, and that of his father. Thomas's hand

occasionally corrects Lyttelton's transcriptions, changing 'Sena Blaesentis' to 'Terra

Blaesentis,' adding 'have' to 'I been at St Denys,' and on several occasions adding a date or

location.[16] The first of these corrections highlights that Lyttelton and Thomas were reading,

and on occasion mis-reading, Edward's handwriting. This is a mediated document which, to

an extent, has already been edited. The original letters are no longer extant, and so we

cannot corroborate the readings given in the family's transcriptions. However, the fact that

Edward intervenes in one letter suggests that he read these transcriptions, and the lack of

any other corrective notes from him suggests that the transcriptions faithfully reproduce his

originals.

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[13] Peter Burke, 'Representations of the self from Petrarch to Descartes,' in *Rewriting the Self,* 23.

[14] Schneider, *Epistolarity,* 32.

[15] Early Copybook, f.103v. Browne adds 'Cardinal Chigi. Cardinal patrone *the* popes nephew' to his record of the Pope's legate.

[16] Early Copybook, f.7r; f.18r.

The letters in the early copybook are in rough, but not consistent, chronological order; the first letter in the dates from June 1664, the second from October, and the third from May. Some exceptions to the general rule of writing only on the rectos suggest an attempt to order the letters; in one instance, Thomas has entered a letter into the bottom quarter of a pair of facing folios (57v and 58r), and continues the letter onto the verso side of the folio (58v). This letter, dated February 13, is thus squeezed onto the bottom and back of a page which contains the last part of a letter dated February 7, thereby creating a chronological continuity. Although the continuity is disrupted by the following letters (dated April 9, April 2, March 20, and May 2 respectively), Thomas's choice to transcribe this letter at this specific point in the copybook, when free space was available elsewhere, shows a sensitivity to the epistolary timeline.

Another example suggests that many of the letters were entered into a pre-bound blank paper-book reserved for copies of Browne's letters. Folio 21r is much darker than its surrounding folios, and is marked on the recto with a single cross, suggesting that this was once a front cover of a small bound book. The verso hosts a quotation from Ecclesiasticus 39.5 which has been copied in Thomas's hand: 'In terram Aligenienaerum per transiet/ bona et mala in hominibus tentabit' ('He shall pass into the land of strangers: he shall test the good and bad in men').[17] This is an apt framing quotation for Browne's letters, confirming that this was once the opening folio. It also suggests that Thomas began this paper-book expressly with the interest of recording his son's correspondence. Furthermore, where the majority of scribal copies of letters 'are collected in manuscript miscellanies, a rather broad term denoting volumes containing different genres of writing by several authors, compiled

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[17] Early Copybook, f.21v.

from various sources,' these scribal copies stand alone, suggesting a singularity of purpose for the manuscript.[18]

If it was intended as a record of Browne's travel correspondence, as the quotation from Ecclesiasticus suggests, then a contemporaneous transcription is likely. The chronological inconsistency suggests that letters were transcribed as they became available or when the family had time to transcribe, effectively transposing not only the letters but, by proxy, Edward himself, back into the family home. As we will see, in both the address and preservation of these letters, it becomes clear that 'the specific roles [letter] writers conceived for themselves as agents, or protagonists of their life histories, were largely those of son, brother, husband and father.'[19] When the family preserves and engages with Browne's letters, these distinct roles are reinforced.

These roles, however, are not inherently distinct from one another: Browne simultaneously occupied multiple positions, which all informed the course of his everyday life. Investigating the letters in conjunction with Browne's journals allows us to ask which elements of his travels he highlighted or excised from his correspondence, and in turn to suggest what role he projected homewards. In so doing, many of the tensions between a traveller's expectations—both his own and those of other people—and the reality of travel become apparent. By also examining how the style of the journals and letters developed over the course of the travels, independently of or in response to one another, we can begin to understand how travel was transmitted from experience, to writing, to reading. In these

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[18] Daybell, *Material Letter*, 176

[19] Michael Mascuch, 'Social mobility and middling self-identity: the ethos of British autobiographers, 1600-1750,' *Social History* 20, no. 1 (1995): 55.

transformations, we begin to see how Edward Browne developed into a writer of a very different kind to that which had emerged in 1662.

'I prepared for my journy': Planning the Travels

Although Keynes entitles his selective edition of Browne's 1663-4 diary *Journal of a Visit to Paris in the Year 1664*, and I myself refer to this journal as the 'Paris Journal,' this denomination is somewhat misleading: while this journal does include a large number of entries from Paris, Browne started it well before he departed for the continent.[20] It is not just a 'journal of a visit to Paris,' but a daily journal kept with startling regularity for eight months, four of which record Browne's life in Norwich. In these entries, Browne details his daily activities—attending sermons, meeting acquaintances, and furthering his medical education—but also his preparations for further travel. These preparations take three primary forms: reading about travel; conversing with others who have travelled; and using his domestic travels to learn how to travel and how to record his travels. This journal takes a very different form to the Trinity Notebook, following a straightforward chronological timeline with the single purpose of acting as a daily record of Browne's experiences.[21]

We have already seen from the foregoing chapter that Browne was actively engaged with reading and writing about travel. Just as Browne's reading is visible in his Derbyshire

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[20] Keynes, *Journal.*

[21] For the purpose of clarity, I follow Peter Heehs' definition of the diary as 'a document in which the writer records his or her experiences, thoughts and feelings shortly after they happen, in discreet entries, often dated,' as opposed to the kind of 'diary' kept by Samuel Pepys or John Evelyn, which were 'less the direct transcription of lived experience, and more the result of successive revisions of prior texts.' Peter Heehs, *Writing the Self: Diaries, Memoirs, and the History of the Self* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 6; Adam Smyth, 'Diaries,' in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 444.

relation, it is visible in the Paris Journal. *Coryat's Crudities* was one of these texts. Unlike

Coryate, who 'varnished the exterior parts of the ship with the excrementall ebullitions of

[his] tumultuous stomach,' Browne 'was not sick at all' on the crossing to Calais.[22] However,

like Coryate he still strives to make his 'embarkation an event, a *rite de passage,* and to give

it a playful quality which signals his ability to turn his travels into literature': despite his

tolerance of sea travel, Browne 'could hardly forbear spuing at the first sight of *th*e French

women.' [23] Browne here inverts Coryate's model to turn the experience not of travel but of

arrival into the stimulus for gross verbosity. Explicitly naming Coryate, Browne notes that in

Paris he and two companions 'encountred Tom Coriats Mistris.'[24] Both Coryate and Browne

also comment specifically upon the red gloves and luxurious rings of the Archbishop of Paris,

despite the fifty years separating Coryate's account and Browne's.[25] Both writers also note

that they found Catholic ceremonies 'very long and tedious.'[26] Though often silent, traces of

Coryate are found throughout Browne's journal, and it is likely that Browne in part used his

reading of Coryate to shape not just his itinerary but his method of recording.

Further evidence of Browne's literary preparations can be seen in the four final

books on his 1662 reading list: William Biddulph's *Travels of Certain Englishmen* (1609);

Henry Blount's *A Voyage into the Levant* (1636); John Greaves' *Pyramidographia* (1646); and

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[22] Coryate, *Crudities,* 1; Paris Journal, f.66v.

[23] Parr, 'Thomas Coryate,' 586; Paris Journal, f.66v.

[24] Paris Journal, f.101v. This is an allusion to Coryate's description of the Venetian courtesans in his *Crudities*, a description which fulfils his 'promise that he will include things [learned travellers] don't': see
Anthony Parr, 'Thomas Coryate and the Discovery of Europe,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (1992): 585. Browne's association of Coryate with the courtesan highlights that Coryate was indeed the author to whom travellers turned for less erudite observations.

[25] Coryate, *Crudities,* 29-30; Paris Journal, f.106r-v.

[26] Coryate, *Crudities*, 29. Paris Journal, f.101v.

Martino Martini's *Bellum Tartaricum* (1654). While these texts deal with further-flung destinations than Browne's early journey encompasses, they all offer examples of writing travellers. From them, Browne might learn what to see, how to conduct himself, and how to report his observations. We know that Browne was reading at least one of these texts in early 1664, his diary entry of January 14 recording one of Martini's observations on the great wall of China.[27] While this is a dateable instance of Browne's reading on travel, his travel plans extend much further back: Sloane MS 1865, a folio notebook that Browne used over multiple years, includes a 23-page transcription in Browne's university hand of parts of Heylyn's *Cosmographie* (1657), namely 'Of Europe,' 'Of Italy,' and 'Of France.'[28] Among these transcriptions are lists of the universities in Italy, 'The Alpine Provinces,' and France; these lists are later copied, excised of the more descriptive information, into the Paris Journal under an entry of January 25 1663.[29] In the Paris Journal copy, Browne also includes the universities of Spain, England, the Low Countries, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland.[30] The initial transcription highlights Browne's early interest in travel; the Paris Journal transcription, surrounded by the records of daily life rather than specific intellectual study, suggests that by January 25 Browne was actively planning his tour, in which he

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[27] Paris Journal, f.12r. Browne notes 'there are one million of *sorelgers* to guard the great wall of chine which extends from east to west three hundred leagues'; Martini writes on that 'that famous wall... stretch[es] out above 300 German Leagues from East to West,' and later that the Chinese 'never left that great Wall, which extends from East to West, without a Million of *Sorelgers* to guard it': Martino Martini, *Bellum Tartaricum* (London, 1654), 1 and 10.

[28] Sloane MS 1865, ff.36r-59r. The heading 'Of Spain' appears, but here Browne abandoned his transcription of Heylyn and left the page blank before moving on to a transcription (and his own translation) of Tasso's *Madrigale IX*.

[29] Sloane MS 1965, f.48v, 51r, and 57r; Paris Journal, f.19r. Wilkin's edition of Browne's notebook omits this list.

[30] Paris Journal, f.20r-21r.

intended to encounter some of these major European seats of learning. In these reading (and re-reading) practices, Browne's journal illustrates his preoccupation with his upcoming European trip as well as with the writing of travel more generally.[31]

In addition to reading about travel, Browne's journal reports conversations with acquaintances about foreign travel. On March 29, travelling to Dover, Browne 'had much discourse with Mr Bedingfield about his travails in Flanders, Artois, Braband &c.'[32] On March 2, Browne conversed with 'one Mr Flatman a chirurgion *tha*t had lived in the gold country in Guiny, about *th*e countrey the inhabitants their manners, our plantation at Cormontine and the traffick with *th*e natives as also about Lisbone, Barbados & Jamaica where hee had likewise been.'[33] Besides location-specific conversations, Browne records conversations about cultural habits. For instance, on March 13 Mr Flatman 'told mee the Portugeuse used this way to *th*e jews or those *tha*t are in *th*e inquisition to make them dye in *th*e christian religion of *th*e church of Rome,' going on to report the Inquisition's method of torture.[34] On January 22, 'Mr Gibs gave [Browne] a Muscovian rats skin,' telling him that 'the late Russian Embassadors which were here last winter 1662 brought over a great number of them.'[35] In these cases, Browne happens upon information about travel through a sociable interaction: these conversations demonstrate that Browne was collecting not just 'official' advice from texts, but actively discussing travel with those whom he met.

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[31] Browne demonstrates an ongoing interest in Heylyn when he transcribes the epitaph from Heylyn's tombstone at Westminster into his Paris journal at the end of April 1664. This entry also includes the epitaphs to Isaac Casaubon and William Camden.

[32] Paris Journal, f.63r.

[33] Paris Journal, f.46v-47r.

[34] Paris Journal, f.49r.

[35] Paris Journal, f.18r-v.

On several occasions, his medical practice catalyses discussions of travel. For instance, when the French physician Dr De Veau visited Norwich in January 1664, Browne showed him the city. Dining together at the house of Henry Howard (1628-1684, later the 6th Duke of Norfolk), De Veau 'related many things to [Browne] concerning *th*e Duke of Norfolke [Henry Howard's brother, Thomas Howard, 5th Duke of Norfolk (1627-1677)] that lives at Padua *non compos mentis* and of his travailes in France and Italy.'[36] Here, the opportunity to discuss both medicine and travel emerges via the social connection: all three elements support each other. On February 18, medicine, sociability, and travel intersect again when, on a medical visit, Browne 'had a great deal of discourse with Mr Le Grosse about his travails into France, *th*e Low Countries & ~~German~~ Italy and about his pilgrimage to Loretta and of the treasure which is in that place.'[37] Not only is Browne able to learn about the countries that Le Gros visited, but he appears equally willing to discuss Loreto, 'the centre of early modern European pilgrimage.'[38] While the Browne of the Derbyshire relation might have quietly scoffed at a belief in the value of pilgrimage, that dismissal is not evident here. This may be one effect of the journal form, not intended (as the Derbyshire relation was) for a wider (Trinity College) readership. Furthermore, rather than an anonymous enthusiast attacking false idols, Le Gros was a respected friend whose beliefs merited consideration and acceptance rather than refutation, even in the more private space of the

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[36] Paris Journal, f.17r. Thomas Howard 'had been living under restraint in Padua since 1645': Gillian Darley, 'John Evelyn's Norwich Garden,' *Garden History* 34, no. 2 (2006): 249-250.

[37] Paris Journal, f.31r.

[38] Wes Williams, '"Rubbing up against others": Montaigne on Pilgrimage,' in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel,* eds. Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 118. This is probably Thomas Le Gros, the dedicatee of Thomas Browne's 1658 *Hydriotaphia,* and son of Charles Le Gros, who played a part in Browne's decision to settle in Norwich: see Barbour, *A Life,* 260.

journal. Nor is this an isolated incidence of Browne engaging with ideas usually reserved for

Catholics; his interest in other religious practices becomes clear throughout this journal and

beyond. Especially in its context as part of an experience of travel, Le Gros's pilgrimage

becomes a font of information for Browne, whose own plans to travel were well under

way.[39]

Browne was also preparing for his travels practically: while in London for Dr

Christopher Terne's anatomy lecture of February 1664, Browne 'met with Mr Hollingworth

& Mr Urdal who promised if it pleaseth God to continue our healths to meet mee at Paris

*th*e first of November next or else to forfeit forty shillings.'[40] This is the first time Browne

explicitly mentions his intention to be in Paris, demonstrating that by February at the very

latest Browne had made concrete plans to visit the continent. One day later, Browne

> went to the Queen mothers chappel which is a stately one well
>
> painted and adorned with a large Golde crucifix, a most admirable
>
> paynted crucifix rich tapers lamps and the like. I noted some at
>
> confession in little wooden apartments and having satisfied my
>
> curiositie in observing the manner of their worship I left this chappell
>
> to sommerset house and passing through a crowde of irish beggars I
>
> went to *th*e savoy church, where *th*e litergye of the church of
>
> England is read in French.[41]

Both parts of this account suggest that Browne was looking towards his European travels.

When Browne listens to the liturgy in French, he anticipates being upon the continent

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[39] Browne himself visited Loreto in early 1665.

[40] Paris Journal, f.37r. Christopher Terne was the father of Henrietta Terne, whom Browne married in 1672.

[41] Paris Journal, f.37r-v.

where hearing the liturgy in that language would be necessary. Given that Browne records

attending at least one sermon every Sunday throughout the English portion of this journal,

with the exception of March 20, it is unsurprising that his preparations to travel included

hearing a French liturgy. The first activity—Browne's visit to the Queen mother's chapel—is

framed as an act driven by curiosity, a posturing common in travel books written by

Protestants visiting Catholic countries. As Paris O'Donnell demonstrates, while 'certain

English travellers… emphasise in their narratives that they refused to participate in practices

observed in Catholic pilgrimages [others] do report their involvement in these practices.'[42]

Sandys specifically declares his travels as motivated by 'historical curiosity' rather than

devotion.[43] By visiting a Catholic church but assessing it through secular eyes, Browne

demonstrates his own engagement with this trope of distancing oneself from the religious

implications of sightseeing in a Catholic context: by February, Browne was learning how to

maintain his religious practices on the continent, and how to avoid the pitfalls of reporting

on travels through Catholic territories.

Throughout the first half of the Paris Journal, we see Browne preparing for his

travels. From reading and transcribing texts on travel, to discussing travel with

acquaintances, to learning how to engage with potential dangers, Browne's activities

between January and April 1664 provided him with some necessary tools both to travel

effectively and to report his travels. Having prepared, Browne collected his money and

passport and set sail in a packetboat for Calais on April 6. However, though his journal

demonstrates that he was preparing to travel, Browne never set out an explicit statement of

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[42] Paris O'Donnell, 'Pilgrimage or "anti-pilgrimage"? Uses of mementoes and relics in English and Scottish narratives of travel to Jerusalem, 1596-1632,' *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 2 (2009): 126.

[43] O'Donnell, '"anti-pilgrimage",' 127.

intent for the location or purpose of his journey. His investigations into travel entwine themselves with medical, social, and religious records, and each of these topics similarly makes itself known throughout the continental travels. In order to understand Browne's development as a traveller, we must ask how the travels as presented in Browne's journal differ from, or are in tension with, the letters that he sent to his family. In this, we can see the dual purposes—medical and cultural—of Browne's travels, and ask how they eventually found their resolution.

'All the Delights of France': Edward Browne in Paris

A Medical Education

Although Browne had graduated Bachelor of Medicine in 1663, his medical training was not over: the Paris Journal records his ongoing training as his father's apprentice alongside other medical pursuits. As we have seen, in January 1664 Browne entertained De Veau in Norwich; in February he attended the anatomy lecture in London; and by March, Browne was prescribing with increasing frequency.[44] Furthermore, given that 'a large percentage of Englishmen who wished to become doctors went abroad for their education,' Browne's own education was, perhaps, best furthered outside of England.[45] While Browne did not receive his medical degree abroad as his father had done, he did travel to the major continental seats of medical learning, attending lectures and anatomies at Paris, Montpellier, and

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[44] The Paris Journal includes a range of prescriptions from this period.

[45] Phyllis Allen, 'Medical Education in 17th Century England,' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 1, no. 1 (1946): 130

Padua.[46] One of the major purposes of Browne's first continental tour, then, was to further his medical education.

At Paris in June, Browne visited De Veau's academy with two companions, 'Dr Downes and Mr Abdy,' who had also been students at Trinity College during Browne's time there.[47] The medical schools at Paris are a key feature of Browne's visit: between April and June, Browne's journal records his attending over thirty lectures, and this number would be higher had Browne not become ill in June. Even after having to retreat from a botany lecture on June 17 due to his illness, on the next day 'the desire I had of seeing the Garden made mee get up betimes' and attend the lecture nonetheless.[48] Browne was ill intermittently until August, when he finally removed to the south of France. He did, however, return to the Parisian schools in 1665 before returning to Norwich. The majority of Browne's medical journal entries are brief; he often notes the name of the lecturer and occasionally the text read, but there are no transcriptions, and few detailed records of procedures. This contrasts with Browne's records of Dr Terne's London lecture, which

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[46] Barbour, *A Life,* 184.

[47] Paris Journal, f.128r. 'Mr Abdy' probably refers to John Abdy (1642-1691) who was admitted pensioner at Trinity in 1660. The identity of 'Dr Downes' is less certain, though it seems likely to be John Downes (1627-1694), who graduated doctor of medicine at Leiden in 1660, was incorporated at Oxford in 1661 and admitted candidate to the College of Physicians in 1662. There is a biographical gap in our knowledge of John Downes between 1662 and 1675 when he was made fellow of the College of Physicians, but it is certain that Browne knew him in the later years of his life, when Browne was treasurer of the Royal College of Physicians. See Sophie Mann, 'Physic and divinity: the case of Dr John Downes M.D. (1627-1694),' *The Seventeenth Century* 31, no. 4 (2016): 451-470.

[48] Paris Journal, f.128r-v.

comprise detailed notes.[49] At Paris, however, most of Browne's medical ventures quickly

give way to other daily activities. For example, on

> May 6 Dr Maureau read de Hernia, Dr Dyneau de frebibus. I went to
>
> *th*e Coffe House which one Wilson an Englishman keeps in R. de
>
> Ducheries in Fauxberg St Germain where I met divers English
>
> Gentlemen, they sell here likewise beere and Tobacco. A great many
>
> English were preparing themselves for their journey *th*e next day to
>
> Veirseilles [sic] to bee at *th*e Grand Ballade which *th*e king hath
>
> appointed there.[50]

While Browne's notes from the London lecture do refer to other activities, they reproduce

much more of the lecture's content. This is likely to be due, in no small part, to the

difference between an anatomical dissection, which cannot easily be repeated, and a

reading, which was widely available in print. However, the fact that the Paris entries move

on so swiftly from lectures to sociable records nonetheless highlights that Browne's aims

were not *purely* medical but sociable and touristic too.

> Occasionally, the medical and touristic overlap: on May 28, Browne
>
> went to see Mr Goring hee being wounded the day before in a duell.
>
> I saw him dressed hee was run in very deep a little under the left
>
> arme-pit fighting with his left hande. the chirurgeon *th*e day before
>
> had laide his wound open two ways and let him bloode. another
>
> chirurgeon coming today they agreed after searching of the wound

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[49] Browne records the Latin names of body parts dissected, and occasionally a longer note: Paris Journal, f.32v-36r.

[50] Paris Journal, f.84v-85r.

to lay it open another way more toward the spina dorsi, and after

dressing let him blood again.[51]

Browne first mentions Goring at the coffee house on May 7, three weeks before this

duelling incident. The increased detail of this account in comparison to Browne's records of

lectures confirms that the style of entry changed according to the occasion: here, with the

opportunity to learn how French surgeons treated injured duellers, Browne's records

become more detailed in order to accurately record the treatment. Browne returns to

Goring's accommodation the following day, once more noting down the surgeon's course of

action. Here, the medical education arises not from a formal institution but through social

acquaintance, and it is this education that Browne records most thoroughly. Similarly

detailed accounts stem from Browne's visit to the Hostel del Dieu alongside Downes and

Abdy, and from Browne's attendance at the chemistry lectures, where experiments were

shown on natural minerals. These experiments, like Goring's treatment, are not readily

replicable: unless recorded in Browne's notebook, he would lose access to these lessons

after they had passed.

Some of the most detailed medical records from 1664 are those pertaining to

Browne himself: after falling ill on June 17, Browne's records become increasingly

introspective as he is confined to his lodgings. After June 19, there are three days without

an entry, suggesting that these were the days in which Browne first became seriously ill. On

June 22, Browne notes that his friend Dr Downes advised him to send for a physician after

Browne 'continued ill, my water red and without settling,' going on to note the prescription

and the course of treatment offered by Dr Le Count.[52] Each entry from June 22 to July 1,

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[51] Paris Journal, f.103r.

[52] Paris Journal, f.129r.

when Browne 'ventured to walke out as farre as the coffy house,' records something of his health.[53] Browne's health improved for around a week, when he once more visited the physic garden and went sightseeing with Downes and Abdy, but by July 7 he was again 'somewhat indisposed,' and continued in a state of fluctuating health until August; on one occasion 'Mr Whitson clapping his hand on my shoulder wondered at the bareness of my bones.'[54] Each entry during Browne's illness shows him looking in on himself as though he were the patient.[55] In contrast to many travellers, for whom 'illness... was not merely a somatic state, but a crucial period during which the faith of the believer was put to the test,' Browne's record of being ill is almost entirely somatic.[56] Browne becomes his own lesson: as he had seen Goring's treatments, and observed patients at Hostel del Dieu, here he observes himself, noting down his physical state, the prescribed cure, and the success or failure of that prescription. Browne's medical education, then, was facilitated not only by the institutions of the continent but the unique experiences that arose from travel.

From Diary to Letter: Fashioning a Medic

Given the length and severity of Browne's illness, it seems somewhat surprising that we find no record of the it in the extant letters home: a letter to Edward of August 12 proves that Thomas knew of his son's illness, but the only mention Edward makes to his own illness is a

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[53] Paris Journal, f.132v.

[54] Paris Journal, f.135v. On August 12 Browne 'received a letter from my father with directions how to order my selfe as to my health': Paris Journal, f.146r.

[55] Lotte Mulligan suggests that the diary of Robert Hooke offers a similar insight into the diarist as the object of observation, turning Hooke, in this instance, into an experiment into natural philosophy: in many ways, Browne's attitude to his own illness reflects this detachment. See Lotte Mulligan, 'Self-Scrutiny and the Study of Nature: Robert Hooke's Diary as Natural History,' *Journal of British Studies* 35, no. 3 (1996): 311-342.

[56] Jonathan Sawday, 'Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century,' in *Rewriting the Self,* 39.

single note in a letter of September 10 that he was 'finding [him]self every day in better health then other,' so that he was now able to travel to Lyon.[57] Indeed, Edward's letters to Thomas throughout his first stay in Paris obscure many of his occupations. All that Edward tells Thomas of Goring, for instance, is that 'the English here often fight, I see their wounds dress'd sometimes,' neglecting to include either names or treatments, both of which form a key part of Edward's own notes.[58] This is not to say that the medical education is excluded from the letters. Indeed, it is given priority. While Browne could have used his journal as a framework for the letters, arranged as it is in date order and including plenty of rich material, his letters from Paris entirely obscure his chronology, opening instead with reports from the medical schools. On May 17, he tells his father that

> I have been divers times at Hospital de la Charite, and Hostel de
>
> Dieu. which latter stands night to Nostre Dame and thus far more
>
> diseased in it then the other; I have been often at St innocent's
>
> Church yard and have seen *the*m dig up bones which have been very
>
> rotten after 3 weeks or a months interrement.[59]

Browne's first concern is to tell his father of his medical exploits. This is the first letter preserved from his time in Paris and the lack of contextualisation for this letter in the epistolary chain or in his own journey is striking; this letter shows no concern for 'the maintenance of epistolary continuity.'[60] This same letter continues to demonstrate Browne's prioritization of educational activities by expanding the journal's 40-word

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[57] Early Copybook, f.9r.

[58] Early Copybook, f.4r.

[59] Paris Journal, f.12r.

[60] Schneider, *Epistolarity,* 15.

description of the physic garden to almost two hundred words, and by commingling the

description of the garden with names of lecturers and readings. Both documents note that

'aloe growes here to a vast bigness,' suggesting that the journal underpinned the letters,

but where the journal combines education with leisure the letter divorces the two pursuits.

In part, this reflects Schneider's observation that 'the language of profit underscores letter

writing's pragmatic and interpersonal functions': the utility of this journey was in no small

part medical, and Browne's letters reflect this.[61]

A later letter to Thomas, sent in June, does acknowledge the epistolary chain, noting

that Browne had

> receved your third letter, the Garden is not yet open, but will bee
>
> *now* in a day or two, ^the^ Chymick lecture I am informed will bee
>
> Publick. I read at Present Barlets Chymistry in French, hee who I
>
> myght have seen a course of, to furnish mee with *th*e words terms in
>
> french proper for that *tha*t: It is the old Guide Patin that reads here
>
> to whom Praevolius dedicated his booke. hee is very old yet very
>
> pleasant in his discourse, and harty, hee is much followed, hee is a
>
> Gallenist, and doth often laugh at *th*e Chymists.[62]

While this letter includes more detail about Browne's experiences in Paris, it is still removed

from the journal's chronological framework and edited to prioritize his medical education.

In his journal entry of May 28, Browne notes that, hearing the chemical lecture was to begin

shortly, 'I had 2 bookes to accustome mee somewhat to *tha*t french Art and to furnish mee

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[61] Schneider, *Epistolarity*, 65.

[62] Early Copybook, f.1r.

with french *words* proper to this knowledge.'[63] These '2 bookes' include 'La Physique resolutive de Mr Annibal Barlet.'[64] The corresponding letter draws on the same phrase as the journal, noting that Barlet would 'furnish' him with the correct terminology, forging an evident continuity between the documents. The fact that Browne goes on to talk about Patin, however, disrupts the chronology: the journal first refers to Patin on April 24, over a month earlier than Barlet. Furthermore, while Patin is 'harty' in the letter, in Browne's journal he is 'the maddest fellow for a profesour th*a*t ever I heard speake.'[65] In the period between the diary and letter, either Browne's attitude toward Patin's lecturing style had changed or he decided that it was inappropriate to accuse Patin of 'madness' in a letter to Thomas. The chronological disparity between the documents' accounts of Patin and Barlet further reiterates that Browne's narrative is consistently removed from these letters.

Throughout these letters from Paris, Browne's medical pursuits are consistently prioritized. They are placed at the beginning of the letters, regardless of when they actually happened, and often extend the journal entries to magnify the medical. Beyond chronological rearrangement, Browne also removes personal observations from the letters' narratives: his honest opinion of Patin is amended, his sociable pursuits are omitted, and his own illness receives no extended notation. This portrays the Browne of the letters as a committed student interested first and foremost in his medical education. This is not,

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[63] Paris Journal, f.102v.

[64] Paris Journal, f.102v. Although the letter refers to 'Barlets chymistry' and the diary entry to 'La Physique resolutive,' these are the same book: *Le vray et methodique cours de la physique resolutive vulgairement dite chymie pour connoistre la theotechnie ergocosmique* (1651). Browne copies a section from Barlet's table of characters of alchemical symbols on f.104v of the Paris journal.

[65] Paris Journal, f.72r.

however, the image that emerges from a wider reading of the journal: rather, it is a persona that he actively crafts when he presents himself to his father.

'I have forgot to tell you': Omissions from the Letters

While magnifying the medical, Browne's early letters tend to relegate and redact sightseeing activities and their social contexts. For instance, a letter of May 17 briefly refers to the Palace de Luxembourg, the Tuileries, and the Jardin Royal, but offers no description of these sites. In contrast, at the Tuileries, Browne's journal describes how he was

> surprised with the delight of this sweet place, so much the more
>
> ravishing to mee as it was unexpectedly [illegible] I being a little
>
> melancholy was somewhat prepared to enjoye *th*e Pleasure of
>
> theese fine walkes, delicate garden, Cedar groves, Melodious
>
> Nightingals, not omitting some of your French voyces no lesse
>
> harmonious than sweet Philomels. under the arbors were placed
>
> wine water banquets &c in such order as if they grew there nata
>
> natural, or as if *th*e birds, you having filld your selves with *th*e all first
>
> course of all *th*e pleasures in *th*e Garden besides, had plac'd these
>
> here and with their pritty notes did now invite you ~~here to this~~
>
> ~~dessar~~ to take here your dessart.[66]

None of this picturesque narrative makes its way into the letter, which simply notes 'the Tuilleries,' one of the 'most noble' gardens.[67] The letter instead relies on the language of utility, emphasising that 'letter writing was a practical pursuit in imparting *useful*

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[66] Paris Journal, f.74r.

[67] Early Copybook, f.12r.

information.'[68] Williams has noted that John Clerk III's letters 'manufactured for his father an image of carefully balanced cosmopolitanism which appeared safe and conformed with his father's wishes': Browne too participates in an act of familial self-representation which does not entirely align with his day-to-day activities.[69]

This act of self-fashioning is reinforced by a letter to Lyttelton, which offers a wholly different report of the Tuileries. In this letter, the beauty of the Tuileries—though still not explicitly—becomes a tool to Browne's expressions of affection:

> when I walk in *th*e neate gardens of the Monasteries, or in the
>
> Tuilleries a place like Graisin walks, butt farre surpassing it, or in any
>
> shady grove which is a great convenience in this hot weather or
>
> when I begine to take the least delight in any thing I presently wish
>
> your companys, which when I consider it is a thing impossible, I
>
> undervalew all the delights of France, and prefer our little garden at
>
> Norwich before that of Luxembourg at Paris.[70]

Where the Tuileries, in a letter to his father, is passed over quickly as though a checkbox on a sight-seeing list, in a letter to his sister it is a tool of affection. In contrast to the more 'utilitarian' letters to Thomas, this letter adapts Browne's activities to suit his sister's expectations of him as a doting brother. The vast departure in tone between the letters to Thomas and to Lyttelton, and of both from Browne's extended journal account of the Tuileries, all suggest that Browne self-consciously shaped his epistolary style to his audience. The stark divisions between medical and touristic excursions, divisions which are

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[68] Schneider, *Epistolarity,* 65.

[69] Williams, 'Inner Lives of Early Modern Travel,' 363.

[70] Early Copybook, f.7r-8r. 'Graisin Walks' may refer to Grey's Inn Walks in London.

emphasised by the structure of the letters but coexist unproblematically in the journal, also suggests a perceived tension between these two purposes.

While Browne's May 17 letter reports his attendance at the Protestant Church of Charenton, an excursion to Vincente, and a visit to Notre Dame and the Jesuit's church, these combined reports—covering nearly a month's activity—take up only as much space as the medical reporting, Browne excising almost every detail of his sightseeing. This is still largely the case in the undated letter of June, though Browne offers more detail there about a trip into the countryside about Paris. On June 2-3 1664, Browne visited St Cloud, the Duke of Angouleme's house at Reuil, the King's house at St Germain, and the President of Paris's house at Maison. In the c.1850 words devoted to this excursion in Browne's journal, we learn of Browne's companion—his 'fellow collegian' Richard Hopkins—, the pair's dealings with a 'rogue waterman,' extensive detail about the locations they visited, their luck at being shown into the King's house by a pair of Capuchin monks, and their journey back to Paris through a 'great many vine-yards where we drunke good wines.'[71] Back at Paris, Browne adds that 'wee drunk milke limonade, and eat cherry's till wee made our selfes sick, and so crawled home to our lodgings.'[72] The letter, however, condenses all this to just 220 words. Though his letter states that a full description would 'take up too much room to describe,' this is nonetheless an extreme redaction. Besides the description, the narrative is removed, the letter offering no sense of when Browne took this trip or how long it took.

Other frequent omissions from the letters include non-medical reading: while Browne is happy to report that he was reading Barlet, he neglects to mention his more occasional reading. For instance, on May 21 Browne 'went with Mr Hopkins to the *Pelond*

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[71] Paris Journal, f.114v.

[72] Paris Journal, f.114v.

where hee bought a booke call'd les femmes illustres ou les harangues heroiques de Mr de

Scudery. hee lent mee the second part which is written in very good french and easy to bee

understood.'[73] Despite his enjoyment and comprehension of the French text, this book—

which 'addresses itself to women as an audience, and defends education… as a means to

social mobility for women'—hardly furthers Browne's academic education, and any record

of it is therefore excised from the letters home.[74] Later records of reading the 'Spanish

voyage' and borrowing 'the description of the Prince of Condies voyage into Italy' are also

omitted from the letters.[75] These texts, however, show that Browne was not satisfied with

visiting Europe for its medical capital alone: he searches out more information about the

travels he might yet undertake, regardless of their academic value.

Browne also neglects to mention his theatre trips in the letters: on May 25 he '~~saw~~

heard a Comedy at Palais Royall they were monseirs Comedians. they had a farce after it. I

gave Quinze Solz to stand upon the grounde. the name of it was Coeur de Mari, they are not

to bee compared to *th*e Londoners.'[76] Browne's established interest in theatre here offered

opportunity for comparison between the French and English troupes. On August 6, 'Pere

Malbrec, a Jesuist came to invite us to a tragedy at the Jesuists college,' though this time

Browne mentions nothing of the play.[77] On August 11, however, Browne devotes nearly

three pages to a description of his journey to the 'collegium Claramontanum [the Jesuit's

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[73] Paris Journal, f.96v.

[74] Jane Donawerth, 'Conversation and the boundaries of Public Discourse in Rhetorical Theory by Renaissance Women,' *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 16, no. 2 (1998): 184.

[75] Paris Journal, f.141r and 143r.

[76] Paris Journal, f.101r.

[77] Paris Journal, f.148v. It is possible that this is an invitation to the play that Browne attended in August 11, rather than for the same day.

college at Clermont] to get a place to hear *the* comedy *that* was to bee acted.'[78] This day the theatre was so busy that he 'cam home again desparing to get a place till Mr Dicas about noon call'd mee and by the help of his friend plac'd mee just by *the* stage.'[79] The twice-yearly plays at Clermont College 'drew not only very select, but very large audiences'; in 1657, the papal legate and members of his train attended alongside 'some three thousand city folk.'[80] It is, perhaps, no surprise that Browne struggled to find space: however, having gained admittance via his social networks, his ensuing journal entry describes the spectacle in detail. He records the sails covering the top of the college court, the scaffolding and chairs, the gilding of the stage, and the '4 or five dances' between every act.[81] After the play, the occasion transformed into an academic ceremony, one scholar being pronounced 'to have excelled in oratory,' and each scholar 'which had made good exercises the trumpets blowing for every one... was hoistd up the stage [and] presented with a book and a laurel crowne put on his head.'[82] Far from just a theatrical marvel, this excursion offered Browne an insight into the academic spectacle of the Jesuit college. The detail of this journal entry in contrast with its complete omission in the letters highlights the divergence between the activities that Browne himself found particularly remarkable, and those which he considered remarkable to his father.

Despite the importance of social networks to Browne's experience at Paris, his companions are systematically removed from his early letters: Hopkins, Abdy, and Downes,

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[78] Paris Journal, f.153r.

[79] Paris Journal, f.153r.

[80] Jean Misrahi, 'The Beginnings of the Jesuit Theatre in France,' *The French Review* 16, no. 3 (1943): 244. Browne writes to his father in 1665 about the entrance of the Legate into Paris.

[81] Paris Journal, f.153r.

[82] Dresden Journal, f.154r.

all regular companions of Browne, receive no mention. While Browne's journal demonstrates that his days were spent alongside other Englishmen and, on occasion, locals, these accounts are never related to his father. In their place are balanced and generally dispassionate descriptions of sights, usually subordinated to an assurance of his ongoing medical education. As the tension between medical education and touristic sightseeing emerges through the increase of one and the redaction of the other, the sociability of both academic *and* touristic ventures is rejected in the letters: Browne presents himself, in his letters, as an independent agent.

'Matters of Religion': The Excision of Catholic Encounters

Along with sight-seeing and theatre trips, Browne omits his engagements with Catholic cultures from his Paris letters. As Browne had visited the Queen Mother's Chapel in London, so in Paris he visited non-Protestant institutions. Hopkins accompanied him on one of these visits. Browne's June letter reports that he has 'seen the ceremony of makein of a nun… in the Monastery of St Augustin de Sion, a convent lately built by the now Abbesse of it.'[83] Like Browne's other non-medical notes, this record is far more extensive in the diary, running to about 450 words. His journal recounts the exact method of 'making a nun,' including their dress, the length of the ceremony, and the physical processes. He also notes that he and Hopkins 'discoursed with one of my name *tha*t had liv'd here twenty years. shee much comended her manner of living as *th*e innocente pleasures of a monastery.'[84] He furthermore describes the elaborate process of gaining admittance to speak with a nun. Despite this plethora of information in Browne's journal, it only merits a single short line in

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[83] Early Copybook, f.3r.

[84] Paris Journal, f.100r-v.

the letter, suggesting that he felt some of his own pursuits would fall outside of his father's areas of interests. While the limited space of a letter's page necessarily calls for brevity, Browne's excision of his frequent and extended cultural observations emphasizes that he curated a specific image of himself to send to his father.

Browne's earlier letter to Lyttelton had noted his intention 'to see two English gentlewomen made nuns.'[85] However, the bulk of this letter describes Browne's trip to the treasury at St Denis outside of Paris. Browne's interest in cabinets of rarities, like many of his other interests, predates his European tour: in London, Browne had seen a collection of rarities 'by St Paules,' and he had also viewed the collections of Arundel House, under the aegis of Henry Howard. [86] However, like other cultural sites, Browne's excursion to St Denis—which merits an extended meditation of almost 700 words in the journal—is not mentioned in extant letters to Thomas from Paris.

Browne's journal entry from St Denis begins by detailing architectural and decorative features, Browne noting that it was '35 of my paces broad,' and that when he saw it 'it happened to bee the day of the service for Kinge Lewis the Thirteenth so *tha*t all the Quire was hang'd in black set with a world of candles.'[87] Browne's journal also records details about burials in the Cathedral, and some inscriptions. In addition, Browne visited St Denis's large treasury, declaring that 'there being a little booke sold at the doore of the church which reckons up all the tombes and rarities both the church & treasure I need say no more of the monuments.'[88] Nonetheless, his journal records 'two gold crosses which stande in the

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[85] Early Copybook, f.7r.

[86] Paris Journal, f.3r-3v.

[87] Paris Journal, f.90r.

[88] Paris Journal, f.91r.

Quire for full with precious stones'; 'a piece of the crosse upon which our saviour was crucified. the naile with which hee was fastened to the crosse. a finger of St Thomas,' and 'Malchus his Lanthern with which hee came to take our saviour with Judas Escariot.'[89] Though these items are recorded in the printed book—which, given that Browne professes to 'need say no more,' we might reasonably reliably assume he bought—Browne still includes them within his own notes as particularly remarkable.[90] Here, Browne's primary attention is towards relics which concern Christ, alongside more historical and martial relics like the 'chin of St Louis' and 'St Louis his sword with which hee fought against the turks.'[91] Furthermore, Browne records 'an handsome large picture of Jeanne D'Arc Puelle d'Orleans and her sword,' and 'an unicornes horne' among other curiosities.[92] In this miniature catalogue, Browne documents religious relics alongside secular curiosities, 'redefin[ing] the meanings and purposes of relics,' and turning the treasury at St Denis into a secular cabinet of curiosity.[93] In the letter to Lyttelton, Browne describes of some of the items before telling her that 'if you will have any beads or little pieces of silver, *tha*t have touched these things, write mee word; and the next opportunity I meet with, I will send you some, butt it may bee you are not curious for such things.'[94] Browne's assured affection for his sister, evidenced by Browne's offer of material gifts, reflects how 'relics become tokens in social and credit relations abroad and at home.'[95] This offer demonstrates how Browne used his travel letters

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[89] Sloane MS 92v-93r.

[90] Mączak notes that Protestants did not wholly reject 'relics associated with the person of Jesus Christ and with other witnesses to the events records in the Gospel': *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, 223.

[91] Paris Journal, f.92v.

[92] Paris Journal, f.93r.

[93] O'Donnell, '"anti-pilgrimage",' 135.

[94] Early Copybook, f.7r.

[95] O'Donnell, '"Anti-pilgrimage",' 133.

to confirm his own role as a doting brother. The absence of notes about this trip in letters to Thomas likewise highlights that Browne adjusted his epistolary style according to his audience: in Paris, a trip to a Catholic relic treasury is subsumed by medical records, and records of secular sightseeing. However, though Browne played differing role in letters to different family members, each role would have been clear to each member: the shared transcribing practices of Thomas and Lyttelton, as well as instances of shared reading between other family and friends suggest that Thomas may well have read this letter to Lyttelton. These differing roles, then, make Browne's letter conspicuous plays in which the reader as well as the writer suspend their disbelief.

Browne's letters and journal from Paris offer entirely different stories of his travels. Where the letters emphasise medical pursuits, both in detail and material layout, they mute the sociable and the cultural. Where non-medical pursuits are included, Browne reports them as an impartial onlooker rather than an active participant. From the excision of chronology to the redaction of personalized details, Browne's Parisian letters read not as travel accounts but as objective lists of events and sights: they are nothing like the Derbyshire relation of two years prior. However, as with that account, Browne is in full authorial control throughout these letters: in the distinct addresses to his father and his sister, two different travellers emerge. It is not the case that Browne *could* not write effective narrative accounts of his travels, but that he chose, at this stage, to present Thomas not with a traveller's tale, but with what Browne thought his father would *expect* to see: in this, the letters reframe the journal's inquisitive traveller as dutiful son.

'I traviled from Paris': The Journey to Italy

On September 1 1664, Browne 'prepared for [his] journey took leave of [his] friends, Mr

Sineden & Mr Boneham who went for England. I bought this booke.'[96] 'This book' is the

Lyon Journal. The fact that Browne bought this new, bound pocket-book specifically as he

was about to leave Paris highlights the division of his itinerary: though there were still

plenty of spare leaves in the Paris Journal, as Browne leaves Paris physically, he also takes

leave of his old notebook.[97] The Lyon Journal delineates Browne's journey out of Paris,

noting that he 'took boat by Port St Paul, entered *th*e coache d'eau, shake'd hands with Mr

Dicas, my father Hues, Mr Hart & Dr Nappier, there being about a hundred persons *tha*t

tooke this rout with me.'[98] The following entries offer brief observations about the locations

Browne passed en route to Lyon but, as might be expected from a traveller in motion

without the leisure to explore individual towns, the fleeting detail reflects Browne's own

biographical experience. Where at Paris Browne's extended journal descriptions reflect the

extent to which he lingered physically and mentally at certain sites, on the road the swift

movement in text from one location to the next reproduces his incessant physical

movement. In this way, although inevitably 'narrative time must compress real time,'

Browne's journal nonetheless enacts its author's experiences.[99] Along with the change in

the journalistic style, there is a shift in epistolary style, undoubtedly for many of the same

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[96] Lyon Journal, f.2r.

[97] After the final entry from Paris, made on August 16 1664, there are 55 further folios in the Paris journal, suggesting that more than just a convenient moment materially to switch journals, this decision was influenced by the change of geographical location.

[98] Lyon Journal, f.2r.

[99] Mark S. Dawson, 'Histories and Texts: Refiguring the Diary of Samuel Pepys,' *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 2 (2000): 427.

reasons. A short letter to Thomas dated September 10 at Châlons recounts some points of Browne's journey. Here, unlike in earlier letters, Browne narrates his timeline: in the absence of 'useful' medical or cultural observations, Browne's letters have space to describe travel itself. Within this chronological shift, Browne situates himself more fully within the context of his continental journey so far, and even within the context of his home country: he tells Thomas about a bridge at Montreau 'like Pont Neuf a Paris'; postulates that if Sens cathedral were complete 'it would bee little inferiour to that of Nostredame'; judges the statue of St Christopher at Villeneuf 'no less though worse shaped then *tha*t at Paris'; and comments that Sens 'put mee in mind of Salisbury.'[100] While the comparisons to Paris at Villeneuf and Sens also appear in the Lyon Journal, the comparisons to Pont Neuf and Salisbury are exclusive to the letter. The reference to Salisbury in particular suggests that Browne intends to orient his reader in his description: offering a comparison to a location at home indicates that the letter not only aimed to report motion, but to impart personal impressions through shared knowledge.

A week after reaching Lyon, Browne continued towards Montpellier. Like the records of the journey to Châlons, the entries from Lyon and beyond are less detailed than those from Paris, Browne again noting some salient points—notable cathedrals, the landscape, his eating and drinking habits—but not delineating any one event in detail. Even the note that he and his company 'narrowly escaped spating upon the rocks by Valence' is unelaborated.[101] A few locations receive a little more detail, notably when Browne diverts from his company. Leaving Valence, for instance, Browne 'had a desire to bee set on shore by Orange but *th*e waterman deceiving mee, for his own concernes landed mee nigh Mount

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[100] Early Copybook, f.9r.

[101] Lyon Journal, f.9r.

Mounres [Mornas] where *th*e Hugonots force'd the Papists to jump down a pracipice.'[102] Instead of dwelling on his misfortune, Browne recalls a historical misfortune during the French Wars of Religion where 'precipitating the prisoners from the summit of a high rock became the favorite mode of execution' of the Protestant soldiers retaliating against the papist siege of (and ensuing massacre at) Mornas in 1565.[103] Browne's misfortune continues: he is unable to hire a horse to reach Orange. Instead, he 'hired a Pilgrim to carry my Port Mantle and walked on another league to Orange through fine rows and groves of olive trees.'[104] In this minor diversion, a comment on historical religious tensions is immediately counteracted by religious cooperation: the pilgrim and Browne are mutually beneficial to one another. As in his conversation about Le Gross's pilgrimage, Browne offers no sense of judgement. He and the pilgrim part ways without a word shared—or, rather, recorded. It is perhaps unsurprising that Browne's letter does not relate this episode, emphasizing as it does both the physical dangers of travelling, and the proximity to pilgrims, so pitied by Thomas.[105]

Surprisingly, the remainder of Browne's journey to Montpellier, in which he saw Pont du Gard and the amphitheatre at Nîmes (September 25-26), is also omitted from the correspondence. The next letter dates from October 7 at Montpellier, and in this Browne confirms that the last letters he had written were from Châlons and Lyon (the latter of which is not preserved) nearly a month earlier. Short and succinct, this letter reports his delight at Montpellier (even admitting, despite his disgust with the women at Calais in April,

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[102] Lyon Journal, f.9v.

[103] Henry M. Baird, *History of the Rise of the Huguenots*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), 2:51.

[104] Lyon Journal, f.9v.

[105] In *Religio Medici,* Thomas Browne professes that he 'cannot laugh at but rather pity the fruitlesse journeys of Pilgrims': Browne, *Religio Medici*, 1.3.

that the people there were, 'I suppose, without injury to my owne country, the most

handsome in the world'); his frequent attendance at sermons (every day and four on a

Sunday); his lodging with an apothecary; and a new acquaintance with a physician.[106] A few

notes on sightseeing follow, but the letter remains short. This may be a result of the sparse

accounts that Browne made: his journal stops at September 28, leaving no records between

Avignon and Montpellier. In the absence of an *aide-memoire*, Browne's letter reports more

about his opinion of and activities at Montpellier than details of his itinerary. This focus on

destination rather than journey in turn omits the story of the pilgrim and the notes from

Avignon and Nîmes. It would have been possible for Browne to relate, for example, the

antiquities at Avignon and Nîmes—in which Thomas Browne might take a particular

interest—without having to narrate the entire journey to Montpellier, but Browne elected

not to do so. As the brevity of the Châlons letter reflected both the space in which Browne

wrote (a short overnight stop or travelling on a boat would be incentives towards brevity),

and the briefer journal entries, this letter's succinctness likewise may stem from the Lyon

Journal's incomplete records.

     After September 28, the Journal skips nearly a month.[107] Following the break,

Browne compiles an itinerary of sorts, recording locations and corresponding dates:

Point Lunet,	Nismes	October 20
Romolin,	Castlenay	21
St Espire. Pierrelat. Mont Limar.		22
Laurier.	Valence.	23

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[106] Early Copybook, f.5r.

[107] The intervening pages were used in October 1665 to record details of the anatomy at Paris.

Romans	Visnet	24
	Grenoble	25. 26
Bridge of boats.	Duke of	
Lesdiquieres house.		^27^
Chartreuse		[108]

This is all the detail about Browne's journey between Nîmes and Chartreuse. This journal thus offers an entirely different relationship to the letters than the Paris Journal did. Rather than excising a chronological narrative, a letter to Thomas dated November 5 at Turin (the first since October 7) explains both the order of Browne's journey and the reasons for his decisions. 'The plague being in Provence,' Browne was 'forc'd… to goe by the way of Grenoble' where he saw 'the Duke of Lesdiguere's hous, a bridge of boats' and 'a burning hill' three leagues off.[109] Chartreuse, in the journal, receives a short description:

> ~~great~~ entry high rocks firre trees. long cloisters. Pere General of
>
> Auvergne his lodgings pictures 1000# of Henry 8 his martyring *th*e
>
> Chartreus St Hugo in a chappel. ~~much wood~~ good fires. holy water by
>
> our bed sides wee wrote our names in their booke and on a picture
>
> in the chamber. lodgings for severall nations. 8 chambers. kitchin.
>
> hall where they dine. extremity of cold no fruit growes in it. *Wo*men
>
> are excommunicated if approach.[110]

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[108] Lyon Journal, f.32r. See Appendix 4 for a photograph of this page.

[109] Early Copybook, f.49r.

[110] Lyon Journal, f.32r

The letter expands on this skeleton framework, describing the convent as 'the most desolate retired place of all the alpes,' and the entry between the rocks as 'a portall fit for so strange an habitations.'[111] The 'Duke Generalls chambers are inrich'd with pictures of a very great valeu,' though Browne does not number them as he does in the journal.[112] Furthermore, Browne adds a personal detail, telling Thomas that he 'lodged one night in the convent and was extremely civilly entertained, though [he] declared [himself] to bee a protestant.'[113] Although some details are removed from the letter (such as Henry VIII's martyring of the Carthusian monks), others are added. Here, Browne actively imports the descriptive prose which was deliberately culled from his Paris letters.

While the journal undoubtedly underpins the letter, providing the itinerary details and a skeleton framework, this instance inverts the Parisian example of the progression from journal to letter. Where the first letters consistently removed Browne from his tale— both narrative and voice—this letter *inserts* Browne where he is absent in the journal. This is partly a result of the sparser notes: in order to compose a full letter, Browne elaborated on the journal's scant detail. In addition, the lack of academic objectives in this stage of Browne's journey means that he turned to other materials—such as the description of his journey—to fill this letter, inviting a narrativized and personal, rather than abstract and detached, style. The very fact that Browne wrote a full letter, despite having no significant scholarly revelations to report, also suggests that his letter-writing was not *only* about proving the utility of his journey, as it might seem from the Paris letters, but served the more expected purpose of connecting traveller and home; even 'letters that said "nothing"

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[111] Early Copybook, f.49r.

[112] Early Copybook, f.49r.

[113] Early Copybook, f.49v.

—that is, imparted little or no explicit news or information—nevertheless communicated alliance, fidelity, and homage.'[114]

This letter also reports that 'I saw here yesterday one whome they report to be brother to the great Turk, his picture I have inclosed herein.'[115] This is not the first exchange of drawings within Browne's archive: on June 13, Browne received 'a letter from my father in which my brother Tom drew the picture of a Monstrous Tartar which was reported to bee taken by Count Serini.'[116] A later letter addressed to Thomas Jr from Turin on November 14 notes that Edward's last letter 'sent you the picture of a Dominican Friar... Brother to the Great Turk,' adding that 'I am so far of and am unsatisfied in nothing so much as in not haveing your company in a place where your judgment in pictures and statuas would be so satisfied and your fancy pleasd.'[117] Both brothers thus send each other their own drawings of notable people, demonstrating their shared interests and ongoing close relationship. Here, Browne goes on to tell Thomas Jr that 'the oddest rarity that I have met with is the tombe of a dog in the side of a hill with Jupiters statua over it as big as St Christophe a Paris with his Epitaphe in Italien my father will interpret it to you.'[118] This letter, transcribed in Lyttelton's hand, includes the epitaph in both Italian and English. However, given Edward's note that his father would interpret the epitaph for Thomas Jr, it seems likely that the translation was interpolated upon copying, drawing attention both to copyists' capacity for

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[114] Schneider, *Epistolarity,* 27.

[115] Early Copybook, f.52r.

[116] Paris Journal, f.124v.

[117] Early Copybook, f.101r.

[118] Early Copybook, f.101r. Barbour posits that Thomas travelled from Montpellier to Padua via Genoa, because one notebook includes a reference to 'Roldano prince Doria's dogge, still to bee seen & reade in his garden at Genoa': Keynes, *Works,* 3.226. This reference seems to have been taken from Edward's letter. See Barbour, *A Life,* 145.

editorial intervention, and the common practice of shared reading of letters. It is the very

oddity of this discovery that makes it, for Browne, worth reporting to his brother; just as the

monstrosity of the Tartar and the renown of the 'Great Turk' made them appropriate

subjects for exchange, the bizarre tombstone of a dog qualifies it for inclusion. Before

signing off, Browne tells his brother that 'I have now past the Alpes and Apenines which

journys put mee much in mind of our Darbishire adventure, I long to bee with you which will

make mee haste for England after Christmas.'[119] In the Derbyshire relation, Browne had

quoted a Virgilian verse that Coryate cites in the *Crudities* after his traverse of the Savoy

mountains, the same traverse that Browne himself has just completed upon writing this

letter. Those words, '"perhaps some day it will help to recall these very things," are spoken

by Aeneas to his companions when they are undergoing a period of hardships,' and were

copied by Browne in his 1662 account to commemorate his traverse of the Derbyshire

peaks.[120] While the phrase does not reappear after he has actually crossed the Savoy

mountains, the sentiment remains: as Browne had predicted in 1662, his memory of the

Derbyshire adventure here is helpful (or joyful) to him, invoked to express his affection for

and memories of his brother.

The differences in the letters from Paris and after Paris are evident: once Browne left

the medical utility behind, his letters place more emphasis on the processes of travelling,

guiding a reader through key sights. This is as much to do with the pace of Browne's travel

as the depth of his notes: the fleeting impressions preserved in his journal add a temporal

pace to the letters that is absent in Paris. When a full record of the journey was not

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[119] Early Copybook, f.101r.

[120] Walter J. Ong, *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Cornell UP, 2012), 65-66.

preserved, the letters emphasise particular episodes, regardless of whether they were 'useful,' accentuating Browne's active engagement with his surroundings. While much of this is a result of the mode of notetaking and of physical movement, Browne's letter to his brother exhibits the constructed nature of his reports: even when those to Thomas rely more heavily on personal and narrativized descriptions, they do not speak *to* the reader in the way that the letter to Thomas Jr—like that to Lyttelton from St Denis—does. In this, Browne controls his medium to mediate and confirm his role within his family.

'To the Old Palace': Curiosity Cabinets at Florence and Rome

From Genoa, Browne travelled south, arriving at Florence on November 26 1664. Although he stayed there until December 1, the only journal entry about Florence is that it 'is seated in plain cut in two by the River Arno. over which are four good bridges on the second is the Goldsmiths bridge. on the third the statuas of the four seasons.'[121] He does not note where he stayed or dined, who his companions were, or any other sights. This is somewhat surprising, since Florence was one of the focal centers of the Grand Tour's general pattern 'from the mid-seventeenth to the late eighteenth century.'[122]

It is thus striking that on November 27 Browne's journal includes a c.1000-word description of 'the Old Palace,' Palazzo Vecchio.[123] This entry is essentially a catalogue of a treasury. While other travellers visited Palazzo Vecchio and recorded its contents, none seems to have outdone Browne in detail. An anonymous traveller, whose travel relation of his journey through Europe in 1648-9 is preserved in Bodleian Library Rawlinson D 120,

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[121] Lyon Journal, f.42r.

[122] Towner, 'The Grand Tour,' 313.

[123] Lyon Journal, f.43v. The 'old palace' refers to Palazzo Vecchio.

devotes roughly 600 words to Florence, 231 of which describe the Duke's repository.[124] John

Evelyn too visited the Palace, devoting roughly 650 words to a description of the cabinet, of

about 1800 on Florence in its entirety. Even though Browne's account of Florence is far

shorter than Evelyn's, his account of the repository is much longer; where the anonymous

traveller and Evelyn use roughly a third of their entries on Florence to describe Palazzo

Vecchio, Browne uses nearly four fifths of his to that end. Clearly a visit to Palazzo Vecchio

was an important part of a traveller's itinerary in Florence, and 'as long as one knew the

right people, entry could be gained fairly easily.'[125] Indeed, 'the Duke's treasury appears

nearly always to have interested [travellers] more genuinely than the cathedral.'[126]

Browne's method of recording the palace, however, differs from his fellow travellers'.

Evelyn's diary, for instance, written some time after his visit, is 'less the direct transcription

of lived experience, and more the result of successive revision of prior texts.'[127] This in turn

makes Evelyn the object of our attentions, as opposed to the palace. He records 'a large

branch of Corall fixed on a piece of the Rock, *which they told us* still grew,' and 'an Iron-

naile, halfe converted into Gold... *but its being sother'd is apparent*.'[128] Both of these

instances show Evelyn placing his own judgement front and centre in his interactions with

the repository. The anonymous traveller is more interested in expressing the sheer value of

the cabinet:

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[124] Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 120.

[125] Andrea M. Galdy, *Cosimo I de' Medici as Collector: Antiquities and Archaeology in Sixteenth-century Florence* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 15.

[126] Stoye, *English Travellers,* 187-188.

[127] Smyth, *Autobiography*, 38.

[128] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* ed. E.S. De Beer (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1955)*,* 1: 119. Emphases added.

2^ly^ **[**a cabinett set w*ith* diamonds pearle topasses and other

pretious stones, as allso w*ith* huge peeces of amber; *th*e value of *th*e

cabinett 100 000 crownes**]** **{**another cabinet where in there is

curious worke of amber, given to *th*e duke by *th*e emperor, *th*e value

10000 crownes**}** 4 tables of pretious stones as currle, porfry, jasper,

rubes and other pretious stones; *th*e first valued at 100000 crownes,

*th*e second at 10000 crownes, *th*e other 2 at 2000 crownes a

peece.[129]

Though the '2^ly^' indicates that this is the second cabinet, a numerical system which

continues throughout this description, he does not recount the journey from one cabinet to

the next, or offer many personal impressions. In this, he typifies Mączak's 'philistine tourist'

who was interested 'first and foremost in the material value of the object.'[130] Browne's

description of the same cabinet notes that in

[2 cabanet wee saw a cabinet ebony inlayed with pretious stones. in

it a cube one side with birds a la Mosaique. 2 our saviours taking

down from the cross ~~taken downe~~ by Michel Angelo**]**. **{**the third the

twelve Apostles in Ambar, the 4 the passion of our saviour in ~~Ivory~~

Ambar the Ambare were worked in Poland**}**.[131]

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[129] Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 120, f.19r.

[130] Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, 206.

[131] Lyon Journal, f.43v.

Like Evelyn, Browne notes the presence of a 'we,' but he does not draw attention to his own judgement as obviously as Evelyn. Like the anonymous traveller, Browne numbers the cabinets, but he does not share the preoccupation with material value, instead recording details and workmanship. However, both in the gallery and in the Garderobe, the detail of Browne's record disappears, leaving four folios offer only basic descriptions of the artefacts.[132] This might suggest both the sheer amount of information available within the treasury, and the importance that this particular collection placed on material organization; while the cabinets were curated pieces where individual items were displayed together intentionally to create a coherent whole, the items in the gallery and Garderobe do not depend on being interpreted alongside their surrounding pieces. Rather, like the gallery itself, Browne's record becomes 'a space through which one passe[s],' and his text itself becomes the museum.[133]

Although Palazzo Vecchio was one of the central sights of Browne's tour, he includes little about it in his December letter. Where the diary devotes a thousand words to the Duke's repository, the letter to Thomas describes the whole of Florence in only 169 words. After offering a few brief observations of cultural sights, Browne reports that he saw 'many other very remarkable things which would take up to much roome to describe.'[134] While this highlights the brevity necessitated by the letter form, the proportion of this excision is extreme. It is, however, a different kind of excision to those of the Paris letters. Here, for instance, he acknowledges that among the art in the Duke's Gallery Corregio's work pleased

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[132] For instance, among the statues Browne records 'a centaur,' 'senatours heads,' and 'a boy in bronze with a kid in his hand': Lyon Journal, f.45v.

[133] Paula Findlen, 'The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy,' *Journal of the History of Collections* 1, no. 1 (1989): 71.

[134] Early Copybook, f.46r.

him best—a personal observation—and the wider structure of the letter establishes a sense of this trip's position within Browne's itinerary.[135] Once again, this is shaped by the extent of Browne's notes. While the detail of the Paris Journal gave Browne the option to excise swathes of every-day material, and report only the most 'useful' pursuits, the scantiness of notes about Florence, with the exception of the extreme specificity of the Duke's Repository, leaves Browne few records of utility to send to his father. It is also possible Browne chose not to include the catalogue of the Repository because it was preserved in his Journal, should he wish to share it with his father on his return, as at St Denis Browne declined to make an extensive catalogue of the rarities because he had bought the printed catalogue. In both cases, a single catalogue—printed or hand-written—sufficed for Browne's own records, and obviated the need to transcribe a secondary record into a letter.

Browne's letter-writing style may also have changed according to the relative perceptions of utility at Paris and Florence. In medical centres like Paris and Padua, medical learning was a traveller's primary purpose. In cities such as Florence and Rome, however, cultural sites *were* the purpose, lending them a semblance of 'utility' to those who funded the tour: the fact that Browne neglects to tell his father about the St Denis' treasury but he does mention the Duke's treasury, suggests that in Italy, curiosity collections attained a different value. While in Paris Browne's attention was expected to be trained on the anatomy lectures and the botanical garden—as the letters demonstrate—in Florence cultural sites were expected to take precedence. While Paris held what we may call

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[135] In the description of the Palazzo Vecchio, Browne only briefly notes Corregio among the contents of the second cabinet ('Pictures of Raphael Urbin. Michel Angelo Corragio. Michel Angelo Bonarato Vandike. Parisiano Girogion TItian Corregio Holbein. Zucaro Leonard de Vinci. Hannibal Caratzzio. Andrea de Sarto': Lyon Journal, f.44r.

'academic capital,' 'Florence and the Renaissance were cultural capital': Browne's

documents attest to these differing statuses.[136]

While Browne's epistolary report of Palazzo Vecchio is significantly shorter than its

journal counterpart, the majority of the letters from Italy are significantly longer than those

from earlier in Browne's journey. This is partly because of the sheer amount of sightseeing

that Browne undertook in Italy. In the letter including Florence, for instance, Browne also

records his journey past Legora, Levanto, Lervi, Massa, Carrara, Luca, Pisa, before Florence

and finally Rome, where he arrived in early December 1664. At each station, Browne offers

some basic observations, noting the rocky coastline of Porto Venere, the Prince's garden at

Massa, the fortifications and Gondalonier's Palace of Lucca, and the church of Pisa. In this

journey, the whole of Italy becomes a curiosity cabinet: just as in the journal Browne

records the contents of Palazzo Vecchio as he passes through the rooms, the letters record

the contents of his lived itinerary. These later letters transport their reader alongside

Browne as he moves: while the Paris letters reorganize the journal's structure in such a way

as to obfuscate Browne's own biographical time, letters from later in the journey, when

Browne is generally travelling *through* a place rather than only *around* it, reflect his own

narrative timeline. In this, we see Browne not just as a son and student who travels

primarily for his education, but as a traveling writer: as Wes Williams highlights, 'we can no

more travel without narrative than we can narrate without reference to some form of

journey.'[137] When Browne obscures his narrative, he suppresses his status as a traveller;

when Browne's letters reintroduce his narrative, we finally begin to see him as a traveller

and writer. As Browne's activities change according to destination, so do his attitudes to

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[136] Jay Tribby, 'Florence: Cultural Capital of Cultural Capitals,' *The Eighteenth Century* 35, no. 3 (1994): 224.

[137] Williams, 'Montaigne on Pilgrimage,' 123.

relating them. Browne becomes less selective about which activities he reports, offering a comprehensive overview of his travels more than a static, myopic curation of himself.

The Heroic Natural Philosopher: Browne at Naples

The more holistic reportage does not mean that Browne's epistolary self is not still, in part, a construction. Indeed, the ease with which Browne writes himself into a different role is nowhere more evident than at Naples. From Rome, Browne travelled briefly to Naples, writing a letter to his father upon his return. This letter includes an additional missive designed for Isaac Craven. While both of these letters revert somewhat to the mock-heroic persona of the Derbyshire account, the inserted letter—designed for a college friend, and possibly even for a wider readership given that it lacks a salutation—marks a striking change from the Browne of the earlier travel correspondence.

Browne's January 1665 letter to Thomas beings with the usual overview of salient sights, including 'many antiquities very remarkable: at Terra Cina a pillar fit up by Trajan... and an inscription of Theodoric when hee drained those fenns at Garigl[i]ano.'[138] However Browne does not include all of his observations for he 'shall not have room to number them [and] Mr Craven's letter here inclosed containes most of them.'[139] This line demonstrates that Browne expected—even instructed—his father to read the enclosed letter designed for a different audience: like Browne's letter to his brother about Prince Doria's dog, this letter anticipates 'multi-party access.'[140] In this, Browne capitalises on his available space—in this instance across two letters—to select the information he wants to report specifically to his

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[138] Early Copybook, f.38r.

[139] Early Copybook, f.38r.

[140] Schneider, *Epistolarity,* 22.

father. Having encouraged Thomas to read the enclosed letter for more details about the journey to Naples, Browne reports that he

> went up Monte Vesuvio and a little way into it till the steepnes
>
> hindred mee, the whole ground for 4 mile about is covered with
>
> sinders and burnt stone. at the top the ground is burnt to a red
>
> colour and within it in many places it lookes white. it smokes in
>
> abundance of places both on the sides and at the bottom. the circuit
>
> of the mouth I judged to bee above three mile the guide told us 5.
>
> very deep in this is another hole of above a mile in compasse they
>
> say two. and in the middle of that I perceaved another which had a
>
> little Rill raised in the middle of at the foot of the Pead.[141]

Here, the topographical description takes pride of place: Mount Vesuvius, having erupted just five years before Browne's visit, constituted a prime location for natural observation, and Browne's depiction offers details of colour and texture alongside quantitative descriptions to capture the volcano in ink. Browne also demonstrates his engagement with the guide, offering his own estimation of the size of the crater followed by the guide's, possibly more authoritative, measurement. This passage departs both from Browne's descriptions of medical activities at Paris and cultural visits at Florence: here, Browne actively assesses his location, offering an experiential account. Like Greaves, whose *Pyramidographia* Browne had read in the lead-up to his trip, Browne's account suggests that he took 'pride in his observations on site, which he narrated in chivalric language of

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[141] Early Copybook, f.38r.

courageous exploration.'[142] Browne takes this language of exploration further in narrating his descent:

> after wee had mounted 4 mile by many cracks and clefts of the
>
> mountaine, wee left our horses and with very much labour got up a
>
> foot our feet sinking each step into the ashes. but our descent was
>
> extremely pleasant wee slipping safely 10 yards at a time without
>
> any inconvenience but that of haveing ashes in our shoes.[143]

Browne's depiction of the intense labour of the ascent in contrast with the freefall of the descent layers an embodied description atop the topographical: Browne is no impartial onlooker, but takes on the landscape in an intensely physical way.

This particular account is not, however, repeated in the letter for Craven; there, Vesuvius only appears within his description of 'Sulfatara, [called] by some Forum Vulcani.'[144] Here, instead of a topographical account, Browne reverts to a toned-down version of the scatologic description employed in his poem about the Devil's Arse, telling his friend(s) that 'if I had not seen the mountain Vesuvius and his smoking entrailes, I should with more feare have approached these sulphurious breathings.'[145] This brief note both exhibits Browne's bravery at Sulfatera where he boldly ventured forth, and simultaneously reports that he has been to Vesuvius and that there, even more than here, he displayed remarkable feats of bravery. While the letter to Thomas refers to the guide, the company, and to the 'safe' slipping down Vesuvius, the letter to Craven at Cambridge, which may well

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[142] Zur Shalev, 'Measurer of All Things: John Greaves (1602-1652), the Great Pyramid, and Early Modern Metrology,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63, no. 4 (2002): 562.

[143] Early Copybook, f.38r-39r.

[144] Early Copybook, f.25r.

[145] Early Copybook, f.25r.

have been shared with more companions thereabouts, frames him as an independent adventurer.

This persona reappears at Grotto del Cane outside of Naples, another site of natural interest famed for the noxious gases that are said to kill dogs. Browne tells Craven that they 'took dogs and went to Grotto del Cane where wee saw one kill'd outright and the second dead in appearance. Wee revived by throughing him into the lake of Agnano.'[146] Browne already presents himself as a participating agent. However, he goes on to add that

> much taken with this curiosity I went into the grot myselfe and
>
> finding no inconvenience from those poysonous exhalations ether by
>
> standing or putting my hand to the place where the dog died I was
>
> about to put my head to it also, when to the hindrance of my
>
> satisfaction in this point, my companions and the guid furiously tore
>
> mee out of the grot, and I think without some persuasions would
>
> have throwne mee into the lake ~~too~~ ^also^[147]

Having just demonstrated the cave's toxicity to the dogs, Browne once more presents himself as an intrepid experimenter, while his companions hinder his investigations. While Browne frames himself as exceptional in this report, he was not the only traveller to be 'much taken' with the effects of the cave; Philip Skippon too 'risked immersing his own head, but immediately withdrew, having felt—or so he wrote—the arsenic.'[148] Likewise, another 'anonymous Pole bravely experimented on himself: he slipped his own leg into the grotto and held it there until he felt warmth creeping up it; when it reached his knee he

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[146] Early Copybook, f.24r.

[147] Early Copybook, f.24r.

[148] Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe,* 195.

withdrew "not needing any further experimentation".'[149] Regardless of how commonplace

self-experimentation was, Browne's letter presents him as exceptional, recreating the

Derbyshire relation's persona of an adventurous natural-experimenter-cum-traveller.[150]

Browne's account of Naples continues, though it becomes, as the letter to his father had

promised, more an account of remarkable things than of his own bravery. Simultaneously

offering a comprehensive report of what he had seen and fashioning himself as a brave

traveller, this letter to Browne's college community continues the work that the Derbyshire

relation started, while drawing on the reporting methods that he had developed over his

European journey thus far. Using details from his journal while imposing a narrative and a

character onto his excursions, this letter avoids the binary between information and story-

telling that Schneider proposes in suggesting that 'letter writing was a practical pursuit in

imparting useful information, but idle in imparting tales,' pulling both knowledge and story

into its pages.[151]

'Divers personnes of great quality': Browne's Sociability

 A letter from Rome of January 1665 reports that Browne intended to be

> at Venice about three weeks hence, though I shall take my leave of
>
> Rome with a great deale of Regret and leave behind mee some noble
>
> things unseen though when the weather is fair I am commonly

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[149] Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe,* 273.

[150] This episode is strikingly similar to that at Buxton in 1662 where when Browne put his 'hand into the water I conceaved one finger to freeze til the other could not not indure the heat of the hot boyling spring just by it': Trinity Notebook, f.44v.

[151] Schneider, *Epistolarity,* 65.

> imployed in vewing antiquities Pallaces Statues and other curiosities
>
> which Rome above all other Places is famous for.[152]

This letter, which runs to over a thousand words, is overloaded with fragmented information about what Browne saw at Rome; it is no surprise that later in the same letter Browne confesses that he has 'been weary long agoe of seeing relicks there are such an infinite number of them.'[153] Unlike other letters, however, this one names Browne's companions: Browne had mentioned on December 6 that John Ray was at Rome, but this letter makes it clear that Browne travelled with Ray and Skippon around Rome, noting that he 'went with them to Tivoli.'[154] The 'we' of the remainder of the letter thus points to Browne, Ray, and Skippon. While Browne had stopped taking daily notes by this point, Ray did keep a diary, noting that on 'Dec. 26. 1664. S. V. we hired a coach, & rode out to Tivoli.'[155] Ray's and Browne's accounts of this journey record many of the same sights, and in some cases Browne's letter echoes Ray's reports. For instance, Ray notes that they passed '2 ancient statues, which seeme by the rudeness of the work, the odnesse of the fashion, & the kind of stone... to be Egyptian work.'[156] Browne's account correspondingly reports that 'wee saw a very large Egyptian statue,' reproducing the deduction of Ray who, having been a tutor at Trinity College, Browne would have considered a reliable authority.[157] Both Ray and Browne also note 'the remains of the temple of Sibylla Tiburtina' and 'the

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[152] Early Copybook, f.32r.

[153] Early Copybook, f.35r.

[154] Early Copybook, f.35r.

[155] John Ray, printed in Michael Hunter, 'John Ray in Italy: Lost Manuscripts Rediscovered,' *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 20, no. 68 (2014): 99.

[156] Hunter, 'Ray in Italy,' 99.

[157] Early Copybook, f.36r.

Grotte of Sibylla,' although where Ray's notes express scepticism, adding 'as they would now make us believe,' Browne's letter accepts the assignation of the temple and grotto to Sibylla Tiburtina.[158] Ray furthermore records that the water of a sulphurous river near Tivoli 'stinkes filthily like rotten egges, & is deeply tinctured with a blewish green.'[159] He postulates that the spring-head is 'doubtlesse... very hote,' before adding that 'the smell of it is like the smell of the Sulphur-well at Knaresburrough, & it tastes saltish.'[160] Browne's letter also records this river, but his own observation reads as rather more amateurish than Ray's. Browne notes its 'perfect blew' colour before agreeing that it 'stinkes intollerably,' and that 'tasting of it, it made mee sick,' but does not offer comparisons as Ray does.[161] Ray's account here reads as a methodical report, offering specific comparisons both to commonly-known smells and tastes (eggs and salt) and to comparable locations in England. Browne's account, on the other hand, turns to personal physical engagement with the river: where Ray's description is impartial and precise, Browne's is embodied. While early scientific reports did strive to 'place the reporter at the centre of an event,' it is the 'specificity and consequent verisimilitude' of Ray's account, compared to Browne's subjective report, that demarcates the two.[162] The pair's interests are the same, but the reports are perceptibly different.

There are several further instances where Ray may once more have been in Browne's company around Rome. Ray was at the house of the Queen of Sweden on

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[158] Hunter, 'Ray in Italy,' 99.

[159] Hunter, 'Ray in Italy,' 99.

[160] Hunter, 'Ray in Italy,' 99.

[161] Early Copybook, f.36r.

[162] Peter Dear, 'Totius in Verba: Rhetoric and Authority in the Early Royal Society,' *Isis* 76, no. 2 (1985): 154.

December 28, noting that he 'was present at her musick.'[163] Browne's letter similarly notes that 'I was the other night at the Queene of Swedens.'[164] However, where Ray's main takeaway was that 'in this room were more naked & lascivious pictures then ever I saw in any one room,' Browne's attention is on the Queen, describing that

> shee is low and fat a little crooked, goes commonly in a velvet coat
>
> cravat and a mans perruke, shee is continually merry, hath a free
>
> carriage with her talke and laughs with all strangers who shee
>
> entertains once in a weeke with musick and now this carnavall every
>
> other night with comedies.[165]

Once more, where Ray offers an objective, if sceptical, description, Browne turns to the human element, describing the full experience, rather than just his own conclusion, in his letter.

Finally, Browne and Ray both visited the museum of Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), one of the '"must-sees" on the serious traveller's itinerary.'[166] Ray's extensive record of the museum reads somewhat like Browne's journal entry about Palazzo Vecchio, offering a list of curiosities and their values, weights, and workmanship. Though it says much of the cabinet's contents, it says little of Kircher himself. By contrast, Browne's letter places the description of Kircher first and foremost, reporting that 'I have seen Kercher, who was extremely courteous, and civill to us and his closet of rarities.'[167] Browne offers little description of the cabinet itself, noting that he saw Kircher's 'engines for attempting

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[163] Hunter, 'Ray in Italy,' 100.

[164] Early Copybook, f.36r.

[165] Early Copybook, f.36r.

[166] Findlen, 'The Museum,' 70.

[167] Early Copybook, f.36r.

perpetuall motions, and other petty inventions which I understand much the better for having read Doctor Wilkins Michanicall Powers,' and 'his head that speaks & which hee calls his Oraculum Delphium [which] is no great matter.'[168] Ray too notes both of these things, but as with his other reports, does not offer the personalised readings of Browne. This all contrasts with Browne's earlier letter-writing style, where he and his judgements were removed from his narratives. Likewise, when Browne visited Aldrovandi's museum at Bologna, despite the vast extent of the museum Browne reports only a few salient sights, namely 'bookes painted of all sorts of Animalls there are twelve large folios of Plants most exquisitely painted.'[169] Many of these museum-going trips also became social occasions: at Aldrovandi's museum, for instance, 'the visitor's books, rendering a degree of eternity to the museum through the *memoria* of their lists, testified to the public nature of the scientific collecting enterprise' and bound the visitors together in a social group.[170] Rather than simply knowledge-collecting exercises, these museums, and other sight-seeing activities like them, highlight the sociability of travel: travelling necessitates 'rubbing our brains against other people's,' to cite Montaigne.[171] The fact that Browne's later letters report this companionship highlights that Browne's attitudes to travel, or at least to reporting, were being shaped by his experience upon the road. Where earlier letters could

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[168] Early Copybook, f.37r. Thomas Browne's miscellaneous notes include a passage on the 'Answers of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos to Croesus King of Lydia'; it is possible that, hearing of Kircher's mechanical oracle, Browne composed this section on the 'artificial contrivance made by subtle crafty persons confederating to carry on a practice of divination': see Keynes, *Works,* 3.95.

[169] Early Copybook, f.58r.

[170] Findlen, 'The Museum,' 73.

[171] Michel de Montaigne, 'On educating children,' *The Complete Essays,* trans. and ed. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2003), 172.

be anonymous accounts, the letters from Italy and beyond try to capture the lived experience of travel.

The emphasis on sociability continues throughout the remainder of Browne's time on the continent. In letter of January 2, Browne reels off a cast of notable men who were residing at Rome, including 'my lord Sunderland, my lord Anslo, my lord Hinchinbrook. my Lord Castelmain... Mr Noel Viscount Camdens Son one *that* goes by *th*e name of duke of Northumberland. Sr Edward Stradling & Sr Edward Witherington.'[172] At Bologna, Browne reports that 'my Lord Sunderland. Mr Noell. Sr Ed: S̶t̶a̶d̶^trad^ling. Mr Savill. Mr Soames. Mr Skipwith all persons of good quality are upon the road with mee and Dr Palman a Physitian, a very Civill person.'[173] It is in this company that Browne proceeded to Venice, where he found himself on February 13 'at the consuls hows with thirtie english men w*hi*ch made this tedious journey less unpleasant.'[174] In a departure from the encyclopaedic sight-seeing of previous letters, this letter describes Venice's festive scenes.[175] While the Paris letters omitted Browne's theatre-going habits, here they are afforded space, Browne telling his father that he and the company were 'at an opera the last night wherein were the best lines that ever were, though the scenes have been formerly better. The singing is good beyond imagination, Ciccolini the most famous Eunuch in Italie sings in it, & yet is much out done by a woeman nam'd Catharina Dorri.'[176] More carnivalesque sights are reported, including rope dancing, shows in the Piazza of St Marco, and bull hunting. Eventually, Browne reports a

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[172] Early Copybook, f.41r.

[173] Early Copybook, f.57r.

[174] Early Copybook, f.58v.

[175] For Venetian society, see Edward Muir, 'Why Venice? Venetian Society and the Success of Early Opera,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 36, no. 3 (2006): 331-353

[176] Early Copybook, f.58v.

medical curiosity, 'a woeman whose head hung down to her wast her forhead down... born so.'[177] As though prompted by this medical marvel, he adds a brief final line that 'the anatomies at Padua beginne the second day in Lent where god willing I shall bee.'[178] Whether the carnivalesque atmosphere of Venice left Browne with no choice but to report it in all its variety, or whether his reputable English company sanctioned his sightseeing, Browne here offers a very different insight into his surroundings than in previous letters. At Naples and Rome, Browne had begun to present himself as an embodied participator in his observations, but those observations were largely upon approved sites of classical antiquity or natural wonders: here, the glee with which Browne reports on Venice, and his marvel at its cultural libertinism, is evident.

'My way homeward': The Return to Academic Capital and the End of the Tour

By the latter end of Browne's travels, academic and cultural pursuits, starkly divided in earlier letters, coexist more comfortably. Writing from Padua on March 20 1665, Browne tells his father that 'I thinck will not bee worth my staying much longer when I have seen the practise in the hospitalls,' following this comment on 'the young Marchetti' (Antonio Marchetti, 1640-1730) and Sir John Finch (1626-1682), two surgeons at Padua.[179] Here, again, the medical is prioritised. However, where earlier letters included few details about the lecture, this letter reviews it. Rather than reporting indiscriminately, Browne comments that the anatomy lecture 'hath given mee great satisfaction not in any thing that hath been said upon parts, but in seeing the preparations which was done so neatly that I thinke I

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[177] Early Copybook, f.58v.

[178] Early Copybook, f.58v.

[179] Early Copybook, f.68v.

should not see any thing like it againe.'[180] Browne openly notes that not all the content was

new to him, but then highlights what he did learn: more than a collection of names and

lectures, this letter demonstrates Browne actively engaging with the anatomy. This is partly

to do with the fact that Browne states that nothing other than the medical education would

keep him in Padua: in the absence of any significant cultural sights, it is natural that the

medical, for which Padua was famed, took priority.

Later in the letter Browne tells Thomas that he has 'laid aside my thoughts of seeing

Germany, chuusing rather to bee perfect in Italian and french, then to understand Dutch

also and have but a smattering of all three,' before mentioning that he expects to have

William Trumbull's company to Paris, discussing the comet seen at Rome, and describing the

'best picture that ever I saw... a marriage by Paulo Veronese upon a piece of cloath four

times as big as your Icarus.'[181] In this letter, medicine, sociability, and sightseeing sit side by

side. Furthermore, Browne's explanation of his decision to forgo Germany—a popular route

back to England—is in stark contrast to Browne's lamentation of June 1664 that his father's

request for him to return early 'put mee into Dolefull dumps and spoiled all the fine

Chymara's and Geographicall Ideas that I had formed in my brain of seeing Spaine, Italy,

Germany, and I cannot tell how many countreys and people.' [182] By March 1665, Browne

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[180] Early Copybook, f.68v.

[181] Early Copybook, f.69v. Barbour repeatedly asserts the influence of the image of Icarus throughout Browne's
life, drawing upon the painting of Icarus in Leiden's medical theatre as a bolster for this argument: Barbour, *A
Life,* 384. Kathryn Murphy too notes that the most substantial changes to the authorized edition of *Religio
Medici* was 'was the addition of a poem on the duties, pleasures, and dangers of the exercise of reason, which
adopts the Icarian imagery' indicated by the initially un-authorized frontispiece: Kathryn Murphy, 'The
Physician's Religion and "salus populi": The Manuscript Circulation and Print Publication of "Religio Medici",'
Studies in Philology 111, no. 4 (2014): 858.

[182] See Buzzard, 'The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)'; Paris Journal, f.116v-117r.

actively chose to rein in his curiosity in favour of what, to him, had become utility. This is

confirmed by a second letter from Venice, where Browne returned after the Paduan

anatomies. This time, instead of a preoccupation with carnival scenes, his letter discusses

more academic pursuits: Browne notes that he has 'agreed with the Gardiner to make me a

booke of 600 plants, and Mr Short will doe mee the favour to order the sending of them to

england,' perhaps inspired in part by Aldrovandi's beautiful illustrations of plants.[183] He

comments on the hospitals in the Veneto, laments that he has run out of time to learn

anything significant in architecture, and adds that he 'lately saw two circumcisions.'[184] While

he notes that he has seen the arsenal at Venice, he does not linger on this, instead framing

it within a larger picture of travel. In contrast to the letters from Paris that are centred on

medical activities, and those of Rome which contain primarily cultural observations, each

element of Browne's travels here forms part of the whole. The change in reporting style—

including and meditating upon social interactions and non-medical pursuits—together with

the change in attitude to the breadth of travel highlights the extent to which Browne's

literary method had changed as he had travelled, and learned, across Europe.

By the time Browne was on his return journey, then, he had truly turned to relating

his journeys, offering a chronological narrative which encompassed both learning and

personal interest. This chronological approach is abundantly evident in letters from

Browne's homeward journey: while there is no extant journal recording Browne's travels

after Naples, his letters prove that he kept one. Letter from Arles on May 2 and Toulouse on

May 22 make explicit references to the date that Browne passed each place mentioned. The

specificity of these reports confirm that Browne was working from a memorial, reporting,

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[183] Early Copybook, f.66r.

[184] Early Copybook, f.68r.

for example, that the amphitheatre at Verona was '95 steps high with four rows of vomitoria' and that on April 18 'wee passed by Guastala [Guastalla] a Dukedome, by Gualtea [Gualtieri] and bersaglia [Brescello] belonging to the Duke of Modena.'[185] This kind of reporting, sometimes including date and always following a clear progression of travel, offers an in-depth view into specific details of Browne's journeys—how long he spent in locations, how long it took to reach them—which is largely absent in earlier letters. He also continues to report his sociability. Upon leaving Padua, Browne tells his father that 'I think I shall have Mr Trumballs companye againe at least some part of the way' back to Paris. At one point, 'Mr Trumballs mule fell into an hole one time and hee was put to it by swimming to recover the shore a great way below the place by reason of the Swiftnesse of the river.'[186] Browne's journeys with Trumbull evidently created an ongoing bond between the pair, and the 'difficulties and discomforts encountered on the road' confirmed their friendship.[187] Their shared travels also provided Browne the chance to serve as a physician to Trumbull: miscellaneous notes at the back of the Paris Journal include a prescription dated October 3 1665 'for Mr Trumball... in Cholico.'[188] The fact that Browne's travel companion later became a patient demonstrates the interrelated nature of the tour: sociability, travel, and medicine all support one another, and Browne's prescribing highlights the success of his journey as traveller, medic and socialite.

Besides his professional development, the Toulouse letter highlights changes in Browne's epistolary techniques: he acknowledges his father's last letter and the last which

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[185] Early Copybook, ff.71r and 73r.

[186] Early Copybook, f.74r.

[187] Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe,* 123.

[188] Paris Journal, f.158r.

he himself had sent before offering a chronological account of his journey between Arles and Toulouse, including personal medical details, local politics, ancient sights, botanical observations, religious sightseeing, comments on architecture, and a conversation with 'Mr Lyster [Martin Lister (1639-1712)] a civill and learned person' about the Aloe at Guernsey Castle.[189] While early letters relegate companions to silence, this letter highlights Browne's sociability and even relates specific conversations which may interest Thomas. The following letter from Arles even records the contents of a Cathedral's treasury, reporting that at 'St Sernin or Saturnine are the bodys of 7 of the Apostles, of our King St Edmund and of St George and forty saints more. a thorne of our saviours crowne, and one of the stones that kill'd St Stephen.'[190] Exactly the kind of information that Browne withheld from Thomas in May 1664 appears in this letter of almost exactly a year later. Moreover, it sits comfortably beside the medical curiosity of the preservation of skins at the Cordeliers in Toulouse.[191] This record also highlights the extent to which Browne's letters not only offered his father an insight into his travels, but could be put to use in Thomas's own work: a note about the Toulouse Cordeliers based on Edward's letter crops up in Thomas's posthumous *Musaeum Clausum* (1684).[192]

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[189] Early Copybook, ff.78r-83r. Stoye notes that 'it has been doubted whether he [Lister] ever left England for any substantial time at this period. Skippon, however, certainly met him at Montpellier in 1665': this record adds to this now-large body of evidence. See Stoye, *English Travellers,* 411.

[190] Early Copybook, f.85r.

[191] Early Copybook, f.85r.

[192] Early Copybook, f.85r. As with the case of Genoa, Barbour states that Sir Thomas's continental tour during his medical education encompassed Toulouse based on this reference, though it seems to come not from Sir Thomas's experience but from Edward's: see Barbour, *A Life,* 142 and Barbour, 'The Hieroglyphics of Skin,' in *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed,* eds. Reid Barbour and Claire Preston (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 285.

The final letter from Browne's journey dates from September 29 1665 at Paris. This letter actively includes many of the activities that the 1664 letters omitted, and epitomises much of what Browne had learned about writing his travels. Beginning with the temporal contextualisation that the letter concerns 'three days last week,' Browne recounts an excursion 'in the country with Dr [Christopher] Wren and Mr Compton.'[193] Not only does Browne name his companions, but he also offers an explanation for his trip, telling his father that 'I did not thinke to see any thinge more about Paris, but was tempted out by so good company.'[194] Browne includes accounts of his conversations with Wren, before describing what he saw in his excursion. He passes comment on the waterworks at Ligancourt, and includes comments on the architecture—aided, surely, by conversations with Wren—and the President's chair which 'one may draw... with two fingers,' as well as the company's overnight stay at Jentis, and their return journey in which 'the King overtook us in a chaises roulant with his Mistriss' in his hurried return to Paris following 'the news of the king of Spaines death.'[195] All of this sightseeing—extending to around 700 words—is followed immediately by Browne's report that the next day, back in Paris, 'Hostel Dieu was crammed up with people that came to pay their devotion. I heareing there was an arm to be cut of in a room apart desired the favour of the Chirgien to see it, and after a little grumbling hee let mee in.'[196] He goes on to tell Thomas a little of the surgery, before noting that after the anatomies he intended to return home. A final note adds that 'Mr Peti a mathematician' had translated Thomas's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* half into English and half into Latin 'for his

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[193] Early Copybook, f.94r.

[194] Early Copybook, f.94r.

[195] Early Copybook, f.95r-97r.

[196] Early Copybook, f.97r.

own satisfaction,' and that Peti would present Thomas with 'one of his books *de Cometis.*'[197]

As at Padua, the medical sits alongside the touristic and the sociable. Here, however, it no longer supersedes it: instead, the letter follows Browne's own chronology. The first item reported—the trip to the country—is the earliest temporally, and the letter follows. In this, the disjuncture between medical pursuits and leisure pursuits no longer poses a significant barrier: whether Browne, across his journey, had learnt that the two distinct purposes for travel need not be so harshly separated, or whether his letter-writing style simply evolved towards a chronological, more narrativized account of his days, the effect is the same. While the early letters from Paris point towards a young traveller acutely aware that his continental tour was intended to support his professional training, and that his father would hold certain expectations of him, these later letters demonstrate a traveller who holds different purposes of travel to be simultaneously valuable.

Conclusion

Between Browne's first use of the Paris Journal in December 1663 and his final letter home of September 1665, we have seen him plan his travels, experience the practicalities of travelling, and learn how to relate his experiences. The book learning that is evident in his journal entries from England directs him where to go, and his conversations with acquaintances who had themselves travelled offered him further guidance into both destinations and purposes of travel. His own domestic journeys show him learning how to travel, listening to the French liturgy in London and taking in collections of curiosities even before he had left for the continent.

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[197] Early Copybook, f.98r.

While the outlandishness and depth of description in some of the Paris Journal entries suggests that part of Browne's Coryat-esque Derbyshire persona remained, it is largely superseded in the journal by thorough accounts of sightseeing, which encompassed not only activities that supported his medical education—ostensibly one of the primary aims of Browne's tour—but visits to tourist sites, religious houses, and local coffee houses. Among such a variety of activities, the Paris letters prioritise the medical: Browne shows his father that he is taking his medical education seriously, often omitting other 'cultural' activities from his letters. Early in Browne's tour, the medic and tourist are starkly at odds with one another, and his letters' depersonalization and lack of chronological narrative serve to intensify this tension. However, the act of physical travel, moving to the south of France and beyond into Italy, to an extent forces Browne into a different mode of relation: when the medical naturally falls by the wayside, the space that is left is filled with more varied accounts of Browne's activities, usually including the places he passed and a few key sites. While short, these letters reintroduce the narrative that was lost in the letters from Paris, and we begin to see Browne not just as a student and son, but as a traveller on the road.

In Italy, cultural delights take their place at the forefront of the letters, which become increasingly like catalogues of rarities: here, entire towns and regions become sites of collection. Although the Lyon Journal's extensive account of Palazzo Vecchio almost disappears in Browne's letter, that is only because it is subsumed by the curiosity cabinet that is Italy. His Italian letters collect into themselves sights, towns, natural rarities, sociable encounters, and more. While Browne eventually tired of the antiquities at Rome, turning back towards medical pursuits of his own accord, the tension between the two is diminished: his curiosity was sated, and his tour, accordingly, began to draw to an end. The

letters that report his journey homewards, in turn, reflect a more stable position: no longer are the medical and cultural activities fighting for predominance, and no more does Browne excise his own narrative to portray himself in a certain light. Instead, these letters act as vignettes of his lived experiences, narrating the activities—religious, cultural, medical—of him and his companions without tension. Browne's travels, and the various ways in which he reports them, had shown him how to occupy and express multiple positions simultaneously. One could be a medical student, a collector of rarities, a natural philosopher, and a socialite: the act of travel and all of its moving parts permits, and even necessitates, that no one identity take priority. The letters home reflect this education. Browne's continental tour had served its purpose of preparing him for a medical career. However, it had accomplished more than this. Besides the sociable networks that Browne instated during his travels, his first period of time on the continent had taught him how to travel. Moreover, it had taught him how to tell the story of his travels not as a son, a medic, or a sightseer, but as a *traveller*, the role which encompasses all others.

Chapter Three

'Countries of small literature': Edward Browne's Second Continental Journey,

1668-1669

Figure 3: Edward Browne's 1668-9 Continental Tour

Introduction

Quando ego te videam quandoque licebit. &c

[O rural home: when shall I behold you! When shall I be able, now

with books of the ancients, now with sleep and idle hours, to quaff

sweet forgetfulness of life's cares!][1]

I fuge, sed poteras tutior esse domi

[Off with you, but you might have been safer at home][2]

Calum a animu mutant qui trans mare currunt.

[They change their sky, not their soul, who rush across the sea][3]

Sit ventri bene, sit Lateri, pedibusq[ue], tuis nil divitia, possunt

regales addere maju.

[If your stomach, lungs, and feet are all in health, the wealth of kings

can give you nothing more][4]

This series of adages—interspersed with initials including 'R.N,' 'I.C' and 'J.H'—appears at

the outset of the Vienna Journal, an octavo notebook that documents Edward Browne's

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[1] Horace, Satire 2.6 in *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry,* trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA:
Harvard University Press, 1926), 194: 215.

[2] Martial, Epigram 1.3 in *Epigrams, Volume I: Spectacles, Books 1-5*, ed. and trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) 94: 45.

[3] Horace, Epistle XI in *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry,* 325.

[4] Horace, Epistle XII *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry,* 329.

second continental journey.[5] These inscriptions, imparting expressions of grief at the notebook owner's parting and moral advice on his travels, prove a fitting introduction to the journal and to Browne's journey.

Upon returning from his first continental journey, Browne consolidated his medical education, enrolling at Merton College where he graduated Doctor of Medicine in July 1667. Browne was admitted as a candidate to the Royal College of Physicians in March 1668, and was elected a member of the Royal Society on January 2 1668, having been nominated two weeks prior by William Croune. Browne thus joined his friend Henry Howard, his Trinity tutors Wilkins and Croune, and his travelling companions John Ray and Philip Skippon, within the Royal Society.[6]

Instead of settling into a medical practice, Browne embarked on a second continental journey.[7] On August 14 1668, Browne left Yarmouth on a 55-ton ketch bound for Rotterdam. Despite his father's pleas of September 1668 not to make 'wide excursions,' Browne wound his way through the Low Countries and Germany, following the Danube to Vienna.[8] From Vienna, he made three distinct excursions: the first to Hungary, the second to Venice, and the third to Larissa.[9] Browne returned via Hamburg, landing in England around Christmas 1669. Throughout, Browne wrote detailed notes and comprehensive letters.

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[5] It is possible that 'R.N' is Roger North (1653-1734) and that 'J.H' is Sir John Hobart (1628-83), who Browne likely knew via the Wodehouse family of Kimberley. It seems likely that 'I.C' signifies Isaac Craven.

[6] Henry Howard had been an early member of the Society, and was named in January 1667 as a benefactor after his donation of the Arundel Library. Wilkins was a founding member of the Society, and Croune joined once the Society moved to London in 1659. Philip Skippon was elected and admitted on May 16 1667, and Ray on November 7 1667.

[7] See Figure 3 for a map of Browne's tour.

[8] Keynes, *Works,* 30.

[9] Browne uses 'Grand Signor' to refer to Mehmet IV (1642-1693), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

Indeed, Wilkin concluded that it 'was absolutely necessary to curtail or omit the far greater portion' of Edward's travel letters from his extensive edition of Thomas Browne's correspondence.[10] These letters appear across several folio manuscripts, two of which (the Letterbook and the Late Copybook) are particularly densely populated. Much of the material in these letters stems from Browne's two journals, the Vienna Journal and the Dresden Journal, and a more miscellaneous notebook, the Hungary Notebook. These travels are remarkably well-documented, and enable us to follow Browne's location, activities, and writing habits with precision.

Across this substantial archive Browne employed multiple methods of reporting. He wrote a voyage account for friends and family; natural philosophy reports for the Royal Society; and multiple catalogues of curiosity cabinets for his father. Accordingly, Browne adopted multiple roles, variously acting as agent, son, and collector. Only once these roles had done their duty did Browne travel according to his own curiosity. This chapter asks how Browne's letters adapted his notes for a variety of audiences, including his family and the Royal Society. It also asks what was—and what was not—worth recording: as Browne progressed through climes with varying degrees of 'curiosity,' the parameters of what was 'remarkable' changed. In heeding for whom Browne was writing, what he chose to record, and how he did so, this chapter asks how Browne's second continental journey was both enabled and motivated by the act of writing.

As Sherman has suggested, 'if travel books gave travellers licence to write they also gave writers licence to travel.'[11] This is true not only of 'travel books' but of all kinds of writing, from journals to letters to natural-philosophical reports. Over the course of his

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[10] Wilkin, *Works,* 1.153.

[11] Sherman, 'Stirrings and searchings,' 31.

second continental journey, Browne transformed from a traveller for whom writing was an offshoot of travelling—a way to satisfy acquaintances of his health and productivity—to a traveller for whom writing was inseparable from the journey: while the lure of adventure was still a driving force behind Browne's travels, it was the recording and narration of these travels that motivated and validated his wide excursions.

To Vienna: Narrating the Travels through the Low Countries and Germany

'So Many Curiosities': Collecting Observations

As we have seen, by the end of Browne's first continental journey his letters had developed from being primarily records of utility, to narratives that included sociable, academic, and cultural pursuits. This style of letter-writing continues in Browne's letters from 1668, and many of his earlier preoccupations resurface, Browne seeing everything from theatrical performances, to multi-denominational churches, to Jewish circumcisions, to the contents of the East India Company house at Amsterdam.

Browne's Vienna Journal is written in a similar style to the Lyon Journal, forgoing the lengthy prose of the Paris Journal for briefer memorials. For instance, where the Paris Journal's detailed record of Browne's trip to the Jesuit theatre included the visit's contexts and the performance's style, a 1668 visit to the theatre at Rotterdam merited only the entry 'the comedy.'[12] While the Jesuit theatre at Paris was omitted from Browne's letters, the account of Rotterdam's theatre is enlarged slightly to explain that he 'saw a comedie to know the manner of their stage.'[13] This also differs from the 1665 letter record of the

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[12] Vienna Journal, f.6r.

[13] Late Copybook, f.24r.

Venetian theatre, which offered a critique of theatrical skill. At Rotterdam, Browne explains *why* he went: to understand their 'manner.' He does not actually comment, either in the journal or the letter, on the 'manner of their stage,' only noting his status as a cultural observer.

This outward gaze is evident throughout Browne's time in the Low Countries and Germany, particularly at religious sites. Browne's letters record that Amsterdam's 'Arminian churches are much thronged,' that at Spiers 'the great church... serves equally for Catholicks Lutherans and Calvinists, one preaching after another the same day,' and that Nuremberg has 'the best Lutheran Church I have seen, that religion being here practised in its splendour which in other parts where I have yet been is onely permitted.'[14] Browne records something of the religious practices at almost every location, regularly commenting on different sects and paying particular attention to active cooperation between Protestants and Catholics. Besides framing Browne as a cultural observer, his repeated references to religious co-exitance suggests that these cooperative practices diverged from English attitudes; noting the need for further research on the topic, Verhoeven suggests that Anglican travellers 'adopted more abrasive and quarrelsome stances' than did their Dutch and German peers, potentially making Browne an unusual example of tolerance on the continent.[15] As he had learned over the course of his early travels that he need not necessarily exclude encounters with Catholic cultures from letters home, here Browne actively imports his observations on religious practices, placing them on equal footing with—and indeed offering them more space than—theatrical expeditions and even medical sightseeing.

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[14] Late Copybook, f.23r, 43v; Letterbook, f.7r.

[15] Gerrit Verhoeven, 'Calvinist Pilgrimage and Popish Encounters: Religious Identity and Sacred Space on the Dutch Grand Tour (1598-1685),' *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 3 (2010): 628.

In some instances, the medical and religious collide. Browne's letters frequently comment on Jewish practices, noting places of worship, burial methods, attire, and more. In a letter of September 27 1668, Browne records that he 'saw a circumcision at a private howse more neatly performed then I had seen before, these making use of a probe which was omitted in the Italian circumcisions without which the operation is not so dextrous nor the skinne so equally & securely cutt.'[16] In this short comment, Browne's profession, his previous travels, and his interest in non-Anglican religious practices collide: Browne's dispassionate—even favourable—report of this procedure departs from 'populist Christian thinking about the Jews' which framed 'circumcision as part of a larger diabolic ritual.'[17] Indeed, beyond following a visit to a synagogue, this entry occludes any sense that 'circumcision was seen by English writers as first and foremost a specifically Jewish ceremony': for Browne, it is merely another anatomical procedure, and its subject emits none of the pained cries described systematically by Evelyn, Blount, Coryate, Moryson, and Purchas.[18]

Browne also visited anatomy schools and professors throughout the Low Countries and Germany. Browne ensured that Leiden was on his itinerary, the university there being his father's *alma mater*, though Browne admits that despite the 'very great number of skeletons,' he has 'seen far neater curiosities of this kind in Amsterdam, performed by Dr

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[16] Late Copybook, f.28r.

[17] Frank Felsenstein, 'Jews and Devils: Antisemitic Stereotypes of Late Medieval and Renaissance England,' *Literature and Theology* 4, no. 1 (1990): 25

[18] Eva Johanna Holmberg, *Jews in the Early Modern English Imagination: A Scattered Nation* (London: Routledge, 2016), 82. For the accounts of other early modern writers on Jewish circumcision, see Holmberg.

Rews.'[19] Besides Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731), the roll call of doctors from Amsterdam includes 'Dr Glawber the chymist,' 'Dr Vischer an ingenious physitian,' and 'Blasius who has writt upon Vatingius.'[20] Despite the numerous names mentioned in Browne's letters to his father, Thomas admonished his son for not enquiring after 'Dr Helvetius' in Amsterdam.[21] In return, Browne assured Thomas that 'if I goe to Amsterdam again I will enquire after Helvetius,' adding that 'Dr Vischer will be able to informe me concerning him.'[22] Alongside professors, Browne visited several botanical gardens; he deemed Leiden's garden 'small but well filled' but, despite its fame earlier in the century, Browne valued Leiden's curiosity collection more highly than its garden.[23] The garden of Altdorf, though, merited greater mention. Here, Browne reports that

> Hoffmanus the Botanick and Anatomy professour at Altdorf shew me
> a great many rare plants, and gave me divers and though it rain'd he
> walked ~~nigh~~ ^almost^ an houre with me in *th*e garden. amongst
> other plants Aster Americanus Alatus. Sambucus. baccis albis. Linaria
> Macedonica. three [sic] are to *th*e two thousand plants in the garden
> a very considerable number.[24]

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[19] Late Copybook, f.26r-v. 'Dr Rews' refers to Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731), famed for his preservations of anatomical specimens.

[20] Late Copybook, f.29v. 'Glawber' refers to Johann Rudolf Glauber (1604-1670); 'Blasius' refers to Gerard Blasius (1627-1682).

[21] Keynes, *Works,* 4.30. 'Helvetius' refers to Johann Friedrich Schweitzer (1629-1709).

[22] Letterbook, f.4v.

[23] Harm Beukers, 'Studying Medicine at Leiden in the 1630s,' in *A Man Very Well Studyed: New Contexts for Sir Thomas Browne*, eds. Kathryn Murphy and Richard Todd (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 61. Beukers suggests that this fame may have drawn Sir Thomas to graduate at Leiden.

[24] Letterbook, f.8r. 'Hoffmanus' refers to Moritz Hoffman (1621-1698).

This record stems from a truncated journal entry which notes that Browne 'went to Altorf. the Garden. Hofmannus professour botanick medick. white elder berries.'[25] Not only does the letter particularly illustrate Hoffman's civility, but 'white elder berries' are given a botanical name ('Sambucus'), further specimens added, and the garden's scope emphasized. While this expansion reflects Browne's Paris letters in its prioritization of medical training, it also differs from them: Browne is now a character in his letter. Rather than mechanically reporting his observations, he adds a tale about Hoffman walking with him in the rain, expanding on the brief journal prompt to tell a fuller story.

One integral aspect of Browne's sightseeing in the early part of his second tour is his attention to curiosities, which regularly mingle with records of the anatomy schools. At Leiden, the ostensibly medical botanical garden was subordinated to its display of curiosities, Browne's letter noting that 'the catalogue of the curiosities w*hic*h are showne in it I have sent to you, which rarities I looked upon very particularly.'[26] At Amsterdam, Ruysch 'shewe us many curiosities in Anatomie as the sceletons of young children, faetus's of all ages so neatly set together and as white as your froggs bones which my brother Thomas prepared.'[27] Browne's letter here extends the journal entry to depict the colour of the skeletons, drawing on familial knowledge for its description. Besides these collections, Browne saw the East India Company house, Dr Swammerdam's experiments, the collections of the churches at Utrecht, Brussels, and Antwerp among other towns, and fortifications and ramparts, which 'provid[ed] tourists'—and readers of tourists' letters—'with the latest

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[25] Vienna Journal, f.34v.

[26] Late Copybook, f.26v.

[27] Late Copybook, f.29v. The diary entry reads 'Dr Reus his neat dissections of many faetus. the valves in vapis limphatius equinis. the liver excarnated shining. the skeletons of children': Vienna Journal, f.11r.

in the art of military engineering.'[28] Thomas clearly approved of his son's detailed reports, writing that 'I like it well that you take notice of so many particularities,' even while adding that his son should 'enquire also after the polycie and government of places,' offering up yet more subjects to investigate.[29] While these may not all be 'cabinets of curiosity' like those at Paris and Florence, his letters treat each space, formalised or not, as a curiosity cabinet. In turn, the letters become a microcosm of Browne's travels.

Too Much to Remember: Memory Aids and Narrative Tools

The detail of Browne's letters not only recreates his travels for his reader, but acts as a tool for his own remembrance. The varied range of Browne's pursuits is partly why the journal entries are so short: knowing that his trip may extend beyond several weeks, the journal's space is carefully rationed. These brief memorials provide just enough detail for Browne to construct a wider account at a later date. However, this worked only because of the frequency with which Browne sent letters.

Browne makes this explicit when, in a letter of September 28, he notes that he 'set this downe now [because] it is fresh in my mind.'[30] This justification for writing recurs at Nuremburg on October 31, when Browne explains that 'I wrote to you on Thursday but since it hath been my good fortune to meet with many curiosities yesterday and today I write againe *tha*t nothing may slip out of my memory.'[31] In each letter, short—often single-word—diary prompts are expanded by recollection. These journals thus reflect Yeo's

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[28] Kees Van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries: Accounts of British Travellers, 1660-1720* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 1998), 7.

[29] Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 108, f.92r.

[30] Late Copybook, f.32r-v.

[31] Letterbook, f.7r.

concept of 'the function of notebooks' as 'prompting the memory to recall what it already should possess.'[32] However, even when Browne writes a letter that, ostensibly, 'relives and supports' his memory, he still berates the shortage of space.[33] At Amsterdam he laments that 'I have seen so many things & persons of Learning and note in this country that I cannot write letters long enough to declare the same.'[34] After seeing Swammerdam's experiments, he is frustrated that ''tis hard to relate all his experiments with syrenges & double vessells without figures & a long discours.'[35] At Antwerp, he 'shall not have roome to write of all things I saw.'[36] Despite the profusion of letters from this portion of Browne's journey, there is still not enough room. Instead, Browne satisfies himself with the fact that 'when it shall please god that I return to Norwich I shall bee able to relate things more at large.'[37] Even though these letters become a primary source of memory and contain vast swathes of information about Browne's experiences, only face to face discourse can suffice to report all of the wonders of the road.

Despite trying to capture so much detail in each letter, Browne predicts that his reader might become bored. On October 3, he cuts his letter short, telling his reader that 'I will not give you too long a trouble at once.'[38] He continues his account for a further 340 words, finally worrying that 'I shall tire out our Sr with so long a letter.'[39] At Nuremburg,

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[32] Yeo, 'Between memory and paperbooks,' 2.

[33] Stagl, *A History of Curiosity,* 110.

[34] Late Copybook, f.29v.

[35] Late Copybook, f.30r.

[36] Late Copybook, f.32v.

[37] Late Copybook, f.29v.

[38] Letterbook, f.4r.

[39] Letterbook, f.4v.

Browne acknowledges that 'I shall tire you with my tediousnesse.'[40] Not only is Browne's

paper too short to contain the entire contents of his memory, but his reader's attention

span is deemed insufficient or unwilling to absorb Browne's sightseeing. Although 'letter

reading was conventionally conceived of as an imposition on one's time,' these comments

highlight just how much Browne has to report: several folio pages is not enough, and it is

not possible to replicate the experience within a letter.[41]

This, however, did not stop Browne from trying. It is these narrative interjections

that differentiate the 1668 letters from those of 1665, and which suggest that Browne

intended his letters to be read as a comprehensive account, possibly even a guide, to his

journey. Throughout, Browne makes a self-conscious effort to populate his timeline. The

very first letter of this journey records that his ship 'sett sayle from Yarmouth on Friday at 6

in the afternoone,' providing an account of its trajectory to Rotterdam where it 'arrived... a

little after 6 a clock on Saturday.'[42] The following letters, while not always so precise,

regularly include dates and the time spent at each location. While Smyth notes that many

early modern diaries 'strived for the effect of having conveyed the whole day,' Browne

inverts this model by importing into the letters fullness that is absent in his journals.[43] These

letters thereby forge a 'connection between spatial fullness and truth,' aiming to report his

journey as comprehensively as possible.[44]

These letters also refer to their own epistolary contexts: on September 27, Browne

tells his reader that 'in my next I shall godwilling give you an account of my Journey from

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[40] Letterbook, f.8r.

[41] Schneider, *Epistolarity*, 67.

[42] Late Copybook, f.22r.

[43] Smyth, *Autobiography*, 68.

[44] Smyth, *Autobiography*, 68.

Amsterdam to Dordrecht where I now am,' offering his correspondent a glimpse into the next instalment of his journey, which he himself has already lived.[45] As promised, the next letter includes the journey to Dordrecht, highlighting first that 'I wrote unto you from Dort,' and signing off from his new location, Middleburg.[46] Each letter thereby trails behind Browne's lived travels, and 'is defined by the space that surrounds it.'[47] The fact that every letter recognises the last sent places it, and Browne, into a wider narrative: each letter is one component of a wider story. That Browne was actively shaping a compelling narrative is made more evident still by his offer to 'trouble [the reader] with the relation of such ~~things~~ remarkables as have happened' since the last letter.[48] The active dismissal of 'things' in favour of 'remarkables' shows Browne crafting his tale: his choice to define the commonplace sights of Antwerp and beyond as 'remarkable' gives them the air of *event*. This sense of adventure continues: on October 31, Browne writes that his 'last [letter] continued my journey into the playne country about Coln,' reminding the reader of where he had most recently heard from. Browne goes on to tell the reader that 'in this, if it be not tedious to you, I shall travel up the Rhine betwixt high rocks,' launching directly forward into the rest of his narrative. The temporal space that Browne creates here, taking his reader alongside him into Germany, transforms this letter and others like it into spaces where the reader and the writer discover their surroundings together: Browne is not an inert reporter but a companion. While the letters from his 1664-5 journey provided vignettes of dislocated experiences, these letters recreate the experience of a journey.

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[45] Late Copybook, f.30r.

[46] Late Copybook, f.30v.

[47] Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1982), 167.

[48] Letterbook, f.3r.

Readerly Interventions: Thomas Browne as reader-writer

The sense of completeness in Browne's narrative transforms the letters into a kind of travel guidebook: like contemporary guidebooks, they present 'a form of surveying,' exemplifying the 'new active engagement with urban space.'[49] Simultaneously, they become a travel relation, 'a kind of performance [which] draws attention to the issues of orality and literacy.'[50] In each form, the traveller must be present as mediator: familiar letters, guidebooks, and relations all rely on an author's personal experience, and some attempt to involve the reader within that experience. It seems, too, that it was not just Browne who wrote in this mode. Besides the originals, many of the letters from this journey are extant in Thomas's hand in the Late Copybook. One of the most consistent changes that Thomas makes to Edward's letters is to remove personal salutations. Edward's 'duty to [his] dear Mother and many humble thanks' to his father are excised from a letter of October 3, and his 'duty to my dear mother and love to my sisters' is expunged from a letter of October 31. References to Thomas as a doting father are amended, so that Browne's desire that 'any part of [his letter] may be acceptable to a father so indilgunt as yourselfe' becomes a 'hope' that 'something thereof may bee acceptable unto you.'[51] Browne's admissions of uncertainty are also removed: Thomas's copy of the October 3 letter redacts Browne's self-identification as 'a stranger ignorant of the language of the countries which I have travelled through since I left you,' excludes a note that Browne, apparently unexpectedly, 'found

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[49] Elizabeth McKellar, 'Tales of Two Cities: Architecture, Print and Early Guidebooks to Paris and London,' *Humanities* 2 (2013): 333, 346.

[50] Motsch, 'Relations of Travel,' 210.

[51] Letterbook, f.7r; Late Copybook, f.44r.

[himself] to be in Germany,' and silences the admission that 'whither to goe I am not yet resolved.'[52] Browne's self-portrayal shows his travels as haphazard rather than methodically planned. By removing these notes, Thomas increases his son's authority and his trustworthiness as a potential guide.

Other similar amendments appear throughout Thomas's transcriptions; while Browne simply found himself 'At Aken,' Thomas's version of his son finds himself 'at Aken, Aix or Aquisgranum,' supplementing the common name of the town with two alternatives.[53] The same form of addition is repeated at Juliers, Cologne and Coblenz. This somewhat tautological profusion of names for things, one of Thomas's favoured literary techniques, reappears in copies of Edward's notes about 'a fowl called an Uhrla'—also an 'urogallus' to Thomas—and Edward's note that the houses are covered in 'ardois,' which Thomas supplement supplements with 'slatt.'[54] On several occasions Thomas reorders Edward's narration, integrating notes appended to the end of letters into the body text, or moving a subsequent side-note about a city into its proper place. More small-scale amendments situate the letters more firmly in the context of Norwich and England. For instance, Edward's comment that the scenery around Cologne was 'somewhat like Malverne' is amended to 'somewhat like Malverne hills in England,' and an ivory cup at Altdorf is changed from simply being 'like Mr Salters' to 'like Mr Salters in Norwich.'[55] These changes, though often very minor, combine to present the traveller as erudite and self-assured, while

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[52] Letterbook, f.3r, 4r.

[53] Letterbook, f.4r; Late Copybook, f.38v.

[54] Letterbook, f.4r; Late Copybook, f.39r and 40r. Claire Preston notes that Browne is 'given to duplicating couplets in which a Latinate hard word is paired with an elucidating (though not always precisely synonymous or more familiar) word': Preston, 'English Scientific Prose,' 279.

[55] Letterbook, f.5v; Late Copybook, f.41v. Letterbook, f.7v; Late Copybook, f.46r.

making his relations more digestible to the reader at home: as Anthony Pagden notes, 'our

eyes and our scientific understanding move from the known to the unknown, not the other

way.'[56] In order for the reader to conceptualize the foreign sights that Browne describes,

they must be familiarized by comparison to the known. Noting that 'ardois' is essentially

'slate' and strengthening comparisons to English contexts turns Browne's letters from

potentially dislocating reports to ways of bringing Europe to England. The fact that these

letters are copies suggests that they may have been shared more widely: while many letters

were transcribed by their recipients 'as manuscript separates,' the adjustments that Thomas

makes together with their collection in a single volume points towards their possible sharing

outside of the immediate family.[57]

This might be corroborated by letters sent to Edward: two prospective letters of

December 2 and 15, sent respectively to Venice and Vienna, both note that 'My Lady

Maydston was well satisfied with your letter,' a postscript from Lyttelton emphasising that

'My lady Maidston was much delighted with your letter.'[58] While there is no explicit

mention of what that letter contained, it follows discussions of Edward's observations in

both iterations of Thomas's message, and in Lyttelton's postscript it follows her wishes that

her brother would return home. Later correspondence confirms that Browne's accounts

were sent to friends at Cambridge, including Isaac Craven, and it seems likely that these

early letters too were read outside of the family. Browne's travels through the Low

Countries and Germany, varied as they were in content and clime, show him writing not

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[56] Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993), 26.

[57] James Daybell, 'The Scribal Circulation of Early Modern Letters,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (2016): 366.

[58] Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 108, f.85r; Sloane MS 1847, f.168r.

only as an impartial observer but as one whose aim as a traveller is, in part, to narrate his own peregrinations to readers at home. Edward's thoroughness and chronological narration combines with Thomas's amendments to create not just a report but a recreation of Edward's travels.

Vienna and Hungary: Travelling for Credit

Searching for opportunity

On Monday November 19 1668 Browne reached Vienna, the Eastern-most edge of the Habsburg Empire where the looming influence of the Ottoman Empire was evident in architecture, religion, and governance. Although his journey had already carried him further than he and his family might have anticipated, Browne's curiosity was far from stifled, a letter of November 24 1668 confessing that 'the father I go the more my desires are enlarged.'[59] Browne tells Thomas of his wishes 'to see Presbourg, Leopold[statz]... the gold mines... & other places,' though he quickly acknowledges that he has 'trespassed to[o] far alreadie upon your goodnesse, & intend to looke no farther.'[60] Browne's reports, however, suggest that already his sights were set on his continued investigations. Even in mooting a return journey which would take him past Prague, Magdeburg, and Hamburg, Browne prioritized novelty, the benefit of this route being that 'I shall have the advantages to see a great part of this large country, where I have not yet been.'[61] However, for the time being he remained in Vienna. Where thus far the physical movement from A to B had shaped and structured Browne's sightseeing and, in turn, his reports, in this second phase the focus

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[59] Late Copybook, f.48v.

[60] Late Copybook, f.48v.

[61] Late Copybook, f.52v-53r.

changes. Browne's stable position allowed him to explore the 'object-rooted curiosities or curious features' of one place more thoroughly than during his fleeting visits *through* the Dutch and German cities, 'turning narration into collection.'[62] In the absence of continual movement, the narrative element of Browne's letters faltered: as Shapiro notes, 'the voyage or adventure mode involved movement and time,' and Browne's stasis thereby altered the narrative capacity of his writing.[63] Instead, Browne's letters report an assemblage of things and people.

On November 20, his first day in Vienna, Browne 'saw the Tartars,' particularly observing 'their tobacco; silver rings with characters; long pipes.'[64] The next day, Browne 'saw the Emperour at Chappel,' recording his attire, the chapel's extravagance, and the 'walls of the towne which are a la moderna with halfe moones.'[65] On his third and fourth days, Browne saw more Tartars, Armenians, Hungarians, Jews, and Croats, as well as Count Johann Adolf von Schwarzenberg (1615-1683), 'a big tall man,' and Raimondo Montecuccoli (1609-1680), 'a leane slender man.'[66] Browne's attention was caught by the variety of cultures at Vienna. In 1636, Henry Blount had described how knowledge of human affaires was best advanced in 'observing of people, whose *institutions* much differ from ours' first-hand.[67] Blount goes on to explain that one of the motives behind his travels to the Levant was 'to acquaint my selfe with those other sects which live under the *Turkes,* as *Greekes,*

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[62] Neil Kenny, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 162.

[63] Barbara Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell Press, 2000), 70.

[64] Vienna Journal, f.37r.

[65] Vienna Journal, f.37v.

[66] Vienna Journal, f.38r.

[67] Henry Blount, *A Voyage Into the Levant* (London, 1636), 1.

Armenians, Freinks, and *Zinganaes,* but especially the *Jewes*.'[68] More often than not, what

Browne records—briefly in his journal and at length in his letters—comprises unusual

people or scenes: just as for Blount travelling in Europe 'did but represent in a severall dress

the effect of what I knew before,' Browne's letters omit commonplace news and instead

relate the multiple cultures of Vienna.[69]

Browne's journal note about the Tartars' horses, rings, and pipes receives an

extended report in his letter, along with a note—absent from the journal—about 'a fayre in

the citty where yesterday I met the Tartars who were strangely delighted with it & very

much with the Babies & figures in Gingerbread.'[70] Here, Browne's curiosity is piqued not by

the fair and gingerbread themselves, but by the Tartars' reactions to them. His focus, as in

this journey's earlier letters, is on people. Browne curiously watches the engagements

between the Emperor and the Cham of Tartarie, recording also the 'Tartarian

embassadour... his name Cha Gagi Aga' and noting that 'Cha signifieth master, Gagi

somewhat like proselyte, and Aga signifieth King'.[71] He refers to Montecuccoli again, as well

as Count Cachowitz, the marriage of 'the count of Seraic,' the promotion of 'Conte de Susa,'

a sighting of 'Count Peter Serini,' several notes about the Empress, and an encounter with 'a

Greek priest' who was 'kindly entertained at Trinitie College,' and who entrusted Browne

with a Greek letter to be sent to 'Dr Pearson, Mr Barrow & Dr Gunning' at Cambridge.[72] In

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[68] Blount, 2.

[69] Blount, 1.

[70] Late Copybook, f.50r. Gerald MacLean highlights the importance of Eastern horses and equestrian practices on English equestrian culture in *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 205-206.

[71] Late Copybook, f.40v.

[72] Late Copybook, f.53v.

this portion of Browne's letters, instead of a narrative of his journey's physical progress we receive a glut of information, including news, observations about people, and even a letter from an Orthodox priest. In this, Browne is not only a self-interested traveller but a conduit for information. From Browne's arrival at Vienna in November until his departure for Hungary in March, the letters and notebook became a written collection of people, places and practices.

In a letter of December 3 Browne tells his father that 'I wish I had Sr Henry Blounts travells here.'[73] Besides offering Browne information about the people by whom he was surrounded, Blount might also provide further guidance on where to go. In the same letter, Browne tells Thomas that he 'wrote to Mr Oldenberg secretary to *the* Royall Society to know what he or they please to commande me in these parts,' also requesting that his father 'informe me of what naturall curiosities I ought to looke after.'[74] Although Browne's desires for travel were yet to be fulfilled, they were also yet to be defined. One destination, however, seems particularly enticing to Browne. Although he had asked for Oldenburg's directions and his father's recommendations, Browne's constant commentary on couriers to Turkey (with one of whom Browne 'might have gone'), a 'Turkish voyage to Belgrade,' and discourses with acquaintances from Greece, highlight that he did not intend to curtail his trip at Vienna.[75] A journal entry of December 21 states in no uncertain terms that 'the Courier Rudolpho promiseth me *tha*t I shall goe with him into Turkey,' though Browne's letters are silent on this.[76] However, perhaps at his father's repeated insistence that 'no

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[73] Letterbook, f.10r.

[74] Letterbook, f.10r.

[75] Late Copybook, f.56v; Vienna Journal, f.39r.

[76] Vienna Journal, f.44v.

excursion into Pol., Hung., or Turkey addes advantage or reputation unto a schollar,'
Browne remained at Vienna long enough to receive a reply from Oldenburg.[77] While it is
likely that Browne's letter to Oldenburg (which, notably, post-dates the letter to Thomas
expressing Edward's desires to see the Hungarian gold mines) was sent in the hopes that
Oldenburg would send him towards Hungary, it was not until this confirmation came that
Browne began to change his habits of notetaking and his physical movements to serve this
intent.

To Serve the Society: Notetaking and Letter-writing for the Royal Society

When Thomas Browne recommended that his son 'observe anything in order to the Royall
Societie,' it seems unlikely that he expected his son to do so as a primary investigator.[78]
However, when Browne received 'Mr Oldenburg's letter of enquiries' on January 29 1669,
his attentions immediately turned.[79] Oldenburg's enquiries pertained almost exclusively to
the mines of Hungary and Transylvania: indeed, they had been sent to Marcus Marci in the
previous year, but Marci never returned a reply (a silence explained when Browne returned
through Germany to find that 'Marcus Marci upon whom I should have waited and induced
to correspond with the Royall Society is dead sometime since').[80] Browne had already noted
his desire to see the gold mines, and he may also have known that the Society would
welcome the chance to be informed about them by one of their own members.

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[77] Keynes, *Works,* 4.37.

[78] Keynes, *Works*, 4.36.

[79] Vienna Journal, f.29r. A copy of the queries is preserved in Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 108, f.34r-v. See
Appendix 5 for the queries.

[80] Letterbook, f.58v.
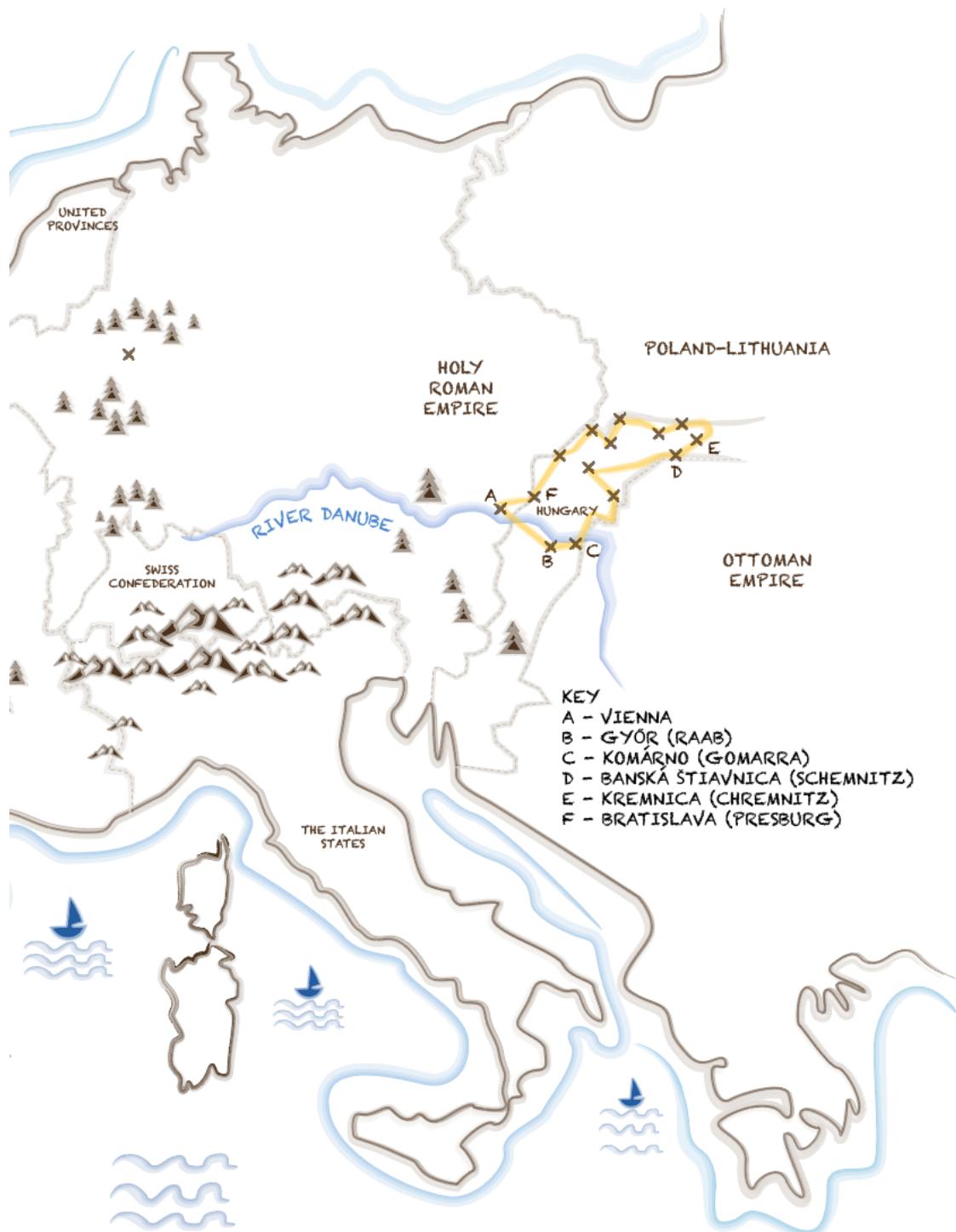
Figure 4: The 1669 Excursion to Hungary

Browne's investigations began immediately upon receiving Oldenburg's directions. The following is Browne's account of the three days following his receipt of Oldenburg's letter:

Tuesday 29

Mr Oldenburgs letter of enquiries. to *th*e 5 Mr Du Bois tells me *tha*t

there is cristallised Vitriole natural in Hungary as cleere as if

dissolved filtrated evaporated & coagulated. and to *the* third *tha*t

there are two sorts of Antimony or here and two sortes of Cinnaberis

native. that there is a mouel de Pierre or Marrow of stone used with

very good successe in Dyssenteryes Baden. bath 8 miles from

Vienne.

Wednesday 30

In Hungary there is rock salt and so there is in Transylvania or Sicta

Burgen where as Capt Bodin says they give it to their sheep and

Oxen often is convenient for carriage being used scraped.

Thursday 31

Mr Du Bois saith that nigh to Sieben Burgen there is a water which

changeth Iron into Copper...[81]

This is a marked narrowing of interests, and while consequent entries include records of

cultural idiosyncrasies (such as Hungarian clothes, Croats' chariots, and German wives'

tales), the attention to mining continues. Although around a month later Thomas advised

his son to 'putt yourself to no hazard or adventure, butt learne & make the best enquiries

you can of things in Hungarie & at distance by others,' a method of knowledge derivation

that was not 'necessarily less sound than that based upon more direct individual means,'

this was not the kind of investigation Edward Browne had in mind.[82]

By the time he received that letter from his father, Browne had already visited

Baden, a spa town roughly 16 modern miles from Vienna. While Thomas's letter regarding

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[81] Vienna Journal, f.54r.

[82] Keynes, *Works,* 4.40; Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 205*.*

the baths recommended his son read Wernherius, Baccius, and Ortelius, suggesting that his son 'enquire of Mr de Bois' for information, Browne travelled directly to the source of his investigations.[83] Browne's record of this trip, taken on February 24 1669, runs to approximately 425 words in his journal, a vast expansion of his usual daily records, which range from ten words to 60 words. As with many other journal entries, this one is reported comprehensively in a letter to Thomas. It is preluded with that note that 'the last Saterday Sunday and Munday I was at Baden, of which I may give an account to the Royall Society when you thinke it Sr most convenient, seeing it is one of *the* enquiries to be informed concerning hot baths.'[84] While this note implies that Browne would write in due course about the baths, he offers his report immediately. This letter is somewhat different to earlier reports: Browne locates the baths exactly by describing their precincts; continually offers precise details on colours and temperatures; and incorporates specific measurements into his account. The description is consolidated by references to Browne's earlier travels, comparing one kind of chalk sediment to that found at a 'sulphur river not far from Tivoli.'[85] Browne also calls on 'the Queens bath in England' to contextualise his findings.[86] Although the letter is expanded, its comprehensive detail is facilitated by Browne's extended journal entry. In this, a distinction between methods of record-keeping arises: while Browne was content to record his 'private' observations in succinct entries, recording key words that might later prompt his memory, that kind of record would not suffice for a report intended for the Royal Society. Rather, the Society's Baconian project of making 'faithful *Records*'

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[83] Keynes, *Works,* 4.41.

[84] Letterbook, f.13r.

[85] Letterbook, f.14r.

[86] Letterbook, f.13v.

necessitated, rather than memory, precise written records with 'material reassurance of accuracy.'[87] Browne's small octavo journal proved a less than ideal space for these kinds of records.

Shortly after his visit to Baden, Browne left for Hungary, ostensibly on business for the Royal Society.[88] The Vienna Journal, however, bears no record of this trip. This, I suggest, is because Browne actively began a new notebook for this excursion: the Hungary Notebook. This book, significantly larger than the Vienna Journal, is home to extended accounts of Browne's findings in Hungary, and forms the basis of accounts later sent to the Royal Society. There are three distinctive elements of the notes that Browne kept in this notebook. The first is its use of drawings: the second folio contains three pictures lettered 'a', 'b', and 'c,' respectively 'a rib almost two yards long,' 'a great jaw bone… saide to be the rib & jawbone of a heathen maide,' and 'large hornes.' [89] All of these are found 'over the gate at the entrance into the Emperours Castle at Laxemburg two German miles from Vienna. ^March^ February 7. St. novo. 1668/9.'[90] There is no entry for this date in the Vienna Journal, which skips straight from March 4 to April 12, when Browne 'returned out of Hungary to Wien.'[91] The Hungary Notebook is thus not a secondary notebook like one a merchant might keep, for instance, because this information is exclusive to it. It is, rather,

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[87] Thomas Spratt, *The History of the Royal-Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London, 1667), 61. Peter Sherlock, 'The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe,' in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates,* eds. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham UP, 2010), 32.

[88] See Figure 4 for a map of Browne's tour of Hungary.

[89] Hungary Notebook, f.2r.

[90] Hungary Notebook, f.2r.

[91] Vienna Journal, f.69v.

an independent space of recording.[92] Leaving Vienna, Browne went first to modern-day

Győr, known to Browne as 'Raab,' and continued to Komárno (Komara to Browne) and Tata

(or 'Dotis'). Browne provides a sketch of each city's fortifications alongside its notebook

entry, as if to remember which fortification was associated with which city. Further folios

host pictures of figures in traditional dress, and various items of weaponry. All of this

suggests that Browne actively used visual tools to preserve the specific details of locations

and their associated observations.[93]

The second distinctive element of this notebook is the specificity of its language and

investigations. For instance, when Browne hears about Banská Štiavnica (Chemnitz), he

notes that

> The Ore at Chemnitz runs all wayes. but for the most part north and
>
> south. in Trinity mine most betwixt 2 & three of the clock. when an
>
> east & west ductus minerce meets or cuts a north south ductus it is
>
> esteemed to be lucky and rich. the deeper they dig the silver out the
>
> better it is here yet at Cremnitz the best gold is in the middle not in
>
> the bottome of the mine.[94]

Having visited neither 'Chemnitz' or 'Cremnitz' (now Kremnica) by that point, this is clearly

reported rather than observed information. Similarly, the note about what 'is esteemed to

be lucky and rich' is not an empirical observation but folklore.[95] These slips into reported

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[92] Ann Blair notes that merchants 'were long famous for keeping two separate notebooks: a daybook to record transactions in the order in which they occurred and a second notebook in which these transactions were sorted into categories': See Blair, 'Note taking as an art of transmission,' 90.

[93] Hungary Notebook, ff.3-6.

[94] Hungary Notebook, f.15r

[95] Hungary Notebook, f.15r

rather than first-hand observation occasionally obscure Browne's own physical locations, but they nonetheless exhibit a desire to collect and record as much information as possible concerning the mines.

This is not to say that Browne did not collect information himself; upon reaching Kremnica in person, he records eight different mineshafts:

> At the gold mine at Chremnitz. 8 ~~schaffts~~ Schachts 1 Rudolphi 2
> Reginae ~~Mariae~~ ^Anna^ 3 St Donner ^Kindschacht^. 4 & 5 Archiducis
> Matthiee. 6 Leopoldi. ^2 Ferdinandi^. I went downe into Kaiser
> Rudolphi Schaft ~~100~~ 108 fathom ^*closster*^ deepe. and passed by the
> rest and come up at Kaiser Leopoldi Schaft 190 fathoms deepe.[96]

The insertions and elisions here suggest a determination to record the *correct* information; even the correction from 100 to 108 fathoms shows attention to precision. This specific kind of record continues throughout Browne's trip through Hungary, making the Hungary Notebook a far more rigorously factual document than the journals.[97] Furthermore, while the Vienna Journal imparts a sense of Browne's position in gathering the information (for instance, he 'Parted… Wien and came this night 4 miles…,' and 'passed over the hill Simarin on foot'), the Hungary Notebook usually extracts information from its journeying context, Browne either commencing his notes about a city without denoting a move from the previous city, or noting the move only briefly (such as in 'To Forchatz,' or 'From

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[96] Hungary Notebook, f.17r

[97] On February 27 Browne notes in the Vienna journal that 'the steame of the water [at Herzog] in 2 or thee hours colours metals black…'; the record from Banca in the Hungary notebook similarly records that upon 'sticking mony into the earth over which the water passeth, that part which was in the ground changed not its colour the other part in the water was coloured quite black in a fewe minutes': Vienna Journal, f.66v-67r; Hungary Notebook, f.11r; Vienna Journal, f.68r.

Topelcham').[98] This change contributes to the exclusion of Browne as a tourist from the Hungary Notebook. Instead, Browne appears to us primarily as an investigator of natural philosophy.

Like the record of Baden, the notes from Hungary are eventually reworked in letters whose ultimate audience was the Royal Society. While the letters written during Browne's excursion include some specific details, these were not intended directly for the Society. In a letter to Thomas of April 1 1669, Browne offers a brief account of the silver mines, but adds that 'I have so much to say upon the silver mines at Schemnitz that I cannot set it downe in a letter' before stating his intention to 'sende a more methodical account concerning the mines and something of the ore': in other words, though this letter —addressed to Thomas—pertained to the Society's enquiries, was not Browne's *answer* to them. This correspondence was not intended for Oldenburg.[99]

This is made all the clearer in a letter sent upon Browne's return to Vienna. Browne tells Thomas that he had 'found friends unexpectedly in all places,' particularly highlighting that 'the Earle of the Chambe Signr Gianuelli did me a great deale of honour and favour, both in his countenance at Schemnitz and his order to the Governours of the goldmines by Chemnitz and Newsol that I should have all things shown me.'[100] Browne adds that he could now 'serve the Society without ~~using~~ hazarding the repute of their name.'[101] This amendment from 'using' to 'hazarding' is oddly specific: the earlier portion of the letter highlights that Browne himself 'found friends' and won valuable acquaintances. Taken

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[98] Vienna Journal, f.74r-v.

[99] Letterbook, f.19r.

[100] Letterbook, f.21r.

[101] Letterbook f.21v.

alongside this single-word adjustment, Browne's style suggests he was keen to demonstrate that he did not rely upon the Royal Society, but was successful as an independent investigator. He did not 'use' the Royal Society's name to gain the benefits he outlines, and though he affects concern for the Society's repute by opting for 'hazarding' instead of 'using,' his exploits are framed as his own and no one else's. The following line suggests why he took this approach, reasoning that 'what upon *my owne account* I have procured, I may be the more free to present it them as you shall thinke fit, Sr.'[102] Browne's knowledge is his own: he owes no debt to the Society for supporting him in procuring it. Thus far in his journey, the Society had only confirmed a direction that Browne already envisaged, providing him with more specific questions. All of Browne's findings, though, are his. They are also, to an extent, his father's: not owing a duty to the Society, Browne turned to his father for advice on how—and what—to present. Freedom from obligation to the Society allowed Browne to ally himself and his knowledge with his father instead. Noah Moxham highlights that as the Royal Society developed it 'was doing all it could to secure a supply of experimental knowledge claims that it could claim as its own and dispose of as it saw fit.'[103] While this characterization applies more neatly to knowledge demonstrated physically within the walls of the Society, Browne's concern to present his findings as his own suggests that even by 1669 the Society threatened to claim knowledge collected under their name for themselves alone.

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[102] Letterbook, f.21v. Emphasis added.

[103] Noah Moxham, 'Fit for Print: Developing an Institutional Model of Scientific Periodical Publishing in England, 1665-ca. 1714,' *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 69, no. 3 (2015): 251.

Browne nonetheless intended to share his knowledge with the Royal Society, though on his own terms (and his father's). A letter sent four days after his arrival back in Vienna emphasises the role he envisioned his father playing in the dissemination of his knowledge:

> I have many things to say concerning damps and other particulars in
>
> their inquiries of which I will set downe every post somewhat for
>
> what is at Norwich I count safe and your goodnesse and indulgence
>
> will looke favourabl[y] upon my observations and help me to range
>
> them more methodically against the time that they must be looked
>
> upon by more severe eyes.[104]

Here, Browne acknowledges that his observations would require reformulation before being sent to the Royal Society. He sets out his intention to write, periodically and specifically, about his findings (facilitated by the highly-detailed Hungary Notebook), and confirms that his father's readership differed to that of the Society: as much as he did not want to 'hazard' their name in gaining access to unusual places, Browne also refused to hazard his own in sending an insufficient account.[105] Browne confirms this fear in a later letter which records his reticence to discuss spa waters because 'concerning the vertues of Minerall waters it is difficult to write to *th*e R Society… without a great deale of censure.'[106] Besides rearranging his works, sending letters to Norwich also preserved his findings: perhaps hearing of the thefts inflicted upon other travellers, Browne sends his most valuable learning back to Norwich at regular intervals.

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[104] Letterbook, f.24r.

[105] I have discussed the collaborative efforts of Thomas Browne elsewhere. See Anna Wyatt, '"On the Eminent Dr. Edward Brown's travels": A Familial Network of Creation in the Philosophical Transactions,' *Studies in Philology* 118, no. 2 (2021): 368-400.

[106] Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 108, f.37r.

While still in Hungary, Browne told his father that he had

> now arrived where I hope to see something remarkable whereby I
>
> may serve the Royall Society... and the easilier obtaine your pardon
>
> for this excursion, which is much wider then I thought it would have
>
> been, the Hungarian long miles deceiving me and the small account I
>
> could meet withall concerning the countrey which I now am in.[107]

For Browne, seeing something remarkable pardoned his wide excursion. Similarly, while Thomas discouraged his son from travelling to 'countries of small literature,' he also recommended that Edward 'take the best account you can of Vienna as to all concernes, for tis hard to find any peculiar account of it': Thomas's concern for his son is somewhat complicated by his desire to discover more about the world.[108] It is the very unwritten nature of these climes that makes them valuable, and from the outset justifies the potential dangers of the road: the fact that Browne's discoveries, both about mines and the culture of the region, are 'remarkable' makes them valuable. The writing about travel becomes, in unusual locations, the *reason* to travel.

Textual Stand-ins: Lists and Catalogues

The letters about mines were not the only 'valuables' from Browne's Hungarian excursion. A letter of April 24 includes an inventory of items that Browne sent to Thomas and to the Royal Society by 'Captain Mackdugall a Scotch gentleman' who was returning to England.[109] This 20-item list includes several pieces of mineralogical interest (copper ore from

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[107] Letterbook, f.17r.

[108] Keynes, *Works,* 4.39.

[109] Letterbook, f.25r.

Herrngrundt, money coloured by various hot springs, stones from a quarry, etc.), and some more curious items, such as 'an Indian ring to draw the bowe' and 'the hayre of a boy like white wool.'[110] This list is also recorded in the Hungary Notebook, in a different order, under the title of 'sent to my father by Captain Mackdougall.'[111] Unfortunately, MacDougall's progress was systematically hindered: by August 8, Browne had to explain the non-arrival of the boxes, telling his father that MacDougall was only at Prague, having been delayed by illness. Another box, sent by a boy 'Hams' alongside MacDougall had also not arrived in England, the boy having 'left [MacDougall] and is gone no man knoweth whither. What he hath carried away of mine I cannot yet learne.'[112] Browne defends himself, complaining that 'if my things miscarry, I cannot helpe it, having taken a probable way and care to sende them.'[113] In this case, however, the loss was not wholesale. While the physical items might not have made it home, Browne draws on the lists in the Hungary Notebook to replicate the curiosities in epistolary form. In a later letter, Browne repeats the list of things sent to his father, but this time the order follows that of the Hungary notebook, confirming that this notebook was a repository not only for observations of Hungary but also a stand-in repository for physical objects. As Marjorie Swann notes, a collector could '[transform] the physical objects he accumulated into texts by creating catalogues of the items he acquired.'[114] While the collection that Thomas received was not, eventually, a physical collection, he nonetheless received the collection in textual form.

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[110] Letterbook, f.25r.

[111] Hungary Notebook, f.51v.

[112] Letterbook, f.49r.

[113] Letterbook, f.49r.

[114] Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, 196.

Indeed, the whole latter half of the Hungary Notebook, having fulfilled its duty in recording Browne's thorough notes about mines, becomes a written cabinet of curiosities. One of the most remarkable of these lists is Browne's record of the Imperial Treasury at Vienna. While many letters from earlier in Browne's journey had reported curiosity collections within their narratives, his letter about the Imperial Treasury takes a more explicitly collection-oriented form. On February 15 1668, before Browne had been to Hungary, he had gained access to 'the Emperours Library,' meeting the keeper Peter Lambeck (1628-1680).[115] Browne's journal entry from this visit proceeds to list the most notable items, using a single textual block with no division according to the books' location or subject.[116] A letter sent to Thomas on February 21 repeats, almost verbatim, the journal entry, offering its reader a sort of catalogue of the library at Vienna with little to no commentary, and no division.

This is entirely different to the records of the Imperial Treasury, preserved in the Hungary Notebook and a letter of May 5 1669. Whereas the library was recorded in Browne's journal—before he had been to Hungary and so before he had begun to keep itemised lists of rarities sent home—the Treasury is recorded in the Hungary Notebook; no record of it exists in a journal. Here, it is surrounded by lists of Browne's personal collections, already framing it as a kind of acquisition. Indeed, the letter that includes the Treasury emphasizes that Browne 'got means to see [the curiosities] ~~of my owne accord~~.'[117] As with his refusal to use the Royal Society's name, Browne here notes that he himself gained access to this rare sight, without external support. He goes on to report that, having

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[115] Vienna Journal, f.60r.

[116] For the record of the library, see Appendix 6.

[117] Letterbook, f.31r.

presented some coins and an inscription to the library, Lambeck had told the Emperor,

Leopold I (1640-1705) about Browne and in return granted him 'liberty to take bookes out

of the library home to [his] lodging.'[118] This introductory epistle once more frames Browne

as an independent agent whose knowledge acquisition has a value; in this case, gaining

access to the library, Treasury, and eminent acquaintances.

As usual, Browne's narrative starts to run away with itself, but he reins it in,

commenting that 'I shall scarce have roome if I begin not to write what I saw in the

Emperour's treasure, which is much richer then I expected, a Catalogue of the rarities filleth

a large thick folio.'[119] His own mini-catalogue, including only 'a few extraordinary jewells &

rarities in it,' is not organised *en bloc* like his description of the library but according to the

Treasury's physical organisation, Browne noting what was in 'the first cupboard or case,' 'in

*th*e 2,' and so on.[120] Gradually, these sub-headings disappear, leaving a long list of

miscellaneous items with no categorical division. This Treasury dates back 'at least as far as

Emperour Ferdinand in 1564,' over a century before Browne visited. Rudolf II (1552-1612)

'added Durer, Breugel, and Corregio'—the works of whom Browne notes seeing—and

Leopold I 'is represented by a monochrome spread of small ivory sculptures.'[121] Given that

the Treasury, 'having specimens of all parts of creation... represented the universe in

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[118] Letterbook, f.31r.

[119] Letterbook, f.31r.

[120] Letterbook, f.31r.

[121] 'Introduction,' in *Vienna, The Kunsthistorisches Museum: The Treasury and the Collection of Sculpture and Decorative Arts*, eds. Manfred Leithe-Jasper, Rudolf Distelberger and Wolfgang Prohaska (Paris: Scala, 1984), 1-2. Celina Fox, 'The new Kunstkammer, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna,' *The Burlington Magazine* 155, no. 1323 (2013): 406.

microcosm,' Browne's two-side catalogue seems positively restrained.[122] In its division by

cabinet or cupboard, and in the eventual degradation into a long list of items, Browne's

record of the Treasury in a sense *becomes* the Treasury, replicating the experience of

moving through the cabinets. Indeed, because Browne notes the catalogue of the Treasury

as well as his personal engagement with it, it is not entirely clear whether Browne's

catalogue is a replication of his experience or of the catalogue. As Stagl observes, '*musei*

were turned into books by being described... in catalogues, and books into *musei* by

becoming lavishly and systematically illustrated.'[123] Likewise, Browne's written catalogue

creates a museum of itself. Together, Browne's experiences in Hungary and in the Imperial

Treasury, which necessitated new methods of collecting information both long-hand and in

itemised lists, trigger a pronounced change in Browne's recording practices. While some of

the earlier letters' narrative elements remain, these letters present Browne not just as a

proto-tourist but a collector. He collects for the Royal Society in one way, and he collects for

himself—and his father—in another, but both forms of investigation result in a new, more

precise and systematic, recording of his knowledge which becomes the central reason for

writing.

Browne's visit to the Treasury was not all his own idea; on March 1, Thomas had

exhorted his son to 'endeavor by all means to see his treasure of rarities & what is

remarkable in any private custodie.'[124] This visit and several others that Browne makes to

private collections are, in part, ways to satisfy his father's wishes. Likewise, while we can

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[122] Thomas DaCosta Kauffman, 'Remarks on the Collections of Rudolf II: The Kunstkammer as a Form of Representatio,' *Art Journal* 38, no. 1 (1978): 24.

[123] Stagl, *A History of Curiosity,* 115.

[124] Keynes, *Works,* 4.42.

safely assume that Browne himself was invested in continuing his medical education of his own accord, attending a nineteen-day 'anatomy of a woman' at Vienna, Thomas's repeated recommendations to 'continue in mind the method and doctrine of physick' highlight that despite his son's consolidated status and growing age, he was still concerned to see him engage in 'useful' pursuits.[125] Browne's travels, until this point, were thus somewhat dictated by his father and the Royal Society, even if in all cases he fulfilled his own ambition of travelling to unknown climes.

Italy and Greece: Curious Excursions

'From one curiosity to another': Wandering through Slovenia

Although a March 1 letter from Thomas comments that 'wee are all glad you have layd by the thoughts of Turkey or Turkish dominions,' Browne's curiosity about Turkey was still palpable: on April 28, Browne told his father that 'I have now taken up three hundred florins in preparations to goe into Turkey this next week.'[126] This plan, however, did not come to fruition. Instead, Browne remained in Vienna for another month, observing the Jesuit 'processio flagellentium,' the pilgrimage procession 'to Arnolds,' visiting the university at Vienna, and prescribing for Captain MacDougall.[127] Still in hopes of visiting Turkey, on May 2 he told his father that he hoped 'to be able to perform my journey the next time which the Emperour dispatcheth anyone to the Turkish court,' but this journey too was 'put by in regard that Signr Gabriel who was to have been sent this weeke to Larissa in Thessaly by the

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[125] Vienna Journal, f.57r. Keynes, *Works,* 4.32.

[126] Keynes, *Works*, 4.42; Letterbook, f.28r.

[127] Vienna Journal, ff.70r, 72r, and 72v.

Emperour stayeth here still to entertaine and assist the Turkish envoye.'[128] Eventually, on

May 23, Browne left the city. However, rather than to the Ottoman Empire, this journey

took him through modern-day Slovenia towards Venice.[129]

Figure 6: The 1669 Excursion to Italy and Greece

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[128] Letterbook, f.33r.

[129] See Figure 5 for a map of Browne's journey to Venice.

About a week after leaving Vienna, Browne told his father that 'expectation of divers natural ~~things~~ curiosities drew mee into these hilly countries, having also the company of Mr Donellan an Irish gentleman & souldier in a garisson of this country.'[130] However, where the letters from the Low Countries and Germany ostensibly aimed to document Browne's journey for readers at home, and the excursion to and letters from Hungary were intended as reports of natural phenomena, Browne's Slovenian journey had no explicit goal: although a journal entry from shortly before Browne's trip records an itinerary of locations and distances between Vienna and at St Veit (near modern-day Klagenfurt), he never sets out any reason other than curiosity and company for this journey, and continues well beyond his original 'goal' of St Veit. This journey was not motivated by any particular purpose, but by opportunity. This motivation is evident throughout the letters from this period.

While the letters from Slovenia and Italy resume a narrative mode of reporting, following Browne chronologically through his journey, they are not the same kinds of records as those of the previous autumn. Instead, Browne's journal entries change style again, including more detail than the very brief early entries, but documenting fewer places. The letters, rather than curating Browne's experiences into a crafted narrative, reproduce the journal entries more straightforwardly and, in turn, emulate Browne's own experience and indirection. For example, the entry of May 23 records that Browne 'parted Wien and came this night 4 miles to Tradeskirchel within an English mile of Baden.'[131] The counterpart in the letter reads: 'I left Wien and came that night to Traskirchel within an English mile of Baden.'[132] A journal entry from a few days later reports that 'I passed by a castell seated on

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[130] Late Copybook, f.81v.

[131] Vienna Journal, f.74r.

[132] Late Copybook, f.81v.

a rock belonging to the Herr von Stubnberg *th*e Ancientest family in Germany to Prug [Bruck an der Mur] upon the river Mur a pretty larg swift river *aber nicht Schiffreich*.'[133] The letter adds that the river 'runneth a long cours and falleth into the Dravus on the confines of Hungary but [is] not navigable in this place' and translates 'aber nicht schiffreich' ('but not navigable') to English, but the rest of the material remains almost exactly the same. [134] In fact, where earlier letters continually expand the journal entries, the opposite is true here, with Browne's prose often being directly comparable between the two documents but for the omission of some passing information.[135] Unlike in the Low Countries and Germany, where Browne's encounters with remarkable things demanded multiple letters a week, these letters skim quickly over much of what Browne sees: here, they are secondary to the travels where before they had been integral to them. While this may, in part, be due to the uncertainty of where Browne might find convenience to send a letter, it also highlights that Browne was not actively searching for 'curiosities' to report, but merely wandering curiously.

Browne's wandering, it should be noted, was not useless even if it was purposeless: as Melanie Ord observes, 'digression'—textual *and* physical—'both enables gains in knowledge and tends toward self-indulgence.'[136] About a week after leaving St Veit, Browne arrived at Cerknica, 'a towne of above 300 houses a dayes Journey from Labach.'[137]

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[133] Vienna Journal, f.75r-v.

[134] Late Copybook, f.82v. 'Schieffreich' translates literally to 'shippable.' Because this letter is preserved in Late Copybook in Thomas's hand, we do not know whether the translation is his or Edward's.

[135] For instance, Browne leaves out of the letter a note about the peasant women's habit and manners, as also a note about the ironwork.

[136] Ord, *Travel and Experience*, 119.

[137] Hungary Notebook, f.27r.

Browne's records of this location are unusual for being recorded in both his journal and the Hungary Notebook, although unlike the records from the Hungarian mines, Browne's record of the natural curiosity, Lake Cerknica, in his Hungary Notebook is very succinct, running to only 250 words. A further 110 words are recorded in the Vienna Journal, but even combined this is a short account. Moreover, it seems that Browne stumbled upon the lake by chance: on June 3, a few days prior to going to Cerknica, the Vienna Journal repeats the story of Prince Eckenberg who 'went from Zircknitz Lake' to 'St Coziam' through a 'great hole.'[138] Though Browne's journey was thus 'productive' in finding a natural curiosity, it was not intentionally so.

The day after visiting Cerknica, Browne moved on to Idrija, where he found some quicksilver mines: no previous note of Idrija exists in Browne's letters or journals, suggesting that this too was a last-minute discovery. The Idrija mines merited around 450 words in the Hungary Notebook which, while longer than the record of Lake Cerknica, is still restrained by the standard of Browne's other natural notes. Although both of these places were eventually used—albeit briefly—in Browne's correspondence with the Royal Society, neither of them was the aim of his journey. While Browne uses the Hungary Notebook to record some detail about them, their simultaneous presence within his journal suggests that Browne did not visit these sites with the Society in mind; had he done so, we could expect the level of detail in his notebook to draw nearer to that of the accounts of Hungary. Instead, Browne's visits to Cerknica and Idrija become a part of his experience not as an investigator but as a traveller: although these roles are inseparable in many regards, they require different modes of reporting. Here, Browne nominally attempts to frame himself as

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[138] Vienna Journal, f.77r.

a natural philosopher, and indeed his reports did contribute new information to the Royal Society, but his status as a Society agent at these locations is subsumed by his status as an inquisitive traveller. His records, in turn, privilege curious travel over extensive recording.

Browne's curiosity-driven direction is epitomized in a letter from Venice, where he arrived on June 14 1669: while originally he had told his father that he expected 'naturall curiosities' towards St Veit, in the latter part of the journey he 'proceeded forward not in a direct road butt from one curiositie to another.'[139] Even more than at his departure from Vienna, Browne had fallen entirely to wandering. Again, Browne draws on his journal to report the scenes between St Veit and Venice, offering his father an only-slightly polished recreation of the journal itself. However, where some curiosities are omitted, Browne is particularly keen to extend the journal's note that he 'dined with my Lord Peasley.'[140] In his correspondence with his father he extends this brief memorandum; though the journal does not record Browne's encounter with 'my lord Lesley and Baron La Haye,' the letter narrates how 'my Lord Lesly invited mee to his table during my stayed and caryed mee in his barge through a fine artificial cutt into the lake of Clagenfurt,' later entrusting Browne with letters to Vienna.[141] Browne's good standing with James Leslie, the nephew of Walter Leslie (who was made Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1665 and had died in 1667), places Browne firmly within the 'informal expatriate club' in the Habsburg Empire.[142] Just as 'to become the travelling companion of a future ruler, or even of a young magnate, prophesied a glittering future,' Browne's engagements with the Habsburg elite draws attention to the social

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[139] Late Copybook, f.62r.

[140] Vienna Journal, f.78r.

[141] Late Copybook, f.85r.

[142] David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c. 1560-1688* (London: Routledge, 2016), 38.

'success' of his travels.[143] Browne capitalizes on these acquaintances, going on to report

that 'Baron La Haye entertained mee with his travells into Turckey and if I would travell that

way they both promise to take such care on my behalf that I should not bee injured & to

procure meanes of my safe journey by the order of Montecuculi president of the Counsell &

governour of Rab,' though he adds that he 'made no acceptance at that time.'[144] Browne's

choice to extend this particular encounter and omit others highlights his continued desire to

travel into the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, he repeats this story in a letter sent over a month

later: on July 23, he once more tells Thomas that

> Baron La Haye entertained me much with his travelles in Turkhia,
>
> and if I should travell that way for some time as six weekes or two
>
> monthes they would be very carefull of me, & see *that* I should not
>
> be solde or injured. They offered me also to procure means of my
>
> safe going to Constantinople by the order of Montecuculi who is
>
> allied to my Lord Leslye, but I refused that with thanks, not willing to
>
> ingage myself in a court suit, where the deniall is allwayes unpleasing
>
> and insolent.[145]

However, while reasserting that he chose not to accept the offer, this letter explains that he

rejected it to avoid the vagaries of court politics. It also divides the offer into two distinct

parts: there is now a first possible excursion to Turkey with La Haye, and a second to

Constantinople under Montecuccoli's order. Neither letter suggests that Browne did not

want to undertake the voyage, and the second letter indicates that Browne might have

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[143] Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe,* 123.

[144] Late Copybook, f.85r-v.

[145] Letterbook, f.43r-v.

gone were it not for the political implications. The fact that Browne repeatedly mentions the high-society names who had offered to support his journey into Turkey even adds weight to the proposed endeavor. In separating out the two parts of the potential journey while drawing attention to reputable figures, Browne highlights his desire to see the Ottoman Empire.

By Accident to Italy: The Social Life of Travels

Besides meeting reputable acquaintances who might endorse a future excursion to Turkey, Browne's Italian excursion itself became a social occasion. In a letter from Padua of June 26, the bottom two-thirds of which has been torn away, Browne admits to being directionless, confessing that 'being within nine German miles of Palma Nova I was tempted to the sight of it.'[146] The letter follows his journey to Venice, Browne 'going fourscore and ten miles in less then 24 houres.'[147] The fragmented remains of this letter, like others from this excursion, reports various unconnected curiosities and on the last visible line, adds that 'Carlo Theobaldi died the last Friday night.'[148] Theobaldi's death is reported again in a letter of July 5 from Venice. Indeed, the majority of the July 5 letter discusses the people who Browne met at Padua. This is, in many ways, unsurprising; in his prospective letter to Venice the previous year, Thomas had commented that he expected Edward to 'take notice of [Padua] again,' highlighting that his son has already been to Padua, and that this trip would be but a refresher.[149] In the short period between Browne's first visit to the Veneto and the

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[146] Letterbook, f.38r.

[147] Letterbook, f.38v.

[148] Letterbook, f.39r.

[149] Keynes, *Works,* 4.32.

second, little had changed by way of architecture, culture, or medical innovations. The

primary change was thus social: Theobaldi, after all, had only died two days before Browne

returned. Besides Theobaldi, Browne mentions 'Dr Cadinet a Scotchman... whom I knew

formerly,' 'Mr Morillon who taught my Lord Howards sonnes at Norwich,' 'the Duke of

Norfolk [who] is much as he useth to be,' 'one Mr Leeth a Scotchman in good reputation

who liveth with the Cardinal,' 'and one Mr Edmunds an Englishman.'[150] Other than a note

that he had '^caused^ a booke to be made of six hundred plantes,' and a very brief record

of some 'things which I had seen before,' the entirety of this letter comprises social

records.[151] This is a stark difference to other reports from Browne's journey, which mention

characters fleetingly but do not point towards any real social circle.[152] In Italy, the sociable is

at the fore, probably largely because there was no true novelty in Italy for Browne: having

observed Venice and Padua in 1665, the sociable takes prime place in 1669. In a place

whose curiosity has been diminished by a previous visit, the letters lose purpose and

direction. They also become more familial: just as 'if a correspondent mentioned other

individuals by name within a letter the receiver most likely knew them,' if a correspondent

mentions previous experiences then this suggests that the reader knew those too.[153] Where

the letters from the Low Countries explain everything in detail, adding in frames of

reference for untraveled readers, the letters from Italy rely upon a readerly knowledge of

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[150] Letterbook, f.40r.

[151] Letterbook, f.40r. Browne's list consists of: 'the Garden, the churches of Sant Antonio & Santa Justinia, *th*e Cardinalls palace, his hall wherein are the pictures of all *th*e Bishops... the statua of Gatumelato.'

[152] This does not suggest that Browne was a loner: as Mączak, highlights, 'If some travellers give the impression of being loners, then they simply did not mention their frequent, but fleeting, contracts with other people': see Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, 135.

[153] Lindsay O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 79.

Browne's previous travels. The letters from Italy, with no marvels to report, gain purpose in their capacity to connect communities across time and space.

Communal Reading: Writing to the Family

The letter as a purely familial document, a form catalyzed by Browne's lack of investigative purpose in Italy, is nowhere more evident than in the Venice letter of July 5, which is not addressed just to Thomas, but divided into sections for each family member: Thomas; Dorothy; 'Betty' (Lyttleton); sister 'Mab' (Mary); and sister 'Frank' (Frances). Each mini-letter includes a salutation and sign-off, creating distinct units within the single larger letter. In the section to Thomas, Edward includes the most erudite content. The book of plants—not dissimilar to that which Edward procured in 1665—speaks to shared botanical interests. An astrological interest is indicated by Edward's report that through Cadinet's 'telescopes [he] had a good ~~pro~~ sight of the new moone.'[154] He also adds a postscript that he 'saw an excellent collection of pictures and draughts of most of the major hands.'[155] To his father, Edward reports erudite scholarly networks and his ongoing pursuit of knowledge.

Browne's letter to Dorothy displays different concerns. He is apologetic, admitting openly to his mother that his 'coming into Italy was meerly accidentall' and that he has 'travelled into many places… which I did not thinke of or designe at my coming abroad so that I have been a great expense to you this yeare.'[156] He tells her that, despite the sociable engagements mentioned in the portion of this letter to Thomas, 'it hath been a melancholy

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[154] Letterbook, f.40r.

[155] Letterbook, f.40r.

[156] Letterbook, f.40r.

time,' for he has not received letters from his friends since he 'came abroad.'[157] He asks

Dorothy to give his 'service to Ms Deye, to Madam Burwell and her family to Mr Whitefoot

Mr Robins, Mr Hawkins, Ms Corbet, to my Aunt Gawdy, my Aunt Tenison, my unkle

Mileham and all my relations and friends.'[158] Where Thomas receives note of Edward's

social activities, Dorothy is asked to pass on Edward's good will to those at home. This letter

suggests that Edward expected his mother to be most concerned about the cost of his

journey, his spiritual state, and his social duties at home.

　　'Sister Betty' gets yet another kind of letter, similar to that from St Denis in 1664. He

once again shows sensitivity to Lyttelton's disposition, both emotionally and practically. In a

stark change of tone from the social requests given to Dorothy, to Lyttelton Edward speaks

in metaphors, expressing the regret arising from absence:

> Though I make many journeys yet I am confident that your pen and
>
> pencill are greater travellers, how many fine plaines doe they passe
>
> over and how many hills woods, seas, doe they designe? you have a
>
> fine way of not onely seeing but making a world: and whilst you set
>
> stille, how many miles doth your hand travell! I am only unfortunate
>
> in this that I can never meete you in any of your voyages. If you had
>
> drawne your lines more towards Austria I should have been a greater
>
> Emperour in my owne conceit, but I hope you denied me that favour
>
> upon no other account then that I should make the more haste to
>
> you, who know not how to live without something of you. if ~~you~~ so,
>
> your intention is *good,* but like yourself, too severe

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[157] Letterbook, f.40v.

[158] Letterbook, f.40v.

Your loving brother,

Edward Brown[159]

As before, Browne's style reflects his relationship with his sister and her interests. Browne's

praise of Lyttelton's artistic skills morphs into an expression of sorrow, and in turn into an

assurance of his swift return. Browne here plays to exactly the 'binarism of knowing *versus*

feeling' that Schneider rejects, writing to Lyttelton without 'information' but with

'emotion.'[160] Furthermore, this emotion, predicated on fanciful images, differs from that

expressed within Browne's address to Mab:

> How unlucky was it that you did not goe with me into Holland, for
>
> (so being obliged to returne with you into England) I had in all
>
> probability been with you at present. I [obscured] no remedy ~~at~~
>
> ~~present~~ ^now^ but patience, and yet am very impatient till I see
>
> you.[161]

While Browne employs the trope of impatience for a reunion, the brevity of this note

suggests that he has comparatively little to say to Mab, and this letter reads more as a

conventional assurance of brotherly love than an intimate exchange.[162]

The final letter to 'Frank,' is more obscure than the others. Where the letter to

Lyttelton is explicit in its images, and the letter to Mab is clear but caring, the letter to Frank

relies upon a shared history:

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[159] Letterbook, f.40v-41r.

[160] Schneider, *Epistolarity*, 16.

[161] Letterbook, f.41r.

[162] This section raises a number of questions about Mary's own travels: although Edward's travels are the only ones covered in this thesis, his siblings—including Thomas Browne Jr, Elizabeth, Mary, and Anne in particular—either certainly or may well have travelled abroad, and demand further research.

Dear sister Frank,

It seemeth to me seven yeares since I saw you, so as if it were not for

my great love to you, I might lawfully take another wife. To assure

me *tha*t you are alive pray write two or three wordes to me, for any

thing of you, that are all life, will easily convince me of it. I would

give you a fine peach if you were with me, but I suppose *tha*t you will

not want for fruit, nor perhaps for a husband and brother I am yours

Edward Brown[163]

This letter depends on an intimate knowledge of the relationship between Edward and

Frances, making it potentially inaccessible to anyone else. Frances was significantly younger

than Edward, having been baptized at St Peter Mancroft Norwich in 1662, and so this letter

most likely represents a playful marriage-pact between siblings, but it is impossible to say

this with any certainty. Whatever the meaning, its playful tone and specific references to

shared experience demarcate it as yet another style of writing.

Within one letter, Browne thus displays five different approaches to letter-writing,

only one of which refers specifically to his locations and pursuits. The remaining four

engage, in differing ways, with social and emotional expectations, both those that Browne

had of his family, and those that his family had of him. This letter is somewhat rare among

Browne's correspondence in the extent to which it functions as a 'sociable travel letter,'

working 'to safeguard relationships and one's place in society and to remind erstwhile

companions of the value of their absent friend by once again interesting, informing and

entertaining them.'[164] Here, instead of narrating his travels—a superfluous pursuit in a place

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[163] Letterbook, f.41r.

[164] Bannet, 'Letters,' 117.

he had reported upon years before—Browne consolidates his role as a son and brother. Even though his travels to Italy may seem purpose*less*, in this letter Browne fulfils a duty by actively crafting his epistolary style. This is true of every letter throughout Browne's travels: his developing awareness of the function of his letters increasingly offers him an ongoing reason *and* justification for travelling.

On July 20 Browne arrived back in Vienna, having left Venice on July 7. While there are no journal entries from Browne's return journey, he does include an itinerary of his route in the Hungary Notebook. The fact that Browne made no extended record of the return, combined with his swift pace of travelling, means that the letter reporting this journey back to Vienna includes only brief observations about the journey. Likewise, because it largely followed Browne's outbound route, he had already encountered many of the key sights, making repeated observations defunct: only when information was curious or new did Browne consider it worthy of reporting at length. Despite the hopes that Browne had at the outset of his journey for 'natural ~~things~~ ^curiosities^' this trip had relatively little investigative function for Browne; though this excursion lasted over two months—in contrast to the fortnight spent in Hungary—there is relatively little material to document it.[165] While the Royal Society later received articles on Lake Cerknika and the quicksilver mines at Idrija, Browne seems to have found these locations only incidentally, and his interest in them is secondary to his own curiosity. If these were the goal of the journey, Browne would not have extended his travels as far as Venice and Padua, both of which he had already seen. Instead, the work conducted for the Royal Society during this excursion

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[165] Late Copybook, f.81v.

amounted, more than anything else, to a slight justification for a curiosity that Browne was becoming increasingly at ease with.

The Turkish Excursion: the limits of curiosity

As the Italian excursion suggested, while Browne's letters often portray him as a 'productive' traveller, this is not always the full story. Until Browne's journey into Italy, admissions of lack of direction were rare. His cataloguing tendencies aimed to 'bring back' his findings, and his contributions to the Royal Society excused his wandering. However, as Parr highlights, this mechanical view of travel, where every movement is accounted for in terms of direction and productivity, 'buys respectability as the price of independent experience, implicitly denying the viability of eccentric inquiry or perception, and seeks to defer the anxious suspicion that the moral and psychological perplexities of travel are inextricable from its value.'[166] Browne's last excursion, to the court of the Ottoman Sultan at Larissa, is that where he most openly embraces 'eccentric enquiry,' finally fulfilling his curiosity by embarking on a trip that he had consistently sought regardless of its 'usefulness.'[167] In turn, the letters from this journey offer a new kind of narrative: Browne is here neither an authoritative guide nor a scientific investigator, but a curious traveller who imparts his tales (almost) as he experienced them.

In letter of August 25, Browne reflects that

this day twelve monthes I arrived at Rotterdam since which although

I have informed my selfe in some things, yet I can not but have a

great deal of regret for spending so much time from you, Sr. If it

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[166] Parr, 'Thomas Coryate,' 584.

[167] See Figure 5 for a map of Browne's journey to Larissa.

please God to returne me safe to you I hope to be to improve my

selfe, and enjoy a more quiet settled life.[168]

Browne's melancholy tone, though, soon gives way to a report of the 'Emperours

Arsenall.'[169] Browne goes on to comment that 'here is at present an envoye from yet Turcks,

and one from *th*e Tartars is expected.'[170] Browne's attention was still clearly not on his

return but on what he could yet see, despite his earlier promise to his mother that he was

'now returning.'[171] It should perhaps come as no surprise that Browne left for one final

excursion to Greece on August 26 1669.

This journey is documented in full in Browne's second journal from this trip, the

Dresden Journal. This journal begins immediately upon Browne's departure from Vienna,

suggesting that it was specifically recruited to document this visit to the Ottoman Empire.

This trip is also reported in letters, although only one letter sent from during this journey is

extant; at least two from the road and another from Vienna are missing. Throughout these

records, we see yet another iteration of Browne. The letters are frequently heavily narrated,

as with the letters from the Low Countries, but they also draw extensively on the precise

wording of the journal, like the letters from the Italian trip. At times, the journal comes

close in detail to the Hungary Notebook. In this trip, however, there is a key difference.

Where Browne's curiosity was frequently aimless before, this journey pairs curiosity with

direction. While Browne never explicitly states his purpose, his curiosity about the Ottoman

Empire has been clear throughout his travels. A letter of September 1 1669—the only extant

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[168] Letterbook, f.46r.

[169] Letterbook, f.46r.

[170] Letterbook, f.46r.

[171] Letterbook, f.40v.

letter sent during this excursion—confirms his direction, recounting that at Barchan the boat 'was dispatched in all haste,' the governor of Barchan realizing that Browne's company was sent not 'to him, nor a Bassa, nor a Vezier, but to *th*e Grand Signor himself.'[172] Browne also notes repeatedly that he was in the company of 'Signr Gabriel,' the Emperor's courier mentioned throughout Browne's journal and letters. In this excursion, Browne was not independent, but a member of a company whose goal was Larissa and the 'Grand Signor.' Browne's own attention, therefore, was freed from the need to fulfil a utilitarian purpose. Consequently, these accounts are arguably those which most nearly replicate Browne's own experiences.

The sense of immediacy within these letters is in no small part due to Browne's ongoing use of a chronological narrative. For instance, the September 1 letter notes that 'I wrote to you last from Comara which we left August 30 being towed by a Saick of 24 oares...'[173] This brief introduction both reminds his reader of the last account sent and moves seamlessly into the current account, as though no temporal space had passed between the two. Browne moves directly from Komárno to the boat, replicating his lived timeline. His account follows him down the Danube to Gran (now Esztergom) where, his letter says, he 'stayed til it was morning by an old building of square stone of this form,' and includes an attempt to sketch the building. However, Browne notes the insufficiency of this drawing, frustrated that '*th*e boat shaketh my hand.'[174] Not only does the reader follow Browne down the Danube and receive literal depictions of his surroundings, but he is also

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172 Letterbook, f.48r.

173 Letterbook, f.48r. The letter from Komárno is no longer extant.

174 Letterbook, f.49r.

reminded that Browne's travels are ongoing: here, the physical motion of travelling hinders Browne's ability to replicate it. Paradoxically, this replicates the travelling more effectively.

In other, retrospective, letters about this trip, Browne reverts to his earlier mode of looking both backwards and forwards in his narrative. Back at Vienna, he reminds Thomas that 'I wrote to you concerning my journy as farre as Belgrade and seing that it is now past, and it hath Pleased God to bringe me safe hither, I will set downe if it be not tedious to you, Sr, how I proceeded and passed forward.'[175] Given Thomas's previous admonitions not to go into Turkey, and Browne's evident awareness of the dangers of that destination, it is all the more significant that this letter's account is excused by Browne's present safety, that journey being 'now past.' This may explain, to some degree, why the last letter from this excursion was sent from Budapest, which Browne passed well before Larissa.[176] Moving further into unknown and dangerous territory, letter-writing may have been practically difficult due to postal constraints and perpetual movement, but Browne may also have been aware of the dangers he might face and unwilling to report his experiences until he could also report his safety.

The sense of danger in Browne's records, however, is not especially tangible. Once he notes that 'I travelled this night through dangerous woodes by Chiflich where is a Caravsarai but not safe in *th*e night, so we refreshed out selves in a farme house of a rich ^wine^ merchant of Belgrade and passed forwards, about midnight the wolves houled dolefully,' but this is hardly a life-threatening situation.[177] Approaching Larissa, he reports

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[175] Letterbook, f.54r.

[176] We can assume that this was indeed the last letter from the excursion because Browne notes in a letter from Vienna that he hopes his father 'received two letters from me from Buda' and then continues the narration of his journey from Budapest.

[177] Letterbook, f.14v.

that he passed 'through dangerous rocks in a narrow roade, I saw in one place a horse which

had broke his neck,' but dangerous paths were a feature across Europe, not just in the

Ottoman Empire.[178] The majority of Browne's letters and journal entries from this excursion

instead focus on cultural observations, the practicalities of travel, and—despite Van Strien's

assertion that 'Browne did not discuss matters concerning the state'—the fortifications and

martial states of the places through which he passed.[179]

Browne is particularly verbose about women's dress. In works such as George de La

Chappell's *Recueil des divers portraits des principals dames de la Porte du Grand Turc*

(1648), a set of portraits of the persons (mostly women) of the Ottoman Empire that

Chappell had engraved following a journey to Istanbul, 'habit and *habillement* are presented

as inextricable makers of foreign custom.'[180] For Browne, too, women's dress was

representative of the region. His description of the Turkish women's clothes is particularly

engaging:

> the Turkish womens habits is the ~~oddest~~ most new of any thinge to
>
> me, their breeches to their feet, their smock over that, and their
>
> longe gowne together with their head dress which covereth all their
>
> face except their eyes, make them looke like penitents, it is not
>
> displeasing to me because that ^it^ removes ^all^ occasion of pride
>
> and folly, though otherwise it hath ~~but~~ no grace with it, in strangers
>
> fancies[181]

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[178] Letterbook, f.55r.

[179] Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland,* 35.

[180] Justina Spencer, 'Habits and *Habillement* in Seventeenth-Century Voyages: Geoges de La Chappelle's
Recueil des divers portraits des principals dames de la Porte du Grand Turc,' in *Artes Apodemicae*, 315.

[181] Letterbook, f.49r.

Browne's choice to edit 'oddest' to 'most new' is particularly notable. In works like Sandys'

where 'the Turkish system of government is presented as the antithesis of the European in

the same way that Islam is presented as the antithesis of Christianity,' foreign culture exists

in a dichotomy with English culture.[182] As Haynes highlights, Blount took a different

approach, assuming 'that a foreign culture will be equivalent to his own, rather than a

perversion of it.'[183] Browne took yet another stance: initially tempted to expressions of

'oddness,' he instead ultimately wrote of difference, without judgement. He thus adapts

himself, discovering something new and in turn undergoing a transformation. This letter and

others consequently 'recount cultural encounters in which self and other are not fixed in

opposing positions but are rewritten through discursive and social interventions.'[184] While

Browne expresses notions of oddness, he rarely does so derisively. It is difference, rather

than superiority, that he finds throughout this excursion.

      Browne's avoidance of the term 'odd' is not systematic. Having passed Belgrade,

Browne notes that

> the womens dresse changeth, and tis very odde, they wearing a
>
> kinde of canopy upon their head set all about as also their forhead
>
> with all sort of mony which they can get of Severall nations. I have
>
> seen some Greeke women very rich, somewhat after this fashion,

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182 Jonathan Haynes, 'Two Seventeenth Century Perspectives on the Middle East: George Sandys and Sir Henry

Blount,' *Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics* 3 (1983): 11.

183 Haynes, 'Two Seventeenth-Century Perspectives,' 18.

184 Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh, 'Introduction,' in *Travel Knowledge: European Discoveries in the Early

Modern Period*, eds. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 4.

but not so high upon the head, they having their forheads covered

with ducats of gold and Perle.[185]

Here, two temporal settings combine, one from just after Belgrade and another from elsewhere in Greece. While admitting the 'oddness' of this dress, Browne also draws attention to the multicultural nature of the Ottoman Empire: rather than a homogenous block, Browne's motion through the empire highlights its variable customs. In addition, it demonstrates Browne's growing accustomed to the unusual dress: where the first headdress is deemed particularly odd, those of the Greek women follow the same fashion but the perceived oddness has receded somewhat.

Browne's curious but open attitude makes itself evident again during his stay at Pest. His journal describes that

one side of my Chambers is a net towards *th*e Danube on the other

side a pictures Rusci*an* fashion of our savious passion. under it two

iron grates the onely windows to the next chamber, where the man

and his family lieth. at my head hangeth my simiter ^habit^ and

other things and at my feet are the stayres.[186]

He offers no comparison to his way of living at home, nor does he offer any kind of personal judgement on this manner of lodging. This is one function of the journal's form: his earlier letter's comment that the Turkish habit was both odd and/or new to him is absent from the journal, which simply recounts the clothing. While his journal notes the 'strange dress of the women's heads' with the coins, it does not draw attention to it as 'very odde' as the letter

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[185] Letterbook, f.54r.

[186] Dresden Journal, f.7r-v.

does.[187] While there is no letter about these lodgings, its lack of judgement is striking. In each case, the subjective comment is added at the stage of the letter rather than at the stage of the journal: the plain journal style allows Browne to look back impartially on his original note and reflect upon it anew when reporting it to home.

Also at Budapest, Browne visits 'Mortisan, effendi, who lately was at Vienna an envoy from the Visier of Buda' with Signor Gabriel.[188] His account of this visit is worth repeating in full:

> As soon as we lighted of from our horses some of his servant tooke
>
> them and tied the horses by the bridle and *hinder* leg. When we
>
> were up the stayres in the first room another servant plucked of my
>
> bootes and so I went in, and not getting downe so soone after *th*e
>
> Turkish manner hee caused me a stool to be set which I accepted but
>
> after wards as occasion offered sat as well as I could on the grounde,
>
> the whole roome being covered with carpets. He discoursed
>
> handsomely with us asked the name of the name of the new king of
>
> Poland: we Michael Visnoveteky then he saide he was glad the Poles
>
> had chosen a king of their owne nation and that St Michael was the
>
> greatest saint in heaven next to the most pure and blessed virgin the
>
> mother of Christ. He asked if I would learne Turkish if that I was of
>
> Vienna. if that I would goe the *Arte* and after that caused Almonds
>
> raisons sugar and Cornelions to be set before us, of which after that
>
> we had eaten a while, he saide this is not an invite to a meale but

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[187] Dresden Journal, f.14v.

[188] Dresden Journal, f.8v.

onely *tha*t we may all eate together. and then upon a plate were

bought in divers dishes of Koffi, of sweetened with sugar of all which

he tasted, and after *tha*t each of us drunke a dish and afterwards

went away.[189]

 This extended record is strikingly different to many of the earlier journal records. Where

those recorded single names and locations, relying on Browne's memory to recall the rest

when it came to writing a letter, Browne's journal records this visit in painstaking detail, as

though to preserve it accurately. While there is an abundance of detail here, there is a

complete lack of personal reaction: we know that Mortisan 'discoursed handsomely' but

Browne offers no other subjective comments. Browne's determination to sit on the floor,

even though he was provided with a chair, suggests an engagement with Turkish cultural

practices but this is, again, reported dispassionately and offers no valuation of the

experience. Instead, Browne is both a figure in the scene and an impartial observer. As Eric

Durseteler notes, 'more experienced and attentive observers, as opposed to oftentimes

transitory travelers, often provided significantly more nuanced descriptions of Ottoman

foodways.'[190] For Browne this applies equally to foodways as to other aspects of Ottoman

culture. The attentiveness and impartiality of Browne's journal allow him to repurpose

these accounts in his letters: the data collected in the journal lends itself to multiple ends.

While the letters largely do not impose a retrospective narrative on these journal accounts,

they do impose a judgement, if for no other reason than '"translating" "otherness" in terms

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[189] Dresden Journal, f.8v-9r.

[190] Eric R. Dursteler, 'Bad Bread and the "Outrageous Drunkenness of the Turks": Food and Identity in the
Accounts of Early Modern Travelers to the Ottoman Empire,' *Journal of World History* 25, no. 2/3 (2014): 222.

that are accessible, in the case of travel literature, to an audience back home.'[191] This is particularly evident in a postscript to Lyttelton from the journey to Buda. Here, Browne tells his sister that 'because you reade and understande so much of all places I must write to you one line or two from a ^forraign^ place and people that are more strange then delightfull to us.'[192] This is entirely at odds with the journals and even with the body of the letter, neither of which dichotomize 'delight' and 'strangeness' as the postscript does. However, as we have seen before, Browne self-consciously adapts his tone according to his reader, a change particularly prominent in letters to Lyttelton. Here, he provides no information on the strange countries, only assuring her that he will return home soon: the strangeness of *others* brings Browne closer to home by reinforcing that he shares his sister's perspective. By importing expressions of oddness or comparisons to life in England into his correspondence, Browne makes himself as much a partaker of 'otherness' as his reader, even if the journals do not always suggest the same distance from the cultures in which he found himself.

Alongside observations about attire and architecture, the feature that most colours Browne's accounts of the Ottoman Empire is the extent to which different cultures live side by side. For example, towards the beginning of his journey Browne describes how the boat in which he travelled was met by a Turkish boat at the frontier town of 'Motsch,' now Moča. Leaving Christendom, the Turkish boat 'turned about and saluted the Christians with one gun and so with eighteen oares rowed down the Danube, we cariing the Eagle in our flag, and they the doubled sword halfe moone & star.'[193] Despite the distinct movement from

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[191] Kamps and Singh, 'Introduction,' 7.

[192] Letterbook, f.49v.

[193] Letterbook, f.48r.

the Habsburg to the Ottoman Empire, the ritual of salute and the procession of the flags highlights the toleration between the two cultures.[194] Later in his journey Browne recalls that he and his company 'lodged at a Raguseans house [and] were very wellcome there.'[195] Not only were they in a Ragusan house, but 'their priest being of the church of Rome spake Latine, and asking after Latine bookes I presented him with one called *Manuductio ad Caelum*, which he kindly accepted and gave me a handkercher.'[196] This tolerant atmosphere—not only within the Ottoman Empire but between the East and the West, Protestant and Catholic—imbues itself throughout Browne's journey to Larissa. Elsewhere, Browne notes that 'the Christians live without oppression, paiing small tributarys by reason *tha*t this place yielded itselfe voluntarily to the Turck,' the presence of Christian churches alongside mosques, and the co-existence of 'many Christians Turkes and Jewes.'[197] While the letters from the Low Countries noted the co-existence of Christian sects, the variety of cultures living together in the Ottoman Empire is greater, and so the effect of this co-existence in Browne's correspondence is more pronounced.

However, despite these records of toleration, Browne's entire journey is coloured by observations of forts, bridges, and towns which have been burned or otherwise destroyed in cross-cultural conflict. As Marc Baer observes, 'tolerance is based on a state of inequality in

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[194] De Barros notes that cities, particularly at gates and frontiers, 'imposed rigid codes of conduct on powerful visitors to render the actions of these potential enemies predictable and therefore less threatening': Eric L. De Barros, 'The Gatekeeping Politics of "Good" Historicism: Early Modern Orientalism and "The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam",' *College Literature* 43, no. 4(2016): 633.

[195] Letterbook, f.54v.

[196] Letterbook, f.54v.

[197] Letterbook, f.49r. The corresponding journal entry for this record notes that 'the Christians live there without oppression onely paiing some tribute by reason *tha*t they yielded voluntarily to *the* Turck': Dresden Journal, 5v. Letterbook, f.54v.

which the most powerful party (such as the ruler) decides whether a less powerful group can exist or not and to what extent members of that group are allowed to manifest their difference.'[198] In many locations, tolerance has been withdrawn. During his journey alongside the Turkish boat, Browne recalls that he 'saw some of the bones liing of the Christians slain at the Battell of Barchan.'[199] In a later letter, Browne describes how Tolna was 'a great towne formerly, but burnt by *th*e Christians the Rascians and hungarians who inhabit there not agreeing among themselves.'[200] He notes that the wooden bridge over the Danube by Ossek was 'burnt by Count Serini so for the present there is a bridge of boates,' and also observes the 'many Palankas or Turkish forts, but they are subject to be burned and are not cannon proofe.'[201] In the Low Countries and Germany, Browne's observations on forts was purely architectural: he noted the sizes, the histories, and the innovations. Here, however, landscapes and the forts and bridges within them are intricately bound up with ongoing civil conflict. The imminence of violence throughout Browne's time in the Ottoman Empire is evident in his ongoing references to recent—and historic—conflicts, even when they are not explicitly named as such. While the characters he describes are often shown to be hospitable and, generally, tolerant of the wide variety of cultures within the Ottoman Empire, Browne's attention to the changing architectural landscape, and the effects of warfare upon these landscapes, paints a different picture.

Upon reaching Tornova near Larissa, Browne comments that 'the embassadours and residents from the confines reside [at Tornova] during *th*e Sultan's being at Larissa. Those

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[198] Marc Baer, Ussama Makdisi and Andrew Shryock, 'Tolerance and Conversion in the Ottoman Empire: A Conversation,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 51, no. 4 (2009): 930.

[199] Letterbook, f.48r.

[200] Letterbook, f.52r.

[201] Letterbook, f.52r and 53r.

from father places and upon account of *th*e trade are yet at Constantinople as the French, Dutch, English.'[202] Although at the end of his intended journey, Browne again looks to where else the English might be. However, his paper is spent, and 'what I saw most worthy noting during my stay in those parts... I will set down in my next.'[203] Larissa, whither Browne had aimed in one way or another for so long, was deferred for another letter. That letter, if sent, is no longer extant. From the journal we know that Browne spent over a week at Tyrnavos, under 20 kilometers from Larissa. Arriving at Tyrnavos on September 16 1669, Browne observed the Turkish language, visited the Greek church and saw the burial of a woman and the christening of two Greek children, and spent time with locals. This period reflects the same kind of sightseeing that Browne undertook when he found himself in one place for a length of time: simply observing whatever he happened upon without any specific direction. On September 27, however, Browne finally went to Larissa where he 'saw the Grand Signour as he came out of his palace.' His journal goes on to describe the scene:

> I saw the Grand Signour as he came out of his Palace [image] they
>
> salute him with a floate his Chiaus goe before. the streets are made
>
> cleane and a *J*anizzary at the corner of streets to see *tha*t there be
>
> no hindrance in *th*e way. the *shattere* about four and twenty in
>
> number follow ~~him~~ *th*e Chiaus's and goe immediately before the
>
> Grand Signeur on each side of his horse walke two Janissaries of the
>
> chief with white feathers [image] a fathom large and high so as they
>
> fan him as the peacocks tayles *th*e Pope. these feathers are fasted to
>
> their caps, so as with their hands they can hold up the vest of the G.

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[202] Letterbook, f.55r.

[203] Letterbook, f.55r.

S. after him followed many with cushions and pillowes. he going to

the *Moske* & after them divers led horses. *Cassu Busta et Efroom* Aga

di Janizzari con tre sevaggo with feathers, two of each side *the* Grand

Signore.[204]

While this account is detailed compared to Browne's early journal entries, it is no more

detailed than other accounts from this excursion. As Carey highlights, many 'crucial venues

and objects of curiosity were largely or entirely closed off from view, the most famous

instance being the harem of the Ottoman Sultan, as well as mosques and the private spaces

of the sultan himself,' and we might expect a more thorough account of this somewhat

privileged sight.[205] However, Browne dedicates no more ink to this than to many other

sights, suggesting that his goal in seeing the Sultan was not, primarily, to write about him.

However, it is clear that this was what he had come for: having waited over a week to see

the Grand Signor, he left Larissa on the same day, and departed Tyrnavos four days later. He

returned to Vienna by his outbound route, offering few further observations in his journal.

While this may seem a somewhat anticlimactic end to Browne's time in the Ottoman

Empire, Browne's letter at his eventual return to Vienna makes it clear that he has had his

fill of curiosity, and that he has finally set his mind on returning home. A short letter to

Thomas relates that 'I am just now arrived again at Vienna after a hard journy, God's holy

name be praised forever, his mercy hath been infinite to me in praeserving me.'[206] While

Browne's letters often employ formulaic 'if it please God' comments, this particular piece of

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[204] Dresden Journal, f.23r. '[Image]' denotes Browne sketching a small picture into his journal alongside his text.

[205] Carey, 'The problem of credibility,' 533.

[206] Letterbook, f.50r.

praise is somehow more authentic, Browne recognising the particular difficulty of his journey and God's protection against an unnamed danger. As if to confirm this, a later letter—the first with any extended account since Budapest—dithers over whether to tell his reader about his time in the Ottoman Empire:

> I would willingly set downe something more of my Turkish journy,
>
> but the consideration of my rashnesse & obstinate folly in
>
> undertakin it ~~rendreth~~ renders my thoughts of it unpleasing
>
> howeosever Gods infinite goodnesse and mercy protecting me and
>
> preserving me, in rending both *th*e rage and subtil malic of man
>
> unable to hurte me and keeping me from all dangers day and night, I
>
> hope I shall rejoyce in his mercifull providence all my life, and more
>
> cheerfully imbrace all conditions and fortunes through which God
>
> shall please to leade me.[207]

This extended meditation on God's mercy in relation to his own specific travels is unusual. While the journal notes nothing by way of particularly dangerous episodes, Browne's tone here is markedly different to the laissez-faire attitude of his previous letters. Instead of a curated image of Browne as an authoritative guide, these letters present a more unfiltered version of Browne. They include the whole gamut of Browne's interests, making the writing a more natural reflection of the travelling: in this journey, writing, travelling, *and* Browne's curiosity all sustain one another.

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[207] Letterbook, f.52r.

Homeward

Having finally seen the Ottoman Empire, Browne's curiosity was sated. In the letter which laments his 'rashness' in his Greek excursion, Browne reports that 'if I had been successful this morning in my petition for a passe from *th*e Emperour to avoyed serching or other hindrance in my journey, I had immediately taken a place in yet coach which goeth to Prague.'[208] He was not delayed for long: Browne secured such a pass on October 26.[209] Browne's journal records no entries between his arrival at Vienna on October 16 and his departure on November 1. Throughout his return journey, Browne continued to set down his days' travels in his journal, and to periodically send home accounts of his voyage. However, these entries and letters are different again from any of those that we have seen yet. Indeed, they reflect all of Browne's experiences, enveloping the narrative style that Browne had developed over his travels, records that may be useful to the Royal Society, notes about curiosity collections, as well as passages of affection for his family and thanks for God's ongoing protection. In this return journey, Browne adopts and synthesizes the multitude of roles which he had found throughout his travels.

At Prague on November 9, Browne tells his father that 'I wrote to you *th*e last of October just before my leaving Vienna. I am since (thanks be to God) safely arrived here.'[210] Browne once more places this letter into a chain, maintaining the 'epistolary continuity' that Schneider highlights as essential to maintaining social connections.[211] This chain is continued throughout Browne's return correspondence: at Dresden, he notes that 'I wrote

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[208] Letterbook, f.52r.

[209] Bodleian, MS Add. D 75, f.5. See Appendix 7 for the pass.

[210] Letterbook, f.56r.

[211] Schneider, *Epistolarity*, 57.

to you last from Prague'; at Freiburg that 'I wrote twice from Dresden'; and at Hamburg that 'I wrote a letter from Dresden and Freiburg.'[212] However, despite Browne's insistence upon this chain, it was not quite as regular as it seems. The Hamburg letter, dated December 12 1669, adds a note that 'not finding convenience to sende [the letters from Dresden and Freiburg], I doubt they will come but little sooner to your hands then this.'[213] Browne had only sent these letters—each sealed and addressed individually—together at least two weeks after their initial writing. Despite the appearance of epistolary continuity, the letters' recipient would have experienced a significant gap in the correspondence. Similarly, at Dresden on November 20, Browne assures his father that he 'shall continue to sende letters upon all occasions,' even though the last he received from his father was 'of June... I have since bin deprived of the like blessing by my allmost continually travelling.'[214] Although we now have a continuous stream of letters depicting Browne's travels, it was a stilted one-way system for a least six months. Instead of a correspondence based on exchange, this period of correspondence was unilateral. It is perhaps no wonder, then, that these letters from Browne's return journey particularly invoke a tone of apology, and relief at finally returning towards his family.

Curious Tales and Curious Objects

The real perils of travel are epitomised when Browne finds Captain MacDougall—to whom he had entrusted his boxes of curiosities—at Prague. A postscript to the letter of November 20 adds that MacDougall

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[212] Letterbook, f.58r, 62r, 65r.

[213] Letterbook, f.65r.

[214] Letterbook, f.58r.

hath had many misfortunes since my parting with him. He was

invited to a gentleman's house who first borrowed mony of him, and

afterwards his servant robbed him. The Hungarian boy ran away

from him (but only had two ducats of him). Since that he hath been

divers months sick, and of ^nigh^ a thousand Dollars which he

brought out of Milan with him, he hath so few left that he hath been

forced to pawne his ringes watches and other things... I have all my

things of him again.[215]

Browne expresses his sorrow for MacDougall's misfortune, but MacDougall nonetheless

becomes a character in Browne's narrative whose tale serves as a curious story.

Though this story of MacDougall receives a few lines, Browne's own narrative fades

into the background in comparison to his stories from the Ottoman Empire. One of the few

moments where Browne engages as a character in his own story is in his record of his visit

to the house-cum-curiosity-cabinet of Herr Lorentz von Adlershelm at Leipzig. Here, one of

the curiosities was 'the garter of an English bride with the story to it of the fashion in

England of *th*e bridemen's taken it of and wearing it, which seemed so strange to *th*e

Germanes *tha*t I was obliged to confirme it to them by telling them *tha*t I have divers time

worne such a garter myself.'[216] In this moment, Browne himself becomes a curiosity to the

Germans; not understanding this English ritual, they turned to the Englishman for

confirmation. Browne's confirmation, rather than making the ritual any less obscure to the

Germans, simply confirms his place in the story as a strange object. Indeed, the garter itself

here is not the curiosity, but the story of its use, epitomizing the way in which 'curious tales

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[215] Letterbook, f.59v.

[216] Letterbook, f.65v.

became themselves curious items, sliding, like curious people, between the function of representing rarities and becoming one of them.'[217]

However, while a curious tale might become a curious item, Browne's correspondence indicates that curious items do not always make for curious tales. While Browne collected his experiences of curiosity cabinets elsewhere (as at Paris, Florence, and Vienna), this return journey is particularly dense with visits to famous collections. At Prague, Browne records in his journal that 'Mr Farwell went with me & shew Conte Willisteins house,' and his corresponding letter asserts that 'what pleased me most is the Palace of Wallestein,' once more importing a judgement into his letter where it is absent in the journal.[218] Both the journal and the letter include a brief account of what was in the palace, but few personal reflections on the physical experience of the visit.

At Dresden Browne saw both 'the hunting house' and 'the Electors palace,' in which 'that which hath afforded me the greatest satisfaction in his palace is the Kunstkammer art-chamber or collection of rarities.'[219] This is the cabinet that receives the most physical space both in Browne's journal, where it occupies six octavo sides, and in the letter, where it occupies nearly two and a half folio sides. Within this collection was 'all manner of instruments belonging to his Joyners, turners, barbers, chiurgions, and many other artificers'; 'a cristall cabinet sold by Oliver Cromwell... our King Charles 2 carved out of Iron on Horseback [and] the Head of King Charles *th*e I'; 'an unicornes horne which they would have to be of a land unicorne'; and 'the attempt for perpetuall motion' in several

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[217] Benedict, *Curiosity,* 12.

[218] Dresden Journal, f.31r; Letterbook, f.58r.

[219] Letterbook, f.61r and 32v.

machines.[220] While the journal divides the curiosities into those 'in der salle' and those 'in *th*e chamber of Naturall Rarities,' this structure is absent from the letter.[221] Browne's letter-paper is deemed insufficient to hold all of the things he has seen, and his descriptions of the cabinet, the arsenall, the hunting house, and the Italian garden all run together to form one long, largely undivided, account of the curiosities at Dresden. As Browne's own paper is overloaded with information, so it recreates for its reader the sheer scale of the collections in the city.

In recreating this curiosity cabinet and others across Europe, whose universality—looking backwards and forwards, East and West—interrupts 'real time,' the letters' portrayal of Browne *as a traveller* stall and his own biographical time is paused. A curiosity cabinet by design reaches beyond its immediate contexts, drawing content from around the world with the 'one common feature of being extraordinary.'[222] This universality, in turn, makes the real location of the cabinet somewhat irrelevant, because the cabinet is a world unto itself: the curiosity cabinet, even when described in the middle of a travel relation, remains a discrete part of the traveller's itinerary and experiences. While Findlen argues that 'the museum was located neither in the text nor in the context; rather it was the interplay between the two that shaped its function and completed its purpose,' curiosity cabinets—Browne's letters suggest—fulfil their duty so long as the curiosities themselves speak to each other within their own framework, whether physical cabinet or textual reproduction.[223]

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[220] Letterbook, f.60r-60v.

[221] Dresden Journal, f.34r-35r.

[222] Stagl, *A History of Curiosity,* 113.

[223] Findlen, 'The Museum,' 65.

This is somewhat paradoxical. Browne's curiosity is exhibited well in his somewhat directionless wandering, or in his inquisitiveness about the cultures of the Ottoman Empire. Browne's letters and journals show him adapting to his surroundings, remarking that things are not merely 'curious' but 'new' or different. In short, they alter his vision of the world. If, as Benedict suggests, 'curiosity is seeing your way out of your place. It is looking beyond,' then Browne's wide-ranging travels are indeed those of a curious person.[224] Curiosity cabinets, on the other hand, are insular: they specifically ask a viewer to *not* look beyond but rather within their own walls. These cabinets may be things which, individually, are 'curious,' but they do not *necessarily* incite or indicate curiosity within their viewer.

Both of Browne's kinds of curiosity share a tendency towards collection: while the curiosity cabinets collect lists of items, physical/geographical curiosity collects records of cultures and experiences. These kinds of collecting take necessarily different forms, and only after travelling and writing so extensively Browne is able, in his return journey, to use both kinds together. Browne has seen much of Germany before, and—compared to his visit to the Ottoman Empire in particular—the customs are less 'curious' because nearer to his own style of living. One letter notes that, though he saw 'a very large collection' at Leipzig, 'because *tha*t I have seen in other places and wrote a letter to you sr... I will not set downe here, onely some few things I cannot omit.'[225] Here, Browne actively decides not to create records of things that he has already seen: the value of a cabinet is novelty, and thus that which he has seen elsewhere is no longer valuable. Likewise, at Dresden Browne professed that 'I will onely set downe what is here particularly new to me or else extraordinary in its

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[224] Benedict, *Curiosity,* 2.

[225] Letterbook, f.65r.

kinde.'[226] The only things worth setting down on paper are those which are truly new: that

which is commonplace is disregarded. Despite Browne's extensive travels, then, curiosity—

or at least the collecting of curiosities—had a limit.

Outside of the circumscribed spaces of the cabinets, Browne's key interest

throughout his return through Germany was in Lutheranism. At Waldheim on November 14,

he notes that he saw 'a Lutheran prayerbook,' transcribing eleven lines out of it into his

journal.[227] At Dresden Browne reported that 'Dr Luthers holiday was yesterday. The

Lutheran women mourne in white as others doe in black, and the woman of *th*e house saith

grace insteade of *th*e man,' once more turning to unusual cultures as sites of curiosity.[228]

But Magdeburg proved particularly interesting for its Lutheran influences. Upon entering

the city, Browne's journal notes 'the high tower beyound *th*e Elbe built by *th*e Electour of

Brandenburg since he tooke *th*e towne.'[229] Immediately afterwards, Browne writes of the

'36000 persons put to *th*e sword when ^Tilly^ tooke *th*e towne.'[230] These impressions from

Magdeburg, like some of those from the Ottoman Empire, highlight the impact of warfare

upon both landscape and inhabitants: these facts do not exist, like the curiosities in

cabinets, apart from the world but rather shape the world. Furthermore, Kaufmann notes

that 'the defeat of the German "Maid," Magdeburg [by Tilly], was an assault on the identity-

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[226] Letterbook, f.60r.

[227] Dresden Journal, f.36v.

[228] Letterbook, f.60r.

[229] Dresden Journal, f.38r.

[230] Dresden Journal, f.38r.

forming symbol of German Lutheranism.'[231] Not only do Magdeburg's material features highlight its civil history, but they also memorialise a turbulent theological history.

Browne's letter reports that he 'lodged here at an old mans house who tolde me that Dureus did also lodge with him who was sent from King Charles *th*e first into Germany to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists,' once again drawing attention to the theological history of this particular town.[232] Finally, Browne reports that he had 'seen Dr Luther's chamber, his bedstead and table,' inscribing into his journal and letter the German verses on Luther's chamber door.[233] Browne's interest in the Lutheranism of Magdeburg and Germany, both in physical materials like the bible, and in discursive materials like the stories of Tilly and Duerus, 'reveal an ongoing, if unstable and steadily evolving consciousness of being part of an international Protestant world.'[234] Just as Browne's records of the Ottoman Empire show extended engagement with the coexistence of divergent religious practices, his return through Germany consistently explores how Christian religious cultures interacted with one another and, in turn, with his own theological views. Browne's records' repeated inclusion of theological artefacts, stories and histories, show Browne not only collecting within the insular space of the curiosity cabinet, but collecting reports of the curious nature of human subjects.

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[231] Thomas Kauffman, '"Our Lord God's Chancery" in Magdeburg and Its Fight against the Interim,' *Church History* 73, no. 3 (2004): 569.

[232] Letterbook, f.65v.

[233] Letterbook, f.65v.

[234] Alexandra Walsham, 'Domesticating the Renaissance: Material Culture, Memory, and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (2016): 607.

The Royal Society: Declining further investigations

The other major influence throughout Browne's second continental tour was the Royal Society. Browne did not neglect this role in his return, though he did modify it. Twice in his return journey Browne visited nearby mining towns, once at Guttenberg and again near Freiberg. To get to Guttenberg, he 'perswad[ed] the Coachman to it with mony and the company were civill people and willing to pleasure me.'[235] In both his journal and letter he provides a short account of the mines there, though in far less detail than those from Hungary. It is clear that he has the Royal Society in mind, despite the change in style: earlier in the same letter, Browne tells his father that 'I inquired… concerning the spirit Ribensal,' adding that 'I mention this because it may be referred to the paper of dampes, or ~~answe~~ the inquire concerning spirits ~~in~~ about mines.'[236] Although providing no information about the spirit—Browne's informer 'could say nothing of his owne knowledge,' although believed the spirit to be there despite the fact that for 'twelve yeares he had done no hurt'—Browne still makes inquiries with the Society in mind.[237]

Near to Freiburg, Browne attains more detailed knowledge of the mines, composing the only letter from his return journey that pays attention almost exclusively to natural philosophy. His letter notes that 'Freiberg is so famous for Bergwerck or mineworke, for its silvermines, and that Agricola observed, as I thinke, many thinges here, I am come hither though a little out of the way, hoping that is will retarde my journy but a little.'[238] His journal offers a little more information, adding that the mine was 'half a mile from Freiburg';

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[235] Letterbook, f.56r.

[236] Letterbook, f.56r.

[237] Letterbook, f.56r.

[238] Letterbook, f.62r. Thomas had recommended Agricola to Edward in a letter of April 1669: Keynes, *Works,* 44.

perhaps for the first time, Browne's assertion that his diversion was only short was true.[239]

However, the majority of this letter—which simultaneously discusses Hungarian mines and German mines—draws little on Browne's journal, which is relatively succinct. Instead, the letter draws on Browne's general knowledge about mining practices, Agricola's text (and images), and only briefly mentions specific practices at Freiberg.[240] Given the lack of detailed notes about these mines, it is not surprising that this particular information never made it to the Royal Society. This corresponds with Browne's earlier assurance to his father that, although Oldenburg 'desireth me to looke after some curiosites in Bohemia and Saxony,' he would not do so.[241] Earlier in the letter, he had told his father that 'the winter and my great desire to returne home speedily will not permit me to goe so farre out of the way' despite promises of more curiosities.[242] While the Royal Society was in Browne's mind throughout his return journey, and he made minor detours to mines, the style of notes and letters regarding natural phenomena suggest that his allegiance to the Society was, at this point, less pressing than his own direction homeward. Throughout the return journey, it is the promise of home—rather than the reporting of new sights—that is the incentive to travel.

Conclusion: 'Your Safe Arrival'

Despite his father's recommendation of nearly a year prior that 'to come from Hamburch by sea in winter is very discouraging from rough seas & benumming weather,' Browne chose to

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[239] Dresden Journal, f.36r.

[240] Dresden Journal, f.36v.

[241] Letterbook, f.57r.

[242] Letterbook, f.57r.

return that way.[243] By December 9 he was in Hamburg, and the final letter of this journey

was sent from Cuxhaven on December 15 1669, Browne updating his father on the several

faulty starts to his sailings and reporting one final piece of sight-seeing, the fort at

Ritzebüttel. To this last moment, Browne organised his travels to encompass new sights,

and new parts of Europe. Throughout, whether for family, the Royal Society, or himself,

Browne's journals, notebooks, and letters attest to his continual collecting of new

knowledge. In no small part, the investigations conducted throughout his journeys

established him as a reliable reporter for the Royal Society, while simultaneously providing

him with a huge variety of information to narrate for readers at home.

An undated letter from Isaac Craven, Browne's old Trinity College friend, epitomizes

many of Browne's achievements. Addressing his letter to 'Dear Ned,' Craven tells Browne

that

> I cannot express in paper how much I am transported with *the* news
>
> of y*ou*r safe arrival, nor can I well tell, among all *the* considerable
>
> places of Europe from whence to wellcom you, unless from *tha*t part
>
> of *the* subterranean world, where methoughts you were in so much
>
> danger, *tha*t I was concered at *the* reading (I mean *the* bottom of *the*
>
> 260 staved ladder.)[244]

Craven draws attention to Browne's extensive travelling, his investigations into mines, and

his narration of his experience. It seems likely, given that no extant letter or *Philosophical*

Transactions article published before Browne's return refers to a '260 staved ladder,' that

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[243] Keynes, *Works,* 4.38.

[244] Letterbook, f.130r.

Craven read this story in a letter sent directly to him.[245] Craven is clear that he read

Browne's journeys as adventures: the same sense of danger that led Browne to turn his

horse-ride over the Derbyshire moors in 1662 into a mock-heroic resurfaces here in daring

descents into the mines of Europe. Craven goes on to offer emphatic appeals to Browne's

'great esteem,' prostrating himself and Browne's other friends as Cambridge by adding that

'it will ^be^ mighty acceptable if you will a litle dissemble y*ou*r greatness, & be seen

amongst us for so small a time as may no way unfit you for *th*e court or Arundell house.'[246]

Craven's tone here evidently tips over into gentle mockery but it nonetheless highlights that

Browne's travels—and his writings—had made him a key member of the Royal Society.

Throughout this part of the letter, Craven writes to and of Browne in the same way that we

might imagine the Browne of 1662 writing to and of his own acquaintances, drawing

attention once more to the alternating personas inhabited within Browne's writing.

However, Craven soon signs off his letter, complaining for one that 'here's Jack

Goodwin in *th*e chamber with such a company *th*at I can think of nothing for noise'

(Goodwin later adds his own short postscript) and for another that 'I have a great many

things to talke w*i*th you, little to write of.'[247] Despite all of his own stylized words, Craven

ultimately acknowledges the gulf between writing and speaking: for Craven, writing can

never replicate the act of face-to-face conversation. We have seen that Browne too,

particularly in the earlier part of his journey, fell back on assurances of future personal

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[245] Browne, 'A Relation Concerning the Quick-Silver Mines in Friuli; Communicated by Dr. Edward Brown; Confirming as Well the Accompt Formerly Given of That Subject, in Numb 2. of these Transactions, as Enlarging the Same with Some Additions,' *Philosophical Transactions* 54 (June 1669): 1080-1083, refers to a 639-stave ladder.

[246] Letterbook, f.130r.

[247] Letterbook, f.130r.

conversation to fully describe his experiences. Furthermore, although Browne sent regular letters home and recorded almost every experience he faced, his writing does not act as a true reflection of his experience because it is always, to some degree, a curated story in which the writer becomes a character. This is not, necessarily, negative: *because* of the distance between experience and writing—even when the two are intricately interwoven—Browne was able to adapt his experience according to his audience.

Browne's initial journeys through the Low Countries and Germany offered the ideal circumstances in which to portray himself as a traveller-guide: the letters from this period, adapted by Thomas for a broader readership, offer a thorough oversight of the key places that Browne encountered. Looking here to religious culture, and there to the remarkable contents of the East India house, while always pointing towards Browne's motion *through* these sites, Browne becomes a guide to his readers at home, who might, as armchair travellers, read his letters to stand in for their own travel.

Arriving at Vienna, Browne turned to justifying his travels. With his eyes set on the mining towns of Hungary, Browne enlisted the service of the Royal Society who offered him a way to ensure that his travels went to active 'use.' Browne took his duty seriously, adopting new notetaking methods that facilitated thorough accounts of his findings for the Society, while nonetheless avoiding relying on the Society's name to access privileged sites. Here, the writing of the travels becomes a primary reason for the travels: without written reports the value of the experience is void. Browne remains in the service of others when he returns to Vienna, producing an extensive record of the Imperial Treasury at Vienna in no small part for his father's satisfaction. Here, as in later trips to curiosity cabinets, physical experience is subordinated to a written catalogue of each cabinet, which stands in—both for readers and for Browne in the future—for the thing itself. In each case, where detailed

accounts of travel allow readers to accumulate their own in-depth knowledge at second-hand, writing is of prime importance.

However, once he had spent almost a year following what were largely the instructions of others, Browne followed his own curiosity: returning to Italy, and stumbling over the natural phenomena at Idrija and Cerknica on his way, Browne's accounts of this second excursion reflect his meandering intentions. While collecting useful titbits of information, Browne's focus on the sociable, and the letters' familiar tone, make these records more akin to accounts from the first continental journey, where travelling was the focus and the letters merely served to acknowledge his ongoing duty to family and friends, at home. While his final excursion to the Ottoman Empire likewise speaks to his own curiosity, and was presaged early on in this trip, his reports of this trip—recorded first in a more detailed daily journal, and then in retrospective letters—offer some of the most vibrant accounts from this journey. Detailing his observations while also drawing attention to his role as a traveller in motion, these accounts more than ever before become *voyage* accounts, relations of a journey spotted with a sense of personal adventure, that simultaneously collect information about 'new' climes. These accounts validate Browne's curious travels by memorializing it: experience and writing, here, are symbiotic. Browne's own curiosity had led him to Larissa and, although he laments the 'rashness' of this trip, it is only after fulfilling this goal that Browne finally turns homeward.

Although we might expect the accounts of the journey homeward to contain the most accomplished reports, they offer relatively little by way of personal curiosity: collecting a few notes on the mines of Germany, and collecting extensive lists of curiosity cabinets, these records relegate the journeying itself to the background. Having seen the strikingly different cultures of the Ottoman Empire, Browne seems less interested in the nuances of

European cultures. The exception is Browne's ongoing attention to the interactions between Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic communities, attesting to a prolonged interest in the multitude of cultures that co-exist—or refuse to co-exist—throughout Europe and beyond. However, Browne's set destination of home, the only truly secure goal of the whole journey, circumscribes both his itinerary and his curiosity. These letters nonetheless highlight the changes that Browne's writing *and* travelling had undergone: using a chronological narrative to synthesize accounts of natural phenomena, curiosity cabinets, and cultural observations, these accounts demonstrate Browne's growing skill as a writer of all sorts of prose.

While Craven's letter reiterates the insufficiency of writing, writing was, for Browne, both the reason for and result of his travels. Travelling gave Browne information to report and the act of writing had given Browne permission to travel to unknown climes, allowing him to turn his previously undirected travels to profit: the two, for Browne, had become symbiotic pursuits. Furthermore, it proved to be the gap between written experience and lived experience that allowed Browne to turn his travels to such differing purposes. Browne's accounts capitalize on writing's capacity to reflect the elements of an experience most appropriate for any given purpose. By creating flexible personal records of his travels in philosophical notebooks and varying kinds of journal account, Browne gave himself scope to adapt his travels for the Society's *Transactions* or more familial readers. In so doing, Browne laid the foundations for his ongoing literary career: these travels to 'countries of small literature' were precisely those that lead Browne to stake out his own patch of literary land.

Chapter Four

'Concerning countries travaylled by so fewe': Edward Browne's Journeys to Print

Introduction

After returning from his second continental tour, Edward Browne finally settled to his medical career. In 1672 Browne married Henrietta Terne (d. 1712), the daughter of Christopher Terne (1620-1673) whose anatomies Browne had attended in the early 1660s. Browne was nominated lecturer at Surgeon's Hall on June 14 1673, becoming a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in the same year.[1] In 1694, Browne became the College's Treasurer, holding the post for ten years before becoming President until his death in 1708. His medical credentials might be further proven by his role as Physician to St Bartholomew's Hospital from 1682, and as a physician-in-ordinary to King Charles II, who (allegedly) said of Browne that 'he was as learned as any of the College, and as well bred as any at court.'[2]

Alongside advancing his medical career, Browne continued to follow literary pursuits, and it is for these that he was best known in his own lifetime and in the century following his death. Browne made one further short tour abroad in 1673, accompanying the diplomat Sir Leoline Jenkins (1625-85) and government official Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701) to Cologne to attempt to negotiate a peace between France, the Netherlands, and

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[1] Sloane MS 1833, f.55r.

[2] Reported in Johnson, 'Life,' xl.

England in the Franco-Dutch war.[3] This chapter will ask precisely how Browne came to publish his extensive travels, tracing the development from note to print and drawing attention to the role that other agents played throughout this textual journey.

Despite the extent of Browne's travels, his first publication, *A Discourse of the Cossacks* (1672), was not based on his own journeys: rather, it was a translation of Pierre de Chevalier's *Histoire de la Guerre des Cosaques Contre la Pologne* (1663), which offered readers a history of the Cossacks and Tartars of modern-day Ukraine.[4] Only after this translation did Browne publish an account of his own travels. His 1673 *A Brief Account of Divers Travels,* written in no small part at the encouragement of his father, draws on Browne's excursions from Vienna to Hungary, Venice, and Larissa.[5] This work earned Browne the title of 'learned and inquisitive traveller,' and offered an example of 'what great benefit may be made by travelling, if performed with curiosity and Judgment.'[6] Browne followed this book with *An Account of Several Travels Through a Great Part of Germany* (1677).[7] Where the first book often divorced descriptions from personal narrative, the second recounts a circular journey from Norwich to Vienna, though like the first its focus is not on the traveller's adventures but on geographical, historical, and cultural observations. Browne's accounts offered readers sights into undescribed places and were used widely in later travel collections, earning Browne a reputation as a truthful and reliable reporter.

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[3] Several letters from Thomas to Edward Browne refer to Browne's acquaintance with Jenkins: a letter of July 10 1676 notes that 'I doubt Sr Leolyn Jenkins is like to have a tedious time at Nimmegen' (Keynes, *Works,* 4.66); another of September 22 1679 advises Edward to 'not lett your acquaintance [with Jenkins] decay or slippe away for want of maintaining it' (Keynes, *Works,* 4.130).

[4] Browne, *Cossacks.*

[5] Browne, *Brief Account*.

[6] 'An Accompt of Some Books,' *Philosophical Transactions* 8 (1673): 6049

[7] Browne, *Several Travels*.

The success of the 1673 and 1677 works led Browne to print a compiled text in 1685, to which he added an account of a part of his 1665 journey from Venice to Genoa.[8] If the earlier accounts generally focus on natural philosophy and cultural observations, this final appendage turns to history. In it, Browne takes his physical locations as points of departure for discussing classical history and paints his journey through ancient as well as modern Italy. This historical turn may have been stimulated by his work translating the lives of Themistocles and Sertorius for Dryden's edition of *Plutarch's Lives* in 1683 and 1684. Browne's compiled travel book, like its predecessors, proved popular. It was reprinted in 1687, and marked the end of Browne's publishing endeavours.[9]

While these publications bear Edward Browne's name as 'author,' each is indebted to a variety of kinds of cooperation, without which they would look entirely different. As Jack Stillinger has observed, 'literature has been produced in response to a range of externally exerted requests, demands, and pressures, many of which in effect become intrinsic elements in the process of creation.'[10] In this regard, it is anachronistic to attribute modern notions of 'authorship' securely to any given agent, and especially one whose life and works are so intertwined with a range of people, places, and institutions as Edward Browne's. In many instances across Browne's oeuvre, though, we find specific moments of extra-authorial intervention, and these moments allow us to ask, more precisely, how Browne's works became what they did. Heather Hirschfeld too has noted that 'multiple hands produced some of the period's most essential scientific, historical, and religious

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[8] Brown, *Compiled Travels.*

[9] The 1685 edition was sold 'At the sign of the Ship in St. Paul's Churchyard' with no specified bookseller, and the 1687 edition stipulated that it was 'to be Sold by Tho. Sawbridge, at the Three Flower-de-laces in Little-Brittain.'

[10] Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship,* 182.

works, which represent a wealth of collective activity relatively untouched by explicit discussions of authorship.'[11] Browne's publications offer us a unique perspective from which to explore cooperative writing. Without Chevalier's work, Browne's translation could not exist and, furthermore, the contents of the translation point to instances of overlap between written experience and lived experience. While this translation might seem tangential to Browne's oeuvre, it demonstrates his interests and authorial practices no less than his other works. Both the *Brief Relation* and *Several Travels* are also cooperative endeavours, Browne acting upon his father's advice and often including his words in the final account.[12] Besides the ways in which Browne and his father worked together on the final productions, these works are collaborative at an archival level: without the familial endeavour of preserving Browne's letters, much of Browne's foundational material would have been lost. Likewise, Lyttelton's drawings served as prompts for Browne when it came to recalling his travels for a wider audience. While many instances of cooperation are concretely evident only at a linguistic level, many factors before this final stage facilitated the publication of the travels. While Browne's addition to the 1685 combined edition of his travels is, in many ways, the most independent, appearing after Thomas's death, it nonetheless speaks extensively to Browne's experiential history and to an intellectual collaboration with his father.

Across these publications, we can see the transformation of Edward Browne as a writer. Indebted to travels both at home and abroad, these publications show not just an armchair traveller but a true and truthful one. They demonstrate Browne's movement from the mock-heroic poet-narrator of 1662 to a participant in the classical traditions of Italy.

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[11] Hirschfeld, 'Early Modern Collaboration,' 611.

[12] I will primarily refer to Edward and Thomas by their first names in this chapter.

They arise directly from Browne's habits of notetaking and letter-writing, which were finely tuned over the course of his journeys, and highlight a key element behind all of Browne's metamorphoses: the moulding to, divergence from, and cooperation with a network of individuals both abroad and at home.

Translating the Cossacks and Tartars

In 1672, Edward Browne produced the first full book to bear his name on the title page: *A Discourse of the Original, Countrey, Manners, Government and Religion of the Cossacks, with another of the Precopian Tartars, and the History of the Wars of the Cossacks Against Poland*. This is a translation of Pierre Chevalier's French account, which was first printed in 1663 in the wake of 'one of the most "revolutionary" revolts in early modern Europe,' the 1648-50 Khmel'Nyts'kyi Uprising which 'created a new Ukrainian state.'[13] As Burke notes, translations of modern histories were common in this period; 'so far 553 published translations of 340 texts written by 263 modern historians have been discovered,' the majority of which concern 'the history of Europe or of particular countries within it in the medieval and modern periods.'[14] However, Browne's choice of the Cossacks and Tartars as subjects ripe for English translation gestures towards his experiences on the continent in 1668-9, in the liminal space between West and East, Ottoman and Christian domains.

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[13] Frank E. Sysyn, 'The Khmel'Nyts'kyi Uprising: A Characterization of the Ukrainian Revolt,' *Jewish History* 17, no. 2(2003): 115; Maxime Deschanet, '"Et prouverons, frères, que nous sommes de la lignée des Cosaques". Un mythe pour unir l'Ukraine?' *Cahiers Sens Public* 2, no. 17-18 (2014): 33; Pierre Chevalier, *Histoire de la Guerre des Cosaques contre La Pologne, avec un discourde leur Origine, Païs, Mœurs, Gouvernement & Religion. Et un autre des Tartares Précopites* (Paris: Thomas Jolly, 1668).

[14] Peter Burke, 'Translating histories,' in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe,* eds. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 127-8.

Likewise, his ability to translate the work out of French attests to the time he spent in France: this translation is a product of Browne's experiences and positions. By asking how and why Browne translated this work, we can begin to see historical translation not just as the transfer of knowledge from one culture to another, but also as a reflection of—and shaping factor in—the translator's own interests and agendas.

The catalogue of the Browne library includes the 1668 edition of Chevalier's work, suggesting that Browne used this later edition for his translation.[15] While Browne's preface states that 'the *Author* of this Work was a Commander, and employed his Sword in Foreign Countreys, as well as his Pen,' he does not name Chevalier anywhere in his text.[16] Browne also rearranges Chevalier's title to highlight not the war against Poland, but the Cossacks' manners, government, and religion.[17] Browne also excises Chevalier's dedication and preface: while the removal of the 'dedication to the Count de Bregy, Counselor to the King,' is understandable—Browne's own work being presented without any dedication at all, let alone to a foreign dignitary—the choice to replace the preface is more telling. While Browne retains Chevalier's comments about the 'slender Traffick or Commerce [the Cossacks] maintain with other Nations, and the little regard they have themselves to commit their own actions to Posterity,' and the 'Actions of Kmielniski... and how he raised himself to that greatness, as to be feared by a Nation, which neither the Power of *Christendom,* nor the *Turks* could shake,' Browne excises Chevalier's note that Khmel'Nyts'kyi was, 'in a word, a Cromwell reproduced in Russia, who was no less ambitious, brave & political than that of

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[15] It is even possible that Browne collected the duodecimo volume on his return from the continent in 1669.

[16] Browne, Preface, *Cossacks*.

[17] This re-ordering is actually in line with the content of Chevalier's book, the first section of which is a 'discours des pays, mœurs, Gouvernement, Origine & Religion des Cosaques': this subtitle to Chevalier's original becomes the main title of Browne's translation. Chevalier, *Cosaques*, 1.

England.'[18] While the French Chevalier may have gotten away with comparing the nationally-revered Khmel'Nyts'kyi to Cromwell, Browne in Restoration England could not do the same, even if we disregard his own Royalist tendencies. If, as Gómez suggests, 'defence is one of the principal motives of [a translation's] prologue... defence of the original text, of the foreign author, of his own translation,' Browne's redaction of Chevalier's preface is a defence by absence. This moment of adaptation highlights that 'the thresholds of early modern printed translations thus look both inwards and outwards': here, Browne offers his readers a history of a burgeoning state while minimizing the potential for easy comparisons between this new, glorified, nation and Cromwell's England.[19]

Browne clearly recognised 'the communicative potential of preface... as a marketing strategy to achieve and convince a wider readership.'[20] While silencing parts of the preface, Browne adds new defences for translating this particular history, one of which is its novelty. Browne's preface begins by noting that 'although Ukraine be one of the most remote Regions of *Europe,* and the *Cossackian* name very Modern; yet hath that Countrey been of late the Stage of *Glorious Actions*.'[21] He adds that

> this, and other Motives have made me earnest to put this account of
>
> it into English, where it cannot be otherwise them acceptable, since
>
> the Description of a Countrey little written of, and the atchievments

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[18] Browne, Preface, *Cossacks*; Chevalier, 'Au Lecteur,' *Cosaques*, my translation.

[19] Maria-Alice Bella and Brenda M. Hosington, *Thresholds of Translation: Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473-1660)* (Springer International Publishing, 2018), 9.

[20] M. Victoria Domíniguez-Rodríguez, '"Profiting Those that Cannot Understand the Latine": Exploring the Motives for Medical Translation in 17th-Century England,' *Neuphilologische Mitteilunge* 115, no.2 (2014): 150.

[21] Browne, Preface, *Cossacks*.

of a daring People, must needs be grateful to those, who of all the

World, are the most curious and inquisitive.[22]

Here, the 'little written of' nature of the country helps justify the translation. This works in

conjunction with the 'modern' nature of the 'Cossackian name' to demonstrate the utility of

this translation.

This quotation also suggests that Browne's audience is uniquely suited to this history

because of their innate natural curiosity. Browne goes so far as to compare the Cossacks to

the English directly, noting that 'our Engagements upon the Seas have rendred us

considerable to the World,' and that in this way 'the *Cossacks* do in some measure imitate

us, who took their rise from their victories upon the *Euxine,* and setled themselves by

incountring the *Tartars* in those Desert Plains, which do so far resemble the sea, that the

Mariners Compass may be useful for Direction in the one, as well as in the other.'[23] As

Plokhy has noted, Browne's 'initial attempt to explain Ukraine to the English reading public

emphasized military and naval history, heroic deeds, and parallels with the English way of

life.'[24] However reaching Browne's comparison, it nonetheless highlights his intention to

establish an affinity between England and Ukraine. Understanding that linguistic translation

'was at the same time a form of cultural translation,' Browne draws out cultural similarities

between Cossacks and Englishmen, flattering both in the process, to create a sympathetic

audience.[25]

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[22] Browne, Preface, *Cossacks*.

[23] Browne, Preface, *Cossacks*.

[24] Serhii Plokhy, 'Quo Vadis Ukrainian History?,' *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 34, no. 1/4 (2015-16): 14.

[25] Burke, 'Translating histories,' 133.

One other addition points to a further reason for his choice of this particular text. Besides his demonstrated interest in the Tartars, whom he had encountered in Vienna in 1669, the preface gestures towards Browne's personal experiences. Having noted that 'most have their eyes upon [Ukraine] at present; and it is already feared, that the *Turks* or *Tartars* should make their Inroads this Summer into *Poland* through *Ukraine*, scarce a *Gazette* without mentioning something of it,' Browne tells his reader that the current king of Poland, '*Mich. Wisnowitzski*,' will be responsible for defending Poland 'against Sultan *Mahoment Han*, or the Cham, or [for] reducing the *Cossacks* to their obedience.'[26] Browne's preface, in turn, offers news-driven insights for its reader, providing them with knowledge of regions which might prove fundamental to protecting the West against the Turkish incursions which 'continued to threaten Europe until the siege of Vienna in 1683.'[27] Furthermore, Browne's reference to Wiśniowiecki echoes his own time in Vienna, where in January he saw 'the Prince of Lorraine… who hath great hopes of being king of Poland.'[28] By May, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki had been elected King of Poland, and in September, when Mortisan Effendi in Buda 'asked the name of the name of the new king of Poland: we [replied] Michael Visnovetsky.'[29] Over a large expanse of his time in Europe, the question of the

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[26] Browne, Preface, *Cossacks*.

[27] Efterpi Mitsi, 'A Translator's Voyage: The Greek Landscape in George Sandys's *Relation of a Journey* (1615),' *Studies in Travel Writing* 12, no. 1 (2008): 59.

[28] Vienna Journal, f.52v. This most likely refers to Charles V (Duke Karl) of Lorraine (1643-1690) who lived in Vienna and whom the Habsburgs promoted as king in the 1669 Polish election. He married the widowed Eleanor of Austria (1653-1697) after the death of Wiśniowiecki. Browne's diary note about the Prince of Lorraine adds: 'The emperour at present, ~~whose~~ one of whose sisters in law it is coniectured he will marry' (Vienna Journal, f.52v): as it turned out, Eleanor married both men concerned by the question of the Polish election. For more on the election, see Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 233-234.

[29] Dresden Journal, f.9r.

Polish Crown was present in Browne's mind, and he was still on the continent when the

eventual king was chosen. Thus, his inclusion of Wiśniowiecki in his preface both allows him

to draw on his own first-hand experience of European politics while simultaneously

updating Chevalier's nine-year-old text to reflect the current concerns of Ukraine, Poland,

and England. This chain of interrelation between the little-known history of the Cossacks

and the news in England offers Browne valuable material for his own preface, both situating

himself within the translation—even if invisibly—and situating his translation within current

affairs.

Even though the bulk of Browne's translation is faithful to Chevalier's original, his

preface demonstrates his motivations for translating the work: between the novelty of the

content, the affinity that the Cossacks hold with England, the relevance of the history, and

his own experiences at the edges of Christendom, this translation is framed as an

indispensable history for English readers. Moreover, it gestures towards the attitudes to

knowledge production and dissemination which are reflected throughout Browne's later,

original, compositions.

Writing the *Brief Account*: From Note to Print

Browne produced several articles for the *Philosophical Transactions* both during and after

his second continental tour, and these publications had already afforded him some acclaim

within the Society as an authority on mineralogy in Hungary and Austria.[30] However, the

first text to disseminate his personal experiences independently of the Royal Society was his

Brief Account of 1673. This work stems directly from his travels, and just as Browne turned

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[30] For Browne's articles for the *Philosophical Transactions* see Wyatt, 'A Familial Network of Creation.'

his journal entries into letters, the archival sources—diaries, notebooks, and letters—are evident throughout the publication. This might make it somewhat tempting to conflate the lived experience with the published book. However, as MacLaren highlights, 'the stages of exploration and travel writing require us to develop discrete reading strategies for interpreting them, not conflating them so as, effectively, to accord them an identical degree of authority.'[31] In the *Brief Account*, there are three key areas in which we can distinguish between the stages of exploration and writing: firstly, Thomas Browne catalysed the work, encouraging his son to print his experiences; secondly, Edward imported historical reading into his account, sometimes at Thomas's suggestion; and thirdly, he reordered his journeys, creating for his reader a different itinerary from that which he actually travelled. Investigating each of these areas allows us to discover how Edward adapted his previous writings in concert with his lived experiences to produce the first independently-published account of his travels.

Advice to a Son: Thomas Browne's Interventions

In a letter of June 8 1670, Thomas told his son that

> at leasurable times you must thinck of historicall and narrative
>
> observations concerning your last travayles; you may sett downe
>
> many w*hic*h may bee acceptable, & your letters will afford many
>
> beside such as you have not set downe, & particular passages will

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[31] I. S. MacLaren, 'In consideration of the evolution of explorers and travellers into authors: a model,' *Studies in Travel Writing* 15, no. 3 (2011): 232.

bee pleasing & somewhat instructive, and the draughts of things

w*hi*ch Betty drewe will help much: I may give you hints of some.[32]

While Edward's *Philosophical Transactions* articles drew directly on personal observations

from his travels, they generally excluded the 'historical and narrative' episodes that Thomas

encourages his son to add. In a postscript, Thomas, as if excusing his forthright demands,

adds that 'your friends think you should, though not suddenly, sett them downe & not lett

all passe in silence concerning countries travaylled by so fewe.'[33] This letter is the first

indication that Edward might put his travels, in their narrative form, into print. The reason

for doing so was, in no small part, the unusual nature of Edward's journeys: while Thomas

had been averse to Edward's travelling in 'countries of small literature,' that same lack of

literature presents an opportunity for a publication.[34] However, it seems that Edward had

not seriously thought of printing his travels before he received this letter: given that this is

the earliest catalyst to the ultimate publication(s), Thomas rather than Edward emerges as

the key agent in moving towards the publication of the travels.

Beyond encouraging Edward to print his travels, Thomas also offers to give him hints

of what to include: the account that Thomas envisioned prioritises general information

about a place over the focused mineralogical information already set down in Edward's

articles. This suggests that this work was intended more as a history of or guidebook to—

rather than an erudite study of—a place and, in turn, suggests an audience: the wide-

ranging scope of what Thomas proposes points to a readership interested not just in natural

philosophy but in travel more generally. Similarly, the combination of historical and

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[32] Keynes, *Works,* 4.49.

[33] Keynes, *Works,* 4.49.

[34] Letterbook, f.57r.

narrative observations reflects 'the popular type of history which was currently in use which "delights by the charm of its narratives".'[35] Unlike Baconian natural histories, 'vast collections of facts about particular objects or qualities,' Thomas suggests that his son's account ought to be narrativized, with references not just to natural philosophy but cultural history too.[36] Thomas's offer to help his son is an early sign that Edward's publications, though bearing his name, are not solely his creations.

Lyttelton too cooperated in this work, her 'draughts of things' prompting Edward's memory.[37] Even once Edward had returned from his travels, his family continued to reproduce them; in a letter of July 29 1670, Thomas told Edward that 'you showed mee a litle draught of the crowne of Hungarie different from other crownes & wee could not tell how to drawe it distinctly as you discribed it.'[38] The 'we' of this letter almost certainly points to Thomas and Lyttelton once again working to preserve and reproduce Edward's observations, increasing the verisimilitude of the written account with supportive images. Besides trying to depict the crown visually, Thomas historicises it, telling Edward that 'I read last week about it & what a venerable & sacred opinion the Hungarians have of it as sent from heaven by an Angel, & in *pinedas monarchia Ecclesiastica* in Spanish I think I found out the ground & originall of that opinion.'[39] Thomas includes the story of the crown in his letter. While Edward alone had seen the crown first-hand, Thomas used his reading to deepen his own understanding of it. Rather than simply submitting to the fact that an

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[35] Peter Anstey, 'Locke, Bacon, and Natural History,' *Early Science and Medicine* 7, no. 1 (2002):71**.**

[36] Anstey, 'Locke, Bacon, and Natural History,' 71.

[37] British Library MS Add. 5233 includes many illustrations of Edward's subjects, some of which may be by Lyttelton.

[38] Keynes, *Works,* 4.50.

[39] Keynes, *Works,* 4.50.

illustration 'served to remind the reader that the full vision—and, with it, the full understanding—was essentially attached to that experience, a fact that neither the text nor the image could ever replace,' Thomas works to attain full knowledge regardless of his absence from the original experience.[40] In turn, this is transferred to the reader of the *Brief Account*: though no illustration appears there, Edward does describe the crown, noting that 'this they commonly believe, to have been brought by an Angel from Heaven unto St. *Stephen* their King.'[41] He goes on to include a version of the story in his father's letter, with a marginal reference to 'Pineda out of Cromerus.'[42] This story of the Hungarian crown is thus prompted by his family's artistic endeavours, and first-hand observation joins with reading practices to create a fuller understanding than any one element could provide. From the outset, the *Brief Relation* was conceived of and supported by a familial network of contributors.

Description vs. Narrative: Browne's methods of reporting

The familial contribution to Edward's work began as soon as Thomas and Lyttelton started collecting letters from his first continental tour: even then, Edward's travels belonged not just to him but to his family too. Likewise, the letters from his second journey—and some draughts of what he saw—are only preserved because of his family's initiative. Edward used these archiving pursuits in concert with his own notebooks to produce the *Brief Account*. However, although the *Account* is based on Edward's travels, it is not an 'adventure.'

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[40] Jesus Carillo, 'From Mt Ventoux to Mt Masaya: The Rise and Fall of Subjectivity in Early Modern Travel Narrative,' in *Voyages and Visions*, 65.

[41] Browne, *Brief Account*, 16.

[42] Browne, *Brief Account*, 16.

Rather, it sits somewhere between a personal account and a natural history, reflecting in many ways the work that Edward had already produced for the Royal Society. This is perhaps best seen in the structural divisions that Edward imposes on the work: while in early modern travel accounts 'private narrative is often mingled with objective descriptions,' it is nonetheless the case that 'the effort to emphasize a personal narrative continues.'[43] However, although 'most texts began... with some sort of justification for both travel and travel writing,' Edward's book includes a short ingratiating dedicatory epistle to Henry Pierrepont, 1st Marquess of Dorchester and member of both the Royal Society and the Royal College of Physicians, but offers no justification for travel, launching directly into a 'General description of Hungary': indeed, the word 'journey' does not appear until the fourteenth page, obscuring the text's origins in lived travel.[44]

This opening description neatly reflects the Royal Society's directions to travellers; Boyle's 'General Heads for a Natural History' suggest that travellers observe first the climate of a place—something that Browne does not do—and then the sea (not applicable to Edward's inland journey), before observing 'Rivers... lakes, ponds, springs, and especially mineral waters... fishes,' and topographical features of the environs.[45] All of these observations appear throughout Edward's work, but most densely in the first twelve pages. In these pages, Edward's personal experiences peep through the natural history fleetingly, but inconsistently: Trenschin and its 'plentiful springs' has its original in the Hungary notebook; 'Banca, and Shilberg [and] Dotis' are all recorded in the Dresden journal; and several native fish, as 'a Biscurne, or kind of Lamprey; a Grundel [and] Hausons... somewhat

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[43] Monga, 'Travel and Travel Writing,' 53.

[44] Sherman, 'Stirrings and searchings,' 30; Browne, *Brief Account,* 1.

[45] Robert Boyle, 'General Heads for a Natural History,' *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1665-1666): 187.

like Sturgeon,' are all present in the Vienna journal.[46] However, Boyle's instructions were designed so that 'travelers could present themselves as coolly detached, their descriptions the product of patient and sure-footed observation,' not to create a personal relation.[47] In turn, the *Account*'s opening pages produce a natural history of Hungary, not the narrative of Edward's travels that Thomas had suggested. The title does suggest as much: Edward explicitly does *not* call his book a 'relation,' which would nod to its fundamental debt to experiential narrative, but an 'account.' While Edward is present as a narrator, assuring his reader of the authenticity of his observations, his experience is relegated to the background.

Edward also incorporates swathes of further reading into these 'descriptive' sections. Within the opening fourteen pages, he cites Nicophorus, the 'Turkish History' (possibly Rycaut's) twice and, in a discussion of language, Purchas.[48] Early on, however, Edward also strives to demonstrate that his own knowledge of this region outdoes that currently available, warning readers that he refers to several places 'which are not to be found in Mapps, except that you have some more exact, than any I have met with.'[49] The use of 'any' here furthermore suggests a broad knowledge of the resources available for the countries he visited: Edward is both experientially and literarily trustworthy. The many references to supplementary documents throughout the *Brief Account* demonstrate the extensive use of histories and other geographical accounts of his destinations that underpin this authoritative opening section. As Brennan notes, travel narratives are 'the production

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[46] Browne, *Brief Account,* 3; Hungary Notebook, f.22r. Browne, *Brief Account,* 9; Dresden Journal, f.26v. Browne, *Brief Account,* 11; Vienna Journal, f.55r, 44v, 46r.

[47] Jason H. Pearl, 'Geography and Authority in the Royal Society's Instructions for Travelers,' in *Travel Narratives,* 74.

[48] Browne, *Brief Account,* 6; 8; 14.

[49] Browne, *Brief Account*, 23.

of an informed personal commentary, filtered through an extensive and expected (but often unacknowledged) use of earlier sources,' and as such Edward's use of other resources is hardly unusual.[50] However, in the opening pages it is the extent to which the reading outweighs, and even obscures, personal experience that lends this work the aura of a history.

Elsewhere, Edward invokes classical traditions to situate himself not just geographically but historically within his location. Still in the first descriptive chapter on Hungary, Edward notes that 'some report, and others believe, that the famous Poet *Ovid* dyed and was buried in *Hungary* at *Sabaria,* seated at the confluence of the Rivers *Gunt* and *Regnitz*.'[51] Though Edward himself did not visit this location, he nonetheless included an apocryphal tale about Ovid's tomb, complete with inscription. In this instance, 'literature and history give meaning to the author's experience and classical loci map the locations in his itinerary, rather than the opposite.'[52] Edward goes on to discuss 'the mighty Acts of *Atilla*,' the 'many *Roman Emperours* [who] have honoured these Quarters with their presence, birth, death, or great Actions,' and some Roman antiquities that Browne discovered at Petronella.[53] Beginning with the almost-mythical history of Ovid's death, progressing through the more reliable histories of Atilla and the Roman Emperors, and ending with his own tangible connection to the classical history of Hungary, Edward uses his and his readers' shared knowledge of antiquity to situate himself concretely within his surrounds.

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[50] Michael G. Brennan, 'The Literature of Travel,' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV 1557-1695,* eds. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 258-9.

[51] Browne, *Brief Account,* 17.

[52] Mitsi, 'Translator's Voyage,' 54.

[53] Browne, *Brief Account,* 18-19.

Although Edward highlights that the region's history can still be felt tangibly, he laments its gradual loss, largely at the hands of the Ottoman Empire: discussing Budapest, Edward notes that 'if the three most admirable *Brass Statua's* which were placed at the entrance of *Corvinus* his palace in *Buda,* had not been carried away by *Solyman* [Suleiman the Magnificent]*,* and cast into *Ordnance,* at *Constantinople*; it is not improbable, they had been by this time at *Vienna.*'[54] The implication is that, had they been at Vienna, the remarkable statues might still be whole: in turn, it becomes apparent that Suleiman's—and the Ottomans'—martial aims outstrip any incentive for historical preservation. Likewise, Edward adds that 'about four hundred Books, the Reliques and refuses of the Library at *Buda*, were lately remaining there… yet so carelessly kept by the *Turkes* that Wormes, mice and Ratts were like to have the spoil thereof.'[55] When the Turks are not actively melting statues for weaponry, their bibliographical negligence destroys history in a different way. Just as Sandys, earlier in the century, represented 'his visit to the [Levant] as a journey through time, not just through space,' and 'underlines that the famous sites of antiquity now belong to the Ottoman Empire, representing a historical tragedy,' Edward too places himself in history, although the antiquities that in Sandys' account were simply in the hands of the Ottomans have now been destroyed by them.[56]

If this 'description' draws on written accounts of history and Edward's more factual notes, the second section of the account turns almost exclusively to Edward's chronological narrative. In this, he signals a change from textual authority on a region, to a traveller *through* the region. This section thus reflects Thomas's suggestion that the work draw on

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[54] Browne, *Brief Account,* 15.

[55] Browne, *Brief Account,* 16.

[56] Mitsi, 'Translator's Voyage,' 50.

personal narrative, but because it follows so quickly on the tail of the objective description of Hungary, it creates a stark division, as though Edward could not quite settle on one style. Almost all of the second chapter, 'A Journey from Vienna in Austria to Larissa in Thessalia,' is taken from Edward's letters: for instance, the story about Edward and his company being towed down the river 'by a Saick of twenty four oares' is lifted nearly verbatim from his letter of September 1 1669.[57] Those sections of the *Brief Account* which are not covered in extant letters often have their original in the Dresden journal, like when he reports his conversation with Mortizan Ephendi.[58] In the few cases where neither letter nor journal cover the *Account*'s content, Edward may have drawn on a letter that is no longer extant, or simply on his memory. Those undocumented moments, however, are few and far between: the 'journey' section is emphatically indebted to Edward's archives, with little other interpolated material. Where the 'description' of the first chapter showed Edward's experience only in glimpses, the second chapter turns explicitly to his personal itinerary, in turn relying heavily on the notes and letters that he had compiled. However, these attempts to divorce experience and description are not without tension, and the two become increasingly interwoven as the account progresses: experiential narrative and descriptive report, rather than two sides of one coin, are joined on a linear scale. Edward's movement between the two gradually begins to reflect this.

Reordering the Journeys

Edward's attention to observations about geography and history highlights the *Brief Account*'s intention to provide novel knowledge for English readers. This is arguably one of

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[57] Letterbook, f.48r; Browne, *Brief Account*, 30.

[58] Dresden Journal, f.9r; Browne, *Brief Account*, 35.

the key reasons that Edward reordered his journey: by placing his description of Hungary

and his journey to Greece first, the further reaches of his travels are structurally prioritized,

in the process essentially amending Edward's lived itinerary. As Walter Ong has noted, a

historian's 'selection of events and his way of verbalizing them so that they can be dealt

with as "facts," and consequently the overall pattern he reports, are all his own creation, a

making.'[59] Here, Edward rewrites his own history—selecting and prioritising certain

events—in order to serve his own purposes: just as one incentive to write up the travels was

the novelty of the climes discussed, those that take priority in his final text are those which

are the *most* novel to his readers. Although Edward does explain his full itinerary at the

outset of the 'Journey to Larissa,' it is deceptively brief:

> Having passed the Winter in the Imperial City of Vienna, I took a
>
> Journey into *Hungary,* to view the *Copper, Silver,* and *Gold* Mines in
>
> those parts. And not long after, although I had already had a fair
>
> sight of Italy, I made a Journey unto Venice, passing through *Austria,*
>
> *Styria, Carinthia, Carniola,* and *Fruili.*[60]

This story both omits his outward journey and passes over nine months in a matter of

words. In this way, Edward adapts his own chronological time to fulfil readerly expectations

that this account would offer them knowledge of far-flung lands, capitalizing on the fact that

'for the English the Ottomans and their empire were exotic and dangerous, repulsive and

attractive.'[61] Edward skims over the somewhat niche topic of the mines here, perhaps

assuming that interested parties would already have read his articles in the *Philosophical*

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[59] Ong, *Interfaces of the Word,* 74.

[60] Browne, *Brief Account,* 23.

[61] Mitsi, 'Translator's Voyage,' 59.

Transactions. Likewise, Italy and Venice were widely documented, and Edward's experiences there offered nothing substantially new. Instead, he manipulates his travels to fit his book's intentions, skipping over the commonplace to report the new. However, despite self-consciously dividing his book into 'Description' and 'Journey,' and in many ways striving to project a 'true' account of the places he visited, Edward obscures this chronological rearrangement. As Philip Edwards points out, 'to watch (as we so often can) the development of a [voyage] narrative is to see the record being adjusted, massaged and manipulated.'[62] In this case, we can pinpoint precisely where the record is adjusted, and perhaps even who adjusts it: the re-ordering of the travels is a result of collaborative practices.

In December 1671, almost exactly eighteen months after Thomas had first encouraged Edward to write his travels, he sent another letter noting that

> I now send you the rest. If you will take the paynes to write your
>
> journey into upper Hungarie to the mines, you may beginne at
>
> Comora or Rab & so to Gutta Schella, Schinta Freistad, for you have
>
> already writt particularly of Rab, Comorrha &c in your journey to
>
> Larissa, & so must passe them lightly over having writt of them
>
> elsewhere.[63]

This is illuminating on several levels. Firstly, it is clear that Thomas had a hand in the production of this work, exchanging material with Edward as and after it was written: this is not abstract cooperation, where an author silently imports others' knowledge into his text,

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[62] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage: Sea Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 10.

[63] Keynes, *Works,* 4.54.

but active collaboration, where two agents consciously work together on one text. Secondly, it tells us that Edward wrote the *Account* in several stages. Although Edward includes Győr and Komárno in his account of the Greek journey, the notes that underpin these descriptions were taken in March 1669 on his way to Hungary, an excursion that was not, initially, earmarked for inclusion in the *Brief Account*. Not willing to forego the descriptions of Győr and Komárno, Edward incorporated these March notes into his account of the Greek excursion, conflating his disparate notes into one account. Finally, it shows Edward taking his father's advice again: when it was eventually decided—per Thomas's suggestion— that Edward include the mine-towns of Hungary, much of the descriptive material that belonged to that chapter temporally had already been used in the 'Journey to Larissa.' All of this suggests that the work was accumulated chapter by chapter, with an overarching plan not to provide a circular narrative, but to produce remarkable records, with a little narrative on the side.

Besides reordering his experiences Edward, also incorporates others' experiences, conflating the two. Another of Thomas's letters tells Edward to 'see the red booke & Croatian provender into that part w*hic*h contains observations & occurences in the journey to Larissa.'[64] Here, Thomas suggests that Edward bolster his account with material from other texts, once more pointing towards the desire to produce a wide-ranging and thorough account of the location only *based* on Edward's travels. MacLaren notes that Hakluyt's travel 'compilations had the effect of setting [every source] on the same bibliographical footing... [giving them a] tacit shared authoritativeness.'[65] The same sentiment applies here: when Edward incorporates extra-experiential material into his book, by weaving it together

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[64] Keynes, *Works,* 4.55.

[65] MacLaren, 'Travellers into authors,' 226.

with his own first-hand accounts he tacitly elevates the secondary material to the status of the primary. That said, at other moments Edward elevates experience above report. In his journey to Greece, he recalls that

> When I found occasion, I used to look upon some maps, which I
>
> carried with me: whereat Osman Chiaus smiled, saying there is no
>
> depending on maps; they set down onely great towns, and often
>
> falsely. Chiauses are able to make the best maps.[66]

In this, it becomes clear that Edward's use of his various secondary sources is only made reliable, accurate, and authentic because he has the first-hand experience to truly understand and judge them. While their silent incorporation is not necessarily problematic in terms of 'truth,' given that received testimony could often be reliable (particularly when supported by first-hand experience), the small scale of Edward's adaptations and the silence with which other writers are sometimes incorporated refashions Edward's journey.[67]

It is not just that the content of Edward's work is cooperative, then, but that its very structure and narrative progression was created through a series of collaborative endeavours. Thomas first encouraged his son to write his journey. Having written it, incorporating his own reading and his fathers', Edward shared it with Thomas. In turn, Thomas recommended that Edward add a further section on the mine towns, which had been omitted from the draft. The reordering of the journeys was thus as much a decision by

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[66] Browne, *Brief Account*, 78.

[67] For 'virtual witnessing' and the authority of received account, see Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump,* and Richard Cunningham, 'Virtual Witnessing and the Role of the Reader in a New Natural Philosophy,' *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 34, no. 3 (2001): 207-224.

Edward to produce a novel account of the lesser-known places in Europe as an encouragement to add *more* by Thomas.

Importing Natural Philosophy

In the same letter that Thomas suggests that his son 'pass lightly' over Győr and Komárno, he also advises Edward on what to add should he 'take the paynes' to write of his Hungarian excursion in the *Account*, specifically reminding Edward to include

> the story of the man that putt a snakes head into his mouth in the
>
> bath, & of the Hussar w*hi*ch bathd in a frost at midnight, & for the
>
> mines you need not bee so particular as to give the full account of
>
> preparing the metalls in this narration, but how you went in, how
>
> deep & what you observed &c.[68]

Edward did indeed include his Hungarian excursion in the *Account,* where it constitutes the penultimate section.[69] This section reproduces much of what Edward had already printed in the *Transactions*, although where the *Transactions* articles were divided by topic—with baths in one article and mines in another—the account here splices the articles back together into a chronological rather than thematic order. As per Thomas's instruction, Edward also adds in a story from March 18, in which he recalls that 'the *Hussar* who drove our Chariot hither… in a very hard frost pulled of his cloaths in the open Medow at midnight, and bathed himself in one of those Baths.'[70]

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[68] Keynes, *Works,* 4.55.

[69] Browne, *Brief Account,* 85.

[70] Browne, *Brief Account,* 87.

Likewise, Edward adapts his account of the gold-mines in line with his father's

suggestions. The *Transactions* article notes that 'they have worked in the Gold-mine at

Chremnitz nine hundred years. This Mine is divers English miles in length, and about One

hundred and sixty fathoms deep. Many veins of the Ore run to the *North*, and to the *East*.'[71]

This information reappears in the *Account,* but with a lengthy addition before Edward notes

the direction of the veins. In it, he notes the particular way of descending the mine ('they…

are let down at the end of a cable [which] affords no uneasie seat even to such as are not

used to it'), and tells his reader that, despite the mine's depth 'surpassing that of the

Pyramids by a third part,' 'I was not discouraged to find myself so deep in the earth, for

considering that I was yet above three thousand miles from the Center, I thought my self

but in a well.'[72] These additions transform the *Transactions*' largely objective observations

into an account of the traveller's experiences, and his relationship not just to the

investigative subject but to his own emotions and the wider world, Edward here drawing on

the pyramids of Egypt and the depth of the earth to put his own experience in perspective.

Despite these narrative additions, this section of the *Account* remains, in its skeletal

form, a reproduction of the *Transactions* accounts. While Brennan notes that 'after the

Restoration… travel literature became increasingly concerned with reliable factual

reporting,' it was still that case that 'Horace's requirement of the poet... to entertain *or* to

instruct, becomes in the Renaissance the double requirement to entertain *and* to instruct.'[73]

However, Edward himself notes—after spending an entire chapter discussing Hungarian

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[71] Browne, 'Some Directions and Inquiries with Their Answers, Concerning the Mines, Minerals, Baths, &c. of Hungary, Transylvania, Austria, and Other Countries Neighbouring to Those,' *Philosophical Transactions* 58 (April 1670): 1193.

[72] Browne, *Brief Account,* 98.

[73] Brennan, 'The Literature of Travel,' 247; Motsch, 'Relations of Travel,' 218.

mining—that this topic 'may seem of little concern unto many; yet for the satisfaction of the more curious in so considerable a piece of Naturals, in places little known by us; and withall, undescribed by any *English* Pen that I know; I would not omit this particular account thereof.'[74] While Thomas generally tried to steer Edward towards a narrative style, here Edward stubbornly insists on reproducing his account of the mines for a readership outside of the Royal Society, again drawing on its novelty to justify its inclusion while highlighting the tension between the 'scientific' and the adventure mode of travel writing.

As Philip Edwards highlights, 'no writer was really able to solve the problem of serving the two masters and achieve a satisfactory balance between scientific and technical information, and entertainment for the general reader.'[75] Edward Browne here acknowledges the disconnection instead of trying to overwrite it, and his resulting work becomes—like his travels themselves—a mixed bag of factual knowledge and personal experience, where the two cannot exist without each other. In the same way that we can see Edward's narrative and his natural philosophy as distinct entities, we can also pinpoint the moments at which Thomas's interventions are implemented: although it was Edward's story of the hussar in the bath, and although Edward added his reflections about the bottom of a mine, both additions (and more) are his father's interpolations. Acting as commissioner and editor, Thomas is present throughout this text, and while Edward may have experienced and written it, we cannot discount the importance of Thomas to its production.

The *Brief Account* is, as many travel texts are, a heterogeneous creation. It is part history, part geography, part philosophy, and part voyage. As it brings into itself a range of topics, so it brings into itself a range of sources, from first-hand field notes to Lyttelton's

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[74] Browne, *Brief Account,* 113.

[75] Edwards, *Sea-Narratives,* 8.

illustrations to contemporary printed works. The most striking element of the creation of this account, though, is the active collaboration between father and son in its inception, drafting, and even distribution; Thomas even advises Edward that 'when you print it, it may bee best to deale with some substantiall setled stationer.'[76] Thomas's involvement in his son's first travel publication extends the course of its history. In many ways, the tension between the two agents is visible throughout: while Thomas instructed Edward to write a narrative account, Edward produced distinct descriptions and journeys, writing factual descriptions as a natural philosopher and actively separating them from narrative reports. In this often-faltering separation, we can see the conflicting modes of writing—and advice—in which Edward worked. While we may have expected him to be most comfortable in the narrative mode, nodding to his Derbyshire relation of 1662, the final product here is not an account of an adventurer's travels *as a traveller* but a report on remarkable things he has seen. In the same way that, while travelling, Edward divorced his notes on natural philosophy from his notes on city sight-seeing, the *Brief Account* is caught between interaction and observation, others' advice and Edward's own writerly instincts, and only gradually do the two sides to Edward's style begin to forge a unified whole.

Co-writing *An Account of Several Travels*

Justifying *Several Travels*

At the end of *A Brief Account,* Edward declines to speak of Vienna, protesting that 'to say any thing of *Vienna* may seem superfluous, divers having written thereof, and it might fall better in, if ever I should describe my journey from the Low Countrys to *Vienna,* and from

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[76] Keynes, *Works,* 4.55.

Vienna by the way of *Moravia, Bohemia, Misnia, Saxonia,* unto *Hamburg.*'[77] Edward then

offers some closing notes, identifying 'some Assertions which I could not verifie'—an

addition notably in line with his father's project of correcting 'vulgar errors'—and the

season of his travels, and then abruptly declares that he 'shall wander too far out of the

way, and therefore will put an end to this Discourse.'[78] Hidden in this miscellaneous

conclusion is a hint at what he might write next. Indeed, in the 'To the Reader' of his 1677

Several Travels, Browne acknowledges that 'a Promise in my former Book oblig'd me to say

something of *Vienna;* as likewise my Journey unto that place from *England,* by the *Belgian*

Provinces and *Germany*; and of my Return from *Vienna* by *Austria Trans-Danubiana,*

Moravia, Bohemia, Misnia, Saxonia, unto *Hamburg.*'[79] This reflects almost verbatim the

suggestion in the *Account*'s conclusion. However, Browne himself had already asserted that

an account of Vienna would be 'superfluous': unlike those places included in his 1673 work,

a reader could already find plenty of texts about Vienna.[80] How, then, did Edward justify a

publication that he had essentially counted as redundant in 1673?

The *Brief Account*, as I have highlighted, offered no excuse for travelling or for

writing about travelling. The only prefatory material there is a dedicatory epistle to Henry

Pierrepont (1606-1680), 1st Marquess of Dorchester and the first honorary fellow of the

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[77] Browne, *Brief Account,* 141.

[78] Browne, *Brief Account,* 144.

[79] Browne, 'To the Reader,' *Several Travels*.

[80] In 1671, for instance, John Burbury had published *A Relation of A Journey of the Right Honourable Mr Lord Henry Howard... to Vienna* (London, 1671), which includes a description of Vienna. Like Browne, Howard had met with Counts Lesley and Le Haye at Vienna.

Royal College of Physicians, lamenting the insufficiency of Edward's work.[81] No such

dedication appears in *Several Travels.* The 'To the Reader' of this text is, in many ways, a

more conventional introduction, with Edward protesting that he 'remained indifferent, as to

the publishing any thing more, concerning nearer, or better known places; a great part

whereof hath been delivered by some good, and observing writers.'[82] Even here, Edward

points out that the countries he writes about are already sufficiently well-known. However,

recalling his 1673 'promise', and 'the desires of Friends [who] solicited this Publication,'

Edward concedes to writing a second travel work. Where the *Brief Account'*s prefatory

material offers few clues about its intended readership, *Several Travels* provides a little

more direction. Because 'the policy and State Government of places... have been so largely

delivered, as to make up just volumes,' Edward instead here 'set down what is Naturally,

Artificially, Historically, and Topographically remarkable; together with some customes and

occurrencies which might be acceptable unto the Inquisitive Reader, or serve as hints of

further Enquiry, to such Persons as may hereafter Travel into those Parts.'[83] This book's title

self-consciously divides it into *Four Journeys,* explicitly drawing attention to the stages of

journeying, rather than just the final location. The title of *Several Travels* thus offers a focus

on the act of 'journeying' that was absent in the 1673 work. In turn, Edward suggests, this

book could serve as a guide to further inquiry. Rather than just a catalogue of the curiosities

of Europe, this book might accompany future travellers, making it an active participant in

emergent travel habits.

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[81] It appears that Edward Browne served as physician to Dorchester, a letter from Thomas of December 13 1680 to his son offering his condolence's on the death of 'My L Marquisse of Dorchester,' who had been 'a good creditable patient:' Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 108, f.60r.

[82] Browne, 'To the Reader,' *Several Travels*.

[83] Browne, 'To the Reader,' *Several Travels*.

This book differs from Edward's earlier publication in two key ways which reflect the intentions set out in Browne's prefatory material. By looking in turn at the specific style of *Several Travels* and how this style arose from or developed Edward's original records, and then precisely *how* this text came into being, we can see Edward's status as a travel writer morph again. Where the 1673 text had starkly tried to separate description and journey, *Several Travels* uses them symbiotically. Given that Thomas once more intervened in this text, we still cannot say that this work is solely Edward's. However, although it is another collaborative endeavour, a singular persona emerges, and the text creates a whole from the scattered fragments of Edward's travelling and writing practices.

The style of *Several Travels*

Several Travels begins by placing Edward within an explicitly narrative frame: 'In the year 1668, I left the large and pleasant City of *Norwich*.'[84] Though the 'I' is evident in the *Brief Account,* it is the scholarly 'I' of a writer *in media res,* who desires to impart new knowledge while directing the reader to other resources for further information. The 'I' of *Several Travels,* on the other hand, is personable, taking the reader on his journey from the very beginning of both text and itinerary. It follows, then, that this book essentially conforms to the Vienna Journal. Place names, specific notes about buildings, and inscriptions are shared across the two texts, offering not just novelty but reliability too. Though 'a personal narrative can be both authorizing and deauthorizing,' Edward's positions within the Royal Society and the College of Physicians, alongside his authoritative earlier publications, may have allowed him to escape the trope of the 'travel-liar' and present a reliable account of

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[84] Browne, *Brief Account,* 1; Browne, *Several Travels,* 1.

these nearer climes for 'the inquisitive reader.'[85] This book is not, in short, a fantastical

description of marvels, but a practical guide narrated by a trustworthy observer; it is not

even a replacement for travel, but a conduit to them. Through the 'to the reader,' the

reliable 'I,' and the astute observations, this book invites readers to join—and increase—the

Travels.

This is, in part, achieved by the change in style. Edward here takes his reader on his

journey with him as the letters of 1668 had done, describing the journey without explicitly

divorcing observation and experience: here, as in reality, the two go hand in hand, and

observations on different topics coexist with each other and with Edward's experiences.

Much of the *Several Travels* is drawn directly from Edward's letters and journals, but as with

the *Brief Account*, Browne uses others' accounts to expand his own. Sometimes these

writers are credited, and sometimes their findings are integrated silently. He even

contradicts his own findings with those of others; he notes, for instance, that a globe he

observed in Amsterdam included '*Anthony Van Dimons* Land [Tasmania], found out 1642. in

42 degrees of Southern Latitude, and 170 of Longitude.'[86] This information is taken from the

Vienna Journal's September 17 1668 entry.[87] However, *Several Travels* adds that Edward has

'since met with a Book, which doth somewhat contradict this; entitled *A Voyage into the*

Northern Countries by Monsieur Martiner,' pointing to the 46th chapter for the specifics.[88]

This not only shows Edward identifying potential errors in his own first-hand knowledge, but

highlighting his continuing investigations. Similarly, Edward decides not to list the professors

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[85] Browne, 'To the Reader,' *Several Travels.*

[86] Browne, *Several Travels,* 14.

[87] Vienna Journal, f.10v.

[88] Browne, *Several Travels,* 14-15.

at Utrecht because 'the Learned Mr. Ray' had 'already caused to be printed the *Series Lectionum* of [Utrecht university] and many other Universities.'[89] Besides showing a continued attempt to learn about countries previously visited, and showing deference to other investigators, these moments highlight the cooperative nature of knowledge acquisition. Edward omits the details of the professors *because* Ray has provided them, and does not jostle for position or attempt to encompass Ray's work within his own.

As Edward gathers others' experiences into his own, he likewise conflates experiences that he gained over several years. This is most notable in the final section of *Several Travels*, which concerns the return journey from Cologne to London. While the end of the third section, 'From Vienna to Hamburg,' briefly notes Edward's actual 1669 return by sea from Hamburg to England, the title page of the book notably halts his progress at Hamburg, before naming the fourth section as the journey from Cologne to London. Edward made this final journey in 1673, four years after the journey that the bulk of this book concerns. Edward's title thus presents his work as though it describes a singular continuous journey, with the return from Cologne to London following on directly from the journey to Hamburg; to any reader unfamiliar with German geography, this might seem the logical conclusion. While Edward acknowledges that the final section is drawn from his later travels 'during the Treaty of Peace at *Colen* in the year 1673,' excising the outward part of this journey frames it as a direct continuation of his earlier travels.[90] As Smyth notes, 'life-writing was produced through an often lengthy chain of textual transmission and revision, sometimes over a long period of time: records were... converted into narrative.'[91] The

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[89] Browne, *Several Travels*, 18.

[90] Browne, *Several Travels,* 154.

[91] Smyth, *Autobiography*, 2.

narrative that Edward creates here presents his experiences not as discrete but as cumulative: just as, for Edward, knowledge is accumulated by multiple agents producing mutually-supportive texts, the experience of travel accumulated over different journeys forms one singular narrative.

Similarly, Edward splices together various experiences at Vienna to create a more coherent narrative. After describing some of the martial aspects of Vienna and naming notable people whom he met, he tells his reader that 'the *Imperial* Library is very remarkable. He who hath seen the *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford,* and the *Vatican* at *Rome*, would be much surprised to find such a notable one here, as may compare with them; especially upon the extreme borders of the Learned part of *Europe*.'[92] He describes how 'the shelves stand so close, that there is but just room to pass between them,' adding a brief history of the library-keepers and past Emperors' bibliographical additions.[93] Edward had first visited the library in February 1669, sending his father a list of notable books held there. That list is reproduced in print, although where the letter's list concludes with 'A fair *Greek Manuscript* of the *New Testament,* fifteen hundred years ago written in *Letters of Gold* upon *Purple*,' the printed list appends 'a *Magical Glass,* obtained by the Emperour *Rudolphus,* whereby to see *Apparitions*,' and 'ancient *Greek, Roman,* and *Gothick Medals* and *Coyns*.'[94] While the original February letter does refer to the glass (though there it appears before the books), the coins are nowhere to be found. However, *Several Travels* goes on to note that Edward 'let fall some *Drops* into this *Ocean*, adding some *Coyns,*

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[92] Browne, *Several Travels,* 88-90.

[93] Browne, *Several Travels,* 91.

[94] Browne, *Several Travels,* 94.

Intaglia's, and *Inscriptions* not to be found in that large work of *Gruterus*.'[95] This tallies with

Edward's activities of May 1669, when he told his father that he had given to the library '3

or 4 coynes and an old inscription of monuments found at Sene' on his return from

Hungary.[96] Again, Edward's contribution is valuable insofar as it is 'not to be found' in a

work already printed, and again his record here conflates two time periods, this time

without reference to the chronological disparity.

As different time periods morph together, so the list of books leads directly into

records of objects: though Edward visited the Imperial Treasury several months after the

library, his book launches almost directly into a description of it. By conflating the collection

of books with the collection of curiosities in his printed lists, Edward confirms that 'printed

and material lists do not represent different levels of thought or cultural hierarchies but

rather various understandings of objects, their powers and their significances.'[97] Here, the

library and the Treasury are significant because they reflect the magnificence of Vienna and

the Emperor's power: they are not significant with regards to their object-status, and the list

of books becomes just another list of *things*, notable for their material presence in Vienna

rather than primarily the learning they hold.

Edward actively highlights the fact that these are privileged sights, and that he was

in particular favour with Lambeck and the Emperor, telling his reader that his donation led

the Emperor to give Edward 'the use of what Books I desired: and at my return into *England*

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[95] Browne, *Several Travels,* 94.

[96] Letterbook, f.30r.

[97] Kelly Wisecup, 'Encounters, Objects and Commodity Lists in Early English Travel Narratives,' *Studies in Travel Writing* 17, no. 3 (2013): 277.

he gave me a formal Pass in *Latin* for my safe travel.'[98] The record of his time in Vienna also reports an encounter not included either in the journals or letters:

> While I was there [Lambecius] recommended a translation of *Religio*
>
> *Medici* unto [Leopold], wherewith the Emeprour was exceedingly
>
> pleased, and spake very much of it unto Lambecius, insomuch that
>
> Lambecius asked me whether I knew the author, he being of my own
>
> name, and whether he were living: And when he understood my
>
> near Relation to him, he became more kind and courteous than ever,
>
> and desired me to send him that Book in the original English: and
>
> presented me with a neat little Latin book, called *Princeps in*
>
> *Compendio,* written by the Emperours father, *Ferdinando* the Third[99]

Edward essentially says that, by chance, Lambeck gave the Emperor a copy of *Religio Medici,* and only after doing so learned that Edward was the author's son. This relationship in turn supported that between Edward and Lambeck. These kinds of social networks prove invaluable in Edward's travels, even though they are often silenced. Given Edward's adamance that he had already 'got means to see [the Imperial Treasury] of my owne accord' before meeting Lambeck, it might seem that Edward was reticent to rely on social relationships to enhance his travels, relying instead on his own autonomy.[100] In this particular case, Edward's report of his personal connection with Lambeck *and* the Emperor provides an entertaining tale, and contextualises Edward's authoritative position within his story.

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[98] Browne, *Several Travels,* 95.

[99] Browne, *Several Travels*, 85.

[100] Letterbook, f.31r.

However, although Edward emphasises his position of privilege, he does not keep this learning for himself: by reproducing the list of the curiosities at Vienna, he takes the closed site of the cabinet and offers it to a public readership, transporting the sights of Vienna into England. Nor does he aim to present his report, though authoritative, as complete: at the outset of his description of the Treasury, he acknowledges that 'to set down all I saw, were a work too large for this Volume; and the Catalogue of them, which is kept in this place, taketh up a large Volume in *Folio.* I shall therefore only mention these following, whereby some conjecture may be made of the rest.'[101] This differs slightly from the letter to Thomas, where Edward noted that 'a catalogue of rarities filleth a large thick folio so I will mention but a few extraordinary jewells & rarities in it.'[102] By adding to the print edition that 'some conjecture may be made of the rest,' Edward suggests something of the Treasury's significance. His list, the same as that sent to and copied by his father, includes the most bizarre curiosities to be found in the Treasury: just as knowledge is worthy of printing only when it is new, the curiosities worth mentioning are the most unexpected. This is not particularly unusual.[103] However, by making an active recourse to 'conjecture,' Edward diminishes the importance of the *real* contents of the Treasury: instead, he invites his reader to imagine what other wonders might exist in this Treasury, and perhaps in others. This list does not function just as an accurate record delineating the Treasury's contents, but as a spur to readerly curiosity. Coming, as it does, towards the end of Edward's description of Vienna, which has already established the magnificence of the

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[101] Browne, *Several Travels,* 95-6.

[102] Letterbook, f.31r.

[103] Shapiro highlights that 'the vogue for marvels… influenced art, drama, and natural philosophy as well as the new news media. Both the 'marvellous' and the 'news' emphasized novelty and rarity, the bizarre and the strange': Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact,* 87.

city, this invitation to conjecture 'the rest' of the Treasury reinforces the unimaginable wonder of Vienna. The *actual* treasury is merely a jumping off point for readers' own conjecture, whether accurate or not. Indeed, perhaps a work like Thomas's *Musaeum Clausum* (1684) could arise from such an invitation.

Along with Vienna, the Dresden repository is given extended description in the *Several Travels*. Edward once more outlines the most notable rarities of the 'Elector's Palace,' including 'a pair of noble Pistols with all the Stories of the New and Old Testament upon them,' 'a Lapland Drum with figures to conjure by,' and 'Indian mony.'[104] Besides the contents of the Kunstkammer, Browne notes that 'in the hunting-house, in the old Town, are fifteen bears [who] come and go as the Keeper calls them,' and that 'in the house for wild beasts [Edward] took notice of a Marian... a wild or Mountain-cat... Two Lyons... Ten Luekses,' and so on.[105] As ever, the strangeness of the things listed in this mini-catalogue is its defining feature; Edward even includes an engraving of the bears, as though to capitalize on the unusual nature of such a sight. Edward's use of repositories is persistent; every repository visited in his later travels is included in the printed work, displaying time and again Edward's own immutable curiosity about collections and what they can show us from around the world.[106] Edward's work, in persistently presenting oddities, demonstrates that 'the growing information market craved ever more novelty,' and though the journey described here was reasonably commonplace, the repositories were not.[107] Edward himself

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[104] Browne, *Several Travels,* 132.

[105] Browne, *Several Travels,* 133.

[106] Browne also describes collections at the University of Leiden, Dr Ruish's anatomical collection at Amsterdam, and the library at Utrecht.

[107] Cohen and Warkentin, 'The Early Modern Relation,' 14.

becomes a part of this information market, sharing his fascination with and records of curiosities with those who had not been to the physical sites.

While Edward's use of other authors' texts and his use of social connections to further his own knowledge are cooperative in that several people's work supports the creation of something new, those people are not agents in the process of creating *Several Travels*, but rather foundational authorities for the accepted knowledge that Edward conveys. The case with Thomas, however, is that definite kind of collaboration whereby two hands combine in the pursuit of one single outcome.

Thomas Browne's Drafts

The Dresden Draftbook is a manuscript written in Thomas Browne's hand, and contains almost exactly the same text as *Several Travels,* from the start of the chapter concerning 'A journey from Vienna.'[108] The first page of the Draftbook has the digit '1' inscribed at the top centre of the page. This page numbering continues throughout the manuscript. However, this is not the first page of *Several Travels* but the first page of this chapter. Much as Edward's 1673 work was created piecemeal, with Thomas commenting at each stage, the Draftbook's page numbering suggests that Thomas helped draft chapters individually. This is confirmed by another manuscript in Thomas's hand pertaining to a different section of the travels. Combined with Thomas's unrelated notes in Sloane MS 1879 is a draft of *Several Travels*. Sloane MS 1879 begins at '47,' with a description of the Imperial Treasury.[109] Yet

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[108] Browne, *Several Travels,* 117.

[109] Löffler's article on Thomas's editorial activity does not mention the Dresden Draftbook. For that reason, the following discussion will focus primarily on the Dresden Draftbook. The manuscript's page numbering may explain why this *Travels* draft has been bound with Thomas's notes, the preceding unrelated folios of Sloane MS 1879 being numbered to page 48. Two paperbooks thus seem to have been bound together, the first being

another manuscript contains drafts in Thomas's hand of Edward's work: Bodleian Rawlinson D 109 includes four sides of fair drafts of the *Travels,* each crossed through lightly. This reflects exactly the way in which Thomas marked his own drafts once they had been copied into another manuscript stage.[110]

One folio in the Dresden Draftbook begins: 'Taking a farewell of the imperiall citty of Vienna, I ordered my Journey for Prague in Bohemia, ^which is usually^ six dayes Journey by coach in the summer, and 8 in the winter.'[111] Both the body text and the insertion are in Thomas's hand and, sure enough, the printed text follows this draft exactly, including the insertion. There are minor changes to the Draftbook in the printed edition ('an ^the^ eight square Chappell of St Bridgett' becomes 'the Chappel of St Bridget, of an eight-square figure') but Thomas's draft is evidently an advanced one.[112] In much of this manuscript, it is difficult to work out who wrote the content. In some places the text clearly derives from Edward's letters, so that it is possible that Thomas just transcribed the letters, organizing them into a more coherent narrative. However, the note about the chapel of St Bridget does not appear either in the Dresden Journal or the letterbook. It seems reasonable to assume that there were several versions before this draft, but that does not reveal who wrote this comment on St Bridget's chapel.

Thomas's own work (to folio 57r in the current binding) and the second being the draft of *Several Travels* (from folio 59r onwards).

[110] Antonia Moon notes that many of Browne's 'draft passages have been scored through, indicating their transfer to other notebooks and, usually, their revision': Antonia Moon, 'Strategies of Civil Discourse in Seventeenth-Century Ethical and Scientific Writing: The Example of Sir Thomas Browne,' PhD diss. (Birkbeck University, 2006), 104.

[111] Dresden Draftbook, f.2r

[112] Sloane MS 1955, f.2r. Browne, *Several Travels,* 117.

In the only published article to refer to Thomas's editorial activity in *Several Travels,* Arno Löffler highlights that Thomas's additions generally characterize or concretely describe the respective rarities.[113] However, Thomas's additions went far beyond superficial amendment. For instance, the Draftbook includes information drawn from Moryson's *Itinerary* within an account of the stables at Dresden.[114] It is possible that this information, drawn from print rather than experience, was added by Thomas. One interpolation suggests that Edward too expanded moments of thinness in his own text. In the Draftbook, Thomas's hand notes that 'the church of st peter [in Friberg] is fayre, where many of the dukes & ducall familie have been buryed, and have fayre monuments, especially Duke Mauritius*.'[115] This passage stems from the Dresden journal.[116] However, the asterisk in the Draftbook points to the facing page where, in Edward's hand, is an historical account taken from several parts of William Watts' *The Swedish Intelligencer*.[117] That this addition is in Edward's hand suggests that Thomas and Edward edited the *Several Travels* collaboratively, rather than Thomas taking full editorial control.[118] Notes such as this demonstrate that the Dresden Draftbook was a space that Edward and Thomas actively shared. Furthermore, because Thomas was in Norwich and Edward in London, this sharing points to a concerted effort to work collaboratively on the *Several Travels.*

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[113] Löffler, 'Browne als Redaktor,' my translation.

[114] The details taken from Moryson include: an iron rack; a copper manger; a pillar to house the horse's comb, bridle and saddle. See Browne, *Several Travels,* 131 and Moryson, *Itinerary*, 1.20.

[115] Dresden Draftbook, f.36r.

[116] Dresden Journal, f.36v.

[117] Dresden Draftbook, f.35v. Edward's only change amends Watts' 'sacreligious soldiers' to 'Tilly's soldiers,' contextualizing his own extract while also redacting Watts' assessment of the Imperial troops' religion. The Browne library contained a 1632 edition of *The Swedish Intelligencer* (London, 1632).

[118] Finch, *Catalogue,* 71. Intriguingly, Watts' work is listed directly above the 1677 edition of Edward's *Several Travels* in the catalogue. This suggests that the two books were kept side by side.

One final example encapsulates the importance of the Dresden Draftbook in understanding the collaboration between father and son. At Magdeburg, Edward saw 'Dr Luthers Bedstand, table, chamber,' and his account transcribes a four-line German verse 'in the Augustiner closter.'[119] This material is all found in Edward's December 1669 letter and, again, is transposed almost verbatim into Thomas's Draftbook.[120] However, Thomas adds a small note, 'x i.e.,' at the end of the verse. On the facing page, Thomas has repeated the 'x i.e.' note, and written that 'these verses would bee Englished in verse or prose.'[121] Beneath Thomas's note, the verse appears, translated, in Edward's hand. Finally, Thomas's original comment is crossed through, marking the edit as complete. The printed edition of the text reads as follows:

> In the Ruines of the Cloister of the Augustines, there is still to be
>
> seen Luther's Chamber, his Bedstead, and Table, and upon the Door
>
> are these German verses
>
>> Dis war Lutheri Kammerlin,
>>
>> Wan er in's Closter kam herin,
>>
>> Gedachnis halb wird noch itund
>>
>> Herin gesehen sein Bettespund.
>>
>>> i.e.
>>
>> Luther did lodge within this little Room,
>>
>> When first he did into the Cloister come;
>>
>> In memory whereof we still do keep

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[119] Dresden Journal, f.38r.

[120] Letterbook, f.65v.

[121] Dresden Draftbook, f.45r.

<div style="text-align: center;">The Bedstead upon which he us'd to sleep.[122]</div>

This is a powerful example of the active collaboration behind *Several Travels*. Edward's letters appear in Thomas's Draftbook, with some textual amendments. Thomas suggests changes—and implements some himself—but returns the book to Edward, who amends the drafts accordingly. Though the extent to which the extant drafts were organised and refined by Edward or by Thomas is nigh on impossible to define, it is nonetheless clear that this publication was a collaborative enterprise. If, as Thell suggests, 'it is not the traveller but the compiler... who most directly shaped the published account,' then both Thomas and Edward play fundamental roles in shaping and producing not only the *Several Travels* but the earlier *Brief Account*.[123]

Reprinting the *Travels*: The final form of Edward Browne

Thomas's role in Edward's literary endeavours continued until Thomas's death. In 1680, Thomas wrote to his son with some comments on Walter Charleton's Harveian Oration, offering Edward some passages to include in his own, should he ever deliver one. Several drafts of this oration appear across the Browne family notebooks, including Sloane MS 1833 and 1871, and at the beginning of Rawlinson D 109. Though Edward never delivered the oration, his father's efforts in composing it are striking.

Another collaborative work appeared in 1683, when Edward's translation of the 'Life of Themistocles' was printed in Dryden's edition of Plutarch's *Lives*.[124] The contributors to

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[122] Browne, *Several Travels,* 143.

[123] Thell, '"The real truth",' 296.

[124] Browne also translated the 'Life of Sertorius' in the third volume of this edition.

this volume were overwhelmingly Cambridge men, including a high proportion of Trinity

College alumni; Arthur Sherbo suggests that Dryden 'heavily favoured Cambridge

University… in his [contributor] selections.'[125] However, though Edward was the translator

named on his contributions, he once more took his father's advice, both in theory and in

content. In February 1682, Thomas acknowledged that Edward had written 'of a designe of

translating Plutarchs lives agayne.'[126] His letter then offers some comments on previous

translations by Amyot and Sir Thomas North—the latter of which 'was that which you &

your brother Thomas used to read at my house'—before advising Edward to 'bee sure to

take time enough, for you will only have time in the Evenings.'[127] He also recommends that

if Edward has 'the Greek Plutarke, have also the Latin adjoyned unto it, so you may consult

either upon occasion, though you apply yourself to translate it out of French, & the English

translation may bee sometimes helpfull.'[128] Besides a concern for his son's dispersal of time,

he indicates the method of translation. As Edward had translated Chevalier's work from the

French, it seems that he intended, primarily, to use a French edition—possibly Amyot's—for

his translations of Plutarch. His father, however, encouraged him to draw on three further

versions, from the original Greek to the mid-century English. By consulting each edition,

Edward's might take the best of each to produce an authoritative whole. By March, Edward

had drafted some of his translation, his father telling him that 'the verses upon the

monument of Themistocles are good, butt the sense much enlarged, so that I doubt they

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[125] Arthur Sherbo, 'The Dryden-Cambridge Translation of Plutarch's *Lives*,' *Études Anglaises* 32, no. 2 (1979): 177. Another of the collaborators on the project was William Croune, whose name was inscribed in Browne's Trinity notebook and who recommended Browne to the Royal Society.

[126] Keynes, *Works,* 4.211.

[127] Keynes, *Works,* 4.211-2.

[128] Keynes, *Works,* 4.212.

will not bee admitted as a translation, the originall being so much shorter, though these might bee more for his honour.'[129] Edward had clearly taken some creative license with his translation, and his father tried to redirect him to the 'right' course of remaining as close to the original as possible. The two were still working together in May, when Thomas told Edward that 'I hope you have receaved the 7 sheets of the translation you sent mee. The 3 last I cannot yet find an opportunity to returne.'[130] Evidently these translations had given the Brownes pause for thought, Thomas noting that he had 'looked in *Hesychii Lexicon Graeccum,* printed 1668' for the definitions of several Greek words to ensure that the translation's accuracy.[131] The most obvious collaboration is shown in a letter of June 1682, when Thomas once again reminded Edward that 'I told you I doubted much that it would not bee allowable in a translator to putt in the last verses which are so many, and some not at all contained or implyed in the Originall': Edward had obviously stuck by his creative version of the translation.[132] Thomas goes on to add that 'the first [of the verses] may bee retained,' before offering his own version, above a transcription of Edward's original.[133] In the printed edition, it is Edward's original that is included.

We may expect Thomas's influence in Edward's works to end with his death in 1682. However, when Edward printed his compiled *Travels* in 1685, echoes of Thomas's advice are still very much evident. In a letter that I do not find printed in Keynes' edition of Thomas's correspondence, dated June 11 though not including a year, Thomas recalls that 'you say

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[129] Keynes, *Works,* 4.215. Edward's drafts of the lives of Themistocles and Sertorius are now bound together with Thomas's own notes in Sloane MS 1849.

[130] Keynes, *Works*, 4.223.

[131] Keynes, *Works,* 4.223.

[132] Keynes, *Works,* 4.228.

[133] Keynes, *Works,* 4.229.

your booke is like to bee reprinted probably the first part not the second which was printed since.'[134] Here, Thomas notes that 'some additions would bee made,' and reminds Edward that 'I writt one to you concerning Hippocrates that hee practiced in Thessalie & mentions divers patients of Larissa and therefore looke out that paper, and if you have lost it give mee notice for that is a materiall observation especially unto physitians & schollars.'[135] Thomas's phrasing here suggests that he had written to his son with new information to include even before a reprint was certain. Despite its preemptive nature, this advice makes itself known in the final edition: somewhat shoehorned between two paragraphs about the martial history of Thessaly is a new paragraph where Edward asserts that 'the famous *Hippocrates,* the Father of Physicians lived and practiced here [Thessaly].'[136] He goes on to cite 'the narration of his Life by *Soranus*,' which 'sets down the Particulars of the Diseases of his Patients, together with their Names and Places of Habitation.'[137] Edward thus incorporates his father's suggestion, supplementing it with a reference to the text that may have inspired it, offering a further example of how a collaborative contribution to any given work might be built not just by shared writing practices but by shared reading practices.

In the compiled *Travels*, we also see a compiled version of Edward himself, from his travelling practices through to his editorial practices, each of which in turn was affected by his father's advice and contributions. The differences that emerged between the 1673 *Account* and the 1677 *Travels* are still very much present, and in turn the reader is presented with two distinct styles of reporting which cover a vast geographic, historical, and

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[134] Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 108, f.82v. Given later letters' references to changes to be made in the reprint, this letter must predate March 1682

[135] Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 108, f.82v.

[136] Browne, *Compiled Travels,* 41. This corresponds to page 63 in the 1673 original.

[137] Browne, *Compiled Travels,* 41.

intellectual scope. Indeed, the two individual texts also lose their original prefaces in the reprint, obscuring their origins as distinct works. Even the book's title simply runs the second title into the first, adding 'A Great Part of Germany' to the list of places named on the title of a *Brief Account*.[138] The new 'To the Reader' acknowledges that 'a great part of these Papers were printed eight years since, and some of them have seen the light no less than twelve: But since that the Copies have been disposed of, and the impressions Sold, the Bookseller hath thought fit to Reprint them together.'[139] However, because Edward also removed the title page from the *Several Travels,* there is no indication in the final product of where the first book ended and the second began. Instead, the two texts, along with Thomas's additions, become one unified whole: though the different personas—the various voices of Edward as well as of his father—are visible throughout, they simply move into one another, not fully merged but united nonetheless.

A Journey to Genoa

Edward adds one more persona to his 1685 edition. The chapter 'A Journey from Venice to Genoa' appears for the first time in the compiled *Travels*, making it the most significant addition to the work. However, rather than drawing on the travels that inform the rest of the book, this draws on his first continental journey. Although no draft of this portion of the printed work is extant, its foundation is in the 1665 letters that Lyttelton transcribed with her father. In this way, this addition too was enabled not only by Edward's own notetaking and letter-writing practices and his later literary endeavours, but his family's practices of preservation and reproduction.

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[138] Browne, Title Page, *Compiled Travels.*

[139] Browne, 'To the Reader,' *Compiled Travels.*

Just as Edward's writing developed between his 1673 and 1677 works, it once more changed form in this addition. Rather than either the natural-philosopher of the *Account* or the observer-narrator of the *Several Travels,* this Edward is a travelling historian. Rather than framing himself as the mock-hero of his very first account of Derbyshire, here he frames himself as a commentator on classical history in its rightful place. As opposed to the (reluctantly) faithful translator of Plutarch, Edward writes with liberty here, creatively writing this history by combining his own words with those of classical authority. While this chapter does describe a journey between Venice and Genoa, as its title promises, it is really a history of the route: at each stop, Edward details the history of his surroundings, calling up not just the recent history of fortifications, but classical antiquity too, to travel through both space and time. For instance, after briefly setting out the circumstances of his journey and setting the geographical scene of Padua, Edward turns to its foundations, noting that 'that *Patavium,* or *Padoa* is one of the oldest cities of *Europe,* built presently after the *Trojan War,* is confessed by Ancient Writers; and so generally believed of old, that *Livy* lays it down for the Ground-work of his History.'[140] Edward goes on to offer a shortened Latin quotation from Livy about Antenor's role in founding Padua, together with an extended English translation. Immediately thereafter, Edward cites Martial's epigram 77 (which suggests that Padua was the birthplace of the poet Flaccus), and then, 'that you may more firmly give credit to it,' offers a speech of Venus from the *Aeneid*, alongside Edward's own original translation of the verse.[141] Having satisfied his reader as to Padua's ancient heritage, Edward offers a potted history of the city, before turning to his observations on the city as it stood in 1665. Drawing on history and literature to situate himself geographically, this

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[140] Browne, *Compiled Travels*, 195.

[141] Browne, *Compiled Travels*, 195.

'journey' is far more heterogeneous than its title indicates, and instead of a simple account

of Edward's movements from one place to the next, the reader is presented with the entire

movement of northern Italy from antiquity to the present day. Although Edward's physical

location catalyses his historicizing, it is secondary. From Padua, Edward proceeded to

Verona, where he cites Virgil and Plutarch on the city's early history, before turning to a

lengthy discussion of the amphitheatre, fulfilling his 1665 assertion that 'none will ever

make me leave that study' of architecture.[142] A vast cast of authors is cited, with Edward

drawing Prudentius, Martial, the contemporary Antoine Desgodets, Juvenal, Livy, and

Tertullian into his historical exploration, despite the fact that 'regarding the circumstances

of the construction of the Arena of Verona, there is nothing handed down in ancient

sources.'[143] In addition, Edward offers his own translations and even an original verse,

though he never draws attention to his own role in writing these. Consequently, he fades

almost entirely from view at Verona.[144]

This is not to say that Edward's experiences are muted entirely: journeying between

Parma and Fornovo, Browne tells his reader about the River Taro, which 'is very swift…

notably winding and turning.'[145] Foreshadowing oncoming trouble, he adds that 'at first

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[142] Early Copybook, f.66r.

[143] Hubertus Günther, 'A City in Quest of an Appropriate Antiquity: The Arena of Verona and Its Influence on Architectural Theory in the Early Modern Era,' in *The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture,* eds. Karl A.E Enenkel and Konrad A. Ottenheym (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 83.

[144] In his lengthy discussion of the amphitheatres and Pont du Gard, Browne participates in the late seventeenth-century phenomenon of English writing on Roman antiquities which aimed to 'make a claim for the independence and quality of British scholarship' and which felt that 'British authors were underrepresented within wider European discourse concerning ancient architecture, but that they had, in theory, much to offer in that arena': Matthew Walker, 'Writing about Romano-British Architecture in the Late Seventeenth Century,' in *The Quest for an Appropriate Past*, 703.

[145] Browne, *Compiled Travels*, 219.

sight I conjectured that it would prove a troublesome River, when it was shut up between the hills: and so we found it.'[146] In their journey up the valley, Edward and his company were forced 'to cross the River it self above forty times, and in one passage, one Gentleman's Mule fell down with him in the middle of the River.'[147] This story stems from a letter of May 2 1665, where Edward reported that

> we passed a very bad and dangerous way. to Cestria all along the
>
> river Taro... wee cross'd the river forty times in some places very
>
> inconveniently. Mr Trumbulls mule fell into an hole one time and
>
> hee was put to it by swimming to recover the shore agreat way
>
> below the pace by reason of the Swiftnesse of the river.[148]

This letter, transcribed by Lyttelton, contains material used in this added chapter two decades later. Though the transition between letter and print here is far less exact than that from the 1669 letters to the various *Travels,* this letter still underpins the printed work. While the persona that Edward creates in this chapter might not be interested in highlighting adventure and danger, or naming personal connections, he still incorporates his position as a real traveller and his status as an authoritative historian to create a travel history.

Perhaps the most striking aspects of this chapter, though, are three detailed illustrations, one of the inside of the Amphitheatre at Verona 'as it may be imagined to have shown itself when it was first built and intire'; another of the Amphitheatre at Nîmes; and

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[146] Browne, *Compiled Travels*, 220.

[147] Browne, *Compiled Travels*, 220.

[148] Early Copybook, f.74r.

one of the Pont du Gard.[149] Two drafts, one rough and one fair, of the cut of the Pont du

Gard are extant in Add. MS 5233, an album of loose sketches mostly pertaining to Edward's

travels. Many of these drawings contain Thomas's transcriptions of information about the

sketch's subject, and it is possible that, much as Lyttelton and Thomas worked together on

copying letters, they also worked together on drawing and annotating Edward's

experiences. In the case of the image of Pont du Gard, we cannot prove Lyttelton's

involvement but Thomas, once more, is present. The fairer draft is drawn in red pencil and

incorporates more detailed representations of the brickwork and perspective, which adds

depth to the arches.[150] This is somewhat closer in detail and perspective to that which

appears in print, though there it is a mirror image of this, suggesting that this could have

been a draft of the image used in the eventual engraving. The rougher draft is drawn face-

on so that the aqueduct appears two-dimensional, and is in black ink. This unrefined

drawing is covered in Thomas's annotations. While other illustrations in Edward's printed

book appear alongside annotations explaining their constituent parts, like diagrams, the

Pont du Gard is only given a title. Thomas's sketch identifies it as 'Pont du Gard by Remolins

within x miles of the citty Nismes in Languedoc.'[151] The print version reads: 'Pont du Gard by

Remolins within four leagues of Nismes in Languedoc.'[152] Edward has clearly taken his

father's suggestion. Both the image and the annotation, then, once more called Thomas into

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[149] Browne, *Compiled Travels*, 195.

[150] A letter from Thomas to Edward of September 22 1668 notes that 'I wish you would bring over some of the red marking stone for drawing if any very good': Keynes, *Works,* 4.30. It is possible that this is the same sort of stone that was used for the red Pont du Gard.

[151] British Library, MS Add. 5233, f.68r.

[152] Illustration to page 210, *Compiled Travels*.

play. Even though Edward printed this appended chapter three years after Thomas's death, it is nonetheless a collaborative endeavour.

Conclusion

Browne's various publications were well-received by readers. Besides the Royal Society's approval of the 1673 *Brief Account*, they also reviewed the 1677 *Travels*, calling Browne 'learned and curious,' and reproducing some of his more unusual observations.[153] Edward's early success reached beyond England too: a French translation of the *Brief Account* appeared in 1674, published by Gervais Clouzier at Paris; in 1682 *Several Travels* was translated into Dutch by Jacob Leeuw, which was republished in 1696; and in 1686 the collected account was printed in German at Nuremberg by Johann Zieger, and was republished in 1711. Just one year after Edward released the collected edition, then, his works circulated Europe in three other languages: George Gömöri goes so far as to call Edward's book(s) an 'international bestseller.'[154] Edward's work also features in multiple English books on travel and natural history. Reading Edward's relations on mines, Robert Boyle 'thought fit to annex them in the Learned Authors own words' within his own 1674 work.[155] In 1680, Moses Pitt's *English Atlas* offered 'a short view of the choice [cities in Misnia] in the words of the Ingenious and learned Dr. *Edw. Browne*.'[156] Louis Moréri drew

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[153] 'An Accompt of Some Books,' *Philosophical Transactions* 8 (1673): 6042-50; 'An Account of Some Books,' *Philosophical Transactions* 11 (1676): 766-74.

[154] George Gömöri, 'Henry Oldenburg and the Mines of Hungary' in *A Divided Hungary in Europe: Exchanges, Networks and Representations, 1541-1669,* eds. Gábor Almási, Szymon Brzeziński, Ildikó Horn, Kees Teszelszky and Áron Zarnóczki (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 155.

[155] Robert Boyle, *Tracts* (London, 1674), 21.

[156] Moses Pitt, *The English Atlas* (London, 1680), 116.

repeatedly on Edward's relations in his *Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary* (1694), and the 1703 edition of Heylyn's *Cosmography* also incorporated some of Edward's observations.[157] Among other writers who drew on Edward's works are William Turner (1653-1701), Thomas Pope Blount (1649-1697), and Robert Plot (1640-1696).[158] In short, Edward's accounts were widely read, reproduced, and respected. It is, perhaps, unsurprising that Edward continued to tinker with the collected travels; an interleaved copy of the 1685 edition in the library of the Royal College of Physicians offers minor amendments to the text throughout, although these changes were never printed.[159] It is also possible that Edward intended to extend his appended chapter, with documents in the Bodleian Library offering an itinerary of his journey from Venice to Bordeaux, together with a draft of the second—unprinted—portion of that journey.[160] Although his works had seen success, Edward continued to attempt to improve and enlarge the field of knowledge to which he had already contributed so much.

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[157] Louis Moréri, *The Great Historical, geographical and poetical dictionary* (London, 1694); Peter Heylyn, *Cosmography in Four Books* (London, 1703). Benjamin Tooke, who published all of Browne's travel writings in England, was also one of the publishers of the 1703 *Cosmography*.

[158] William Turner, *The history of all religions in the world, from the creation down to this present time in two parts* (London, 1695); Thomas Pope Blount, *A natural history containing many not common observations extracted out of the best modern writers* (London, 1693); Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (Oxford, 1686).

[159] Royal College of Physicians, London, D1/43-B-12. This copy of the *Travels* is 'On loan from G.R. Brigstocke, who purchased it from Sotheby's... in order to keep it in the possession of the family.' This is a relation of Owen Brigstock, who married Edward Browne's daughter Anne.

[160] Bodleian, MS Rawlinson D 125.

Conclusion

'A community in learning': A Reciprocal View

My thesis has shown the deep lines of cooperation and collaboration within the Browne family, lines which were extended by Edward Browne's physical travels. The extent to which Thomas, Edward, and even Lyttelton's archives are intertwined, both intellectually and materially, demonstrates how the relationships forged and reinforced by these shared practices were mutually supportive. It has become clear that the family and other cooperating agents are vital contributors to what were, ostensibly, the works of one individual. I hope, along with Thell, Roos, and Rabinovitch, to have highlighted the critical importance of investigating intellectual networks that lie behind a printed object.

I have also demonstrated how one writer could adapt his ostensibly autobiographical archives for a multitude of audiences, often reshaping the same source material to create a different version of himself depending on his intended reader. My thesis thus continues the work of Smyth and Williams, and extends Greenblatt's notion that the early modern self was a mutable being. This focus on how an individual writes and adapts his role sheds greater light on 'travel writing' as a medium: because the biographical approach shows a writer at multiple stages of development, it also demonstrates that travel writing is a cumulative rather than singular process. My biographical approach has furthermore shed new light on the interconnectedness of different genres. Reading turns to travel, travel turns to note, note to letter, letter to draft, and draft to print. Each stage of creation relies on and interacts with those before and after it in distinct ways. The consequent 'final' publication reflects this heterogeneity of source material. This material focus demonstrates that there

were not only intellectual but physical connections between kinds of text, sites of writing, and contributing agents. Actively investigating the entirety of an archive affords new insights both into individual writers and into the multitude of disciplines with which they engaged.

My thesis has also shown that, rather than a solid genre in its own right, writing about travel is a method of unifying the heterogeneity—material, intellectual, geographical—of early modern experience. In this way, travellers might write for innumerable purposes, whether the travels are local or global. Indeed, Edward's son Tomey (c. 1673-1710), following in his father's footsteps, has left a narrative account of his 1693 trip into Kent with Robert Plot, using his writing to explore travel, the self, and intellectual pursuits.[1] Just as Edward's works might be partly Thomas's, Tomey's might also be considered partly Edward's. Travel writing is far more than a tool to report sights. In encompassing the multiple parts of an author's self, it also encompasses multiple parts of their community. To write of travel is at once to address one's heritage, individualism, and legacy.

I would like to offer one final point of consideration. My thesis, particularly in its later stages, has highlighted the extent to which Thomas Browne was involved in the publication of his son's works. This influence cannot be underestimated, and we might even consider Thomas Browne a collaborative author in parts of Edward's works. Thomas wrote speeches for Edward, helped him to craft anatomical lectures, and shared prescriptions and other medical advice with him: Thomas is implicated in every facet of Edward's life, from his medical career to his publishing habits. While my thesis has focused on Edward, Thomas

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[1] British Library, Sloane MS 1899.

was similarly engaged (though to what extent is unclear without further research) with other members of his family, Reid Barbour noting his affinity with his military son and namesake Thomas Jr., Rebecca Bullard pointing out the intellectual engagement between Thomas and Dorothy, Victoria Burke and others highlighting Thomas's activities with his eldest daughter Lyttelton, and many family letters demonstrating a variety of other familial engagements, such as that with his grandson Tomey.[2]

However, as I noted in the introduction, just as we can see Thomas Browne in Edward's publications and archives, we can see Edward Browne in Thomas's. While much scholarship on Thomas has placed him securely within his scholarly networks, there is a great deal yet to be done to understand how familial networks are present within—or, just as notably, absent—from Thomas's archives and publications. In this case, we find Edward Browne in a multitude of places in Thomas's writings. Thomas's notebooks host Edward's observations and material written for Edward on multiple occasions, such as the Harveian Oration. Written in Thomas's hand and voice, there is no explicit record to suggest that it was for his son or that Edward was even invited to deliver the Oration. Nonetheless, Thomas's creation of it was prompted by Edward's high position within the Royal College of Physicians. Indeed, in one letter of November 11 1680, Thomas tells his son that he has 'perused D.C. [Dr Walter Charleton's] oration w*hic*h is good butt long.'[3] He goes on to add that Edward's oration should compare his venue 'to other outlandish Theatres w*hic*h you have seen, as of Vienna, Altorff, Leyden, Padua, Montpellier, & Paris… and any other

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[2] Barbour, *A Life*, 376; Rebecca Bullard, '"A Bright coelestiall Mind": A new set of writings by Lady Dorothy Browne (1621-1685),' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no.1 (2010): 99-122; Victoria E. Burke, 'Contexts for Women's Manuscript Miscellanies: The Case of Elizabeth Lyttelton and Sir Thomas Browne,' *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 316-328; Keynes, *Works,* vol. 3.

[3] Keynes, *Works,* 4.169.

whereof you may advertise mee if you observed anything about them w*hic*h may enlarge

this, w*hic*h I now but cursorily ^imperfectly^ sett downe.'[4] His letter goes on to include a

passage on these theatres, drawn largely from Edward's experiences. In other instances,

Thomas's notes replicate Edward's reports: Thomas's notes include a report of seeing

circumcisions at Vienna, for instance, but whereas Huntley took this note as proof that

Browne 'must have visited other countries besides France, Italy, and Holland, since he

mentioned having seen circumcisions performed at Vienna,' this note instead once more

ventriloquizes Edward's experiences.[5]

Outside of the notebooks, Edward is present throughout the Browne family library.

Although Finch's facsimile edition of the sales catalogue of the library expressly lists it as the

libraries 'of Sir Thomas *and* Dr Edward Browne,' scholars have tended to assume (mainly by

not noting otherwise) that all pre-1682 works were owned by Thomas. While the larger

share of the library *was* most likely Thomas's, Edward clearly engaged with many of its

titles, such as Drayton's *Poly-Olbion,* Biddulph's *Travels,* and an anonymous pair of French

texts, the *Discours sur le Government de Pologne* and *Discours sur les causes de la Guerre de*

Hongrie.[6] Thomas also refers to books such as North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* 'which

was that you & your brother Thomas used to read at my howse,' tying the library not to

himself but to its familial context.[7] Many other titles reflect (and may have catalysed)

Edward's interests; Knolles' (and Rycaut's) 1680 *History of the Turkish Empire* neatly

corresponds with Edward's travel destination.[8] Indeed, Thomas read this work (or at least

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[4] Keynes, *Works,* 4.169.

[5] Huntley, *Sir Thomas Browne,* 58.

[6] Finch, *Catalogue*, 69; 72; 35.

[7] Keynes, *Works,* 4.211.

[8] Finch, *Catalogue,* 68.

'the Siege of Solyman') with Lyttelton while Edward was in the place it concerns,

highlighting that Edward had a reciprocal effect on his father's reading practices.[9] That we

cannot conclusively decipher which pre-1682 titles were Thomas's and which were Edward's

highlights the extent to which the pair's interests were mutually supportive.

We can also locate Edward's shadow in the *Christian Morals*: firstly, there are

multiple occasions where the *Morals* echoes Thomas's correspondence with his son. In

Sloane MS 1869, a prebound notebook exclusively in Thomas Browne's hand, a draft of a

letter to Edward leads into 'severall hints which may bee serviceable unto you & not

ungratefull unto others,' among which are passages of what was ultimately printed as the

Christian Morals.[10] While these 'hints' are not explicitly a part of the letter, the fact that

they follow it in the same prebound notebook highlights the *Christian Morals'* familial

context. More materially, Edward facilitated the publication of his father's *Certain*

Miscellany Tracts (1686)*,* Thomas Tenison—self-identifying as the publisher—noting that

'the papers from which these *tracts* were printed, were, a while since, delivered unto me by

those worthy persons, the *Lady* and *Son* of the excellent Author.'[11] The publication of the

Christian Morals too was instigated by Edward and Lyttelton, Edward noting that he 'miss't

the choicest papers' when a box of his father's manuscripts was retrieved from Thomas

Tenison.[12] Lyttelton eventually saw the *Morals* to print after Edward's death. Likewise, as

Huntley has highlighted, 'Edward published *A Letter to a Friend* without Dr. Tenison's aid' in

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[9] Keynes, *Works*, 4.37.

[10] The British Library's title for this manuscript lists it as 'being hints and extracts from various authors for his son Edward': British Library, Sloane MS 1869.

[11] 'The Publisher to the Reader,' *Certain Miscellany Tracts* (London, 1686).

[12] White Kennett, in C. D., 'Sir Thomas Brown,' *The European Magazine* 40 (1801): 90.

1690.[13] In each of these instances, Edward is present in his father's archives as an influence

or background figure, but not as an active participant. However, the 1672 edition of the

Pseudodoxia Epidemica suggests that Edward also actively contributed to Thomas's works.

In this final edition's section on unicorn horns, Thomas notes that 'that in the repository of

the electour of Saxonie is plain and not hollow, and is believed to be a true land unicorne's

horn.'[14] Edward had seen this horn in 1669 and written about it to his father; in turn, he

contributes information to his father's project of cataloguing human error.

However, Edward's influence in another of Thomas's works, the posthumous

Musaeum Clausum, is potentially far more wide-reaching and hitherto unnoticed. Although

Finch—and consequently Jeul-Jensen and Preston—suggested that *Musaeum Clausum* was

addressed to Walter Charleton, based on the fact that a copy of this imaginary catalogue is

copied in one of Charleton's manuscripts, I propose instead that Edward was the

'addressee.'[15] *Musaeum Clausum* opens with an epistolary address:

> Sir,
>
> With many thanks I return that noble catalogue of Books, Rarities
>
> and Singularities of Art and Nature, which you were pleased to
>
> communicate unto me. There are many Collections of this kind in
>
> *Europe.* And, besides the printed accounts of the *Musaeum*
>
> *Aldrovandi, Calceolarianum, Moscardi, Wormianum;* the *Case*

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[13] Huntley, *Sir Thomas Browne,* 225.

[14] Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica,* 183.

[15] Jeremiah S. Finch, 'Musaeum Clausum,' *Times Literary Supplement* (13 November 1937): 871; Bent Juel-Jensen, '*Musaeum Clausum, or Bibliotheca Abscondita*: Some Thoughts on Curiosity Cabinets and Imaginary Books,' *Journal of the History of Collections* 4, no. 1 (1992): 135; Preston, *Browne and Early Modern Science*, 135.

> *Abbellita* at *Loretto,* and *Treasor* of S. *Dennis,* the *Repository* of the
>
> Duke of *Tuscany,* that of the Duke of *Saxony,* and the noble one of
>
> the Emperour at *Vienna,* and many more are of singular note. Of
>
> what in this kind I have by me I shall make no repetition, and you
>
> having already had a view thereof, I am bold to present you with the
>
> List of a Collection, which I may justly say you have not seen
>
> before.[16]

Thomas notes that he is returning a catalogue that his recipient had shared with him: throughout his travels, Edward shared multiple catalogues with his father. Thomas then refers to four printed catalogues; all four catalogues are present in the Browne family library, where Edward would have easily been able to access them. Thomas then refers to five physical collections, each of which Edward had visited, the first three in his first continental journey and the final two in his second. Edward had reported these visits to his father, in some instances—at Dresden and Vienna—creating a catalogue of their contents in his letters.[17] Thus, Edward had 'already had a view' of both the printed catalogues and the physical collections. Based on the contents of this introductory epistle alone, Edward makes a fitting recipient for *Museaum Clausum*, even if the catalogue that Thomas goes on to produce was imaginary.

Specific entries within *Museaum Clausum* also evoke Edward's experiences. I noted in chapter four that Edward's comment that his catalogue of the Vienna Treasury was only a

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[16] Browne, *Miscellany Tracts,* 193-4.

[17] I suggested in chapter two that Browne may have purchased a catalogue of the repository at St Denis. This adds further support to the relationship between the *Musaeum's* reported cabinets and Browne's travels.

partial record, and that his reader might make 'some conjecture' of the rest.[18] Perhaps

Musaeum Clausum is the result of such conjecture. One page alone of *Museaum Clausum*

refers to the siege of Vienna, about which Thomas corresponded explicitly with his son;

shells found at Ancona, which Edward described in his letters of 1665; and the 1673 Treaty

of Cologne, which Edward attended.[19] More materially, *Musaeum Clausum'*s comment on

the Toulouse Cordeliers loudly echoes Edward's: Edward's letter to Thomas from Toulouse

of May 20 1665 describes how in the Coredliers 'the skins of people do not corrupt, so as

you see many bodys which retaine the same shape, and are to be known many years after

death.'[20] In *Musaeum Clausum,* Browne notes that in the Toulouse Cordeliers 'the Skins of

the dead so drie and parch up without corrupting that their persons may be known very

long after.'[21] The similarities are difficult to ignore. *Musaeum Clausum* also includes a mock

medical prescription, further replicating interests that Thomas and Edward share elsewhere

in their manuscripts.

However, the question remains: *why* would Thomas send this Rabelasian catalogue

of wonders to his son? One answer might be that Edward has already demonstrated an

extended interest in playfully satirical modes of writing, his Derbyshire relation gently

mocking himself and others throughout. Edward might make a well-humoured reader for

Thomas's literary play. The Derbyshire relation, though, was nearly twenty years old by the

time Thomas wrote *Musaeum Clausum*. Edward's more recent travel accounts were

decidedly *not* satirical, playful, or imaginary. Rather, they strive throughout to create an

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[18] Browne, *Several Travels,* 96.

[19] Browne, *Miscellany Tracts,* 206.

[20] Wilkin, *Works,* 1.103.

[21] Keynes, *Works,* 3.109.

accurate representation of the world. Even in the cabinet at Vienna, though Edward

gestures towards the wondrous possibilities that might lie within it, he reports only that

which he knows and has seen to be truly there. In this way, *Musaeum Clausum* mocks

Edward's attempts to faithfully reproduce the world in print. In writing it, Thomas gently

burlesques his son's possibly naïve belief that the world can truly be known: just as the

Pseudodoxia Epidemica was a growing catalogue not of truth but of error, *Musaeum*

Clausum is a catalogue not of fact but of pure imagination. Like Rabelais' catalogues,

Thomas's exits in 'a linguistic realm free from the strictures of external reality.'[22] All of this

is at absolute odds with Edward's published works which, in line with the Royal Society's

goal to create accurate records of all the world, seek to document what *is*, and not what has

been lost, what people conjecture, or what might yet be. It is hardly the case, though, that

Thomas snidely dismisses his son's optimistic attitude. Rather, the satirical *Musaeum,*

together with Edward's early appreciation of satire and later adherence to truth, paint an

image of a father and son who, though joined in the pursuit of knowledge, never quite saw

eye to eye on how to reproduce it. Despite their differences in outlook, Thomas and Edward

were united in Edward's records of travel, which catalysed a wide variety of intellectual

conversations and projects, and created a nexus around which a whole host of familial and

public interactions could take place.

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[22] Jerry Wasserman, 'The Word as Object: The Rabelaisian Novel,' *A Forum on Fiction* 8, no. 2 (1975): 134.

'Very Unimportant Accounts': The Implications of Edward Browne.

Despite the acclaim of his contemporaries, Edward Browne's travel accounts did not remain popular texts. In his 1756 'Life of Sir Thomas Browne,' prefixed to his edition of the *Christian Morals,* Samuel Johnson condemned Edward Browne's travel accounts as unlikely 'to give much pleasure to common reader,' with 'few novelties to relate.'[23] Indeed, according to Johnson, 'a great part of his book seems to contain very unimportant accounts of his passage from one place where he saw little, to another where he saw no more.'[24] In order to understand why Edward Browne and his works are of value to a modern scholar, it is useful to ask why Samuel Johnson found them so dull.

In the same account, Johnson notes that Browne's accounts were 'written with scrupulous and exact veracity,' and that Browne was 'resolved to adhere to truth.'[25] This very attention to truth, though, is what made Browne's accounts so successful in his own time: in an era in which travellers were infamous for their lies, to be acclaimed as a truth-teller was no small feat. Browne's printed accounts are, perhaps, too faithful to truth to entertain readers like Johnson. Much of Browne's veracity arises out of the particular elements of his travel and education that my thesis has demonstrated. In planning his travels, Browne aimed to visit places either useful for their academic or cultural insights, or sufficiently unknown to bring back new knowledge to England. In his journals, Browne recorded every objective detail, often at the expense of recording his own response. In family letters, Browne filtered out aspects of his journals that exhibit anything like frivolity or sensationalism, creating an account of his experience that often leaves the 'dull bits' in,

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[23] Johnson, 'Life,' xxxix

[24] Johnson, 'Life,' xxxix

[25] Johnson, 'Life,' xxxix

accounting for Johnson's accusation that, in Browne's works, 'the world is very uniform.' In his articles for the Royal Society, which arose directly from Browne's systematic notetaking habits, Browne, eager to attain the status of reliable investigator, ensured that his relations tallied precisely with the truth of his destinations. The precision of many of these various accounts made for an equally precise printed text: overlaying a retrospective personal narrative is hardly a way to assure readers of exact veracity, even if it does entertain. That said, even in Browne's juvenile Derbyshire account, he attempts to recount the truth of matters, even while simultaneously playing the entertaining satirist. This early account, though, has notably never been found anywhere outside of Browne's Trinity Notebook: though truthful—and perhaps more to Johnson's tastes—its style was for Browne, perhaps, too jovial to constitute a serious travel account.

Much of Browne's attention to detail was arguably incited by his relationship with the Royal Society, which shaped his very first public works, and to whose principles Browne's later independent texts adhere. Despite Thomas's constant interjections into Edward's travel account encouraging storytelling, increased tangible description, and reduced mineralogical specificity, Edward's works remain indebted to the particular style with which he had been familiar since encountering the naturalists at Trinity College. Indeed, this is perhaps much the same reason why Thomas himself never actively cooperated with the Society: while he was as engaged in the pursuit of knowledge as any of their members, his method of understanding the world is worlds apart from theirs. Consequently, Edward is stuck in the middle. The Society, which demanded precision and authority in order to define reality, perhaps believed that, ultimately, humankind could create a catalogue of all certain knowledge in the world. Thomas Browne, on the other hand, who likes to take reality as a point of meditation for things that we can never know to

be true, believed that our understanding of the world would be inherently and eternally incomplete. While we might be able to make vast catalogues of errors, the *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* is not really so much about finding one secure truth as demonstrating just how many times man can be wrong, even about a single thing. When Thomas finds a fragment of urn, he briefly considers its 'real' history, trying to establish where and when it was created and shattered, before turning to his consideration not just of this urn, of this town, of these peoples, but of the whole of human vanity, losing himself in his regular 'O altitudo.' When Edward encounters an ancient building, even an incomplete one, he rather strives to make it whole again, to gather every ancient source he can find on the topic, and to build a complete picture. Where Thomas tries to see what *might* be there, Edward tries to record what *is* there. Even in showing such contempt towards those who imagine that Peak's Cavern might, indeed, be the real Devil's Arse, Edward ridicules the imagination of those who see beyond the solid facts. In short, whereas for Thomas the stable artefact leads to a complete pilgrimage of wandering, for Edward the lived experience of wandering results in complete fact. There is an epistemological divide between father and son, perhaps instated by Edward's education and early audiences, and perhaps inborn, but this is the source of the tension in Edward's work, and the source too of what Johnson considers its boredom. It is a tension only made worse by the precision with which Edward's archives preserved his travels, and the constant attempts he made to validate his travels as 'useful.' It also seems to be an urge associated with the writing of *travel* in particular; the roles are reversed, for example, when Thomas tells his son to stick to the original of Plutarch's *Lives* more faithfully, and when Edward doggedly sticks by his decision to append his own verses, the better to tell the human story of Themistocles. Perhaps where, for Edward, real sites and their histories can be told in such a way that accurately represents them on paper, the life of

a hero whose history now has no material remains at all demands a more nuanced and creative retelling to feel real. In both instances, these tactics serve to bring the reader closer to the 'truth.'

The very material and intellectual histories of Browne's works gave rise to a kind of account that would have been unimaginable fifty years earlier, and was considered nigh-on unreadable fifty years later. In this way, Browne's accounts are a vital tool to our understanding not only of Restoration travel and writing, but of the intellectual and aesthetic changes that encompassed the era.
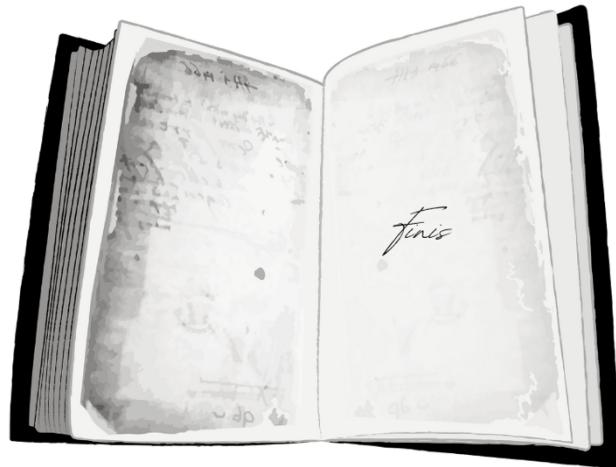
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Trinity College Notebook Front Flyleaf

Appendix 1: BL, Sloane MS 1900, f.1r

Appendix 2: Browne's 1662 Reading List

Appendix 2: BL, Sloane MS 1833, f. 3r

[f.49v] As soon as wee were got to the town wee prepar'd our selves to see ~~the~~ this place so much talk'd of called (save your presence) the divills arse, which in my judgement is no unfit appellation considering ~~the~~ ^its^ figure ~~for this horrid vast rock~~ whose picture I could wish were here inserted but for want of it you must bee content with this barren description.

At the ^bottom of the^ backside of a high rocky mountaine bipartite at the top and perpendicularly steep from thence to the leavell of the ground wee beheld a vast hole or den which was presently understood by us to bee the Anus, into which ~~having~~ by the helpe of light and guides wee did not onely enter but travailed some space up the Intestinum rectum ~~but~~ and had made further discovery of the intralls had the way been good and the passage void of excrement but the Monster having drunke hard the day before did vent as fast now, and wee thinking it not good sayling up stix against the tide after some [f.49r] infection ~~upon of this~~ ^with^ no small admiration of these infernall territories wee returned again to the upper world. at our entrance wee found the countrey inhabited, but scrarse [sic] guesse by their habit ~~of~~ what kind of creature they ~~inhabitants~~ were whither they were onely Ascarides which did wrigle up and downe and live in the devils posterrie answerably to wormes in men. or whither they were shades dwelling in these Tarterean cavernes to us at first was doubtfull they looked ^indeed^ like furies but for manners sake wee ask'd whether they were Gipsies. ^by the answer wee gathered^ ~~they told us that~~ indeed, those wandring tribes did sometimes visit ^them^ but these ^famous^ **[Greek]** did make good their mansions in this cave and referred to themselves a more fixed habitation skorning to changes theirs for any mortall mansion having greater accommodations in this their commonwealth. then in ~~any other~~ ^other [illegible]^ is beholden to the sun, or annoied by

the weather, both which they seem to contemne and having got a ^strong^ shell upon their

back's they feard no externall weapons, ~~yet~~ and if their Nile overflows not its bankes too

high they can suffer no inconvenience at all, for you must under stand the retromingent

divell whose [f.48v] Podex they inhabit is alwaies drivling more or lesse ^where by these

people waters doe sometimes suffer iuandations^ ~~which serves these regions these regions~~

~~as it passeth by~~. ^but let their priviledges bee what they will wee care not so much neither

for their company nor country and so made hast out again.^

If this bee to obscure then thus

ignotum per ignotius.

I'le strive so ~~speake~~ ^talk^ in rime, to those

that doe not understand the prose.

It's then decreed that wee must speak

of Darby & its famous peak

Of which hee that hath not heard some^thing^

I count him but a countrey bumkin

For all do wander far and neere

at the Devills arse in Darbyshire

At some Good people Curse & swear

what the D^ev^ill makes him lay's tail there.

And yet ~~some~~ ^grave^ learned Authours write

if one bad ere's good goe and shite

as give their mind to hear this fable

which ~~doth deceive the giddy~~ ^onely serves to cheat^ rabble

and dare a vow in prose and verse

that there is neither Devill nor arse

for if twere so one could not thinke

how horribly that it would stinke

[f.48r] But I the contrary suppose

& so dos any *tha*t weres a nose

Although the Divells arse bee hard by

a nobis ^that lives there^ can well deny

I now doe speak as true as Livy

it is as sweet as any Privy

and if that you were there to dwell

you'd say that you did live in hell

and therefore now good People all

Doe not the devill's arse miscall

For some rude rogues that have no skill

doe say there's nothing but a hil

And some as dull as any stock

doe say there's nothing but a rock

and if they tell ~~you~~ ^them^ theres a hole there

some cry Gapery goodman foole where[1]

and if you show them the ~~divells~~ ^very^ pisse

their read to say a turd it is

But for my part I cry hold you

[1] A 'gaper' is 'one that gapes; one that stares in wonder or curiosity': *OED Online,* March 2020.

there you must believe what told ye

tent manners to^o^ the d[ev]il a bit[2]

is this thing like his ar[s]e a whit

for they that live there call this same

^never any other name^

For neither sun nor moon nor starre

the divell a whit could you see there

[f.47v] Nor any light has ever been

Within this fundament long seen

and when tis day without the den

it is as darke as night within

Therefore surely without dougbt,

The Monster's somewher here about

And that our wits may rightly sump

wee will conclude this is the rump

yet from that very word doth start

Another doubt which ere wee part

wee must perspicuously make clear

or else wee still are nere the neer

for if the devills rump this bee

then hocus pocus tricks plays hee

for all know twas at Westminster

---

[2] 'Tent' here appears to be used in the Scots and Northern dialect meaning of 'to give or pay attention to': 'tent, v.1,' *OED Online*, 2020.

and then it must bee here and ther

hic et ubique. passe *repass*

you'll make a fool of the divells arse

But th'word rump is tane dupliciter

Else ~~this~~ t'might passe a great solicitur

for to fund out what is what

and order rightly Scot & lot

Rump's either strictly tane or may

bee call'd a rump as a man may say

And so tis clear that now there comes

a difference betwixt the Bum's

[f.48r] Again some Rumps are good some bad

Some stinke, some sweet are too be had

The rump at London Stunke, and scarce

was, halfe so sweet as *th*e Divells arse

Beside tis known, *tha*t had *th*e Pock

^[illegible]^ this is sure a wholesome nock.

or else the people I can tell where

or very arrant fools to dwell there.

A figure too of which there's plenty

contentum pro te continente

~~and~~ comes in for us and swears point blank

there difference twixt this and *tha*t flank

and doth judiciously determine

the rumpers to bee onely vermine

hangers on, a scabby crew

of bloodsucker and arsewormes too

But by our noble mountain's meant

the tartarian continent

Which men Ascend by large & high steps

as Muses doe Pernassus biceps.

of which I think theres ~~writ~~ ^said^ enough

and if that any doe take snuffe

at what most nobly here is written

I wish such Peakingslaves beshitten.

(BL, Sloane MS 1900, f. 49v-48r)
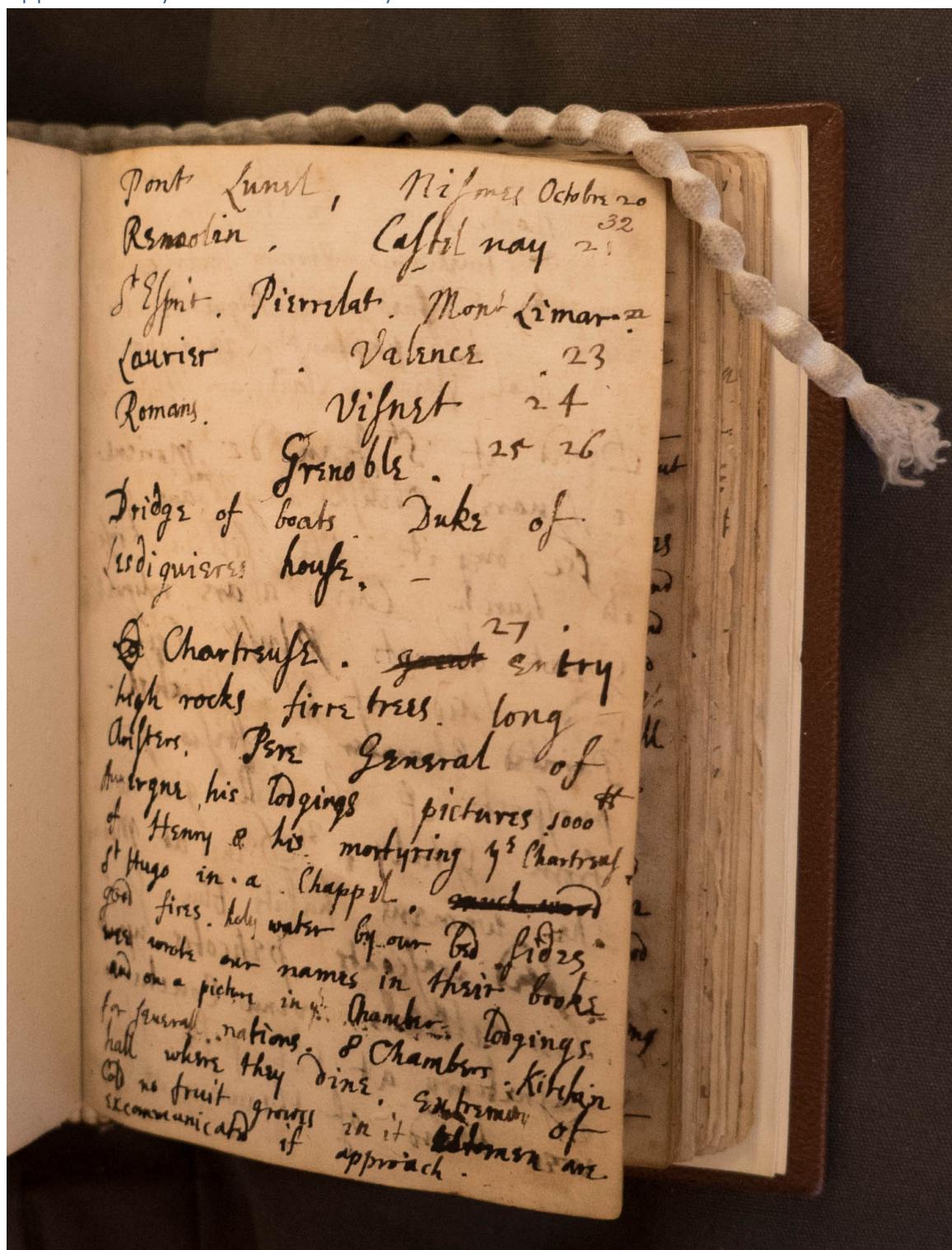
Appendix 4: BL, Sloane MS 1886, f.32r

Appendix 5: Royal Society Queries

'To procure for me upon the account of *th*e Royall Society, what Ingenious correspondents you can in matters Philosophicall Mathematicall, Mechanicall, Chymicall, but chiefly for natural Philosophy, and what observations, and experiments may occure concerning the same, in Hungaria Austria &c. Particularly to inquire in those parts, what is observable there, as to mineralls springs, warm baths, earths, quarries, metalls, especially *th*e kinds, qualities, vertues of mineral waters, and how they are examined? what are *th*e particular conditions of *th*e quarries & stones. and how the Beds of Stone lye in reference to Nort & South? Item whither there be any Marles Earths for Potters wares. Bolus and other medicated earths. whither those parts yield any coles, salt mines, or salt-springs, Allum, Vitriol, Sulphur & yet more particularly to inquire and procure some of all the severall sorts of Antinomy, & Antimony ore, but especially of *th*e best Hungarian vitriose, and *th*e cinnabaris nativa to be found in Hungary. & to put them up in severallboxes, according to their severall kindes, and to superscribe *th*e severall places whence they come.

4 .To enquire after the true Gold and Silver earth or Ore, said to be found at Cranach in Hungary, whence the Gold is called Cranach hold. first lighted upon by the Emperor Rudolphis. and worcked Chymically by his particular order & inspection.

5. To inquire into, & if it may be to bring over some of that kindse of vitriole which is affirmed to be founde crystallised in Hungary.

6. To get a good account of the salt pits in Transylvania, said to yield two sorts of perfect salt, *th*e one being a Sal gemmae, *th*e other a common table salt & to bring over a specimen of both, Further to observe, how deepe those salt-mines lye from *th*e surface of *th*e ground how deepe they have been digged hitherto, and what damps are met with in them

7. To inquire after the veins of Gold & Quicksilver at Cremnitxin Hungary & after those ^of sylver^ at Schemnitz, & to endeavour to get some of their ores to bring over.

8. Whether the waters of the Thermae *tha*t passe by Schemnitz depose a certain sediment, which in time turnes into a yellow stone? and if so to procure & rbring over some of the same.

9. Whether in all the mines of Gold, silver, copper, Iron, lead of Hungary & particularly about Newheusel, there be found everywhere quicksilver & sulphur?

10. Whither it be true *tha*t in *th*e copper mines of *th*e place called Herrn-ground, there be found no quicksilver at all?

11. Whither it be so *tha*t in some parts of the upper Hungary the ores of Copper, Iron, & lead, be sometimes so commixed, *tha*t there is often found in *th*e upper part Iron, in the midst copper, and in the lowermost lead? as also that in other places Coppery *flues* are mixt with leaden ores.

12. Whether it be true what Kircher writes from relation that the Ductus of Metalls doe sometimes run north & south, sometimes Crossewayes?

13. To learne if it my be the way of extracting *th*e perfect metall out of their minera's withot lead; which is said to be performed by casting a powder upon *th*e minera, *tha*t make a quick and advantagious separation, of which sulphur is supposed to be one of the ingredients.'

(Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 108, f.34r-v)

Vienna Febr 21 1668

I lately sent you the print of the noble fountain at Saltzburg made out from stone of white Marble as also of the figure of a magicall glasse wherein the Emperour Rudolphus saw strange sights & the manner of conversing with spirits. This Petrus Lambecius Librarie keeper unto the emperour shewed mee with many other curiosities. as a letter of the present Emperour of China unto the Emperour of Germanie in the Chinese & Tartarean language, weaved in a fine rowll as also another old rowll written in unknown letters butt resembling a little the Greek. A booke in the Runick Languadge. The old manuscript and true only exemplare of Livie. A Latin booke after the Gothish manner of writing. The Bible in Coptick and in Persian which wee have not in the Polyglott. A Fayre manuscript of Ptolomie with the mapps drawne in it. An old manuscript of DIoscorides with all the plants very finely paynted. An old manuscript of the booke of Genesis with pictures wherin are the true ancient habits. Among others [f. 61r] with that of Joseph with his gold spot upon his brest with the manner of their sitting at the Table, their servants and musick and the fashion of the crosse or Gibbet on which the Baker of Pharoah was hanged it being somewhat like this. The malefactors head being putt through the arch and his hands tyed behind him. I saw also a booke of Geometricall propositions. demonstrated in the chinese Language and another booke in the chinese Languadge with pictures. A book of Albertus Durer wherin are many fine paynting in limming or migniature as also a sphere and a terrestriall globe with in it carved and paynted by the same hand. A booke of Michael Angelo wherin beside many rare things in Architecture are all the payntings and designes in the Belvedere of Rome in Litle. A fayre Alcoran in Arabick interlined with the Turkesh to explaine it. A noble old Greek

manuscript in fayre large letters without stops accents or distinction of one word from

anotehr. Luthers owne Bible, marked with his owne hand & interlined by him with notes in

many places. A fayre manuscript fifteen hundred yeares old of the new Testament written in

Letters of gold upon purple. [f. 61v] with many other brave bookes unto a great number

which might bee increased to a greater then in any other Librarie if being the Emperour

right to have one of all the bookes which ^are^ printed in Germanie.

(BL, Sloane MS 1861, f.60v)

Appendix 7: Browne's Travel Pass
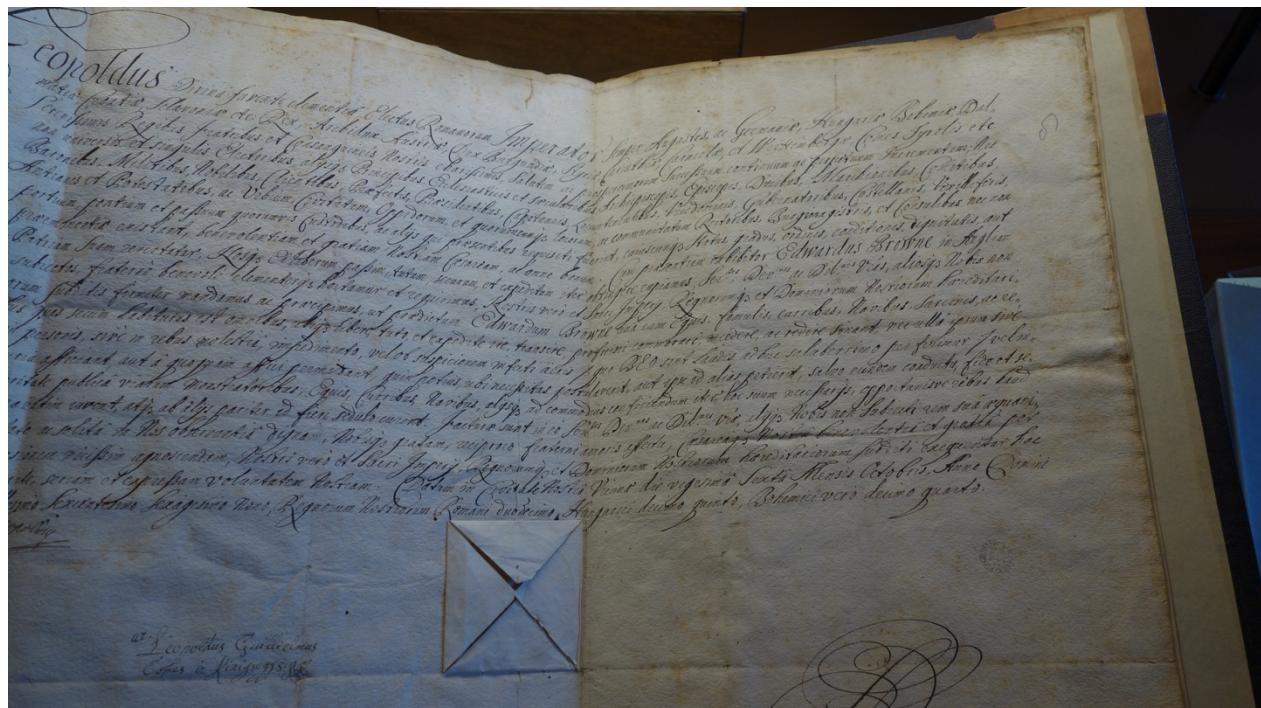
Appendix 7: Bodleian Library, MS Add. D 75, f.5.