

CONSTRUCTING THE TRAVELLER:
STANCE AND INSTRUCTION IN AN EARLY MODERN
ENGLISH TRAVEL ADVICE TEXT



María del Pilar
González de la Rosa

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SUMMARY

This work presents a critical edition of *Profitable Instructions* (1633), an Early Modern English manual of advice for travellers. It also includes a codicological and linguistic description of the 1633 printing and contextualises the text within travel writing and the prescriptive *ars apodemica* tradition that frames travel as methodical observation and information-gathering in an era of colonial and commercial expansion. On this textual basis, the study analyses how authorial stance (stancetaking) is constructed across the volume from a historical linguistic perspective, following Marín Arrese's model (2009). Findings indicate a clear concentration of stance devices in the epistolary sections of the corpus. Effective stance mechanisms are especially prominent in the instructional material and letters, whereas epistemic strategies (marking degrees of certainty and authorial positioning) are comparatively more frequent in the prefatory text, consistent with its persuasive role. Overall, the work shows how stance helps organise instruction and persuasion in prescriptive travel advice, while also enlarging edited evidence for Early Modern English.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CERL	Consortium of European Research Libraries
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
ESTC	English Short-Title Catalogue
fol(s).	folio(s)
Ms.	Manuscript
O	<i>Profitable Instructions</i>
p(p).	page(s)
pt	part
r	recto
STC	Short Title Catalogue
v	verso

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This work presents the critical edition of the book *Profitable instructions; describing what speciall observations are to be taken by traueellers in all nations, states, and countries; pleasant and profitable. By the three much admired, Robert, late Earle of Essex. Sir Philip Sidney. And, Secretary Davison* (1633). This manual comprises three distinct parts: (a) the prefatory material consisting of a letter addressed *To the Reader*, (b) the instruction manual for travellers, and (c) two letters addressed to novice travellers.

While this manual has been the subject of study by some researchers from a cultural and literary perspective, particularly Sidney's letter, it does not appear to have been previously edited in its entirety, nor has the text undergone linguistic and/or textual analysis. There exists, however, an edition of Robert Devereux's letter to the Earl of Rutland undertaken by Spedding *et al.* (1862). This edition lacks critical apparatus and the necessary editorial conventions to ascertain the changes that have occurred with respect to the original text, as well as the sources of the selected variants to offer the final text. Similarly, there are versions of this text and of Sidney's letter to his brother in "Biographiana" (Seward 1799, pp. 328-333).

A modernized version of Sidney's letter to his brother, undertaken by Duncan-Jones (1994, pp. 285ff), has also been found, along with an edition containing critical apparatus by Kuin (2012), which presents certain inconsistencies, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3. In any case, the text of *Profitable Instructions* has not been fully edited, and despite the scholarly interest in the letters it contains, the rest of the volume has not received the same editorial attention. In this context, this study aims to contribute to the linguistic and textual studies of historical texts in general, and to texts related to the history of travel literature during the Early Modern English period in particular.

The primary objective of this research is the critical edition of the manual *Profitable Instructions* (1633), which will be referred to as O, in reference to the volume format. This book contains recommendations to guide travellers in identifying the key aspects to include in their descriptions of the places they visit. The textual edition is complemented by a description of the physical and content-related data, as well as a study of the language of the text. Additionally, the critical apparatus, explanatory notes, and a glossary of 17th-century English words are provided to assist modern readers in navigating the text, as well as facilitating quick reference to the linguistic variations that appear in the texts.

For the text edition, the preparation of the critical apparatus, and the description of the book, the procedures outlined in Johnson and Jenkinson (1915), Greg *et al.* (1925-1932), Parkes (1969), and Petti (1977) have been followed. The notes are essential for the understanding of the text. They contain information taken from various manuals and dictionaries, such as Hadfield (2007) and Hadas (1950), among others. The glossary has been compiled primarily using the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). Regarding the language of the text, that is, Early Modern English, several manuals have been referenced, including Fernández (1992), Nevalainen (2006), Barber (1997), and Lass (1999).

A second objective is the study of stance in the edited text. The goal is to uncover and describe those linguistic strategies that allow the expression of the author's position regarding the text. To achieve this, the focus will be on the analysis of devices that influence the propositional content, namely, modal verbs, adverbial structures, and sentence matrices. This analysis is conducted following the model for the study of stance proposed by Marín Arrese (2009). This model has been validated in English texts with a historical perspective in the works of Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014) and Alonso-Almeida and González-Cruz (2012). To complement the analysis, consulting manuals related to modality in English has been essential, including those by Salkie *et al.* (2009), Palmer (1990), and Nuyts (2001a; 2001b), among others.

This work aims to highlight the need for editing scientific texts that complement the scarce corpora currently available from the period known as Early Modern English, which spans from the 15th to the 19th centuries. It also seeks to demonstrate the importance of stance in the construction of the text and its impact on issues related to linguistic change. However, it should be clarified that this is not a study on linguistic change or variation, as there is no corpus available which would allow for the diachronic study of the expression of stancetaking. Nor is it concerned with the description of grammaticalization processes in the English language, since, as previously stated, a single text does not provide sufficient evidence to exemplify or detect this phenomenon. Ultimately, the aim is to offer an approach to the historical study of stance through the analysis of a specific non-literary work. This analysis will be conducted separately for each part of the manual: the prefatory material, the instruction manual, and each of the letters that conclude the manual, as they are by different authors.

The contents of this work are structured into six chapters. The first chapter presents the objectives, along with a brief outline of the methodological procedures followed to achieve them. It also includes a description of the structure of the work. In the second chapter, a contextualization of the manual within the framework of travel literature is provided. This

information is essential for understanding the need for the production of manuals of this type during the period known as Early Modern English.

The third chapter contains information regarding the codicological data of the manual, hereafter referred to as O. This includes details about the date, material, book dimensions, type of binding, decoration, corrections, punctuation marks, and the use of catchwords, among other aspects. Additionally, a specific section is provided dedicated to the use of the English language in O, as well as a study of the textual genres present in this book.

The fourth chapter includes the study of the expression of stance in all the authors present in the text. First, a contextualization of this type of study from a linguistic perspective is offered. Next, the method to be followed for the analysis of O is described, namely, the model proposed by Marín Arrese (2009). Subsequently, the analysis is divided into two main subsections that describe devices related to effective modality, first, and epistemic modality, second. This includes the analysis of structures pertaining to deontic and dynamic modality, as well as the use of imperative forms and various categories of evidentials, among other linguistic devices.

The fifth chapter consists of the complete edition of the book O, as well as an explanation of the editorial conventions employed in the transcription of the text. It also includes the critical apparatus, explanatory notes, and the glossary.

Finally, the conclusions derived from this work are presented, along with the bibliographical material used to achieve the objectives, organised alphabetically into primary and secondary sources.

CHAPTER 2. TRAVEL LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

2.1. Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to frame the manual *Profitable Instructions* (1633) within the tradition of English-language travel literature. To this end, a definition of the genre is provided, which will help understand the structure / form, content, function, and dissemination of this type of literary material. In addition, a historical perspective of travel literature is offered, spanning from the present day back to the 17th century, the period in which the text under study was published. After this diachronic analysis of the genre, we will focus on describing *Profitable Instructions* within this literary tradition. Finally, the conclusions drawn from this chapter are presented.

2.2. Definition of travel literature

Travel literature has a long tradition in Western civilization from classical antiquity (consider the works of Herodotus in the 5th century BC) to the present day. In fact, writing and travel have always been closely intertwined, and stories of travellers are as old as fiction itself. Thus, among the oldest tales Hulme and Youngs (2002, p. 2) mention one composed in Egypt at the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, about a thousand years before the *Odyssey* was written, which tells the story of a sailor who survived a shipwreck on a marvellous island. Similarly, the Bible and the classical tradition are rich in examples of both literal and symbolic travel writing (the *Exodus*, the *punishment of Cain*, the *Argonauts*, the *Aeneid*, etc.).

This is a type of literature that has been cultivated by numerous authors throughout history, always enjoying great popularity. It is true, however, that in recent decades, studies on travel literature have experienced a strong revitalization, so much so that travel has become a key theme within the Humanities and Social Sciences due to its multidisciplinary nature, reaching unprecedented levels in the academic realm, as evidenced by recent critical studies on the genre (Roberson (2001); Hulme and Youngs (2002), Pettinger & Youngs (2019), among many others).

However, when attempting to define what is truly meant by travel literature, two main issues arise. On the one hand, this type of literature did not constitute a universally accepted category or genre until the late 20th century; on the other hand, there are differing perspectives regarding the type of content a text must contain to be classified as an example of travel literature. The issue becomes even more complicated, as has been noted in the numerous studies on the travel genre conducted by Fussell (1980; 1987), Dodd (1982), Barnes and Duncan (1992), Kowalewski (1992), Pratt (1992), Carrizo Rueda (1997), Holland and Huggan (1998), Clark (1999), Korte (2000), Hooper and Youngs (2004), Thompson (2015), Das & Youngs (2019) which are significant in terms of both their content and approach, due to the fact that travel literature is not isolated from other literary genres, nor from other types of discourse, as will be discussed later. To these dilemmas, one must add the multiple forms that these texts can take, with the typologies suggested varying not only in terms of form but also regarding the type of traveller or the type of content. Adams (1983), in *Travel Literature before 1800 – Its History, Its Types, Its Influence*, distinguishes the following formats in what is one of the most cited typologies:

- a. Travel notes
- b. Letters
- c. Diaries or Journals
- d. Travel narratives
- e. Autobiographical accounts ("autobiography or biography")
- f. Poems ("in the form of poems, or in prose that contains some poems")

According to Adams (1983, p. 43), in travel narratives, letters in both their formal and informal modes constitute one of the three most common models. The book under study in this work, which gathers three letters, would fall within the second category.

Regarding the type of traveller, Leed (1995) points out, for example, military, religious, merchant, or medical travellers; while Sherman (2002) includes editors, pilgrims, errant knights, merchants, explorers, colonisers, captives and castaways, ambassadors, pirates, and scientists in his typology of travellers. As for the content, it can also be highly heterogeneous. For instance, Roussel-Zuazu (2005) identifies aesthetic-cultural, economic-social, scientific-historical, and political-philosophical travel categories, among others. Amidst all this heterogeneity, Hernández Socas (2010, p. 23), in her study of books by German female travellers who visited the Canary Islands, turns to encyclopaedias and manuals and finds that, under the entry "travel literature" in the latest edition of the *Literaturwissenschaftliches Lexikon*, a definition is provided that addresses both content and form, explicitly stating that:

Travel literature broadly encompasses two main branches: a) that which studies travel texts with practical and purely informational purposes (even, if one wishes, promotional): these would include travel guides and brochures or scientific texts in the form of diaries or travel notes; and b) that one which, even with a real or fictional journey as its backdrop, is characterized by its literary aspirations: this would be the case with travel novels.

On the other hand, as Hernández Socas (2010, p. 23) rightly points out, this definition is problematic in that, on the one hand, it is not easy to determine the existence or absence of those "literary aspirations"; and, on the other hand, it does not specify whether the actual undertaking of the journey is truly essential: it is well known that there are many cases where the author "writes the text using sources at his disposal, without ever having visited the place they describe."

Considering this situation, authors such as Brenner (1990) have complained about the lack of consensus among researchers regarding not only the characteristics of travel literature, i.e., what the necessary elements that allow us to classify a text within this genre are, but also which works should be included in its corpus. To begin with, it seems obvious that a basic requirement is the existence of a journey, a movement through space and time by a traveller, another fundamental element. The next issue pertains to the authenticity of the journey, and here we adopt the words of Hernández Socas (2010, p. 19) when she writes:

It may seem obvious that when discussing literature, imaginary journeys cannot be excluded. While no one would hesitate to include imaginary accounts in the studies of travel literature—especially if they are penned by renowned writers—the next question that arises pertains to those texts that are nothing more than the written record of a real journey. Do these also deserve to be included in studies of travel literature? Or is this a matter solely for history, anthropology, or other scientific disciplines, but not for philology?

On the other hand, when examining the writers of both types of texts, new doubts arise regarding the motivations that drive them: should we consider only journeys undertaken voluntarily, or also those imposed by emigration or exile? If we take the latter into account, we thus assume that a return to the place of origin is not necessary. Furthermore, Ette (2001: 48-62) defends the idea of a circular movement [...] such that the travel book is characterized by a starting point, arrival, and return. Shouldn't the books written by an emigrant be considered travel books, as they are, after all, a product of his confrontation with a new and unfamiliar situation?

As previously mentioned elsewhere (González Cruz and González de la Rosa, 1996), the two dimensions of travel literature, the factual and the fictional, are well known. In the first one, the author describes landscapes, ethnicities, and cultures while narrating his impressions and the experiences lived during a journey that he has actually undertaken in real life. In the second, the writer lets his imagination soar, using his literary talents to tell us adventures—either entirely fantastical or with elements of reality—but which are, in any case, products of his creativity. While both modalities would fit into a broad definition of the genre, it does seem logical to draw a distinction between novels that use the framework of travel and actual experiences of the narrator in the form of a report or diary, as a technique with fictional purposes (which is very common in postmodernist novels), and the genuine travel narrative, as Galván (1991) points out.

It is true that more modern attempts to define travel literature have sought to limit the genre to narratives of real journeys. However, as Sherman (2002, p. 31) notes, "if travel books gave travellers licence to write, they also gave writers licence to travel: authors played with the boundaries between eyewitness testimony, second-hand information, and outright invention, and readers were often unsure whether they were reading truth or fiction."

Given all that has been said, it seems clear that travel literature presents itself as a multifaceted genre, both in terms of form and content. As Hooper and Youngs (2004, p. 3) state: "In much the same way that travel itself can be seen as a somewhat fluid experience, so too can travel writing be regarded as a relatively open-ended and versatile form."

Later, this same author refers to the distinction made, somewhat intuitively, in reference books, dictionaries, and encyclopaedias in German, between "the existence of a truly *literary* genre, with travel as the structuring element, and that of a *non-literary* genre, which, based on a real journey undertaken with a specific purpose or goal, recorded the observations and experiences of the traveller from various perspectives (historical, scientific, ethnographic, personal impressions, etc.)."

Galván (1991) specifies distinguishing features of this type of works. In addition to the usual first-person narration, these features include a detailed description of the landscape, the environment, and the customs of the visited place. In previous works (González Cruz and González de la Rosa, 1996, 1997, 2006, 2007), we have proposed one additional characteristic that, to a greater or lesser extent, seems to be common to many of these books: we refer to the authors' use of a considerable number of foreign terms and expressions specific to the language of the region they are visiting. In this sense, a new utility of these texts could be added: the study of the linguistic influences received by travellers as a result of their contact with the communities they visited. In fact, this possibility is corroborated by other studies that have examined the use of Hispanisms in travel texts about the Canary Islands, for example, by English authors (González Cruz, 2011a, 2011b), French authors (Corbella, 1991; Curell and G. de Uriarte, 1998, 2001; Vega y Vega, 2009), or German authors (Batista and Sarmiento, 2007; Tabares, Batista, and Sarmiento, 2009).

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, González Cruz and Vera Cazorla (2011c) have pointed out that travel literature is also related to the discourse of Otherness, a theme deeply connected to contemporary thought and cultural studies, where the antinomy of Self / the Other-the Others has a long tradition. The questions "Who am I?" and "Who are the Others?" have been posed from multiple perspectives in an attempt to define which identities can be considered normal and which are marginal. As Voestermans (1991, p. 221) clarifies, the discourse of Otherness is based on the contrast between Otherness/identity, where identity is defined as "the affirmation of who we are by contrasting nearly every element of our way of life with that of others." In the words of Corbey and Leerssen (1991, p. vi), "the circumscription of cultural identity proceeds by silhouetting it against a contrastive background of Otherness." These terms, 'identity' and 'Otherness' are closely tied to culture and are intimately related, making them inseparable.

In this sense, Weisz (2007, p. 11) highlights the importance of the exotic subject in literature. It refers to the concept of Otherness, often marked by a touch of the strange, the unknown; sometimes it represents a dangerous character, while at other times it becomes a source

of mysterious attraction. On the other hand, the cultural peculiarities of a particular group of people or social group often go unnoticed by its members and can only be appreciated when seen from the outside. This is precisely what happens in travel literature from the period focused on in this study, when the traveller encounters other cultures and has to explain, clarify, and justify these new realities. In these intercultural encounters, it is inevitable that one will tend to evaluate the merits and faults of the Others, by contrast with one's own, as we have noted elsewhere (González Cruz and González de la Rosa, 1998, pp. 45-46). Moreover, the attitudes, beliefs, values, and ideas of the author are often heavily influenced by the culture in which they live or travel, as can be observed in the three letters on which this work focuses. In the words of Mills (1991, p. 89), "far from being 'objective' descriptions of the way the nation is, these descriptions are largely determined by the socio-historical context within which they are written." Indeed, the instructions and advice given to novice travellers are conditioned by the complex and unfamiliar world that even the most experienced have faced throughout their travels. As recorded by Mills (1991, p. 86) from Fussell, these vicissitudes are the anomalies posed by the foreign country: "travel writing is an 'implicit quest for anomaly,' as if the travel writer were searching for something strange to describe. And yet, [...] this is only because in describing the anomaly the writer is affirming the societal norms of [his/hers]."

Therefore, for all the above reasons, we agree with Hulme and Youngs (2002, p. 10) when defining travel literature that it is perhaps best to consider it as a broad and ever-changing genre, with a complex history that has yet to be fully studied. Undoubtedly, defining this type of literature is also challenging because the forms and means of travel are constantly changing, and thus travel literature continues to evolve and will continue to do so, so that the genre is set to expand and broaden even further with space and virtual travel, as well as with the particular odysseys of the numerous refugees and migrants in the world today.

2.3. Travel literature in the English language. Diachronic perspective up to the 16th century

Before beginning our journey, it is important to remember that within the Christian tradition the journey is used as a symbol for human life itself. The importance of pilgrimages for Christianity motivated much of medieval travel literature and provided a framework for Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. To a large extent, pilgrims can be considered the predecessors of modern tourists; as Hulme and Youngs (2002, p. 2) put it, "a catering industry grew up to look after them, they followed set routes, and the sites they visited were packaged for them."

On the other hand, it must be noted that many of the themes and issues associated with modern travel literature today can be found in two medieval texts that continue to provoke both fascination and controversy. These are the narratives of Marco Polo and John Mandeville, which marked the beginning of a new impetus at the end of the Middle Ages and would transform the traditional paradigms of pilgrimage and crusade into new forms that would place more emphasis on observation and curiosity about other ways of life. In fact, although it is said that Christopher Columbus's first voyage to America marked a new beginning for travel literature, Columbus's writings are clearly influenced by both Mandeville and Marco Polo.

The continued critical attention to travel as a literary genre since the 1980s has led to a significant increase in studies of Early Modern English travel books, and this period and its broad field of study have ceased to be relegated, as has been asserted by various authors throughout the 20th century. Howard (1914), Stagl (1979), Kutter (1980), Witthöft (1980), Adams (1983), Hadfield (1998), Williamson (2011), Carey (2017), Carey, Gelléri & Ingram (2020) among others, highlight the attention that the travel corpus of the Renaissance period deserves, particularly its literary forms of expression and the utility that these manifestations provide. Therefore, when discussing Early Modern English travel literature, it must be noted that it is so varied that it may not be appropriate to describe it as a single genre, as Sherman (2002, pp. 30-32) rightly argues.

The style and tone of the texts are as different as their organization, always tending to reproduce the incidental nature of the journeys they describe. Thus, after addressing the readers and paying the required tribute to a patron, most narratives began with some form of justification for both the journey and the writing about the journey. Classical precedents were often invoked and listed, and biblical passages were sometimes quoted, as will be observed later in this work. Following this, the traveller's experiences were described either in the form of letters, essays, *sketches*, poems, dramatic pieces, etc. However, by the late 16th century, the most characteristic format was the report or account, where the chronological narration of events was combined with geographical and ethnographic observations. The narrator's voice in these texts could be either in the first or third person, depending on whether the author wanted to emphasize the travellers or what they encountered. Occasionally, models for the observation and evaluation of foreign countries emerged, always influenced by the colonial projects they served. An example is the 1606 text by Sir Thomas Palmer (*An Essay of the Means How to Make Our Travels into Foreign Countries the More Profitable and Honourable*), which "was part of a burgeoning genre teaching noble travellers what to look for in foreign countries, how to record their observations in writing, and how to communicate their knowledge upon their return" (Sherman, 2002, p. 30), which will be analysed in more detail in section 2.4.

Maps were an important element to attach to travel narratives, but they were much less common than one might expect. This was partly due to their high production costs and, on the other hand, because in a time of intense national and commercial rivalry, they were considered state secrets or commercial secrets. By the end of this period, however, as national states were consolidating, readers began to expect illustrations of increasingly higher quality, not only of exotic flora and fauna but also of ports and major cities. In "The perspective plan in the sixteenth century: The invention of a representational language," Lucia Nuti emphasizes the immense importance of images and geographical maps as reference documents and the profitability of this editorial genre for almost two centuries. Nuti (1994, p. 128) justifies the success of images during the period by explaining that they fulfilled the expectations of 16th-century culture because it resulted of the direct observation of what was being contemplated. Future readers of travel books of all kinds published at this time will be rewarded with the groundbreaking publication of the first volume of the series *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Braun and Hogenberg, 1572), which not only marks a milestone in the publishing world but, as Braun emphasizes, broadens the range of potential map buyers:

The market for maps was already extensive, but the editors of the *Civitates* tried to expand it even more, to reach all potential customers. Theirs was a very ambitious target, as Braun demonstrates in his definition of his prospective readers: the traveler in search of a guide for the places he is going to visit; the merchant keen to find out about the commercial sites and trading customs; the military man eager to become familiar with the defence system of his imminent objectives; the citizen hungry for a deeper knowledge of his own country; and finally the scholar wishing for a round-the-world trip, while comfortably ensconced in his chair, and free of the costs and risks of a real journey. (Nuti, 1994, pp. 105-107)

On the other hand, the earliest works of English travel literature employ complex rhetorical strategies. Authors had to strike a balance between the known and the unknown, between the traditional imperatives of persuasion and entertainment, as well as between their individual interests and those of their patrons, employers, and monarchs. Due to these diverse aims, early modern travel writers were torn between the conflicts of pleasing the reader and providing practical guidance, of recording data and narrating it, or of describing what happened while suggesting what might have happened. These rhetorical challenges, combined with the novelty of their experiences, plunged the travel writer into significant issues of authenticity and credibility, so that myths and stereotypes give way to a genuine association between travel and lying.

It is not surprising that the first travel publications in English were translations of foreign works. Sherman (2002, p. 20) refers to the Swiss physician Thomas Platter, who, upon visiting London in 1599, wrote in his diary: "the English for the most part do not travel much but prefer to learn foreign matters and take their pleasures at home." In more than half of the regions visited by travellers during this early period, translations always preceded the works of English travellers. This was the case because at the beginning of the earliest period the possibilities for travel were limited, both physically and by government regulations, through the granting of permits. Long-distance travel within England was slow and dangerous, and subject to laws against vagrancy. Permission to travel outside of England's borders and the restrictions on dealing with state matters during the Elizabethan period greatly influenced the content of works and private correspondence of the time. As Hadfield (1998, p. 2) points out, the distinctly political character of travel narratives and colonial literature from this period is a faithful reflection of the complex political context and one of the peculiarities that explain them.

In strictly Elizabethan terms, the growth of travel writing is inseparable from a new "map" of English ambition: the Atlantic, the Mediterranean trade routes, and the northern and eastern corridors that promised access to wealth without depending on Iberian monopoly. Voyages, reconnaissance missions, and commercial ventures generated an expanding demand for reports, descriptions, and practical guidance, and printed compilations helped transform scattered experiences into a shared narrative of national opportunity (Andrews, 1984; Canny, 1998). In this context, accounts of the New World were never just "curiosities": they also worked as arguments, about resources, navigation, prestige, and, very often, about religious identity in a Europe fractured by confessional conflict (Greenblatt, 1991; Hadfield, 1998).

This outward movement also had a clear courtly "inside". Travel, especially travel abroad, was controlled, licensed, and politically monitored, because the Elizabethan court feared the

circulation of sensitive information as much as it desired intelligence and influence overseas. As a result, the travel scene was shaped by patronage networks, diplomatic routines, and a culture of service in which mobility could function as training for government, negotiation, and war (MacCaffrey, 1968; Hadfield, 1998). It is precisely within this environment that figures such as Sidney and Essex become relevant: their international commitments, their Protestant alignment, and their visibility at court made travel a form of public positioning as well as personal formation. In practical terms, this atmosphere conditions what travel texts do: they teach not only where to go and what to see, but also how to observe “usefully”, how to write cautiously, and how to turn experience into knowledge that can be carried back into the political space of the court (Hammer, 1999; Sherman, 1995).

Seen from that angle, the rise of prescriptive travel advice (including *ars apodemica*) responds to a very specific pressure. Travel is increasingly expected of educated elites, yet it remains risky, politically charged, and socially regulated. By the early Stuart decades, when overseas enterprise begins to take more permanent forms, and when expansion, trade, and intelligence become even more systematised, the rationale for “profitable” travel advice becomes stronger, not weaker (Andrews, 1984; Canny, 1998). *Profitable Instructions* (1633) can therefore be read not as an isolated text, but as part of a longer Elizabethan-to-Stuart continuum in which travel is reframed as disciplined observation, cultural performance, and serviceable information-gathering.

The following table, taken from Sherman (2002, p. 21), who in turn follows the list from Cox, *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel*, enumerates the number of works originally written in English and those translated into English, by regions, during the period between 1500 and 1700. These data in Table 2.1. clearly highlight the impact of the emerging American colonies on both the subject matter and the pace of English travel publications. It also reflects the fact that, around the year 1600, the only geographical areas for which there were no travel narratives in English were Australia and Antarctica.

Table 2.1. English travel books by region 1500-1700 (with date of earliest publication)

Primary region of travel	Written in English (date)	Translated into English (date)
Collections	9 (1582)	4 (1553)
Circumnavigations	5 (1598)	2 (1555)
Western Europe	59 (1522)	19 (1549)
Northern Europe	1 (1694)	8 (1561)
Eastern Europe	9 (1591)	4 (1672)
East Indies	25 (1603)	19 (1576)
West Indies	24 (1569)	7 (1577)
Central Asia	4 (1601)	5 (1590)

(continue)

(continued)

Primary region of travel	Written in English (date)	Translated into English (date)
Far East	2 (c. 1500)	23 (1503)
Near East	33 (1511)	10 (1529)
Africa	30 (1538)	15 (1554)
Northwest Passage/Greenland	13 (1576)	1 (1694)
North America	139 (1581)	7 (1563)
South America	18 (1596)	15 (1568)
South Seas / Australia	0	1 (1617)
Fictitious Travels	12 (1516)	10 (1581)
Directions for Travellers	27 (c. 1500)	4 (1575)

During the 16th century, writing became an essential part of travel, and documentation an integral aspect of the activity. Those financing the journeys, whether for political or commercial purposes, wanted reports and maps; at the same time, stories of remote places sparked public interest, which in turn was a way to attract investments.

The discovery of the New World had a significant impact on the writing of travel texts in English at the beginning of the 16th century, as evidenced in Thomas More's *Utopia* ((1551) 1516), where a fictional traveller, Raphael Hythloday, accompanies Amerigo Vespucci on his journey to America.

The oldest collection of travel writings in the English language is Richard Eden's *The Decades of the New World*, published in 1555. It is a translation of various letters and reports, including one based on the exploration of Christopher Columbus and his successors, written by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, also known as Peter Martyr. In fact, English travel literature began much later than its Spanish counterpart. However, as Hulme and Youngs (2002, p. 7) rightly point out, "soon produced all kinds of accounts – scientific travel, voyages of exploration and discovery, descriptions of foreign manners – about almost all parts of the world."

Another prominent figure is the editor and geographer Richard Hakluyt, who built a national epic by starting to collect and publish the texts of the earliest English travellers in his *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582) and *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589; 1598-1600). According to Carey (2009, p. 167) in "Hakluyt's Instructions: The Principal Navigations and Sixteenth-Century Travel Advice," Hakluyt's work constitutes "a third genre of travel advice in the sixteenth century, together with Humanist contributions to the art of travel (the *ars apodemica*) and the Spanish questionnaires developed in the 1570s to administer their empire." Undoubtedly, this demonstrates the volume of narratives surrounding travel. It is important to emphasize, in this regard, that the focus of our interest in this work lies in the contributions of the Humanists (*ars apodemica*).

Hakluyt advocated for the creation of a history of travel based solely on the testimonies of the travellers themselves, seeking only firsthand accounts. However, as Hulme and Youngs (2002, p. 3) point out, he lacked systematization, as in his second edition (1598-1600) he excluded Mandeville for falsification but retained the Arthurian legends. This indicates that the distinction between reality and fiction was important to at least some of the readers in the 16th century. Nevertheless, it was acknowledged that the true power of travel literature lay in its independence of perspective. The power of this individuality was also emphasized by Samuel Purchas, the second of the collectors of English travel texts and a fervent promoter of a national ideology. In the *Introduction* to his work, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625), he argues that it contains everything the travellers had seen with their own eyes, having been there, which was sufficient evidence to put an end to any speculation.

There are many travel books in which we can observe the significant contribution of numerous British authors to the continuity of this genre from the 16th century, coinciding with the Renaissance drive to chart and monopolize trade routes to the New World. We find works that describe the most remote places on the planet to which the British, travellers par excellence, had arrived. Alongside the accounts of their visits to distant and exotic sites such as Richard Hawkins' *Voyage into the South Sea* (1593), Richard Hasleston' *Strange and Wonderful Things* (1595), and Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* (1596), we could add others that might be somewhat closer to us, such as *A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Islands, Called the Islands of Canaria, with Their Strange Fruits and Commodities. Very Delectable to Read to the Praise of God* (1583), a work that his author, the English merchant Thomas Nicholas, dedicated to Master John Wolley, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and which was the first book about the Canary Islands to be published in London; or the text "Briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the English Merchants to the Canarie Islands", included in the collection of voyages compiled in the work mentioned above, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published by the Englishman Hakluyt between 1589 and 1600.

This literary tradition would continue into the following centuries, fostered by what the English referred to as *The Grand Tour*, a journey lasting approximately two years that complemented the education of young people from the upper classes, and was given the same importance as Rhetoric and Philosophy. The trend of the *Grand Tour* emerged at the end of the 17th century and led to the publication of numerous books by enlightened travellers. The global decline of Spain caused the country to be excluded from the circuit of Enlightenment travellers (Brandis, 1988). The British were the first to deviate from typical routes and to begin frequenting the Iberian Peninsula from 1770, attracted by the picturesque aspects of our culture (Raquejo, 1990). The taste for the exotic, unleashed by the new romantic values of the 19th century, sparked an increasing passion for travel, which was further supported by modern and revolutionary steam navigation and the development of the railway. This passion continued with even greater intensity throughout the 20th century.

In general, in addition to the recognized literary value of works in this genre, it should not be forgotten that many of these texts served as the most valuable source of information about

non-European lands and cultures that Western men were exploring, which also gives them undeniable historical value. This is the case with the famous collection by Hakluyt, previously cited, or with the numerous works by 19th-century authors such as Livingstone, Stanley, or Sir Richard Burton. However, as González Cruz (1995, pp. 20-21) points out, after more than three centuries of serving as an informational source, by the 18th century, the genre began to become more cautious, less sensationalistic, and, in the words of Morales Lezcano (1966-69, pp. 188-190), "not only with an informative and Herodotean purpose, but also aspiring to faithfully describe and test hypotheses, if not to dethrone idols, commonplaces, or stereotypical perceptions."

The English travel books about the Canary Islands published in the 19th century have been classified by Morales Lezcano into two branches: on the one hand, those focused on the scientific and naturalist perspective, among which two schools stood out, the French school (primarily historicist, archaeological, or naturalist in nature –René Verneau, Sabin Berthelot, Eugene Pegôt-Ogier) and the German school (more interested in geology and botany – Leopold von Buch, Dr. August Petermann, Jan Frederik Schütz).

The second branch is what Morales Lezcano refers to as *the essay and colourist approach*, which includes "the diaries of residents, stays of artists, convalescents, and miscellaneous writings in general." The accounts of these travellers, endowed with strong observational skills, "represent, despite their foreign condition, an irreplaceable source of positive information and questionable but stimulating viewpoints on the insular reality and its potential improvement" (Morales Lezcano, 1966-69, pp. 192-193). In this regard, there is an abundance of writings by Englishmen who, both in the press and in their travel accounts, describe the territories for literary reasons; but also artistic (landscape painting), scientific (due to their interest in Geology, Botany, and Astronomy), medical, or simply tourist-related (González Cruz, 1995, p. 24).

By the 20th century, one of the most significant changes in travel literature, according to Hulme (2002, 91-93), dates back to the late 1970s and is associated with Bruce Chatwin's *In Patagonia* (1977), a work that contributed in an interesting and early manner to postcolonial speculation. Another significant push in the field of travel literature in this century has come from feminism, applying principles developed in women's literary studies. An indisputable example is Sara Mills's *Discourses of Difference* (1991), which sparked a debate both within and outside the colonial context that remains today, about whether (and how) women write differently from men.

In addition to postcolonial literary studies and gender studies, other disciplines linked to travel literature include History, Geography, Anthropology, Ethnography, Cultural Studies, and Linguistics, while in Sociology, studies have focused more on tourism and other traveller metaphors and practices. Similarly, Translation Studies have added another dimension to travel, focusing not only on language translation but also on cultures.

2.4. The manual *Profitable Instructions* in the tradition of travel literature

As the 16th century progresses, the renewed humanist mindset of the Renaissance, much more interested in the surrounding world, significantly multiplies the purposes of the journeys undertaken. The Crusades and medieval pilgrimage journeys gradually give way to exploration, conquest, commercial transactions, and civic formation – a *sine qua non* requirement if one was to undertake state duties – among other secular purposes, which would help define the evolution of the genre in the following centuries, as seen in the previous sections.

The proliferation of journeys undertaken would notably shape the sensibility of this period, attesting to what Carey (2003, p. 109) describes as a decisive link in the development of the history of travel:

The early modern period marks an important point of transition in the history of travel. Travel served an increasingly secular function, defined by interests of trade, colonization and the attainment of civility. These purposes might be laudable at one level, but they were not principally religious; they were not the motives of the missionary or pilgrim.

As pointed out in section 2.3., one of the literary forms of 16th-century travel literature can be found in what is defined as *ars apodemica*¹ or “the art of travel.” It is a formal corpus of instructions created by the most learned humanists of the time on how to travel, what to observe, and what to record when undertaking a journey, because despite the enthusiasm and curiosity that the Renaissance man professed for travel, there is hardly any methodological doctrine on the subject. As McInnis (2013, p. 2) explains, referring to Carey:

The purpose of methodising (or regularizing) travel in the manner insisted upon by these *ars apodemica* treatises is to maximize the utility of travel through a reliably systematic procedure for information collection; in other words, to define ‘a set of norms and expectations for travel in a crucial era in which it was redefined as a secular activity designed to serve the interests of the state’.

Although in the Middle Ages instructions and advice were given through itineraries, travel guides, diaries, and chronicles, humanists – especially in the last quarter of the 16th century –, endeavoured to universalize and systematize, in the words of Stagl (1995, pp. 52-57), all the advice and recommendations surrounding travel to enhance the intellectual and personal benefit of the traveller. Among the various humanist works that reflect on travel, we find documents in the form of letters, prayers, aphorisms, maxims, proverbs, and emblems (Stagl, 1995, p. 51). From *To the Reader*, the didactic and epistemological purpose of *Profitable Instructions* is clearly outlined, which is that of *ars apodemica*: “For this purpose, diuers learned men haue prescribed rules and precepts, which haue done much good [...] It hath therfore been much desired that some men who had themselues bin trauellers, and had made least vse of their trauels, would giue some vnfailling directions to others” (A6r-v).

As Stagl (1995, p. 97) emphasizes, in the Early Modern period, it is encouraged and expected that anyone who seeks to be instructed and educated should travel, an argument that is also reflected in *To the Reader* as well as in Letter 1. This purpose entails, among other activities,

¹ Cf. the studies of various authors, including J. Stagl et al. (1983); J. Stagl (1990) and (1995); Rubiés (1996).

visiting and conversing with scholars in order to benefit from their knowledge, with whom a subsequent epistolary relationship is usually established. This, in turn, has a twofold benefit. On the one hand, it allows the relationship to transcend the realm of everyday life, and on the other hand, it allows the relationship to extend to other people, a matter to which the Earl of Essex appeals to the reader in Letter 1.

Around 1575, the travels to foreign lands of some of the most prominent nobles and aristocrats at the English court, such as Edward Dyer, Gilbert Talbot, the Earl of Hertford, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Philip Sidney, sparked the interest of printers in publishing books aimed at those about to embark on a journey. This initiated what Howard (1914, p. 3) refers to as the cosmopolitan nature of English society in the 16th and 17th centuries. The same author points out that, in addition to the didactic aspect, the learning of new languages and the discovery of other cultures, another major factor contributing to the transformation and rise of travel during this period is related to the geopolitical order of England and its involvement in the more immediate reality of Europe: "The ambition of Henry VIII to be a power in European politics opened the liveliest intercourse with the Continent. It was soon found that a special combination of qualities was needed in the ambassadors to carry out his aspirations" (1914, p. 9). Not surprisingly, according to Adams (1983, p. 51), the English diplomatic service left numerous documents of their mission in foreign territories, thus contributing to the image projected of Elizabethan rule and English travellers, who were already categorized as travellers par excellence: "Elizabeth is reported by Sir John Davies to have 'had many Secretaries that have been great Travaylers'."

This exhaustive planning of the journey has its origins in the humanist circles of the time, primarily in Germany, some countries in Central and Northern Europe, and England. Thus, we find the Swiss Theodor Zwinger, following Aristotelian logic in his work *Methodus apodemica in eorum gratiam qui cum fructu in quocunque tandem vitae genere peregrinari cupiunt*, published in 1577. In the Preface to *Methodus apodemica*, as Stagl (1995, pp. 121-122) emphasizes, Zwinger proposes to gather all the information about the journey and the correspondence it produces, with the aim of making it accessible to anyone. In the same vein, we must highlight the works of the jurists Hieronymus Turler and Hugo Blotius, and the physician and humanist Hilarius Pyrckmair, renowned empiricists of the Renaissance, whose works circulated widely across Europe and were also translated into English, as well as those of the Englishmen Andre Boorde and Thomas Wilson. The doctrine of logic or humanist dialectics, proposed by the French scholar Pierre de la Ramée, or Petrus Ramus -of whom Zwinger was a pupil- became the practical instrument applied to all the activities on which a coherent corpus would be developed, including the journey itself. His book *Institutiones Dialecticae* (1543), with its elaborate synoptic charts -as can be seen in the thematic arrangement of the manual of instructions in our volume-, became "the most influential textbook of the 16th century" (Stagl, 1995, p. 107). In this sense, travel is organised in a rational and systematic way as a "formal 'art'."

Among the literary forms that provide advice or instructions to travellers, we find personal letters offering guidance to novice travellers: "It was the convention for a young man about to travel to apply to some experienced or elderly friend, and for that friend to disburden a torrent of maxims after the manner of Polonius" (Howard, 1914, p. 12), as is the case in *Profitable Instructions*.

On numerous occasions, these personal letters are made public due to the political, social, or intellectual relevance of the correspondents. As Stagl (1995, pp. 97-98) argues, Humanist letters were semi-public documents intended to be displayed, and in this regard, he adds:

Having many partners in correspondence was a cultural as well as a social asset. Through travel and correspondence, enduring personal relationships were established among the educated across Europe. Informal and polycentric, this network of relationships escaped the control of the established powers of church and state. [...] The educated classes participating in this network made up a self-conscious and interactive group, called by its most famous leader, Erasmus of Rotterdam, the "Republic of Letters" (*res publica literaria*). [...] Thus travel, correspondence and documentation became more closely interwoven than they had ever been before.

It can easily be observed that the writers of the letters are aware that these are not strictly private documents. This fact is confirmed by the apostille that the Earl of Rutland makes in the Postscript of Letter 1, addressing other scholars, suggesting that they may disagree with his classification of the gifts of the mind:

If any curious scholler happening to see this discourse shall quarrell with my diuision of the gifts of the minde, because he findeth it not perhaps in his booke, and saith that health and euen temper of mind is a kind of strength, and so I haue erred against the rule that *Membra diuidenda non debent confundi*. I answer him the qualities of health and strength, as I haue set them downe, are not only vnlike, but meer contraries, for the one bindeth the mind and restraineth it. The other raiseth and inlargeth it (*Profitable instructions*, pp. 72-73).

In their efforts to systematize travel, numerous treatises and essays were published around a formal doctrine of travel following the method promoted by Petrus Ramus. Howard dedicates the first section of the bibliography in his book *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (1914) to the forty-nine volumes of similar nature and intention, among which *Profitable Instructions* (1633) is included. These works, published between 1500 and 1700 in Latin and the vernacular languages, focus on *ars apodemica*, as outlined below (data taken from the same source):

Chronological table of advice to travellers, 1500-1700

Year	Author(s)	Title (short)	Publication details
1561	Gratarolus, Guilhelmus	<i>De Regimine Iter Agentium</i>	Basileae, 1561
1570–71	Cecil, William	<i>Letter to Edward Manners</i>	State Papers, Elizabeth, vol. LXXVII, No. 6
1574	Turlerus, Hieronymus	<i>De Peregrinatione...</i>	Argentorati, 1574
1575	Turler, Jerome	<i>The Traveiler of Jerome Turler...</i>	London, 1575
1577	Pyrckmair, Hilarius	<i>Commentariolus de arte apodemica</i>	Ingolstadii, 1577
1577	Zvingerus, Theodor	<i>Methodus apodemica</i>	Basileae, 1577

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Year	Author(s)	Title (short)	Publication details
1578	Bourne, William	<i>A booke called the Treasure for travelers</i>	London, 1578
1578	Bourne / Hood	<i>A Regiment for the Sea</i>	London, 1578
1578	Lipsius, Justus	<i>De ratione cum fructu peregrinandi</i>	Epistolae Selectae, fol. 106, Paris, 1610
1580	Sidney, Philip	<i>Letter on travel advice</i>	In Collins' <i>Letters and Memorials of State</i> , London, 1746
1587	Pighius, S. V.	<i>Hercules Prodicus</i>	Antverpiae, 1587
1587	Meierus, Albertus	<i>Methodus describendi regna...</i>	Helmstadii, 1587
1589	Anonymous (tr. Philip Jones)	<i>Certaine briefe and special instructions...</i>	London, 1589
1592	Stradling, John	<i>A Direction for Travailers</i>	London, 1592
1595	Devereux, Robert	<i>Profitable instructions</i>	Harl. MS. 6265, p. 428
1595(?)	Davison, William	<i>Instructions for Travel</i>	Harl. MS. 6893
1598	Loysius, Georgius	<i>Pervigilium Mercurii</i>	Curiae Variscorum, 1598
1598	Dallington, Robert	<i>A Method for Travell</i>	London (N.D.), Thomas Creede
c.1600	Anonymous	<i>A True Description and Direction... Italy</i>	In <i>Harleian Miscellany</i> , vol. V
1604	Pitsius, Joannes	<i>De Peregrinatione libri septem</i>	Dusseldorpii, 1604
1605(?)	Neugebauer, Salomon	<i>Tractatus de peregrinatione...</i>	Basileae
1606	Palmer, Thomas	<i>An Essay of the Meanes...</i>	London, 1606
1608	Ranzovinus, Henricus	<i>Methodus apodemica</i>	Argentinae, 1608
1609	Greville, Fulke	<i>A Letter of Travell</i>	In <i>Works</i> , London, 1633
1611	Kirchnerus, Hermannus	<i>On why young men should travel</i>	In <i>Coryat's Crudities</i> , London, 1611
1616	Sincerus, Iodocus	<i>Itinerarium Galliae</i>	Lugduni, 1616
1617	Moryson, Fynes	<i>Of Travel in General...</i>	In <i>Itinerary</i> , ed. 1907
1622	Peacham, Henry	<i>The Compleat Gentleman</i>	Oxford, 1906 (1634 ed.)
1625	Bacon, Francis	<i>Of Travel</i>	In <i>Works</i> , London, 1859

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Year	Author(s)	Title (short)	Publication details
1631	Erpenius, Thomas	<i>De Peregrinatione Gallica...</i>	Lugduni Batavorum, 1631
1633	Devereux, Robert	<i>Profitable Instructions</i>	London, 1633
1637	Wotton, Henry	<i>Letter of instruction</i>	In <i>Life and Letters</i> , 1907
1639	Du Verdier	<i>Le Voyage de France</i>	Paris, 1639
1642	Howell, James	<i>Instructions for Forreine Travell</i>	London, 1642
1652	Evelyn, John	<i>The State of France...</i>	London, 1652
1653	Zeiler, Martin	<i>Fidus Achates...</i>	Ulmae, 1653
1656	Osborn, Francis	<i>Travel (in Advice to a Son)</i>	Ed. Parry, London, 1896
1662	Howell, James	<i>A New English Grammar...</i>	London, 1662
c.1665	Hyde, Edward	<i>A Dialogue concerning Education</i>	In <i>Several Tracts</i> , London 1727
1665	Gerbier, Balthazar	<i>Subsidium Peregrinantibus</i>	Oxford, 1665
1670	Lassels, Richard	<i>The Voyage of Italy</i>	Paris/London, 1670
1670	Lassels, Richard	<i>A Letter of Advice...</i>	Dublin, 1670
1671	Leigh, Edward	<i>Three Diatribes...</i> (Part 1: Travel)	London, 1671
1678	Gailhard, J.	<i>The Compleat Gentleman</i>	London, 1678
1688	Anonymous	<i>A Letter of Advice...</i>	London, 1688
1688	Carr, Will	<i>Remarks... with directions to travel</i>	Amsterdam, 1688
1690	Anonymous	<i>The Traveller's Guide</i>	London? 1690?
1693	Locke, John	<i>Some Thoughts concerning Education</i>	London, 1699 (4th ed.)
1695	Misson, Maximilian	<i>A New Voyage to Italy</i>	London, 2 vols., 1695

Stagl (1995, p. 70), in his preliminary study on *ars apodemica*, however, counts approximately three hundred texts from the late 16th century to the late 18th century. In this context, the work *Profitable Instructions* (1633) is framed, as it compiles in an easily accessible and portable format, all the information that the traveller should gather during his journeys in his duty to acquire civic education. As repeatedly pointed out in both letters, the traveller's observation is fundamental when embarking on a journey. Gathering information about the politics and society of the places visited is essential for the education of a gentleman, especially when he is to be entrusted with state duties. Civic education, aimed at engaging in politics, and the maxim

"travel teaches," take on paramount importance in the instructions to travellers, as evidenced by the persuasive words Benjamin Fisher addresses to the reader in *To the Reader*.

When examining the influence of the issues most discussed by essayists on travel during this period, Carey (2003, pp. 108-109) concludes that one can speak of what he calls "metadiscourse on travel" or the "moral theory of travel." Among the most debated themes in many works is the transcendental importance of identity and cultural exchange when embarking on a journey:

Essayists provided what might be called a "moral theory of travel", and their worries focused on the moment of return and the traveller's reincorporation into the society from which he departed. The return would not have been problematic in itself without the fear (and evident reality) that when they returned, travellers were somehow altered in their identity and affiliations.

As can be observed, not everything concerning travel is viewed as entirely positive and uncritically praised. The potential benefit of secular travel, as opposed to travel inspired by a more spiritual mission, is a highly debated topic in the 16th and 17th centuries. In this regard, as noted in *To the Reader* and in both letters, and as Carey (2003, p. 109) points out: "The lack of a more stable spiritual foundation led many observers to conclude that expeditions to the Continent or further afield occasioned great risks." The traveller is warned in all these texts about the potential risks and the necessary precautions involved in such endeavours, at a time when the sense of belonging to a nation and professing a particular religion must be firmly rooted to prevent the moral rehabilitation of the traveller upon his return. Hence, Benjamin Fisher's fervent recommendation to the traveller in *To the Reader* and his concern to ensure moral integrity in all respects: "Howeuer it be, fit it is that all young trauellers should receiue an antidot against the infectious ayre of other countries" (A5v-A6r). In this sense, both Howard (1914) and Carey (2003, p. 109) agree in noting that religion is one of the most recurring themes in the advice given to travellers: "it was the possession of a fixed or stable religious identity that made it possible to acquire the secular benefits of travel," as also observed in the warnings from the Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland in Letter 1.

The traveller must observe all aspects related to the society they visit, and these are organised into three levels: the country, the people, and the form of government. They encompass everything from geographical conditions, economy, politics, and religion to the social structure of the visited country and are in turn subdivided into various levels. The details that must be considered will result in a physical map that not only reveals the reality of the visited territory but also provides the traveller with an awareness of it at a time when, as previously noted, the development of cartography encourages travellers to explore places topographically.

Collecting this information is not a trivial matter, as the goal is to understand all the details that can be useful, not only for the traveller himself, but also for the society he comes from, due to the social dimension of travel in the effort to verify what must be known and recorded. Von Martels (1995, p. xii) speaks of what he calls "the talent of observation," the ability to look and observe, which the Renaissance culture deploys and institutionalizes as "the culture of the eye," a concept that is emphasized throughout *Profitable Instructions*. It is about traveling, not for the mere sake of it, but as Philip Sidney underscores in Letter 2, "with the eye of *Vlisses*" (p. 81), with the prodigious talent of Ulysses, to achieve wisdom and, in doing so, gain a cosmopolitan view of the world.

In conclusion, *Profitable Instructions* aims to provide the traveller with a catalogue of essential aspects to consider during his journeys, which they should utilize for their comprehensive education, along with a brief discussion of the overall benefits of travel. Those who travel acquire knowledge and, therefore, what they say holds proven value beyond any pretentious or hollow attitude, as concluded in Letter 1:

Your Lordship now seeth that the end of study, conference, and obseruation is knowledge. You must know also that the true end of knowledge is clearenesse and strength of iudgement, and not ostentation, or ability to discourse, which I doe the rather put your Lordship in mind of because the most part of noblemen and gentlemen of our time haue no other vse nor end of their learning but their table-talke. But God knoweth they haue gotten little that haue onely this discoursing gift. For though like empty vessels they sound loud when a man knockes vpon their outsides, yet if you peere into them, you shall finde that they are full of nothing but winde (pp. 65-68).

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a literary contextualization of *Profitable Instructions*. The interest in secular travel, as opposed to religious travel, during the 16th and 17th centuries led to the creation of a series of manuals that describe aspects of travel with political, commercial, social, intellectual, and economic significance. In summary, this was a period of expansion in all senses, including an increased interest in the new and the exotic, as reflected in *Profitable Instructions*, which has been suitably reviewed in this work. This manual, which borrows literary forms and styles from other genres, such as letters, presents in a simple format the information that every traveller should gather during his journeys. This information also has a distinctly formative character, as the intention is for the traveller to acquire a set of skills that will allow for his development as both an individual and a professional in the world around him, whether in his own homeland or in a foreign place.

In this respect, one of the most important conclusions of this chapter is to characterize *Profitable Instructions* as a manual belonging to *ars apodemica*, which we have done by using the concept of knowledge as central framework and the experience of travel as holistic formation of the individual. All this has been appropriately supported with examples taken from the text.

CHAPTER 3. CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF *PROFITABLE INSTRUCTIONS* (1633)

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter the technical details related to O are presented, including the description of the content of the book. The technical data cover aspects such as the date, material support, book dimensions, type of binding, decoration, and the use of catchwords, among others. There is also a section devoted to the use of the English language in O, where all grammatical categories are described. Finally, a summary of the provided data is given.

3.2. Physical description and cataloguing data of O

The following presents the technical and cataloguing data of O. For this, the online catalogue of the Huntington Library² has been consulted, where this copy of the book is listed with the catalogue number 30053 in the Rare Books Department. It is catalogued in the STC with number 6789³ and in the ESTC with number S109627⁴. Specific information about the volume is provided concisely in the following subsections.

3.2.1. Full title and short title

The full title of the volume is *Profitable instructions; describing what special obseruations are to be taken by trauellers in all nations, states and countries; pleasant and profitable. By the three much admired, Robert, late Earle of Essex. Sir Philip Sidney. And, Secretary Davison*. The short title is *Profitable instructions*, also known as *Excellent instructions for travellers*.

² <http://catalog.huntington.org>, last accessed August 24th, 2024.

³ STC: A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, editors: *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*. Second edition, revised and enlarged, begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by K. F. Pantzer. London: The Bibliographical Society. Vol. I (A-H). 1986. Vol. II (I-Z). 1976. Vol. III (Indexes, addenda, corrigenda). 1991.

⁴ *English Short-Title Catalogue*, <http://estc.bl.uk/>.

3.2.2. Authors

Several authors contribute to the volume: (a) Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, 1566-1601, (b) Sir Philip Sidney, 1554-1586, (c) William Davison, 1541-1608, and (d) Benjamin Fisher. There are doubts about the authorship of Robert Devereux, and some authors suggest that the letter from Essex to Rutland may have been written by Bacon (Williamson, 2011, p. 3ff), as outlined in section 3.4., later in this work. The same applies to the manual of instructions, which lacks a signature, but is attributed to William Davison, as noted by Lowndes (1834, p. 1834): "presumed to be by Secretary Davison." Below is a brief description of the biographies of these authors.

3.2.2.1. Benjamin Fisher

There is no reference in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Stephen, 2010). It also does not appear in the *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*. However, we find a reference to Benjamin Fisher in the database of the *Consortium of European Research Libraries*

(CERL) with the identifier cnp00014560 (<http://thesaurus.cerl.org/cgi-bin/record.pl?rid=cnp00014560>). This entry is related to the publication of Sir Walter Raleigh's *Instrvctions to his sonne and to posterity* (1632). Although there are no specific references about this printer and bookseller, his activity was extensive and included books on medicine, history, grammar, religious content, and more. Among these works, we cite the following as examples: *The Attourneys Academy* (1623), *The patrimony of Christian Children* (1624), *A spiritual preseruatiue against the plague* (1625), *The Historie of the Life and Reigne of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth* (1630), *Death Duell, or A Consolation to the Soule* (1633) and *The Sermons of Master Henry Smith* (1637). On the basis of the information given in his titles, he moved his bookshop from Paternoster Row to Aldersgate Street in London between 1625-1626.



Image 3.1. Paternoster Row (A) and Aldersgate Street (B), 1593
(John Norden's Map, Wikipedia, public domain image)

3.2.2.2. William Davison

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1888: 179-188), William Davison (1541?-1608), of Scottish descent, was Secretary to Queen Elizabeth I and was responsible for several diplomatic missions in Scotland as well as outside the British Isles, particularly in the Netherlands (cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/152873/William-Davison>). Numerous holographic documents remain from these travels, detailing these diplomatic efforts and his experiences in these regions. His relationship with the monarchy was tainted by the matter of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was in constant conflict with her cousin Elizabeth I over secession issues. Davison was one of the 46 members of the commission that judged Mary I for treason. After the execution, Davison was arrested by order of Elizabeth I, as she believed that Davison had implied that she had ordered the execution, rather than the commission set up to judge Mary. Elizabeth never wanted to be directly involved in this matter, despite her role, as she signed the execution order, which Davison himself was tasked with sending, and he was held responsible for it:

The dispatch of the warrant for executing the Queen of Scots, formed that era in the life of William Davison, to which he owes his celebrity; but it was the cause of his loss of rank and fortune, and reduced him from a state of affluence to poverty and obscurity [...] Before her Majesty had resolved on allowing the Queen of Scots to fall by the axe of the executioner, it is almost certain that it was deliberated in her cabinet, whether it was not preferable that she should perish by the hand of an assassin. Elizabeth's wishes were decidedly for the latter course, because it would remove the odium of Mary's death from herself, and have enabled her to sacrifice those who employed him (Nicolas, 1823, pp. 75-76).

Despite the numerous expressions of support that the Secretary received from several nobles, including Robert Devereux himself, W. Davison was sentenced to a period of imprisonment and required to pay a fine, which led him to poverty, as noted in the DNB. However, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* presents a very different situation: "Davison was released in September 1589; he seems never to have paid the fine; his annuity as secretary, granted to him for life, was paid to him until his death; and he continued to receive a secretary's share of the profits of the signet until Walsingham's death in 1590⁵." What does seem certain is that he was never reinstated in his position.

3.2.2.3. Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex

Born on November 10, 1567, in Netherwood, Herefordshire, England, and passing away on February 25, 1601, in London, Robert Devereux was an English soldier and a member of Queen Elizabeth I's court. He was the son of Walter Devereux, the first Earl of Essex, and Lettice Knollys. His father can be considered a representation of the old nobility, while his mother represents the new nobility. He was the great-grandson of Mary Boleyn, sister of Anne Boleyn, the second wife of Henry VIII and mother of Queen Elizabeth, which means he came from a noble family.

⁵ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/152873/William-Davison>.

Robert inherited the title of Earl of Essex, the poorest county in England, at the age of just 9 after his father's death in 1576. The county of Essex is located to the east of the city of London and borders Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Kent, London, and Suffolk, with its capital being the city of Chelmsford. This county includes twelve jurisdictions: Basildon, Braintree, Epping, Forest, Harlow, Maldon, Rochford, Tendring, Uttlesford, Brentwood, Castle Point, Chelmsford, and Colchester.



Image 3.2. County of Essex

Robert Devereux graduated at a very young age, just 14 years old, from Trinity College at the University of Cambridge, where his most notable achievement was his knowledge of the Latin and English languages. Knowledge of Latin was common among the nobility. In 1581, his mother married Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who had been sentenced to death for attempting to place Lady Jane Grey on the English throne. Chronicles suggest that Robert Dudley was the lover of Queen Elizabeth I. Robert Devereux's success stems from the deep admiration and attraction that Queen Elizabeth I felt for him, which he skilfully took advantage of. Queen Elizabeth I had been in love with Robert Dudley, who was her lover, but when she realized that her prospects of marrying him were blocked, she met Robert Devereux and fell in love with him.

Robert Devereux became the queen's favourite. She pampered him and was overly protective of him; she even became distressed when he went off to fight in wars, which led Robert to leave secretly. Moreover, the age difference was a significant barrier; while she was 53, he had not yet turned 20. However, they spent a lot of time together, walking, horseback riding, etc. Despite enjoying the queen's favour, she would become enraged when he made decisions without consulting her or when he went off to battle. Robert, however, ignored her anger because he enjoyed participating in all the conflicts. One example is the queen's fury when Robert, in 1589,

decided to join an expedition led by the navigator Francis Drake to Portugal. She was also not in favour of his marriage to Frances Walsingham, widow of Philip Sidney and daughter of Francis Walsingham, in 1590.

Robert Devereux dreamed of defeating the Spanish forces, and in 1596 he persuaded the queen to allow him to lead an expedition against Spain, during which the English frigates managed to penetrate Cádiz. Upon his return, the queen expressed her displeasure, as the battle had cost the royal family dearly and the profits gained were insufficient to justify the expense. At that point, the queen revoked his privileges.

In 1598, the rebellious Irish leader Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, defeated the English army in Ireland. Queen Elizabeth sent an expedition to punish O'Neill's actions, and Robert persuaded her to let him lead the army. Upon arriving in Ireland, Robert realized that the expedition was doomed to failure, so he decided to negotiate behind Queen Elizabeth I's back for the deposition of the English government upon his return to England. Upon returning to England, he allied himself with several of his followers in an attempt to dethrone the queen, but government spies prevented him from carrying out his plans. For this reason, his assets were seized, and he was placed under house arrest. Later, he attempted to convince the queen to dismiss her enemies, for which he was accused of contempt and insubordination and was sentenced to death in 1601.

In total, Robert Devereux participated in six significant battles during his life:

- In 1585-86, he participated in the battle in the Netherlands.
- In 1588, he led the English fleet at Tilbury against the Spanish Armada.
- In 1589, he took part in the campaign in Portugal alongside Francis Drake and John Norris.
- In 1591, he assisted Henry IV of France.
- In 1596, he participated in the naval expedition against Spain.
- In 1597, he intercepted a Spanish convoy in the Azores transporting goods from America.
- In 1598, he was sent to Ireland to fight against the leader Hugh O'Neill.

3.2.2.4. Sir Philip Sidney

Sir Philip Sidney was one of the most prominent figures of the Elizabethan era (the reign of Elizabeth Tudor, or Elizabeth I, known as the Virgin Queen, Gloriana, or Good Queen Bess). Born on November 30, 1554, in Penshurst, Kent, England, and dying on October 17, 1586, in Arnhem, Netherlands, he was a valiant soldier, statesman, nobleman, renowned patron, and author of various works, with the latter perhaps being his most well-known facet. His family was closely connected to the English nobility of the time; many members of his paternal family had served as personal attendants to the kings of England for several generations, a factor that influenced his life under the orders of Queen Elizabeth I.

He was the son of Sir Henry Sidney and Lady Mary Dudley, the eldest daughter of John Dudley (Duke of Northumberland) and Jane Guilford, a descendant of the Grey family, Talbot,

Beauchamp, and Berkeley. His mother, Mary Dudley, had been a friend and companion to Princess Elizabeth and was closely associated with the princess throughout her life, serving as a lady-in-waiting to the queen. His godfather was Philip II of Spain, husband of Queen Mary Tudor, and his godmother was his widowed grandmother, Jane, Duchess of Northumberland. His grandfather, Robert Dudley, was Earl of Leicester and was named after his godfather, King Philip II of Spain (Philip of Austria).

His father, Sir Henry Sidney, enjoyed the favour of Elizabeth I, having accompanied and supported King Edward VI, who knighted him. Additionally, he supported Mary's accession to the throne, and two years after Philip's birth, he became the Governor of Ireland, a title he held during Elizabeth's reign. All these circumstances influenced Philip Sidney's life, who, by the age of 11, was proficient in Latin and French, languages that at the time were only mastered by the nobility. In his early years, he was educated at home, but later he attended Shrewsbury School in Shropshire under the tutelage of Thomas Ashton, a famous humanist. In 1568, at the age of 14, he went to *Christ Church* at Oxford. In 1571, the university closed due to the plague, and Sidney had to abandon his university studies without graduating. In 1572, he obtained permission from the queen to travel and visit the European continent (primarily Germany, Poland, Italy, and Austria) to complete his education, improving his language skills and fostering relationships with scholars, intellectuals, and European politicians of the time. As recorded by Buxton (1970, p. 42) from Collins, his license, which was required at the time to leave the country, stated the following:

Sir Philip Sidney [sic] in 1572, [was] Sent to Travel: For Queen *Elizabeth*, 25 May, in that Year, grants her Licence to her trusty and well-beloved *Philip Sidney*, Esquire; to go out of *England* into Parts beyond the Seas, with three Servants and four Horses... to remain the Space of two Years, immediately following his Departure out of the Realm, for his Attaining the Knowledge of foreign Languages.

In 1575, Sidney returned to England, where he attended Queen Elizabeth I's court. That year, he met Penelope Devereux, the future Penelope Blount, daughter of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and Lettice Knollys, and great-granddaughter of Mary Boleyn. Penelope was much younger than Sidney, but nevertheless, marriage plans were imminent, and Penelope's father, before his death in 1576, ensured the engagement. However, Penelope's mother, Lettice Knollys, remarried Robert Dudley in 1578, which caused the engagement to be broken and prevented them from marrying. Ultimately, Penelope married Lord Rich in 1581, and two years later, Philip Sidney married Frances Walsingham, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham.

Between 1575 and 1579, Sidney did not secure any significant position at court. Due to his ancestry, his kinship, and his education, he could have attained a good position, but Queen Elizabeth wanted him as her favourite and always sent him as an emissary, actively intervening in the defence of British interests, particularly in the expansion of Protestantism against Catholicism. While the queen attempted to keep him occupied with minor tasks, Sidney absorbed the enthusiasm of the Protestant league in Europe and used the opportunity to extend his popularity abroad. In 1577, his journey as England's ambassador to present condolences for Maximilian's death and congratulations to his son Rudolf for his succession to the throne, served him to try to create a Protestant association and to increase his fame; the European leaders always thought that he was more powerful than he really was.

Between 1580 and 1590, Sidney continued with his father under the queen's orders to increase his financial support and secure a better position. In 1583, he was knighted and married Frances Walsingham. He was the most influential author of the Elizabethan era, embodying all the traits that characterized a humanist in his time. As the creator of the first critical essay and the first epic romance, he was the first to weave the Petrarchan sonnet into English in a unified sequence, influencing writers of the time such as Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and John Donne, among others.

In 1585, he attempted to enlist in an expedition to Cádiz commanded by Francis Drake, but the queen summoned him to court and appointed him Governor of Flushing in the Netherlands, where he continued his Protestant struggle. He successfully fought against Spanish troops near Axel in 1586; that same year, he joined Sir John Norris in the Battle of Zutphen, where he was struck by a bullet in the thigh, which led to his death.

During his lifetime, his poetry spread among friends and the more select circles at court in manuscript form, but none of his works were published until after his death. The success of his poetic and essayistic activity lies in his knowledge and renewed interest in classical authors: Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Xenophon, Plutarch, and Seneca, whom he studied in depth. He was well-versed in the Bible and the poetry that was read and taken as an example on the continent, particularly that of Petrarch, one of the most important lyric poets, whose innovation lay in the refinement of the sonnet.

His work, *Defence of Poesie* (1579), is a clear example of literary criticism in which the author distinguishes and defends the value of poetry over other, more prestigious disciplines such as History and Philosophy, as well as the role of the writer, which was somewhat undervalued in comparison to other professions. His ideas about poetry were put into practice in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (La Arcadia), a long prose romance dedicated to his sister, Lady Mary (Mary Herbert, after marriage), Countess of Pembroke, who, after Sidney's early death, took care of editing and publishing all of his works. He also wrote *Certain Sonnets*, experimenting with quantitative meter and the Petrarchan sonnet sequence, and the collection of sonnets *Astrophil and Stella* (1591-92), an example of pure lyric poetry. In 1584, he translated the Psalms with his sister, thereby exploring Calvinist thought, which held that divine will is paramount and that God is the source of everything that exists.

3.2.3. Languages

The full text of the work is written in 16th-century English, with almost no exceptions, except for cases of code-switching where Latin is used. When this occurs, the Latin text is indicated in italics, and initial letters are generally capitalized.

3.2.4. Date

The printed publication date of the work is 1633, but the composition of the letters and instructions predates 1600. Of these, only the date of the letter from the Earl of Essex to

the Earl of Rutland is included, which is from 1596. The composition date of the letter from Philip Sidney addressed to his brother Robert, Earl of Leicester, appears to be October 1580, according to the *DNB*: "On 18 Oct. 1580 Sidney was at Leicester House, and thence addressed to his younger brother Robert, who was travelling abroad, an elaborate letter of counsel, in which he sketched a sensible method of studying history (Sidney Papers, i. 283–5; reprinted in *Profitable Instructions for Travellers*, 1633)." Watson (1974, p. 1040) differs this dating and places it a year earlier, in February 1579. Gray (1840, p. 328) is even more imprecise and offers an alternative date, stating: "This letter was probably composed about 1578." Kuin (2012, p. 880) tentatively supports this same date for the composition of the letter: "I have tentatively dated this letter February 1579 as it was this time that Robert left England, with Languet and his party, and Philip refers to 'The Countryes... yow are goinge vnto' as France, Germany, and the Low Countries."

Howard (1914, p. 36), although ambiguously discussing the letters and the general composition of *Profitable Instructions*, states the original composition date as 1595, with the printed date being 1633. Given the practical impossibility of accurately estimating the composition date of the texts, we refrain from providing a precise one, although the possible date would likely be closer to 1580 than to 1575. The only evidence we have is the date of 1596, which is included in the colophon of the letter from the Earl of Essex.

3.2.5. *Place of printing*

The work is printed in London, as noted on the title page: *Printed for Benjamin Fisher, at the Signe of the Talbot*, without Aldersgate.

3.2.6. *Content*

The work contains prefatory material, in addition to the instruction manual and two letters, the first of which includes an annexed text or postscript.

The collation of the content is as follows:

- A1r-A8v: Prefatory material. Incipit: *To the Reader*. Explicit: *the noble youth of this flourishing kingdome. B. F.*
- 1-24: Manual of instructions. Incipit: *Most notable and excellent instrvctions for trauellers*. Explicit: *by diligent reading, obseruation, and conference may easily supply.*
- 26: New title page. Incipit: *Two excellent letters*. Explicit: Aldersgate, 1633.
- 27-73: Letter from the Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland and *Postscript*. Incipit: *The Late of E. of E. his aduice to the E. of R. in his trauels*. Explicit: *The other raiseth and inlargeth it.*
- 74-103: Letter of Philip Sidney. Incipit: *A letter to the same purpose*. Explicit: *either much expence or much humbleness. FINIS.*

3.2.7. *Material*

The text is printed on paper with dark ink.

3.2.8. *Dimensions*

The volume is an octavo. The typical dimensions of this format in the 17th century are approximately 15.5-20.5 cm in length and 10-11.5 cm in width (cf. Beal, 2010).

3.2.9. *Number of pages, pagination, and foliation*

The document presents the following page distribution: 18 + 103 + 1. Page numbers appear starting from signature B, ranging from 1 to 103.

3.2.10. *Collation*

The collation formula for *Profitable Instructions* is as follows: A⁸-B⁸-C⁸-D⁸-E⁸-F⁸-G⁸-H⁴.

3.2.11. *Catchwords*

At the end of each page, there are catchwords, all of which are precise as they reproduce the first word of the following page. These catchwords have been noted in the critical apparatus of the edition.

3.2.12. *Signatures*

All signatures are numbered up to the fourth leaf (except for H), with the signature letters in uppercase and subscript numbers from the second leaf as follows: A, A₂, A₃, A₄...G, G₂, G₃, G₄. The signature H shows the following marks: H, H₂, H₃.

3.2.13. *Ordinatio*

The text is written in a single column. The baseline is defined by vertical and horizontal lines. These lines divide the text into two blocks of different width, except on pages 1 to 24, which only present one block. The narrower column on the outside of each page serves as an outer margin and is not written in. The top of each page is dedicated to the headers, which help orient the reader within the section of the volume. The header area is also delineated with ruling. On the pages of signature A, it visually appears that the header text is centred on the leaf. This is achieved by left-aligning the text on the even page and right-aligning the text on the odd page. In all other headings, the text is centred on the page and not on the folio. The following figures show the different spaces in an O folio, with and without outer margins:

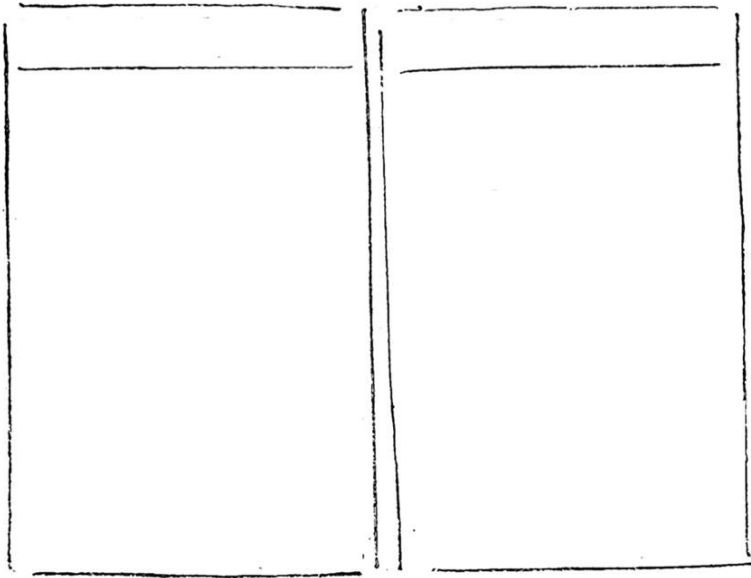


Figure 3.1. Ordinatio, writing box (without margins)

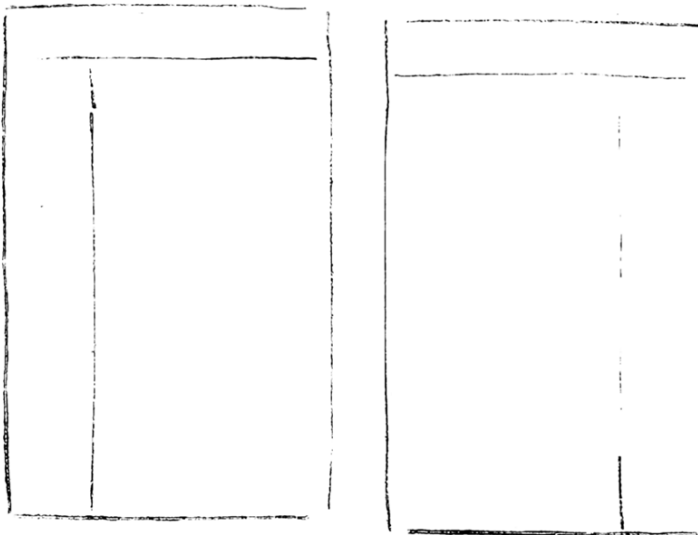


Figure 3.2. Ordinatio, writing box (folio with margins)

In the specific case of the manual of instructions, on pages 1 to 24, braces are used to link thematically related concepts. The braces have a rounded, half-rounded or straight shape, as shown in the following figure:



Figure 3.3. Braces in *Profitable Instructions*

3.2.14. Decoration

On pages A, 1, 27, and 74, the same decorative scheme is repeated, indicating the beginning of a new section of the volume. At the top of each of these pages, below the header, there is a decorative border that precedes the section title. This title appears centred and in italics. The beginning of the texts is marked by the use of a capital letter. On pages A and 1, these capital letters are decorated, while on pages 27 and 74, they are simple capital letters.



Figure 3.4. Decorative border



Figure 3.5. Capital letters in O (decorated and simple)

The end of the volume is marked with the Latin word *finis* in a different size compared to the text in italic uppercase letters, separated from the main body and centred in the baseline, as shown in Figure 3.6. This word and the body of the text are visually separated by a horizontal line.



Figure 3.6. End of O

3.2.15. Abbreviations

The only abbreviation identified in the volume is B. F. at the end of the prefatory material. This abbreviation corresponds to the initials of Benjamin Fisher (cf. 3.2.2.1).

3.2.16. Dialect

The dialect could not be determined due to insufficient textual evidence to conduct a study of this nature.

3.2.17. Corrections

No corrections have been found in this text.

3.2.18. Marginal annotations

The marginal annotations consist exclusively of the catchwords that appear in the lower right margins.

3.2.19. Binding

According to the ESTC, the volume is bound, but no information is provided about the type of binding or its composition. The flyleaves that line the inner part of the binding are printed with a pattern that forms multi-coloured waves. According to the ESTC, the signature of a certain F. Bedford appears on the binding.

3.2.20. Provenance

There is limited information regarding the history of this volume, except for the data provided by the ESTC: "Bookplate of the Huth Library bought by CSMH [=Huntington Library] from Clarence Saunders Brigham, Jan. 1922."

3.2.21. Textual affiliation

There are manuscript copies of the letter from Essex, as listed in Hammer (1994, p. 171):

- British Library, Additional MS 12511, fols. 38r-45v.
- British Library, Additional MS 37232, fols. 94r-97r.
- British Library, Egerton MS 2262, fols. 1r-4v (incomplete).
- Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.5.18, fols. 69r-72r.
- Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, MS V.b.214, fols. 64v-67r.

Regarding the letter from Sidney to his brother Robert, the following variants have been identified (Kuin, 2012):

- BL Ms. Additional 4160, no. 39.
- BL Ms. Harleian 444; BL Ms Harleian 3638, fols. 100-1.
- Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Tanner 169, fols. 60b-62.
- Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D 924, fols. 14-17.
- Bodleian Ms. Univ. 152, pp. 6-13.
- Cambridge University Library Ms. Ee 2.32.
- Cambridge University Library Ms. Ee 5.23.
- Lambeth Palace Library Ms. 2858, fols. 167v-171.
- Northamptonshire Record Office Ms. FH 2381, item 5.
- Trinity College Dublin Ms. 802, pt 2, fols. 11-14v.

3.2.22. Bibliography

Copies of *Profitable Instructions* are preserved in the following libraries:

- Cambridge University St. John's College, Cambridge.
- Carlisle Cathedral, Carlisle.
- Oxford University Bodleian Library, Oxford (3 copies).
- Folger Shakespeare, Washington (2 copies).
- Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Newberry, Chicago.
- Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, Connecticut.
- Yale University, Sterling Memorial, New Haven, Connecticut.

The following works include some of the texts that form *Profitable Instructions*:

- Duncan-Jones, K. (1994). *Sir Philip Sidney: The major works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. It includes a modernized version of Sidney's letter to his brother Robert Sidney (pp. 285ff). Most of his editorial decisions are not indicated, nor the *emendatio* he has undertaken. It also does not provide exact information about which versions he used to make the edition of the text in Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D. 924, ff. 14-16v, which is the one included in his work (Duncan-Jones, 1994, p. 397).
- Gray, W. (1840). *The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Philip Sidney, Knt. with a Life of the Author and Illustrative Notes*. Boston: T. O. H. P. Burnham. It includes Sidney's letter to his brother. The conventions are not indicated, nor is the editorial method.
- Seward, W. (1799). *Biographiana. By the Compiler of Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*. (Vol. II). London: Printed for J. Johnson. It includes a reproduction of Robert Devereux's letter (pp. 359-369) and Philip Sidney's letter (pp. 370-376). Seward does not comment on the sources from which the texts are copied.
- Kuin, R. (2012). *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney. Vol. I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. It includes the critical edition of Sidney's manuscript letter (pp. 877ff). The text is based on Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Tanner 169, fols. 60b-62. It is compared with the following manuscripts, in addition to the text in O: BL Ms. Harleian 444; BL Ms. Harleian 3638, fols. 100-1; BL Ms. Add. 4160, no. 39; Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D 924, fols. 14-17; Bodleian Ms. Univ. 152, pp. 6-13; Northamptonshire Record Office Ms. FH 2381, item 5; Trinity College Dublin Ms. 802, pt 2, fols. 11-14v; Lambeth Palace Library Ms. 2858, fols. 167v-171; Cambridge University Library Ms. Ee 2.32; Cambridge University Library Ms. Ee 5.23. Despite being a critical edition, it does not faithfully reflect all the variants and only a few are noted. The example below shows an excerpt of the edition of O used in this work, where Sidney's orthographic conventions are faithfully reproduced, alongside their corresponding version in Kuin (2012), where the existing differences between both texts are evident, though Kuin does not highlight them in his critical apparatus. Note, for example, the difference between *whence* in O, which is *where* in Kuin, and *the certaintnesse of true discerning* in O, which is presented as *which contains the trewe discerning*, among others.

Marry my heresie is that the English behaviour is best in England, and the Italians in Italie. But mores hee takes for that from whence morall philosophy is so called the certaintnesse of true discerning of men's mindes both in vertue, passion, and vices (O).

marry my heresie is that the Englishe behaiour is beste in England, and the Italian in Italie but Mores he taketh for that where vnto Morall Philosophie is so called, which contains the trewe discerning of mens myndes both in virtue Passions, and vices (Kuin, 2012, p. 880).

3.3. The Language of O

This section presents the analysis of the language used in O. Given that O consists of four distinct parts, namely: (i) the prefatory material, (ii) the manual of instructions, (iii) the letter

written by Robert Devereux, and (iv) the letter written by Sir Philip Sidney, our analysis will focus on the common characteristics across the four parts, highlighting the differences when necessary. The information in this section is further divided into three sub-sections: the first is dedicated to the study of spelling, the second to punctuation, and the third to grammatical categories, namely, nouns, pronouns and pronominal forms, verbs, and adjectives. The numbering in square brackets indicates the page where the examples are found according to the original text.

3.3.1. Spelling

This section provides a compilation of the spelling characteristics of O, with special attention to the use of certain spellings and their contextual distributions, using the spelling of contemporary English as a reference point. The spelling of English in the Early Modern period was still characterized by some degree of instability since “there was no generally accepted system that everyone could conform to” (Baugh and Cable, 2002, p. 193).

In general, the spelling in O is very similar to that of Modern English; in fact, the alphabet is the same, and there are hardly any spellings in O that do not exist in contemporary English. One such case is the long s, e.g. *l*, whose use seems to be reserved for initial positions, e.g. *ltate* [A1v], *lhall* [1], *lame* [28], and *lould* [74], and medial positions, e.g. *paffe* [A2r], *lland* [2], *courle* [27], and *delired* [74], but not for final positions, e.g. *maps* [A1v], *Riuers* [2], *others* [29], and *growes* [75]. In the examples used here, this character has been replaced by s.

The characters *u* and *v* are used to represent both vowels and consonants, with *v* being more frequently used in initial positions, e.g. *view* [A1v], *vnfit* [A3r], *Vented* [4], *Vnder* [18], *vnmoueable* [34], *vaine* [41], *vnkindnesse* [74], and *vs* [78], while *u* appears in the other positions, e.g. *neuer* [A1v], *obseruation* [A3v], *Country* [2], *issuings* [10], *aduice* [27], *sufficiencie* [29], *sure* [77] and *correlatiue* [84]. However, there are exceptions to this distribution. For example, in the prefatory material, the letter *v* can be found in the medial position, e.g. *travell* [A2r], as well as in the letter of Sir Philip Sidney, e.g. *serviceable* [79], *defensively* [83], *evill* [86], and *behaviour* [88]. On the other hand, *u* is never used in the initial position.

Unlike the usage in Modern English, it was common in Early Modern English to find doubled consonants. This is the case of *l* in the final position of words, e.g. *Academicall* [A1r], *Mechanicall* [8], *Ciuill* [10], *trauell* [30], *generall* [45], *quarrell* [72], *Topographicall* [84], and *Morall* [88]. Likewise, the use of *e* at the end of words that do not carry it today is also relatively common, e.g. *keepe* [A1v], *soone* [A2v], *wisedome* [A8r], *Accesse* [5], *minde* [45], *streame* [50], *kinde* [84], and *kingdome* [90].

The use of *y* is observed in contexts where *i* is found in modern English, e.g. *ayme* [A4v], *Ayre* [79], *choyce* [38], and *voyd* [52, 93]. It is also worth noting the use of *i* in contexts where modern English uses *j*, e.g. *iustly* [A4r, 81], *iustice* [20, 23, 54, 93], *iudgement* [42, 66, 82], and *Iurisdiction* [95]. In this regard, it should be mentioned that the letter *j* does not appear anywhere in the text. Additionally, the sequence *ie* is very frequently used at the end of words that are spelled with *y* in modern English, e.g. *qualitie* [A4v, 9], *bodie* [9], *authoritie* [21], *sufficiencie* [29], *Armie* [50], and

Heresie [55, 87]. Finally, it is important to highlight the use of the spelling *icke* in the endings of words that are written with *ic* in contemporary English, e.g. *Physicke* [39].

3.3.2. Punctuation

This section contains the study of punctuation in O, specifically the use of capital letters and punctuation marks. Regarding the use of capital letters, those that align with current English usage are indicated, along with those that do not. Regarding punctuation marks, those that appear in O and their various contextual uses are listed.

3.3.2.1. Capital letters

Some of the uses of capital letters in O seem to correspond with those found in contemporary English. The cases indicated below align with modern English usage:

- The first letter of proper nouns, specifically for people and places, e.g. *Hannibal* [A6v], *Cambridge* [57], *Greenwich* [71], *Aristotles* [76], *England* [82], *Homer* [87], *Spaine* [93], *Low-Countries* [93], *Germany* [93], *France* [94], and *Flanders* [96].
- The first letter of nationalities, e.g. *English* [49].
- The first letter of months of the year, e.g. *Ianu* [71].
- The personal pronoun *I* [73, 74, 75, 76].

There are other uses, however, that do not align with modern English. One frequent example is the capitalization of common nouns. Consider the following examples:

- (1) The best scholler is
fittest for a Tra-
ueller, as being able
to make the most
vseful obseruation:
Experience added
to learning, makes
a perfect Man [A3v].
- (2) As what Cities, Townes,
Castles, &c. it hath either
within the Land, or vpon the
Frontiers [6].
- (3) In Manners, your
Lordship must not
be caught with no-
uelties, which are
pleasing to young

men; nor infected
with Custome, which
maketh vs keepe our
owne ill graces [49].

- (4) For
from a Tapister vp-
wards, they are all
discourses in certain
matters and qualities;
as Horsmanship, wea-
pons, wayting; and
such are better there
then in other Coun-
tries [99-100].

From the understanding of the application of capital letter usage in contemporary English, there seems to be no specific reason for the use of capital letters in *Traueller* and *Man* in (1), *Cities, Townes, Castles, Land*, and *Frontiers* in (2), *Manners* and *Custome* in (3), and *Tapister, Horsmanship*, and *Countries* in (4). However, this could be explained by the interest in highlighting words that are important for understanding the information presented.

3.3.2.2. Punctuation marks

The punctuation marks that appear in O are as follows: period [.] , comma [,] , semicolon [;] , colon [:] , dash [-] , tilde [~] , parentheses [()] , apostrophe ['] , and question mark [?] . Not all the punctuation marks listed here can be found in each of the four parts that constitute O. The presence of these marks in each part is summarized below, where + indicates that the punctuation mark is present, and – indicates that it is not.

Table 3.1. Punctuation marks in O

	[.]	[,]	[;]	[:]	[-]	[~]	[()]	[']	[?]
Prefatory material	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Manual of instructions	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Letter of Robert Devereux	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Letter of Sir Philip Sidney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

What follows is a survey of the specific functions each of these punctuation marks serve, referring, when relevant, to the specific part of O where they appear.

- The period [.] is used on many occasions throughout O, serving various functions, some of which are detailed below:

a. To separate the paragraphs into which the text can be divided:

- (5) so He, that neuer
trauelled but in his
Books, can hardly
shew his learning,
without manifesta-
tion of his want of experience.
It hath therefore
been much desired,
that some men who
had themselues bin
Trauellers, & had
made left vse of
their trauels, would
giue some vnfailling
directions to others [A6v- A7v].

Each of the parts that make up O is organised into paragraphs, although their length varies. The period is used in (5) to indicate the end of a paragraph, e.g. [...] *his want of experience.*, and the beginning of another, e.g. *It hath therefore [...]*. The separation between paragraphs is also reinforced by the use of a capital letter for the first word of the new paragraph, and by the use of indentation, as can be seen in the original text.

b. To separate sentences within the same paragraph:

- (6) What
I desire or wish, I
would haue your
Lordship to take in
minde, what it is to
make your selfe an
expert man, and what
are the generall helps
which all men must
vse which haue the
same desire. I will
now moue your
Lordship to consider
what helps your tra-
uell will gaine you [45-46].

In this example, the period separates two structurally distinct sentences, each of which has a complete and independent meaning, though they are related. This punctuation mark is, however, not the only indicator that the reader is facing a new sentence, e.g. *I will now moue your Lordship to consider what helps your trauell will gaine you*. The use of a capital letter in the first letter of the first word of the new sentence also indicates the beginning of a new unit.

c. To separate the title of a section from the content of the section itself:

- (7) Thirdly the Policy and Go-
uernment.
In the Policy and gouern-
ment falleth to be considered,
1. The Lawes whereby it is
Gouerned.
2. Persons that gouerne [12].

This use of the period is not present in all parts of O; in fact, it is only found in the manual of instructions itself. As will be detailed in the description of O's content, in the instruction manual, the information is organised into three main fields: the country, the people (or the populace), and the government. In (7), the third of these fields, namely politics and government, is presented as a title, graphically emphasized through the use of italics and separated from the content by the period.

d. To separate elements in a list:

- (8) For your better in-
formation in the
state of any Prince,
or Country, it shall
bee necessary for you to ob-
serue,
1. The Countrey.
2. The People.
3. The policy and gouernment [1-2].

This fragment of O belongs again to the manual of instructions, specifically at the beginning. It details the elements that should be described when visiting a place, which, as mentioned earlier, are three. In this example, they are listed in a numbered form and separated by the punctuation mark.

e. To separate the salutation from the body of a letter:

- (9) To the Reader.
IT hath bin
Lately main-
tained in an
Academicall Di-
spute, That the best
travailing is in
maps and good Au-
thours [A1r-A1v].

This use of the period occurs only in the prefatory material, which is written in the form of a letter addressed to the reader. In the other letters that make up O, there is also a salutation indicating to whom they are addressed, but in these cases, the separation from the content of the letters is indicated by other punctuation marks.

f. To delimit initial letters:

(10) B. F. [A8r]

(11) The Late E. of E.
his aduice to the
E. of R. in his
trauels [27].

In these two examples, the punctuation mark is used to delimit the initial letters of proper names, e.g. Benjamin Fisher in (10), and those of noble titles, e.g. Earl of Essex and Earl of Rutland in (11).

■ The comma [,] has several functions in O, as shown in the examples below:

a. To coordinate clauses:

(12) But let him
 once enter on the
 stage of publike im-
 ployment, and hee
 will soone find, if he
 can bee but sensible
 of contempt, that he
 is vnfit for Action [A2v- A3r].

The comma is used quite frequently in O to coordinate clauses. In this example, *But let him once enter on the stage of publike imployment and hee will soone find, if he can bee but sensible of contempt, that he is vnfit for Action* are coordinated using the comma followed by the conjunction *and*.

b. To subordinate the clauses that make up a sentence:

(13) When you come in-
 to Armies, or places
 where you shall see
 any thing of the wars,
 you shall conforme
 your natural courage
 to be fit for true For-
 titude [47].

In this example, the punctuation mark is used to separate the subordinate temporal clause *When you come into Armies, or places where you shall see any thing of the wars* from the main clause, e.g. *you shall conforme your natural courage to be fit for true Fortitude*.

c. To introduce the elements of a list:

- (14) How he doth carry him
selfe in administration
thereof, where may be ob-
serued,
1 His Court.
2 His wisdom.
3 His inclination to
1 Peace.
2. Warre [14].

In (14), the comma is used to introduce the elements that should be considered regarding the government and the ruler of a country. The elements are arranged in a numbered list and separated by periods.

d. To separate the elements of a list:

- (15) This therefore is one
notable vse of Tra-
vellers; which stands
in the mixed & cor-
relatiue knowledge
of things, in which
kinde comes in the
knowledge of all
legues betwixt Prince
and Prince; the To-
pographicall descrip-
tion of each Country,
how the one lyes by
scituation to hurt or
helpe the other, how
they are to Sea, well
harbored or not, how
stored with shippes,
how with Reuenue,
how with fortificati-
on & Garrisons, how
the people, warlike
trained or kept vnder,
with many other
such warlike conside-
rations [84-85].

In this fragment, Sir Philip Sidney speaks about the importance of making comparative judgments in order to gain knowledge of things, in this case, the military power of countries. In this example, the specific elements that can be compared are listed.

e. To separate the salutation from the body of the letter:

(16) My Lord,
I Hold it for a
Principle in the
Course of Intelli-
gence of State, not to
discourage men of
meane capacity from
writing vnto mee [27-28].

This example has been taken from the letter written by Robert Devereux to the Earl of Rutland, to whom the author addresses using *My Lord*, which is separated from the body of the letter by a comma.

■ The semicolon [;] has fewer uses, at least when compared to other punctuation marks such as the period or the comma. Some of its uses include the following:

a. To subordinate clauses:

(17) The first way to at-
taine to experience of
formes or behaiour,
is to make the minde
it selfe experte; for be-
hauour is but a gar-
ment, and it is easie to
make a comely gar-
ment for a body that
is well proportioned [36].

In (17), the punctuation mark is used to introduce a subordinate causal adverbial clause, e.g. *for behaiour is but a garment*, which explains the reason for what is expressed in the main proposition.

b. To introduce clarifications:

(18) To attaine to the
health of the minde,
we must vse the same
meanes which wee
doe for the health of

our bodies; that is, to
make obseruance what
diseases we are aptest
to fal into, and to pro-
uide against them [38-39].

In this example, the semicolon precedes the explanatory conjunction *that is*, through which the content of the previous proposition is clarified. The author comments that to achieve mental health, one must do the same as to achieve physical health, *that is*, consider the diseases to which we are most vulnerable and do everything possible to avoid them.

c. Separating the salutation from the body of a letter:

(19) MY good Bro-
ther; you haue
thought vn-
kindnesse in me, that
I haue not written
oftner vnto you, and
haue desired I should
write vnto you some-
thing of my opinion
touching your tra-
uell [74-75].

The semicolon is the third punctuation mark that appears in O, serving the function of separating the salutation from the body of a letter. This usage appears in the letter that Sir Philip Sidney wrote to his brother.

■ The colon [:] serves the functions outlined below:

a. Coordinating sentences:

(20) As what Cities, Townes,
Castles, &c. it hath either
within the Land, or vpon the
Frontiers: And how they are
1 Fortified.
2 Peopled [6].

In this example, the colon is used to coordinate two clauses, which are connected not only by the punctuation mark, but also by the coordinating conjunction *And*.

b. To subordinate clauses:

(21) To set downe
 meanes how a man
 may attaine to the a-
 ctive power mentio-
 ned in this place, (I
 meane strength of
 mind,) is much har-
 der then to giue rules
 in the other two: For
 behaiour and good
 forme may be gotten
 by education [39-40].

In (21), the colon is used to introduce a subordinate clause, specifically a causal adverbial clause that indicates the cause of what is expressed in the main clause.

- The hyphen [-] is used on many occasions in O, although it always serves the same function, which is to indicate that a word is broken at the end of the line and continues on the next one, as in (22):

(22) For if you should tra-
 uell but to trauell, or
 to say you had trauel-
 led, certainly you
 should proue a pil-
 grim, no more [77-78].

- The tilde [~] is used quite frequently in O to mark the absence of a nasal consonant in the word, as in *friēds* in (23), where the absence of "n" is indicated, or in *whō* in (24), where the absence of "m" is indicated.

(23) Your Lord-
 ship hath many **friēds**
 who haue more lei-
 sure to think [29].

(24) II. What counsels of
 { 1. Finances } he hath, and
 { 2. Warres } by **whō**
 { 3. Prouincials } administred [22].

- The parentheses [()] mark the beginning and end of parenthetical material, as in (25):

(25) And
when he saith Cogno-
uit vrbes, hee meanes
not (if I not be decei-
ued) to haue seene
Townes, and marke
their buildings [88-89].

In this example, the information included in parentheses does not seem strictly necessary for understanding the text. However, the parentheses can be interpreted as a punctuation mark that contributes to the interpersonal character of the language, especially as an indicator of the author's attitude towards the reader. In this respect, the information placed in parentheses can be considered a gloss since it elaborates or clarifies what the author has said. Thus, the parenthetical information constitutes an interactive resource within the metadiscourse model proposed by Hyland (2005, pp. 50-52).

- The apostrophe ['] is used on rare occasions in O. Its function is to indicate the omission of some element. For example, in (26), it marks the elision of the vowel e from the past tense morpheme *-ed*:

(26) for
the streame that may
be stop'd with a mans
hand [50].

- Finally, the question mark [?] is used only once in O, specifically in the letter by Sir Philip Sidney:

(27) But you may
say, how shall I get
excellent men to take
paines to speake with
me? [102-103].

In (27), the question mark indicates the end of a question. The use of this punctuation mark is closely linked to the rhetoric of the text. In this sense, it appears to have an interpersonal function whereby the author engages the readers, prompting them to think about the methods employed by the writer to make important men talk to him.

3.3.3. *Grammatical categories*

This section focuses on the study of grammatical categories, specifically nouns, pronouns, verbs, and adjectives. The study is primarily descriptive, addressing the features of the language observed in O. Additionally, examples are included to illustrate the characteristics being discussed.

3.3.3.1. Nouns

This section focuses on the study of nouns in O, addressing two key aspects: first, the formation of plurals, and second, the formation of the genitive. Regarding plural formation, the discussion includes the morphemes most commonly used in this context. With respect to the genitive formation, the various patterns that appear in O to indicate possession are highlighted.

3.3.3.1.1. Plural formation

In general, the plural of nouns in O is formed by adding the morpheme *-s* or one of its variants to the root. This is particularly important when considering the agreement between nouns and the modifiers that accompany them in noun phrases, e.g. *This kingdom* [A4r] vs. *these countries* [3], and between noun phrases and the predicates of sentences, e.g. *The best scholar is fittest for a traveller* [A3v] vs. *these active vertues are but budding* [42].

Most nouns in O form the plural by adding *-s* to the root, such as *maps* [A1v], *books* [A3r], *precepts* [A6r], *Riuers* [2], *friends* [3], *Factions* [11], *aduertisements* [28], *things* [31], *vessels* [67], *Actions* [77], *words* [79], and *strengths* [83]. In these nouns, it can be observed that the contexts in which the morpheme is added often include the presence of consonants such as *-d*, *-g*, *-k*, *-l*, *-n*, *-p*, *-r*, and *-t* in word final position.

It is important to highlight those nouns that end in a silent *-e* (Nevalainen, 2006, pp. 31-32), some of which retain it in Contemporary English, e.g. *hopes* [A4v], *castles* [6], *causes* [23], and *places* [47], while others no longer retain it, e.g. *mountaines* [5], *meanes* [10], and *kindes* [12]. As in the examples shown in the previous paragraph, in these cases, the plural is also formed by adding the morpheme *-s*.

It is worth noting the formation of the plural in the word *country* [1, 2, 17, 79, 84], where *-y* is replaced by *-i*, and *-es* is added, e.g. *countries* [A3r, A4r, 3, 6, 31, 91]. In other words such as *abilities* [A4r], *commodities* [4], *excellencies* [44], and *absurdities* [101], it is impossible to determine whether the same pattern as in *country* is followed, or if simply *-s* is added, since the singular form does not appear in the text.

Finally, there are irregular plurals, though only in two cases, e.g. *men* [A2v, 28, 98] and *children* [89]. In the case of *men*, the plural is formed through a vowel mutation called *front mutation* in Old English (De la Cruz Fernández *et al.*, 2003, pp. 108-109), that is, *man* > *men*. *Children*, on the other hand, has a double plural marker: on the one hand, the plural marker *-r* from Old English, and on the other, the plural marker *-en* from Middle English (King, 1997, p. 164).

3.3.3.1.2. Genitive formation

The genitive is used to indicate possession and can be formed in two distinct ways: through the genitive phrase or Saxon genitive, and through the prepositional phrase. Possession can also be indicated by possessive pronouns and possessive adjectives, but these are covered in the section dedicated to pronouns and pronominal forms.

The genitive phrase or Saxon genitive is formed as follows: the first element in the construction refers to the possessor, followed by –s and the noun referring to the possessed object, e.g. *Authors sake* [A8r], *Your Lordships purpose* [30], *your Lordships end* [32], *Taylors art* [37], *a mans hand* [50], *a strangers first actions* [51], *your Lordships happines* [71], *Your Lordships affectionate cousen* [71], *ones Cap* [87] y *mens mindes* [88]. Unlike the way it is constructed in Contemporary English, in Early Modern English, the apostrophe (') is not used between the noun referring to the possessor and the –s.

As already noted at the beginning of this section, another way to indicate possession is through the prepositional phrase. The construction of this phrase consists of the noun referring to the possessed object, followed by *of* as the connector particle, and finally the noun referring to the possessor. This is shown in the following examples: *a view of the state and manners of the whole world* [A1v], *the state of any prince or country* [1], *the beauty of many cities* [31], and *the eye of Vlisses* [81].

3.3.3.2. Pronouns and pronominal forms

The study of pronouns and pronominal forms in this section is conducted using several tables that summarize their presence in O. The pronouns and pronominal forms are studied in this order: personal pronouns and possessive adjectives, demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, and relative pronouns.

3.3.3.2.1. Personal pronouns and possessive adjectives

Personal pronouns and possessive adjectives are studied under the same heading in this work because there are many formal similarities between both categories, specifically similarities related to person, number, and gender.

To begin with, it should be noted that personal pronouns constitute a rather complex paradigm, as their classification must be carried out according to four aspects: person (first, second, and third), number (singular and plural), gender (masculine, feminine, and neuter), and case (nominative and accusative). The table shown below summarizes the presence of personal pronouns in O:

Table 3.2. Personal pronouns in O

PERSONAL PRONOUNS								
CASE	1 st PERSON		2 nd PERSON			3 rd PERSON		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Masculine	Femenine	Neuter	Plural
Nominative	I	we/wee	you	you	he/hee	shee	it	they
Accusative	me/mee	vs	you	you	him		it	them

Most authors in O use the first-person singular pronoun *I* in the nominative case to refer to themselves, marking their identity as undisputed authors of the texts. In the case of the prefatory material, Benjamin Fisher does not use this pronoun at any point. This contrasts clearly with the use of the two plural variants, e.g. *we/wee*, with which the authors, specifically Robert Devereux and Sir Philip Sidney, refer jointly to themselves and the addressees of their letters, namely the Earl of Rutland and the Earl of Leicester, respectively.

As for the second-person pronoun, i.e. *you*, it has the same form for both the nominative and accusative, regardless of whether it is singular or plural. The second-person pronoun *you* is used in all the texts that make up O, except for the prefatory material, to refer to the reader, i.e., to the potential user of the manual, the Earl of Rutland and the Earl of Leicester. It is, therefore, an unmarked form used to address the second person, without variations indicating whether it refers to one or more individuals.

The third person is more complex than the first and second, as it includes gender as an added aspect that must be considered. Generally, in O, third-person personal pronouns appear in all genders: the masculine is used when the referent is a male human being, and its pronominal forms are *he/hee* for the nominative and *him* for the accusative. The feminine pronoun, *shee*, is only used once in the nominative in O, specifically in Sir Philip Sidney's letter to his brother, to refer to the queen. Finally, the neuter pronoun is used when the referent is an object, with *it* for both the nominative and accusative. For the plural, there are no gender variations, and *they* is used for the nominative and *them* for the accusative.

Regarding possessive adjectives, the organization of the paradigm is similar to that of the pronouns. The table below summarizes their presence in O.

Table 3.3. Possessive adjectives in O

POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES							
1 st PERSON		2 nd PERSON		3 rd PERSON			
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Masculine	Femenine	Neuter	Plural
my	our	your/thy	your	his			their

Unlike some personal pronouns, it should be noted that there are no orthographic variations for any of the possessive adjectives that appear in O. The only form present in O that is not preserved in contemporary English is *thy*, which appears only in the prefatory material. In the manual of instructions and in the letters, *your* is universally used to indicate that something belongs to the person the text is directed to. There are no other characteristics regarding the forms and uses of the possessive adjectives that differ from those found in Contemporary English.

3.3.3.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives

The forms of the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives that appear in O are very similar to those in Contemporary English. Both can indicate proximity or distance in relation to the speaker and show variations in number:

Table 3.4. Demonstrative pronouns in O

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS			
DEMONSTRATIVES OF PROXIMITY		DEMONSTRATIVES OF REMOTENESS	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
this	These		Those

Table 3.5. Demonstrative adjectives in O

DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES			
DEMONSTRATIVES OF PROXIMITY		DEMONSTRATIVES OF REMOTENESS	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
this	These	That	Those

Apart from the semantics of demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, such as indicating proximity or distance, another important aspect to consider in their description is the variations in number. These are necessary for the agreement that must be made between the demonstrative pronoun and the predicate of the sentence in which it appears, e.g. *Yet this ever holds true* [A3v], and between the demonstrative adjective and the head noun of the noun phrase it is part of, e.g. *nor omit those studies whereof you are to haue continual vse* [59-60].

3.3.3.2.3. Relative pronouns

The relative pronouns most frequently used in O are *which*, *who*, and *that*, with minimal differences between their usage in Early Modern English and Contemporary English. The following examples illustrate their use:

- (28) In Manners, your
Lordship must not
be caught with no-
uelties, **which** are
pleasing to young
men [48-49].
- (29) Also it leadeth
vs to Fortitude; for it
teacheth, that wee
should not too much
prize life, which we
cannot keepe; nor
feare death, which
wee cannot shunne;
That as he **which** di-
eth Nobly, doth liue
for euer [43-44].

- (30) It hath therefore
been much desired,
that some men **who**
had themselves bin
Trauellers, & had
made left vse of
their trauels, would
give some vnfailling
directions to others [A7r-A7v].
- (31) The persons **that** gouerne are the magistrates,
1. Soueraigne,
2. Subalternall [13].
- (32) In the things **that** concerne
his state fal chiefly to be con-
sidered [...] [15-16].

These examples illustrate the use of relative pronouns in O. In (28) and (29), *which* is used with two types of antecedents: in the first, the antecedent of *which* is *nouelties*, and in the second, its antecedent is the personal pronoun *he*. Based on the usage observed in these fragments, the relative pronoun *which* can refer to both things, e.g. (28), and people, e.g. (29). As for *who*, it is used solely to refer to people, as seen in (30), where its antecedent is *men*. On the other hand, *that* can be used with antecedents referring to both people, e.g. (31), and objects, e.g. (32).

3.3.3.3. Verbs

The study of the verbal forms in O focuses on issues related to mood, particularly their uses and meanings, as well as to the formation and use of verb tenses and certain periphrastic forms.

In both Early Modern English and Contemporary English, verbal forms agree in person and number with the subject they accompany. Consider the following example:

- (33) I **make** Conference
the second helpe to
Knowledge in order,
though I **finde** it the
first and greatest in
profiting; and I **haue**
so **placed** them, be-
cause hee that **is not**
studied, knoweth not
what to doubt, nor
what to aske [60-61].

In (33), a fragment is presented with several sentences in which the subjects of the verbs, in the first- and third-person singular (e.g. *I* and *hee*), agree with the verbs they accompany e.g. *make*, *finde*, and *haue placed* with the first-person singular, and *is not studied* and *knoweth not* with the third.

3.3.3.3.1. Mood

The characterization of verbal forms can be done considering several aspects, including mood. Mood can be defined as the degree of possibility that the action expressed by the verb is more or less real, from which the attitude of the speaker can be often inferred. There are three moods: the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative.

The indicative mood includes all the verbal forms in which the speaker indicates that he/she considers the action expressed by the verb to be real, although it may occur in various tenses (e.g. past, present, or future). This is the dominant mood in *O*, as both in the prefatory material and in the manual of instructions and letters, the authors discuss past, present, and future facts about the value of travel and what can be learned from it. This is evident in the following example:

(34) Your Lordships purpose **is** to trauell; and
your study must bee
what vse to make
thereof. The questi-
on **is** ordinary, and
there **is** to it an ordi-
nary answer; that is,
your Lordship **shall**
see the beauty of ma-
ny Cities, **know** the
manners of the peo-
ple of many Coun-
tries, and **learne** the
language of many
Nations [30-31].

In (34), Robert Devereux uses the indicative mood to talk about present actions when referring to the recipient's purpose in the letter, e.g. *Your Lordships purpose is to trauell*, and in the future tense to specify the benefits that travel brings to travellers, e.g. *your Lordship shall see the beauty of many cities, know the manners of the people of many countries, and learne the language of many nations*.

The subjunctive mood includes verbal forms where the speaker indicates that they consider the action to be hypothetical or conjectural, as in (35):

(35) If there **bee** but any
 one thing which
 your Lordship may
 make vse of, I thinke
 my pains wel bestow-
 ed in all [70-71].

In this example, the conjectural sense is conveyed by the use of the subjunctive, e.g. *bee*, which is further reinforced by being inserted into a conditional sentence that invariably carries a hypothetical meaning.

Lastly, the imperative mood includes the verbal forms used by the speaker to express obligation and/or necessity. Consider (36):

(36) And when
 you haue heard it, **try**
 well what you haue
 heard before you
 hold it for a princi-
 pall [102].

In this fragment, Sir Philip Sidney urges his brother to be critical of the teachings he receives. The imperative mood is used precisely to emphasize the obligation and/or need to test for himself what others try to teach him and then adopt it as a principle.

3.3.3.3.2. Tense

With regard to the verb tenses in O, the presence of both simple and compound tenses has been observed. While the first ones are formed by inflecting the base form of the verb, the latter are formed by combining the past participle with the appropriate conjugated forms of *be* and *have*.

As mentioned earlier, the simple verb tenses in the present and past are formed by inflecting the base form of the verb. In the present tense, the inflection is visible in the third person singular, as the suffixes *-th*, e.g. *converseth* [A2v], *attaineth* [13], *keepeth* [35], *knoweth* [61], and *resteth* [100], and *-s*, e.g. *holds* [A3v], *stands* [79], *intends* [89], *trauels* [81], and *contains* [101] are added. To form the past tense, the suffix *-ed* is added to the base form of the verb, e.g. *Consumed* [4], *considered* [7], *confirmed* [28], *helped* [37], *exceeded* [68], *desired* [74], *imprinted* [77].

The present perfect and past perfect are the most commonly used compound forms in O. In both cases, the auxiliary verb *have* is conjugated, followed by the past participle, for example, *haue seene* [A5r], *haue prescribed* [A6r], *had bin* [A7r], *had made* [A7r-A7v], *hath made* [18], and *had trauelled* [77].

Far more frequent are the periphrastic forms with some modal verb, which can refer to the present, past, or future:

(37) Thy fauo-
rable acceptance
may occasion others
to publish larger
peeeces of this kind [A8v].

(38) yet they confir-
med that which com-
ing single I **might**
haue doubted [28-29].

(39) But your
Lordship **must** looke
further than these
things [31-32].

(40) because
as he that rides away
often, and takes no
care of notes or marks
to direct him if hee
come the same way
againie to make him
know where hee is
if he come vnto it, he
shall neuer proue
good guide [63-64].

(41) howeuer it be;
fit it is, That all
young Trauellers
should receiue an
Antidot against the
infectious Ayre of o-
ther Countries [A5v-A6r].

(42) therefore I **will** onely
speake of such a
knowledge as your
Lordship shold haue
desire to seeke, and
shall haue meanes to
compasse [56-57].

(43) but
the losse **would** haue
beene thine [A8r].

These examples highlight the variety of modals present in O, such as *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, and *would*. The modals in these fragments exhibit the same syntactic behaviour as in Contemporary English, namely, they are followed by a verb in the infinitive without “to” and the appropriate complements. As for the types of modality expressed, they will be examined in detail in Chapter 4 of this work, where they will be analysed as indicators of the authors’ stance.

3.3.3.3.3. The verbs *be* and *do*

The verbs *be* and *do* tend to be treated differently from other verbs in both Early Modern and Contemporary English. This section addresses the most relevant aspects related to their uses.

Be can function as a copulative verb, in which case its role is to link the subject of a sentence with what is being predicated about it, or as an auxiliary verb that indicates aspects such as tense and number in compound verbal forms.

(44) you
shall finde that they
are full of nothing
but winde [67-68].

(45) which
confusion and disorder
der **hath** by tradition
not only **beene win-**
ked at, but **warranted** [70].

In example (44), *be* is a copulative verb, as it links the subject of the sentence, e.g. *they*, with what is said about it, e.g. *full of nothing but winde*. In example (45), *be* functions as an auxiliary verb in a compound form in the passive voice and provides information about the tense, specifically the present perfect, e.g. *hath beene*.

On the other hand, *do* can function in four different ways in O: as an emphatic verb, a pro-form, an auxiliary verb, and a lexical verb:

(46) I
doe conclude this
point of the Conference
with this aduice, That
your Lordship should
rather go an hundred
miles to speake with
one wise man, than
fiue miles to see a fair
Towne [62-63].

- (47) Next
is Spaine & the Low-
Countries, then Ger-
many; which in my
opinion excels all o-
thers as much on the
latter Consideration,
as the other **doth** in
the former [92-93].
- (48) For he
doth not meane by
Mores, how to looke,
or put off ones Cap
with a new found
grace, although true
behaviour is not to be
despised [87].
- (49) But that Ciuill
knowledge which
will make you **doe**
wel by your selfe, and
good vnto others,
must bee sought by
Study, by Conference,
and obseruation [58-59].

In example (46), *doe* functions as an emphatic verb, reinforcing the truth value of what is being said. This usage of *do* occurs in declarative and affirmative sentences (McMahon, 2006, p. 149). In this example, it is conjugated and agrees in number and person with the subject of the sentence, e.g. *they*. In (47), *doth* functions as a pro-form, avoiding the repetition of the verb *excels*, with which it agrees in tense, e.g. present. In (48), *doth* is used as an auxiliary verb in negation, though this usage of *do* is quite rare in O. In (49), *doe* functions as a fully lexical verb, with a meaning similar to *make*.

3.3.3.4. Adjectives

The adjectives appearing in O precede the nouns they modify and do not exhibit gender or number concord with them. The following examples illustrate these characteristics: *good Authours* [A1v], *sedentary Traueller* [A2r], *publike Ministers* [23], *euil and base things* [35], *generall fault* [49], *English Trauellers* [49], *mighty riches* [83], and *mixed & correlatiue knowledge of things* [84].

The comparative and superlative forms of adjectives in O can be formed in several ways. In general, the comparative is constructed by adding *-(e)r* to the base form of the adjective or by preceding it with the adverb *more*: *larger pieces of this kind* [A8r], *clearer* [28], *wiser* [30], *harder* [40], and *more false grounds of things* [99]. Irregular forms have also been recorded, such as *better hopes* [A4v] and *worse taste* [101].

The superlative, on the other hand, is generally formed by preceding the base form of the adjective with the definite article *the* and adding *-(e)st*: *the greatest ornament* [32], *aptest* [39], *the excellentest thing* [48], *his greatest and smallest Actions* [77], and *the warmest Sunne* [79]. If the adjective has more than two syllables, it usually remains in its base form and prefixed with *most*: *the most vseful obseruation* [A3v], *the most furious* [53], *the most fearfull* [53], and *the most excellent ways* [81]. Finally, there are irregular forms such as *the best travailing* [A1r].

3.4. Content of O

The book is composed of prefatory material that precedes the traveller's manual of instructions. Finally, two letters are included, both serving the same purpose of instructing the novice traveller. Below, a description of the content of each of these parts is presented, along with the genres used.

3.4.1. Prefatory material

This section is written in the form of a letter, and as indicated by the initials in the signature at the bottom of the letter, it was written by B. F., which corresponds to Benjamin Fisher. The letter serves as a justification for the publication of the travel instruction manual. The journey is understood as a necessary element for the formation of the businessman, particularly when state duties are to be undertaken, as it allows him to learn cultural aspects that will facilitate his work: "It must, therefore, be confessed that to fit men for negotiation the visiting of foraine countries is most necessary. This kingdom iustly glories in many noble instruments whose abilities have been perfitted by that meanes" (A3v-A4v).

If anything explains the success of many of England's ventures, it is the good performance of its worthy interlocutors. The presence of English representatives is a recognizable hallmark of the time. The author states that the combination of theoretical learning with practical experience is the key to success: "Experience added to learning makes a perfect man" (A3v). In this sense, *Profitable Instructions* has been written by a traveller with the precise knowledge of the world and society. This makes the manual ideal for a novice traveller to learn what is necessary to describe a place accurately. Additionally, it helps him recognize and differentiate what is truly valuable from what is corrupt in the foreign societies he visits: "Howeuer it be, fit it is that all young trauellers should receiue an antidot against the infectious ayre of other countries" (A6r).

With this instruction, the traveller also learns what is necessary to converse in a cultured atmosphere about what he has seen in a diligent and effective manner. Therefore, the aim is to maintain the sense of decorum when speaking in public, ensuring that the conversation is

truly informative. This will distinguish him from other travellers whose lack of education would hinder the proper use of his stays in other countries, and this is evident in the quality of the conversation he can offer, as can be appreciated in the following lines:

Our sedentary traueeller may passe for a wise man, as long as hee converseth either with dead men by reading; or by writing, with men absent. But let him once enter on the stage of publike employment, and hee will soone find, if he can bee but sensible of contempt, the he is vnfit for action (A2v-A3r).

3.4.2. *The Manual of instructions*

The manual of instructions was written by William Davison and is a taxonomic sequencing of the elements that require description when visiting a place. These elements are organised according to the following fields: (1) the country, (2) the people (individuals), and (3) the government. These fields are further subdivided, detailing in depth what constitutes each one of them. The author makes use of brackets to schematically display the information, thus serving as a practical guide or checklist for drafting an accurate description of a place, following the method promoted by the philosopher Petrus Ramus, as discussed in the previous chapter. The author concludes this instruction manual by noting that, in addition to these three main aspects, there are others that should be recorded:

Besides these three, occure many other things to bee obserued, as the mint, valuation of coines, exchanges, with infinitie other particularities, which for breuities sake I omit, and which yourselfe by diligent reading, obseruation, and conference may easily supply (p. 24)

3.4.3. *The Letters*

The manual of instructions includes two written letters, one by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland, and the other by Sir Philip Sidney to his brother, the Earl of Leicester, although some have suggested Bacon as a possible author of the latter.

The letter from which Boswell quotes is entitled, *The late E. of E. his aduice to the E. of R. in his Travels*. It is dated Greenwich, Jan. 4. 1596. Mr. Spedding (Bacon's *Works*, ix. 4) suggests that 'it may have been (wholly or in part) written by Bacon' (Boswell, 1887, pp. 499-500).

However, its authorship is not entirely justified, and generally, this letter is still attributed to Robert Devereux. Hammer (1994, p. 321), following Boswell (1887), points out that "The letter of travel advice written by Francis Bacon and printed by Spedding has no connection with this correspondence," emphasizing the lack of evidence to definitively ascribe the authorship of this letter to Bacon⁶. The theme of the letter, advice to a young and novice traveller, suggests that the underlying idea guiding its composition is more closely related to a political ideology than to travel instruction itself. In this sense, Hammer stresses that it would align perfectly with the political interests of the Earl of Essex, as evidenced in the following reference to this first letter:

⁶ Hammer (1994, p. 172) even suggests the possibility that the text is a collaboration between "Essex, his secretaries and, perhaps, Francis Bacon."

In contrast to the third letter, it is a polished document and is studded with appropriate Latin quotes. In many parts, the contents of the letter seem so unexceptionable, and yet also so carefully phrased, that they raise suspicion that the text is a calculated piece of political posturing by Essex. Essex's constant emphasis upon the need for hard work in self-improvement and the importance of noblemen seeking full education, for example, seem very much like propaganda for his own abilities and judgement. The postscript to the letter ("If any curious scholar happening to see this discourse shall quarrel with my divisions of the gifts of the mind [...]") also seems remarkably self-conscious, even disingenuous (Hammer, 1995, p. 321).

The first letter, written in 1596, is addressed to Roger Manners (Earl of Rutland) and has been reproduced in manuscript form numerous times before being included in the volume *Profitable Instructions* in 1633. This attests to the great interest in *ars apodemica*, or the art of travel, during the period and remains a valuable document today for understanding the impact of this type of literature. As Hammer (1995, p. 317) notes, referring to this and other letters written by the Earl of Essex:

For modern scholars, they constitute a treasure trove of evidence about travel and various cultural practices among a section of the late sixteenth-century English élite. Judging by the number of extant manuscript copies, at least the first of these letters... was commercially recognized in 1633, when the letter migrated into print.

3.5. Summary

This chapter has provided a description of the volume *Profitable Instructions*, which helps, among other things, to better understand the text of O, which is essential for the comprehension of the chapter on stance. The dating of the texts included in this volume and their authorship are two of the most important issues discussed. Regarding the first aspect, Sidney's letter to his brother has generated the most controversy in criticism due to the different dates that have been proposed, all of them within a ± 5 -year range. However, the date of 1578, proposed by some authors based on the journey of the Earl of Leicester to Europe on February 5th of that year, seems reasonable. As for the second issue, there is some debate about the possibility of Bacon being the author of the letter attributed to the Earl of Essex, although this has not been proven either by contextual or stylistic evidence.

Finally, another important aspect of this chapter is the relationship of O with other copies and editions of some of its components. It has been shown that the letters, especially Sidney's letter, has received much editorial attention. However, in many cases, the editing methods are not described, and in others, the editing lacks consistency in its application.

CHAPTER 4. THE EXPRESSION OF STANCE

4.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the expression of the author's stance in relation to the information provided. The interest lies in analyzing how the writers in *Profitable Instructions* (1633) express authority according to varying degrees of assurance and/or certainty regarding their texts. Stance also involves issues related to the expression of obligation, necessity, and desire, which are conveyed through the use of specific linguistic structures. This chapter categorizes these devices following Marín Arrese's model (2009) for the description of stance. This model has been employed in the study of stancetaking conducted by Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014) in seventeenth-century English gynaecological texts. In our analysis of stance in *Profitable Instructions*, we follow this methodological approach. Thus, the validity of the model for the study of texts prior to 1900 will be reaffirmed.

4.2. The Expression of stance

The concept of point of view or stance has been described as the expression of "personal feelings, attitudes, value judgements, or assessments," as noted by Biber *et al.* (1999, p. 966). The definition of stance has not been precisely established, so its study typically includes linguistic phenomena such as evaluation (Hunston, 1994; Hunston and Thompson, 2000), hedging (Hyland, 1994, 1998, Alonso-Almeida, 2012), evidentiality (Chafe, 1986), epistemic modality (Marín Arrese, 2009), and affect (Ochs, 1996), among others.

Biber *et al.* (1999, pp. 972-975) provide the following classification of stance:

Table 4.1. Stance (Biber *et al.*, 1999, Chapter 12)

Category	Definition
Epistemic stance	"comments on the status of information in a proposition"
Attitudinal stance	These devices "report personal attitudes or feelings"
Style of speaking stance	"comments on the communication itself"

These categories are reflected from a linguistic perspective using (a) lexical units (*lexical marking*), (b) grammatical units (*grammatical marking*), and (c) the indication of person (*person marking*). The use of lexical units allows the expression of different levels of evaluation, particularly in nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Regarding grammatical units, Biber *et al.* (1999, p. 969) categorize them as follows:

Table 4.2. Devices of grammatical marking (Biber *et al.*, 1999, p. 969)

Devices	Example
stance adverbials	<i>Unfortunately</i> , we cannot do anything.
stance complement clauses	<i>I just hope that</i> I have plugged it in properly.
modals and semi-modals	<i>I might</i> be up before you go.
stance noun + prepositional phrase	They deny <i>the possibility of</i> a death wish lurking amidst the gardens of lust.
premodifying stance adverb	I am so happy for you. Honestly, I'm <i>really</i> happy for you.

The indication of person, *person marking*, "refers to first, second or third person marking of a verb or predicative adjective. Person marking identifies 'grammaticalization of a subject's attitudes and opinions' (Palmer, 1986)" (Alonso-Almeida & Vázquez, 2009, p. 1173), (see also Precht, 2000, p. 3). This, therefore, involves the study of the use of pronouns and the passive voice, for example.

This study will focus on those devices that reflect the author's position and modify the proposition they accompany. This involves the analysis of modal verbs, adverbial structures, and matrix verbs, which includes some of the grammatical devices described by Biber *et al.* (1999), although we will use Marín Arrese's model (2009) for the analysis of stance in our description, as applied by Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014).

4.3. The Expression of stance according to Marín Arrese's model (2009)

Marín Arrese's model (2009) proposes the analysis of stance in terms of *effective stance* and *epistemic stance*. Marín Arrese categorizes the devices used in each of these types of stance to describe the linguistic strategies employed by authors to encode their position and involvement with the information they provide. Her proposal is particularly interesting for various reasons, but especially because it offers a clear distinction between the concepts of *epistemic modality* and *evidentiality*. As we will see later, researchers do not seem to agree on the definition and scope of these two linguistic phenomena. Additionally, this model allows for the study of (inter) subjectivity.

The study of stance in pre-1900 texts is not very common. Notable works include those by Biber, Conrad, and Reppen (2004), Salager-Meyer (1998), Kytö (1991), Fitzmaurice (2002), Alonso-Almeida (2009), Alonso-Almeida and González-Cruz (2012), Mele Marrero (2011), and Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014), among others. However, the analysis of stance from a historical perspective is essential and necessary for understanding the evolutionary processes of phenomena such as modality and evidentiality, as pointed out by Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014, p. 3).

[T]he study of stance with a historical focus has proven fruitful for the study of attitudes concerning the dissemination of scientific knowledge. The perspective from which the information is given is fundamental in order to understand the evolution of languages and textual genres. Actually, evaluation, emotion and/or affect are said to be some of the driving forces of linguistic change, and they have been found to be the semantic motivation for grammaticalised linguistic phenomena (Traugott, 1989; Biber *et al.* 1998; Strauss and Sohn 1998; Horie, 2008; Méndez Naya, 2008). In this context, analyses of the expression of (inter)subjectivity in language from a historical dimension are very welcome.

In the following subsections, the classification of Marín Arrese's (2009) stance devices is explained, which are divided into *effective stance* and *epistemic stance*. It is important not to confuse *effective stance* with *affective stance*. While the former deals with the expression of evaluation, obligation, desire, etc., the latter, according to Ochs, "refers to a mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern" (1996, p. 410). Our analysis will attempt to reflect, among other things, the writer's relationship with his text and his relationship with his readers.

4.3.1. *Effective stance*

Marín Arrese defines *effective stance* as follows: "Effective stance pertains to the realization of events and situations, to the ways in which the speaker/writer expresses the necessity or possibility of the event occurring, or his/her inclination, decision or intention to carry out an event, or his/her emotive/affective position with regard to the event" (2009, p. 23). The analysis of the devices related to this category includes the following types (the examples belong to 17th-century obstetrics texts, the century in which our manual was published, as described in Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014)):

Table 4.3. Devices of *effective stance* (Marín Arrese, 2009)

Devices	Examples
deontic modality	Whereas contrariwise in this worke as well by reason of the company present, as also, least the woman should be afraid, the very entrance, whereby hee <i>should</i> put in his hand, they are constrained to hide: and then his hand being there, he must search for the child (howsoever it be placed) not being able to see it (Guillemeau, 1612).
volitional modality	Then if they <i>will</i> saue the child, and so consequently the mother from death: they must call a Chirurgion to deliuer her, and bring the child into the world (Guillemeau, 1612).
internal possibility for the participant and external possibility for the participant	But I shall gain my design if I <i>can</i> but prove serviceable to those that are desirous to know, and propose nothing to themselves but the safety and welfare of Mother and Child (Barret, 1699).
internal necessity for the participant and external necessity for the participant	I shall proceed to unravel the Mystery of Generation and divers other Mysteries, which I hope will be to the Satisfaction of the Learned and Ingenious of the Age, whose Discretion I <i>need</i> not doubt, will keep them from wresting it to any other end than what was designed for, viz. The Benefit and Advantage of the Modest of either Sex (Aristotle, 1694).
attitudinal expressions	I <i>doubt not</i> but they will be ready to grant all my request, which is, only to pity failings, and Lovingly to admonish (Barret, 1699).
communicative evidential expressions	Lastly I <i>would advise you not</i> to be dismay'd if everything in your practise fall not out just at the very instance of your expectation, you performing your part; but expect the event with patience (Anon., 1682).
Imperative	And <i>let</i> me tel you this (and Ile tel you but the truth) (Culpeper, 1652).

The deontic modality refers to multiple events such as obligation, possibility in the sense of potentiality, and relevance concerning an event. Marín Arrese (2009, p. 30) points out that relevance refers to what the author considers beneficial and is required of the subject to carry out the event. The modals included in this category are *must*, *may*, *should*, and *ought to*. Volitional modality is related to the author's intention regarding the realization of an event, and it is usually expressed in linguistic terms by means of *will* and *shall*. As Marín Arrese (2009, p. 30) notes, volitional strategies "often bear the commissive force of a promise when they involve speaker *cum* participant combinations."

Internal-participant possibility relates to the "participant's ability (capability)" to carry out the designated event (Marín Arrese, 2009, p. 31; cf. Van der Auwera and Plungian, 1998, p. 80ff). External possibility for the participant refers to the external conditions on which the event depends. Internal necessity for the participant and external necessity for the participant indicate whether the realization of the event depends on internal or external circumstances to the speaker.

Attitudinal expressions include “matrix predicates designating speaker/writer’s inclination... or intention... regarding the realization of the event” (Marín Arrese, 2009, p. 31). This partly aligns with Biber *et al.*’s (1999) *stance complements*. Impersonal expressions such as *It is vital/critical/important* (Marín Arrese, 2009, p. 32) are also included.

Communicative evidentials are related to “examples of performative uses of verbs of communication with a directive illocutionary force (*I say to you, I urge you*)” (Marín Arrese, 2009, p. 33). Finally, the imperative mood is used to impose on a participant the realization of an event. As Marín Arrese (2009, p. 33) notes, these expressions encode “a form of modal meaning akin to that of the domain of deontic modality.”

4.3.2. Epistemic stance

The concept of *epistemic stance* “refers to the knowledge of the speaker/writer regarding the realization of the event and/or to his/her assessment of the validity of the proposition designating the event” (Marín Arrese, 2009, p. 23; Marín Arrese, 2004, p. 156ff). The devices related to this type of stance are included in the following table:

Table 4.4. Devices of *epistemic stance* (Marín Arrese, 2009)

Devices	Examples
epistemic modality	I desire, that, if you mean to profit by reading my Book, you will reade and examine it without any critical Envy, and free from all sort of preoccupation, which <i>may</i> obscure your Judgement, and hinder you from acknowledging the Truth of those Things I pretend to teach (Chamberlen, 1672).
communicative evidentials	True, if by other meanes it might be effected: but the danger being great and manifold, and the unlearned for their sex for the most part (further then their owne tongue) being in all ages and in all places, (<i>as I have said</i>) thereunto assigned (Rueff, 1637).
experiential evidentials	<i>We have perused</i> all that have been in this nature in English, and finde strangely deficient, so crowded with unnecessary notions, and dangerous mistakes (T.C. <i>et al.</i> , 1656).
cognitive evidentials	<i>I thought</i> (and yet <i>I think</i> I am not mistaken in my thoughts) that it were a good and acceptable work, well-pleasing both to God and man (Culpeper, 1652)

Epistemic modality is closely related to the idea of certainty, as epistemic devices are used to manifest the degree of commitment the speakers have with respect to the propositions expressed (Sanders and Spooren, 1996, pp. 241-242). Marín Arrese (2009, p. 34) categorizes the degrees of certainty as follows: “high certainty or necessity (*must, cannot*), medium certainty or probability (*will, would, should*), and low certainty or possibility (*may, could*).”

The next category is communicative evidentials, which refer to self-referential expressions and self-attribution of knowledge. Experiential strategies indicate the way in which information

has been obtained through the senses. This includes information gathered through inferential reasoning based on observation of evidence. Some examples of this include: *I see, We witnessed, It appears..., That shows...* (Marín Arrese, 2009, p. 37). Cognitive evidentials are expressed through cognitive verbs and other expressions that manifest the way in which knowledge is acquired. Some examples in this category include: *This is my belief, We think, I consider...*

Before proceeding with the analysis of stance in *Profitable Instructions*, the following section summarizes the different approaches that discuss the relationship between epistemic modality and evidentiality. This will allow us to present our methodological position in this debate.

4.3.3. Epistemic modality and evidentiality

Both epistemic modality and evidentiality are concepts that have been considered as indicators of stance. In recent years, the relationship between these two linguistic devices has been explored extensively. Epistemic modality is used to refer to aspects related to the (im)possibility and (im)probability of the proposition it accompanies. Evidentiality is a semantic category used broadly to indicate the nature of the evidence for the propositional content.

The relationship between modality and evidentiality arises from the fact that the speaker's beliefs or ideas must be based on a number of sources of information, which can be explicitly stated or implicitly suggested. In other words, in order to assess something as possible or probable, the speaker must have some type of direct or indirect evidence, which constitutes the basis for his evaluation. This explains the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality since, when we explicitly mention the source of information we are using, we determine the degree of certainty and commitment we assign to our statement. However, this relationship is not always fulfilled as the expression of the source of information does not necessarily imply degrees of certainty, security, and/or commitment of the author with respect to the information provided.

In general, evidentiality and epistemic modality are often seen as similar concepts (cf. Kranich, 2009), although they are not exactly reciprocal (Alonso-Almeida, 2015). For many scholars, evidential markers present epistemic value, but epistemic markers do not always function as evidentials. Nuyts (2001a, p. 21) defines epistemic modality as "the evaluation of chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring or has occurred in a possible world." This definition directly relates epistemic modality to concepts such as truthfulness and hypotheses established around non-factual events. Bybee and Fleischman (1995, p. 6) comment in this regard that epistemic units are "clausal-scope indicators of a speaker's commitment to the truth of a proposition," linking the degree of truthfulness of a proposition to the degree of involvement and commitment of the author to it.

This concept of epistemic modality includes the sense of evidentials (cf. Chafe, 1986), although there are indeed differences between these two concepts, as observed in the definition by

Diewald, Kresic, and Smirnova (2009, p. 190): “Evidentiality is concerned with indicating the information source the speaker is relying on to make a claim. This places the category next to epistemic modality without, however, merging them into one.” The source of information can be either direct or, even, indirect, as pointed out by Willet (1988, p. 57). There are differences in terminology, as Ferrari (2009) refers to *sensory* instead of direct source and *quotative* instead of indirect source. In our view, Willet’s (1988) choice seems to be more appropriate since it allows the inclusion of sources of information which, being indirect for example, are not the product of citations or third-party sources, as is the case with inference, which Willet includes as a direct source of evidence. The following figure presents the schema of types of evidence, according to Willet (1988):

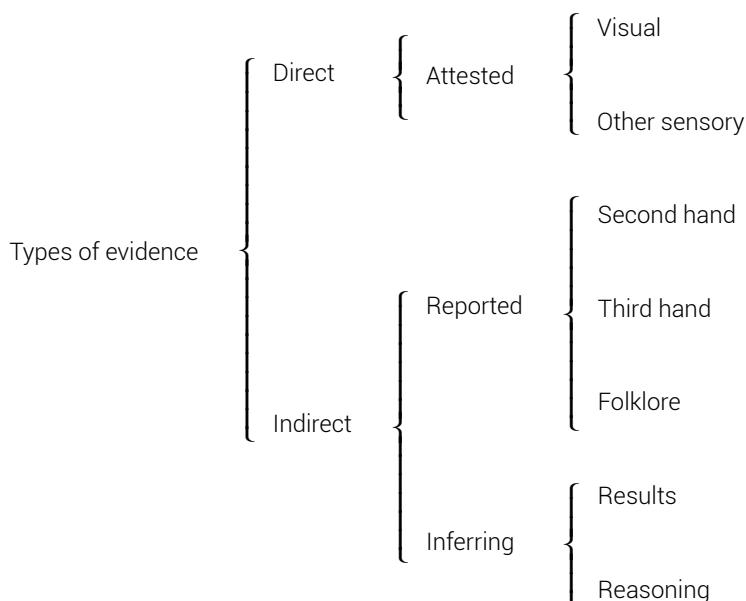


Figure 4.1. Typology of evidence (Willet, 1988, p. 57)

Other authors have expanded and refined Willet’s classification. Plungian (2001, p. 353) provides a tripartite classification of evidentiality based on the following assumption: “evidential values indicate the source of information the speaker has for *P*”, where *P* is the proposition. This classification determines that there is (a) *direct evidentiality*, (b) *reflected evidentiality*, and (c) *mediated evidentiality*. In the case of the first two, they are based on the speaker’s own perception of the world, including the various means (sensory or non-sensory) through which the information is obtained. In the case of the latter, the speaker acquires the information through means that do not involve direct observation (visual and/or auditory), nor an inferential or deductive process.

In Bermúdez (2005, p. 30), another classification is presented, which arises from a study of previous taxonomies and is based on cognitive linguistic principles: (a) mode of knowledge (cognitive) > sensory, (b) source of knowledge (others) > personal, and (c) access to knowledge (universal) > privative. This proposal links the mode, source, and access to knowledge with aspects related to the values of evidentials and their nature. This classification is important because it offers a new perspective on the relationship between epistemic modality and evidentiality.

As noted earlier, many authors consider evidentiality a subdomain of epistemic modality. Therefore, rather than focusing on issues related to the source of information, they identify evaluative values of evidential devices in relation to the proposition they accompany. This view of evidentiality is found in the works of Palmer (1986), Chafe (1986), Kranich (2009), and Ortega-Barrera and Torres-Ramírez (2010). In the case of the latter work, the authors follow a method in which the relationship between epistemic modality and evidentiality is indeed inclusive, as seen in the following:

This definition [referring to Mithun's definition of evidentiality], in which evidential markers qualify the reliability of the communicated information by specifying the source of evidence, the degree of accuracy, probability, and expectations of probability, will be the one used as the basis for our study (Ortega-Barrera and Torres-Ramírez, 2010, p. 143).

The idea of evaluation of evidentials is also included in the following definition by Crystal (2008, pp. 176-177), but without overlooking their function as an indicator of the source and mode of knowledge:

Evidentiality. A term used in semantics for a type of epistemic modality where propositions are asserted that are open to challenge by the hearer, and thus require justification. Evidential constructions express a speaker's strength of commitment to a proposition in terms of the available evidence (rather than in terms of probability or necessity). They had such nuances of meaning to a given sentence as 'I saw it happen', 'I heard that it happened', 'I have seen evidence that it happened (though I wasn't there)', or 'I have obtained information that it happened from someone else'.

The nature of this definition is semantic and contrasts with the grammatical character that authors like Lazard (2001) and Aikhenvald (2004) note as being the nature of evidentiality, as it is the case in Amerindian languages. This means that, strictly speaking, the English language would lack an evidential system since the source of information is only expressed through lexical devices. This idea is widely discussed in Alonso-Almeida and Cruz García (2011), where it is also argued that *may* functions as a grammatical evidential marker to convey the inferential nature of the acquisition of information. Regarding the nature of evidentiality and the debate it generates, Alonso-Almeida and González-Cruz (2012, pp. 327-328) state the following:

Another rather controversial question considers the very form and nature of evidentials, since for some scholars (Aikhenvald, 2004; Joseph, 2003) in order to be considered as such, this category should be utterly grammaticalized in the language. However, others like Bybee (1985), Bybee *et al.* (1994), Plungian (2001) or González-Vázquez (2006) support the validity of the lexical resources to express evidentiality, as long as different languages may employ different devices to express the same meanings [...] In fact, many studies have proved that both evidential and modal meanings

can be expressed in discourse through a variety of morphological, lexical, syntactic and even prosodic categories.

De Haan (1999), on the other hand, concludes that evidentiality and epistemic modality are clearly two independent categories, as epistemic modality involves an evaluation of the evidence, whereas evidentiality ensures the evidence. Another perspective on the disjunctive nature of this relationship is offered by Cornillie (2009). He suggests that the evidential and epistemic domains are not mutually exclusive in a specific analysis of the variables being studied, so that a linguistic unit can have both an epistemic and an evidential reading simultaneously. Cornillie clarifies that the confusion between these two terms arises from associating the mode and the source of knowledge with the degree of commitment an author demonstrates regarding the proposition expressed. However, a mode of knowledge does not necessarily imply an evaluation of the proposition by the author, nor does it imply his commitment to its truth. This is evident in his definitions of the concepts. Thus, evidentiality "refers to the reasoning processes that lead to a proposition," while epistemic modality "evaluates the likelihood of a proposition to be true" (2009, p. 47).

Regarding the truthfulness of a given proposition, Plungian (2001, p. 254) states that "the reliability of information usually depends on how it was obtained: visual information is thought to be reliable whereas mediated information is less reliable." Logic suggests that this is the case, making it perfectly reasonable to judge information as more truthful when it is claimed to have been known firsthand due to direct observation. However, Alonso-Almeida (2015) argues that there are some pragmatic implications that must be considered, one of which includes the perception of the recipient of the information. As the author explains, the epistemic element that arises from evidential devices is a secondary cognitive effect that evolves through idiosyncratic components, among others:

In many ways, this is acceptable [referring to the quote by Plungian (2001, p. 254)], but cultural implications, professional styles and personal preferences also take a part. Quotative evidentials are actually no less reliable than first-hand information in scientific writing, and information from others is normally trustworthy and serves the purpose of backing the speaker's described event or one's mental processes leading to P. Anyway, P can be fallacious even if the speaker claims to have observed it happen. The proposition 'I have seen Marta unlocking your computer' is true not just because the speaker wants it to be true, but because the hearer concedes it to be true. Formally, evidentiality only asserts source of information, whereas commitment and reliability are second place effects triggered from the array of contextual premises available to the hearer [...] One thing is the function of evidentials, i.e. the indication of the source of knowledge, and other concerns the cognitive triggering effects of a given evidential strategy. The notion of value judgement is intrinsically endorsed to epistemic strategies, but this is not a primary function of evidentials and, hence, this notion should not form part of the definition of evidentiality (Alonso-Almeida, 2015, p. 393).

Another possibility is to consider the intersection as a viable answer that describes the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality. Carretero (2004) describes this relationship as a *continuum* where both domains end up converging. This *continuum* categorizes expressions "depending on the commitment to the truth of the utterance in which they encode or implicate" (Carretero, 2004, pp. 27-28). Van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) also offer a similar view in their description of what they call *inferential evidentiality*:

"inferential evidentiality is thus regarded as an overlap category between modality and evidentiality" (1998, p. 86).

The three methods, *inclusion*, *exclusion*, and *intersection*, have a tradition in the study of epistemic modality and evidentiality. In our study, following Marín Arrese (2009) among others, we have chosen to consider these concepts as independent categories. This does not imply that a particular evidential cannot also carry epistemic value that is inferred from the context in which the speech act originates. Following this line, the analysis of stance in *Profitable Instructions* (1633) is presented below.

4.4. Study of the expression of stance in *Profitable Instructions* (1633)

This section includes the analysis of the expression of stance in the manual *Profitable Instructions* (1633), following Marín Arrese's model (2009). For this purpose, the text has been analysed manually, as the context -as noted in section 4.3.3., is crucial in categorizing a mechanism as either epistemic or evidential. The method divides the study of devices into *effective stance* and *epistemic stance*, in that order. The data are presented in an organised manner by the authors who contributed to its construction, in separate sections that represent the analysed category. All data have been normalized to establish a comparison by author. No attempt is made to conduct a diachronic or stylistic analysis in comparison with other studies (cf. Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero, 2014). The comparative analysis between authors only serves to demonstrate each author's preference for a particular type of stance and its relation to the content of their texts.

4.4.1. Analysis of the data

The texts have been manually analysed to detect the devices associated with the author's stance according to Marín Arrese's model (2009). This method was preferred over a computerized approach for two reasons. The first is that these are relatively small texts, and the second reason is that the expression of stance consists of semantic-pragmatic aspects, which require a very careful reading of the documents, given the crucial role that the context plays.

The results of this process are presented in Table 4.5. and also shown visually in Figure 4.2. and Figure 4.3. In section 4.4.2., the data are normalized to 1,000 words per evaluated, so that a comparison can be made between the authors participating in the volume, since this work is intended to be a diachronic study of these devices.

Table 4.5. Mechanisms for expressing stance (non-standardised results)

		To the Reader	Instructions	Letter 1	Letter 2
Effective	Deontic	5	5	40	10
	Volitive	0	0	4	2
	Internal possibility	2	0	7	6
	External possibility	2	0	7	2
	Internal necessity	0	0	2	0
	External necessity	0	0	0	0
	Attitudinal expressions	3	0	6	9
	Communicative evidential expressions	1	0	1	2
	Imperative	1	0	7	2
Epistemic	Epistemic	6	5	8	3
	Communicative evidentials	2	0	2	1
	Experiential evidentials	1	0	3	2
	Cognitive evidentials	0	0	6	9

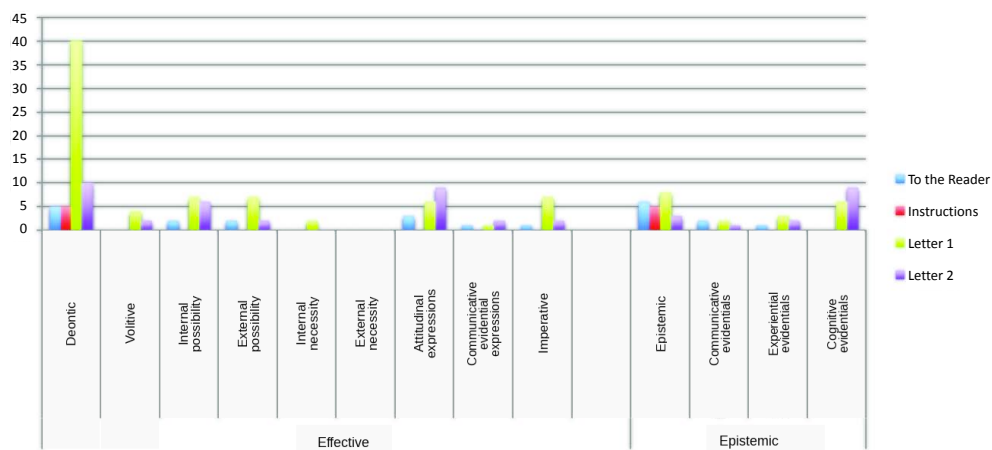


Figure 4.2. Effective and epistemic devices (non-standardised results)

The data in Figure 4.2. reveal a higher frequency of devices to express obligation than any other meaning, although it is true that the presence of epistemic elements is also significant. This is better appreciated in the normalization of the results to 1,000 words in the following sections,

where the study's findings on stance in all the texts are described in detail. It should be noted that the commentary on the texts is done jointly by subsection, clearly indicating the source and context of each example.

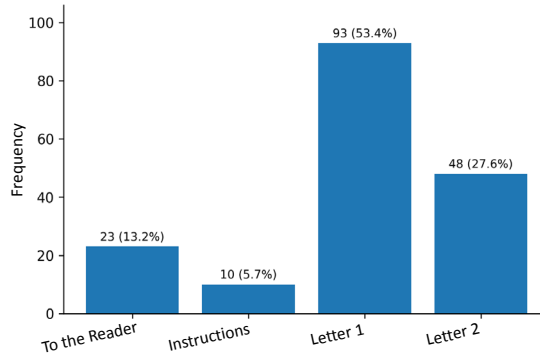


Figure 4.3. Composition of the corpus

Figure 4.3. reveals a markedly uneven distribution of stance mechanisms across the four texts. Letter 1 constitutes the most prominent category, followed by Letter 2. Considerably lower proportions of stance markers are found in *To the Reader* and instruction manual.

4.4.2. Discussion of the data

The discussion of the data is divided into two distinct parts corresponding to the macro categories of stance described by Marín Arrese (2009). The following forms will be used to refer to the different parts of the volume:

Table 4.6. Sections of the volume

	Author	Section of the volume	Pages
To the Reader	Benjamin Fisher	To the Reader	A1r-A8v
Instructions	William Davison	Manual of instructions	1-24
Letter 1	Earl of Essex	Letter of the Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland and Postscript	27-73
Letter 2	Philip Sidney	Letter of Philip Sidney	74-103

4.4.2.1. Effective modality

In the following sections, the devices that appear in the texts are described. As will be seen below, *Instructions* is the section of the volume that provides the fewest examples of stance, while Letter 1 offers data for all categories except for the category of external necessity.

4.4.2.1.1. Deontic modality

In general terms, deontic modality is related to the expression of obligation for carrying out a certain action. Hoye defines it as follows: "the necessity of acts in terms of which the speaker gives permission or lays an obligation for the performance of actions at some time in the future" (Ortega-Barrera and Torres-Ramírez, 2010, p. 143). Collins (2009, p. 22) classifies deontic modality within *root modality* in the following terms:

The most common and arguably important type of root modality is 'deontic', which occurs when the factors impinging on the actualization of the situation referred to in the utterance involve some type of authority — as when a person or a set of rules or a social convention is responsible for the imposition of an obligation or a granting of permission (as in *You must/may leave at 3pm*).

This definition more accurately describes what is understood as the expression of permission. In this sense, permission includes both the imposition of carrying out an action and the relief from this imposition, whether by direct action through an order, moral considerations, or laws established by either humans or nature. Deontic strategies are diverse. Among the modals with deontic meaning in his study of 17th-century English texts, Collins (2009, p. 22) highlights the following: *must*, *may*, *should*, *ought to*, *have to*, among others. In *Profitable Instructions*, the results shown in Figure 4.4. (below) indicate a preference for these types of devices in Letter 1, with more than 16 examples per thousand words. This is followed by the prefatory material, which contains a significant number of cases of deontic modality. As might be expected due to the highly abbreviated nature of its content, the section on instructions for travellers presents fewer modals with deontic meaning, although, as can be seen in the summary of results in Table 4.5. above, this text only includes deontic and epistemic modals, with no other indicating the author's stance.

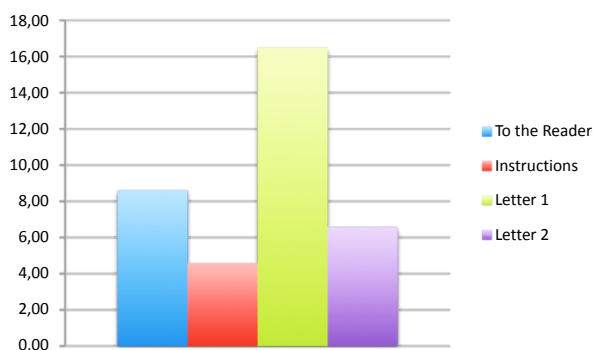


Figure 4.4. Deontic Modality (normalized data per 1,000 words)

In our corpus, the deontic modal verbs used are *must*, *will*, *would*, *shall*, *should*, *be to*, and *ought to*. The normalized global distribution of these verbs in the texts is reflected in Figure 4.5., while Figure 4.6. shows the distribution of modal forms in each of the texts. In the overall calculation, it is observed that the most commonly used modal is *must*, which, except in *Instructions*, appears in all the texts of *Profitable Instructions*. *Ought to* is attested only in Letter 2, where

only one example was recorded. In the following subsections, a study of the usage of these modals is presented, ordered from highest to lowest frequency.

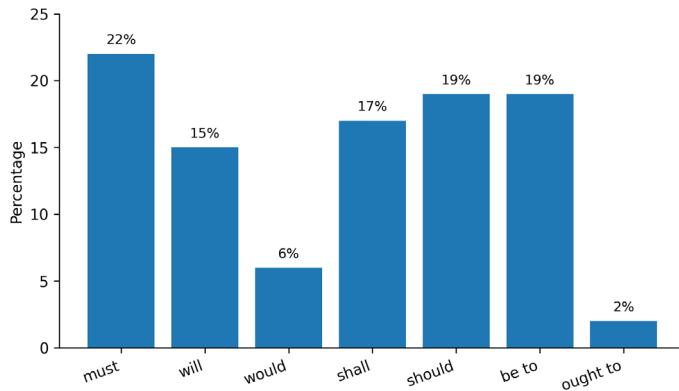


Figure 4.5. Distribution of modals in *Profitable Instructions* (percentages)

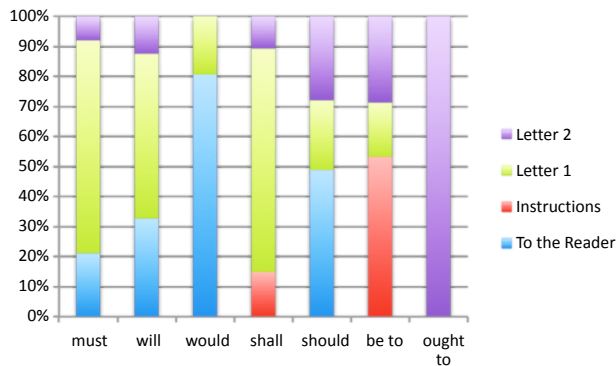


Figure 4.6. Distribution of modals by section in *Profitable Instructions*

4.4.2.1.1. *Must*

The form *must* is the most frequently used in the entire corpus, although no instances were found in *Instructions*. Letter 1 presents the highest number of occurrences of this form with a deontic meaning, followed by *To the Reader* and Letter 2, in that order. The use of *must* generally indicates an order for an event to be carried out. Along with *should*, it is the most direct way of expressing obligation, except for the imperative mood. Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014), with respect to their corpus of Early Modern English obstetrics texts, state that:

These two modals are stronger forms of conveying obligation of performing the events described. The other forms also express obligation, but in a way that varies in potentiality depending on the contextual environment [...] The form *must* modulates the command, in a way that would be often indicated by a bare imperative in earlier instructional medicine books.

The following are examples of *must* in the corpus:

- (1) It **must**, therefore, be confessed that to fit men for negotiation the visiting of forraine countries is most necessary (To the Reader).
- (2) But your Lordship **must** looke further than these things, for the greatest ornament is the beauty of the minde (Letter 1).
- (3) When you see infinite variety of behauior and manners of men, you **must** choose and imitate the best (Letter 1).
- (4) You **must** know also that the true end of knowledge is clearnesse and strength of iudgement, and not ostentation, or ability to discourse, which I doe the rather put your Lordship in mind of (Letter 1).
- (5) You being perswaded my experience therein to be something, which I **must** needs confesse (Letter 2).

In these examples, the uses of *must* are varied, although all imply the obligation to carry out the modalized action. The meaning of *must* in (1) suggests a type of obligation that could be considered moral, as it expresses high-value knowledge in the formation of businesspeople. In (2), *must* indicates the obligation to pay attention to aspects that might seem less important in the description of countries, but which can provide crucial information to understand the people and, as such, are essential for conducting business with them. The examples in (3) and (4) clearly refer to direct advice offered to the young Earl of Rutland to help him understand the proper modes and manners of social interaction.

In example (5), the modal verb *must* clearly indicates the obligation for the proposition it accompanies to be carried out. This idea of obligation is reinforced by the adverb *needs*, which emphasizes the inevitability of performing the action. This combination is found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* under the meaning “it is necessary or unavoidable” (entries 2 and 3b). The addition of this adverb highlights the author's stance, expressing that there is no other option but to confess. The origin of this obligation seems to be moral, as from his life position, his mission is to share his learning, which comes from experience.

4.4.2.1.1.2. *Should*

The modal *should* is one of the most used verbs, along with the periphrasis *be to + infinitive*. According to Collins (2009), this modal implies obligation, among other meanings, but the type of obligation expressed is always of lesser intensity than when *must* is used. In many cases, the obligation is disguised as a suggestion, for as Collins points out, *should* carries both subjective and objective aspects with respect to the proposition:

Deontic *should* may be subjective, indicating what the speaker considers desirable, appropriate or right [...], or objective, where the appropriateness or desirability of the course of action described stands independently of the speaker's endorsement (2009, p. 45).

In the following examples with *should* in the corpus, most of the forms express a subjective perception of what the author considers advisable, as in (6), (7), (8), and (10), for example. In the cases of examples (9) and (11), they can be categorized as objective instances where the authors express what they know to be desirable, but which do not necessarily imply an exclusive opinion of the authors, but rather a tendency.

- (6) Pitty it is that such monuments of wisdom **should** haue perished for the authours' sakes: men famous in their times for learning, experience nobility, and greatness of place (To the Reader).
- (7) Howeuer it be, fit it is that all young trauellors **should** receiue an antidot against the infectious ayre of other countries (To the Reader).
- (8) Therefore your Lordship's end and scope **should** be that which is morall Philosophy, we call cultum animi, the gifts and excellencies of the mind (Letter 1).
- (9) Therefore your Lordship **should** affect their companie whom you finde to be worthiest, and not partially thinke them most worthy whom you affect (Letter 1).
- (10) You haue thought vnkindnesse in me that I haue not written oftner vnto you, and haue desired I **should** write vnto you something of my opinion touching your trauell, you being perswaded my experience therein to be something (Letter 2).
- (11) For if you **should** trauell but to trauell, or to say you had trauelled, certainly you should proue a pilgrim, no more (Letter 2).

4.4.2.1.1.3. *Be to*

The periphrasis *be to* indicates the realization of an event that will take place in the future, which is inferred by evaluating the context in which it occurs. Perkins (1983) summarizes it as follows: "IS TO states that circumstances which currently exist are disposed towards the occurrence of an event which is as yet unrealized [...] IS TO implies that the circumstances in question are due to some conscious organization" (Collins, 2009, p. 45). Collins (2009, p. 85) (cf. also Perkins, 1983, p. 69) adds that *be to* "may refer to an event that is planned or scheduled, whether the plan/schedule is in the present [...] or in the past." In general, this verbal form, as noted by Collins (2009, p. 85), "expresses strong deontic necessity"; he also notes that it may convey subjectivity, but also objectivity when its meaning is close to the modal form *have to*. The following examples show cases of *be to* in the corpus; all of them with *are to*:

- (12) In his freinds and confederacies you **are to** consider how and vpon what respects they are leagued with him; [...] His power and strength for offence and defence are to be measured (Instructions).
- (13) First, these three **are to** bee sought for, although the greatest part of men haue none of them (Letter 1).
- (14) Nay, weven in the kingdome of China, which is almost as far as the Antipodes from vs, their good lawes and customes **are to** be learned (Letter 2).

The use of the modal forms *be to* in examples (12) and (14) demonstrates the objectivity of the speaker with respect to the information being offered. These indicate actions that are established as obligatory in the traveller's learning about the country. In these two cases, *are to* is equivalent to *have to*. In example (13), *are to* presents a certain degree of subjectivity regarding the expressed proposition, and its meaning conveys deontic necessity. In general, this modal expresses what would be desirable, namely, that the good laws and customs of the Kingdom of China are known. In this sense, *are to* is connected to *should*.

4.4.2.1.1.4. *Shall*

The modal verb *shall* appears in the texts with a slightly higher frequency than *will*, specifically 17% compared to 15%. Regarding the functions of *shall*, Gotti points out the following in his study of *shall* and *will* in Contemporary English: "In contemporary English, the main semantic values of SHALL are deontic and dynamic; SHALL usually conveys no epistemic meaning [...] Deontic instances of SHALL are more frequent than dynamic ones (although it is generally rare in both types of modality function)" (Gotti, 2003, p. 275). As noted, this is not the case in the analysed texts, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (15) ...as occasion **shall** require, is not gotten onely by reading of books, but rather by studying of men (To the Reader).
- (16) For your better information in the state of any prince or country, it **shall** be necessary for you to obserue (Instructions).
- (17) The question is ordinary, and there to it an ordinary answer, that is, your Lordship **shall** see the beauty of many cities, know the manners of the people of many countries, and learne the language of many nations (Letter 1).
- (18) As a man **shall** learne among them more false grounds of things then in any place else I know (Letter 2).

In the case of (16), the use of *shall* is very close to the deontic value of *must*, indicating an action that is required and cannot be overlooked when gathering information about the places visited. The same occurs in (17), where the deontic value is stronger than that of *must* in this context, as the obligation to carry out the referred action is clearly expressed (cf. Biber, 2004, p. 275). Examples (15) and (18) contain cases of *shall* with a predictive value but with a sense of inevitability. Gotti (2003, p. 276) categorizes prediction as a dynamic value but notes that there is some ambiguity in this regard, as it is difficult to distinguish this usage from the deontic one.

4.4.2.1.1.5. *Will*

As mentioned in the previous section, *will* appears in the texts with a lower frequency than *shall*, but this does not represent a significant difference. Like the modal *shall*, the form *will* is used to express values such as prediction and obligation. This can be observed in the following examples:

- (19) But let him once enter on the stage of publike employment, and hee **will** soone find, if he can bee but sensible of contempt, the he is vnfit for action (To the Reader).

(20) ...and when you haue as great delight as the world can afford you, you **will** confesse that the greatest delight is *Sentire te in dies fieri meliorum* (Letter 1).

(21) for it is certaine no vessell can leave a worse taste in the liquor it contains than a wrong teacher infects an vnskillfull hearer with that which hardly **will** euer out (Letter 2).

The examples of *will* in (19) and (21) refer to cases of prediction. In both situations, there are other linguistic elements that reveal the authors' stance regarding their texts. In (19), the adverb *soone* seems to indicate a certain degree of certainty on the part of the author regarding the truthfulness of the proposition that *will* accompanies, whereas, in (21), this same function is performed by the matrix *it is certaine*. In (20), the form *will* expresses obligation. This idea of obligation is reinforced by the presence of the personal pronoun *you*, which, in this case, refers to the Earl of Rutland, the recipient of the letter. Gotti (2003) notes that the use of *shall* and *will* with second and third person is typical of the expression of obligation.

4.4.2.1.1.6. *Would*

The occurrence of the form *would* with deontic meaning is scarce. Examples have been found in *To the Reader* (80% of cases) and in Letter 1 (20% of cases). An example is the following:

(22) It hath therfore been much desired that some men who had themselues bin trauellers, and had made lest vse of their trauels, **would** giue some vnfailling directions to others (To the Reader).

In this case, the type of obligation referred to is moral. Here, the author expresses what he believes experienced travellers should do to instruct the novices. This is reinforced by the introductory matrix "it has therefore been much desired that," which indicates a clear attitude from the author regarding the proposition that precedes it, namely, desire.

4.4.2.1.1.7. *Ought to*

The modal form *ought to* appears only once in the text Letter 2 and expresses a certain degree of obligation, which largely implies a recommendation to carry out the proposition "be his greatest and smallest actions." This expression of recommendation is reinforced by the emphatic form *doth*, which, in terms of viewpoint analysis, indicates a sense of urgency from the author that there should be, in diachronic linguistic terms, an updating of the action expressed.

(23) If you haue, you know it is the beginning and foundation of all his worke, the end to which euery man doth and **ought to** be his greatest and smallest actions (Letter 2).

4.4.2.1.2. Volitive modality

Volitive modality is only found in Letter 1 and Letter 2. In these texts, the modals *shall*, *will*, and *would* are employed to express the author's intention regarding the realization of the actions described. Generally speaking, as noted by Marín Arrese (2009, p. 31), they may serve a commissive function, inasmuch as they express a promise to carry out the action described in the proposition in which these modals appear. In the following examples, the author uses

would and will in the first person to convey his intention to undertake the inchoative action described in (24) and the act of speaking about his experience in light of the conditions set out in (25), that is, “onely speake of such a knowledge as your Lordship shold haue desire to seeke”.

(24) What I desire or wish, I **would** haue your Lordship to take in minde what it is to make yourselfe an expert man, and what are the generall helps which all men must vse which haue the same desire (Letter 1).

(25) Therefore I **will** onely speake of such a knowledge as your Lordship shold haue desire to seeke, and shall haue meanes to compasse (Letter 1).

4.4.2.1.3. Internal and external possibility

Internal and external possibility are expressed in the corpus through the use of the modal form *can*. The results are shown in Figure 4.7. below. This type of modality is related to the potential of the agent to carry out the action described in the proposition. External possibility depends on external factors to the speakers, which condition the feasibility of carrying out the presented action. This implies that the speakers are not entirely responsible for not having successfully executed what is described in the proposition.

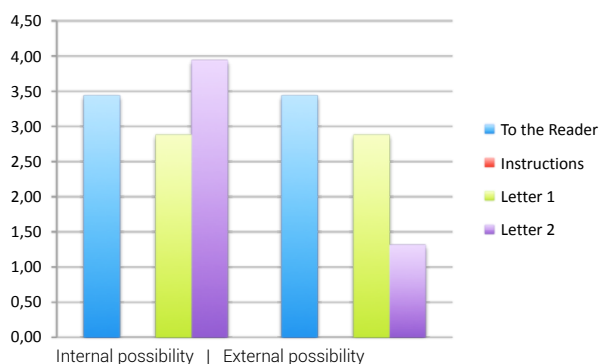


Figure 4.7. Internal and external possibility

Below cases of internal and external possibility drawn from the corpus are presented. Examples (26) to (28) show the use of *can* to express the potential of singular third-person subjects to perform the action contained in the proposition. Examples (29) to (31) present the use of *can* to express external possibility. In all cases, the modal is accompanied by negation adverbs referring to the impossibility of carrying out the action due to external factors.

(26) But let him once enter on the stage of publike employment, and hee will soone find, if he **can** [internal possibility] bee but sensible of contempt, the he is vnfit for action (To the Reader).

(27) ...it is easie to make a comely garment for a body that is well proportioned; whereas a deformed body **can** [internal possibility] neuer bee helped by taylors's art, but the counterfetting will appeare (Letter 1).

- (28) ...for it is certaine no vessell **can** [internal possibility] leave a worse taste in the liquor it contains than a wrong teacher infects an vnskilfull hearer with that which hardly will euer out (Letter 2).
- (29) But with all it **cannot** [external possibility] bee denied that many men while they ayme at this fitnessse make themselues vnfit for anything (To the Reader).
- (30) But, if there bee not in nature some partner in this actiue strength, it **can** [external possibility] neuer be attained by any industry (Letter 1).
- (31) But to know their riches and power is of litle purpose for vs since that **can** [external possibility] neither advance vs, nor hinder vs (Letter 2).

4.4.2.1.4. Internal and external necessity

In the corpus, only one case of internal necessity was found in Letter 2, but no instances of external necessity were identified. In the following example, *need to* is used in the first person to show that the speaker can persuade the reader, exemplified in this case by "your Lordship," or can express knowledge by using the right words.

- (32) To praise knowledge, or to perswade your Lordship to seeke it, I shall not **need** to vse many words (Letter 2).

4.4.2.1.5. Attitudinal expressions

Attitudinal expressions are presented either as adverbials (e.g. *indeed*) or as matrix predicates (e.g. *I hope...*), and their function is to express the authors' stance regarding the obligation or necessity for an action to be carried out (Marín Arrese, 2009). The following figure shows the distribution of attitudinal devices in the corpus; examples have been found in all the analysed texts except in *Instructions*.

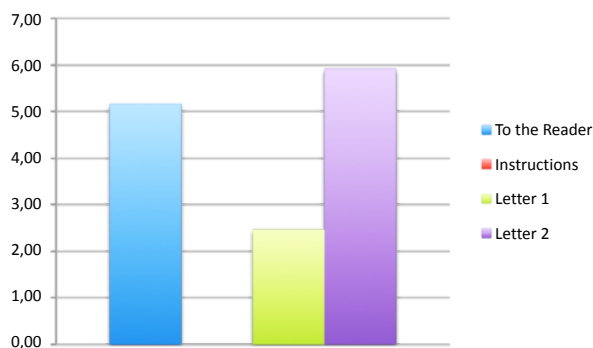


Figure 4.8. Attitudinal Expressions

In the following examples, the attitudinal expressions are related to indicating degrees of certainty regarding the given proposition, as seen in (33), (36), and (37). Specifically, in the case of *surely*, Downing (2001) explains that it presents evidential value, although it can also express viewpoints such as affection, surprise, and acceptance. One of its most evident uses is to validate what has been expressed. The meanings of *surely* are closely tied to the context in which it appears, making it sometimes difficult to precisely determine the author's intention. In (36), the use of *surely* seems to reinforce the validity of the proposition. The examples also include expressions related to the speaker's desire for the action described in the proposition to occur, as it is the case with *It hath therefore been much desired that* in (34) and *I hope* in (35).

- (33) And, **indeed**, it is a good way to keepe a man innocent; but with all as ignorant (To the Reader).
- (34) **It hath therefore been much desired that** some men who had themselues bin trauellers, and had made lest vse of their trauels, would giue some vnfalling directions to others (To the Reader).
- (35) Nay, without it, there can bee no true religion. **I hope** your Lordship doth nourish the seeds of religion, which during your at Cambridge were sown in your (Letter 1).
- (36) **As surely in the great Turke**, though wee have nothing to doe with them, yet his discipline in warre matters is, propter se, worthy to be learned (Letter 2).
- (37) **...for it is certaine** no vessell can leave a worse taste in the liquor it contains than a wrong teacher infects an vnskillfull hearer with that which hardly will euer out (Letter 2).

4.4.2.1.6. Communicative evidential expressions

The communicative evidential expressions appear in *To the Reader*, and, to a lesser extent, in Letter 1 and Letter 2, as shown in the following Figure:

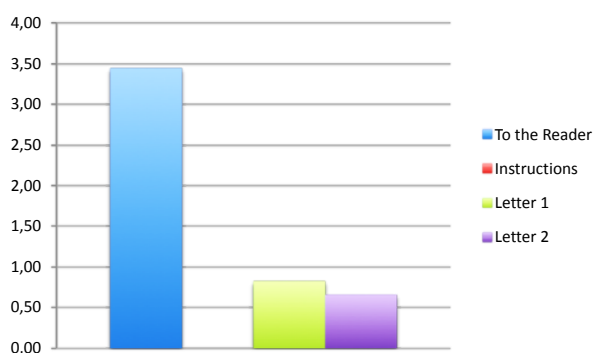


Figure 4.9. Communicative evidential expressions

The communicative evidentials in the corpus are expressed through performatives such as *I say*, which serve to express what is desirable, as in example (38). In the case of example (39), the expression *as I haue said* also has a metatextual function, as it links parts of the discourse.

(38) I will only **say** this. That, as the irresolute man, can neuer performe any action well, so hee that is not resolved in religion can bee resolved in nothing else (Letter 1).

(39) But these things, **as I haue said**, are of the first kinde which stands in the ballancing one thing with the other (Letter 2).

4.4.2.1.7. Imperative

The following figure shows that, except for *Instructions*, the imperative forms are used in all sections of the manual.

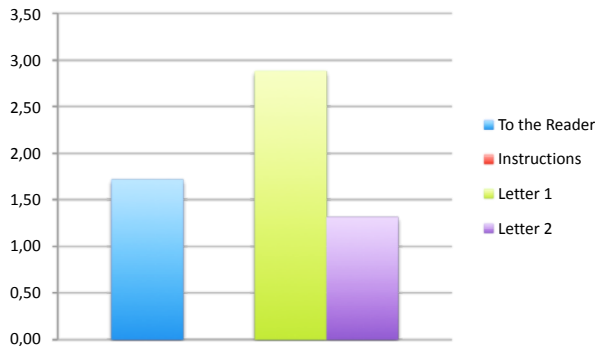


Figure 4.10. Imperative

Imperative forms communicate obligation and necessity directly without modalizing the proposition, as seen in the following examples:

(40) But **let** him once enter on the stage of publike imployment, and hee will soone find, if he can bee but sensible of contempt, the he is vnfit for action (To the Reader).

(41) And then **vse** study for delight but sometimes for recreation, and neither drowne yourselfe in them, nor **omit** those studies whereof you are to haue continual vse (Letter 1).

(42) In conference, **bee** neither suspitious, nor beleeuing all you know, what opinion soeuer you haue of the man that deliuereth it, nor too desirous to contradict (Letter 1).

(43) **Taste** him well before you drinke much of his doctrine (Letter 2).

(44) And when you haue heard it, **try** well what you haue heard before you hold it for a principall (Letter 2).

4.4.2.2. Epistemic modality

The devices related to epistemic modality in the corpus are distributed as shown in Figure 4.11., below. As can be seen, the introductory material presents a higher number of epistemic expressions, as well as a greater variety of them, while they appear unevenly in the other sections of the manual. The following sections provide a description of these structures in the corpus.

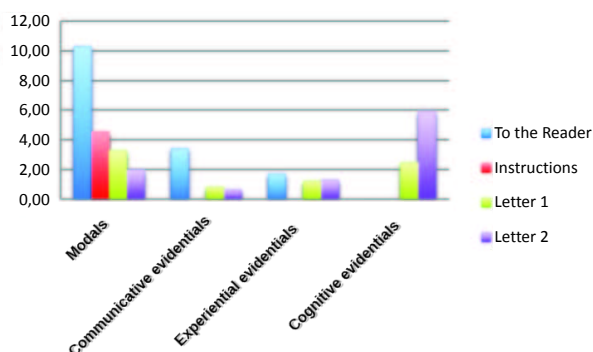


Figure 4.11. Epistemic devices (normalized frequencies)

4.4.2.2.1. Modals

The modal verbs with epistemic meaning in our corpus are *may*, *might*, and *would*, with the distribution shown in Figure 4.12. for the global results (data normalized to 1,000 words). As can be seen in Figure 4.13., *may* is the most used form throughout the corpus, particularly in Letter 1.

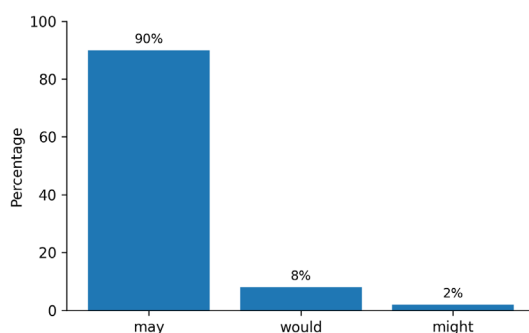


Figure 4.12. Modals with epistemic value, global results

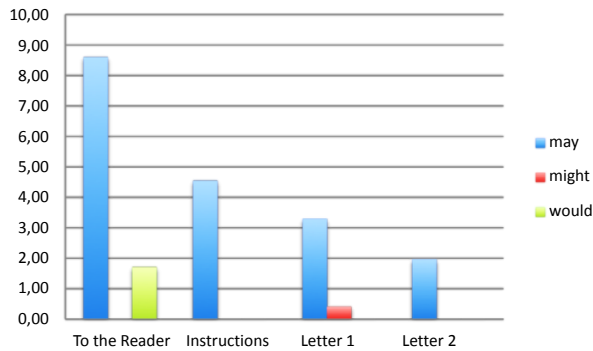


Figure 4.13. Modals with epistemic value, by section

As previously mentioned, Nuyts has defined epistemic modality as “an evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring or has occurred in a possible world” (Nuyts, 2001a, p. 21). For many, epistemic modality is related to different degrees of truth (cf. J. Bybee and Fleischman, 1995). One of these authors is Hoyer (1997, p. 42), who points out that modals are related “with matters of knowledge or belief on which speakers express their judgements about states of affairs, events or actions.”

4.4.2.2.1.1. May

The modal verb *may* is by far the most commonly used to express the possibility or probability that an action will take place in the future in the manual *Profitable Instructions*. At the same time, as seen in examples (45) to (49), this modal verb can also convey politeness, as it avoids imposing an idea on the authors, thereby minimizing the illocutionary force of the proposition (cf. Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero, 2014; Gotti, 2011).

- (45) because thereby a man **may** take a view of the state and manners of the whole world (To the Reader).
- (46) Thy fauorable acceptance **may** occasion others to publish larger peeces of this kind to the increase of their own honor because for the good of the noble youth of this flourishing kingdome (To the Reader).
- (47) ...with infinite other particularities, which for breuities sake I omit, and which yourselfe by diligent reading, obseruation, and conference **may** easily supply (Instructions).
- (48) For the streame that **may** be stopped with a man's hand at the spring head **may** drowne whole armie when it hath run long (Letter 1).
- (49) But in our neighbour countries, both these things are to be marked as well as the latter which containe things for themselues as the former which seeke to know both those, and how their riches and power **may** be to vs available, or those (Letter 2).

In addition to the meaning of probability and the pragmatic implications derived from its use, we can observe that examples (46) and (48), the second *may*, also present an evidential reading. In both cases, the authors demonstrate the logical result derived from processing different premises available from the context. Thus, in (46), the proposition "occasion others to publish..." is the result of an inferential process. Similarly, in (48), "drowne whole armie when..." results from the preceding idea. This evidential use of *may* has been described by Alonso-Almeida and Cruz García (2011) as a characteristic element for expressing inferential information, alongside *must*, in current English scientific-technical texts (cf. Taavitsainen, 2001).

4.4.2.2.1.2. *Would*

This modal only appears with epistemic value in *To the Reader*. Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014), regarding the use of *would* in their corpus of 17th-century English gynaecological texts, point out that *would* "shows prediction along with hypothetical future-oriented events," as seen in example (50).

(50) But the losse **would** haue beene thine, which maist now reap the benefit (To the Reader).

4.4.2.2.1.3. *Might*

The verb *might* appears in the text Letter 1, from which example (51) is extracted. The epistemic use of this modal indicates a remote possibility when compared to *may*, so its use in "I might haue doubted" minimizes the intensity of the proposition "haue doubted."

(51) Though I had at that same time very able aduertisements, for either they sent mee matter which the other omitted, or made it clearer by describing the circumstances, or if added nothing, yet they confirmed that which comming single I **might** haue doubted. This rule I haue, therefore, prescribed to others, and now giue it to myselfe (Letter 1).

4.4.2.2.2. Cognitive evidentiality

As can be seen in examples (52) and (53) provided below, this category includes matrices typically formed with the verb *think*. This verb is usually in the first person, indicating a high degree of subjectivity. Regarding the difference between *I think* and the impersonal structure *methinks*, Bromhead (2009, p. 203) points out the following:

Although they have their origins in slightly different verbs, *methinks* in an impersonal verb and *I think* in a personal verb, the two phrases have the same semantics. They are both first-person exponents of the semantic prime THINK, in the frame THINK LIKE THIS. Although they also appear frequently in discourse, they do not contain the component of the culturally important modern *I think*, "I don't say I know" [...] my analysis and its use of NSM has led to my positing that there is no semantic difference between *methinks* and *I think*.

The following examples illustrate a case of *I think* and another of *methinks* in the corpus:

(52) If there bee but any one thing which your Lordship may make vse of, **I thinke** my pains wel bestowed in all (Letter 1).

(53) For as Germany **me thinks** doth excell in good lawes and well administring of iustice (Letter 2).

4.4.2.2.3. Communicative evidentiality

Communicative evidentiality refers to expressions that indicate knowledge already possessed because it has been previously stated, or which alludes to knowledge being shared in the interaction process. Hence, in the following examples, we find communication verbs such as *confess*, *say*, and *tell*. All the expressions in these examples are matrix clauses and have a clear effect on the propositions they accompany.

- (54) **It must, therefore, be confessed that** to fit men for negotiation the visiting of forraigne countries is most necessary (To the Reader).
- (55) If any curious scholler happening to see this discourse shall quarrell with my diuision of the gifts of the minde, because **he** findeth it not perhaps in his booke, and **saith that** health and euen temper of mind is a kind of strength (Letter 1).
- (56) So yet the iudgement of it, as of mighty riches and all other strengths, stands in the predicament of relation so that **you cannot tell what** the Queene of England is able to do defensively or offensively but by through knowing what they are able to doe with whom shee is to bee matched (Letter 2).

4.4.2.2.4. Experiential evidentiality

This type of evidentiality indicates the manner in which information is obtained through sensory perception. In the following examples, the verbs that indicate perception are *show* and *see*. In (57), the past tense form of *show* appears in the third person and seems to imply a higher degree of certainty, as this verb conveys visual perception. This type of perception is generally considered more reliable than, for instance, auditory perception, although the use of the third person reduces the degree of reliability. However, the inclusion of the evidential phrase “that read a lecture to Hannibal of the Art of war” suggests the author’s intention to enhance the credibility of the account. In (58), the use of the verb *see* expresses a high degree of truthfulness.

- (57) For as **hee that read a lecture to Hannibal of the Art of war, shewed that** himself was no souldier (To the Reader).
- (58) **Your Lordship now seeth that** the end of study, conference, and obseruation is knowledge (Letter 2).

4.5. Conclusion

In this chapter we have conducted an analysis of stance in the volume *Profitable Instructions* (1633) following the model proposed by Marín Arrese (2009). This model has proven to be highly effective in demonstrating the author’s position in relation to the content, both in contemporary and historical texts, as evidenced in this study and previously in Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014). The linguistic structures analysed have been categorized into two broad groups: effective devices and epistemic devices.

Regarding effective devices, these include deontic modals, volitional modals, modals of internal and external possibility and necessity, attitudinal expressions, communicative evidential expressions, and the imperative mood. Deontic modals are used most frequently in Letter 1, followed by *To the Reader*, with fifty percent fewer occurrences. The prominence of deontic modals in Letter 1 can be attributed to the fact that the text serves as a guide outlining what is morally and socially desirable and, consequently, what the reader is expected to undertake. Similarly, Letter 1 contains the highest number of volitional modals, which express the author's commitment to sharing personal experiences as a traveller in order to benefit the reader.

The expression of possibility is used to describe the factors that either facilitate or hinder the realization of a particular event, with Letter 1 again featuring the highest number of instances. The use of devices indicating necessity is not particularly significant throughout the corpus. Regarding attitudinal expressions, the sections Letter 2 and *To the Reader* contain the highest number of examples. The majority of these expressions in the texts aim to enhance the credibility of the information provided. Communicative evidential devices are most commonly found in *To the Reader*, with fewer instances in Letter 1 and Letter 2. In the corpus, these devices highlight what, according to the authors, is desirable and, in one way or another, also indicate their insistence on a particular piece of information or event.

Imperative forms explicitly convey the author's intention for the reader to carry out the described action. Letter 1 employs these forms most frequently, using them to issue direct instructions.

Epistemic devices include epistemic modals, communicative evidentials, experiential evidentials, and cognitive evidentials. Epistemic modals function in the text as indicators of the probability or possibility of an event occurring. This explains their relationship with degrees of certainty and the authors' commitment to the information they present. Similarly, the evidential devices used in the analysed texts appear to indicate varying levels of certainty regarding the proposition they accompany. In other words, expressions such as *I think* and *hee that read a lecture* reveal different levels of subjective information. The text that contains the highest number of epistemic structures is, undoubtedly, *To the Reader*.

Overall, this study demonstrates a preference for certain types of modality in different sections of the volume. Whereas Letter 1 and Letter 2, followed by *Instructions*, predominantly use *effective stance* expressions, *To the Reader* features more epistemic expressions. This distribution can be explained by the objectives of each text. While the prefatory material seeks to convince the reader of the veracity and usefulness of the information contained in the volume, perhaps for promotional purposes, the function of the remaining texts is to explain and instruct, without necessarily needing to persuade the reader of their truthfulness. It is assumed that these texts are based on the authors' experience and, therefore, are not subject to doubt. This distinction is explicitly stated in the prefatory material, even through the use of deontic modals: *The best scholler is fittest for a traueeller, as being able to make the most vseful obseruation. Experience added to learning makes a perfect man. It must, therefore, be confessed that to fit men for negotiation the visiting of forraine countries is most necessary* (A3v-A4r).

Moreover, the use of effective modality also creates greater distance between the writer and the readers, positioning the former on a superior level as the possessor of knowledge. This

conclusion aligns with the findings of Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014, p. 27) in their study of stance in seventeenth-century English texts: "the expression of necessity and obligation as characteristic features of *effective stance* allows the writers to create a significant interpersonal distance between themselves and their audience so that they portray themselves as experts." Ultimately, instructional texts explicitly reveal the authors' positions and do not refrain from imposing their viewpoints regarding the execution of a particular action. This is not the case in *To the Reader*, where the author strategically employs epistemic devices to mitigate the imposition of his stance while simultaneously using effective devices to emphasize the necessity of adhering to the advice provided by the experienced authors included in the prefatory volume.

CHAPTER 5. CRITICAL EDITION OF *PROFITABLE INSTRUCTIONS*

5.1. Editorial conventions

In the edition of the text, the original spelling and punctuation have been preserved, except in cases where punctuation marks and orthography hinder comprehension. Additionally, the use of uppercase and lowercase letters has been standardized according to contemporary conventions. The letters *u* and *v* are used interchangeably to represent the phonemes /v/ and /u/. The omission of nasal consonants is indicated in the text by horizontal tildes over vowels. These abbreviations have been expanded silently. Those words whose archaic spelling may be unclear to modern readers are defined in the glossary provided in section 5.4.

Supralinear letters have been regularized and are presented at the baseline of writing, like the rest of the text. Ampersands (&) have been expanded in all instances where they appear in the text. The apostrophe has been added to words in the genitive case. In cases where apostrophes indicate past tense and participial forms, they have been replaced with *e*, and the consonant has been geminated in accordance with current orthographic rules. These modifications have been made silently.

When two words appear joined together, they have been separated in this edition. These changes have been recorded in the critical apparatus. Regarding visual aspects, the text alignment has been preserved as in the original, including the capitalization of titles, as well as the lists and the braces used within them to create thematic groupings. The titles of works are presented in italics.

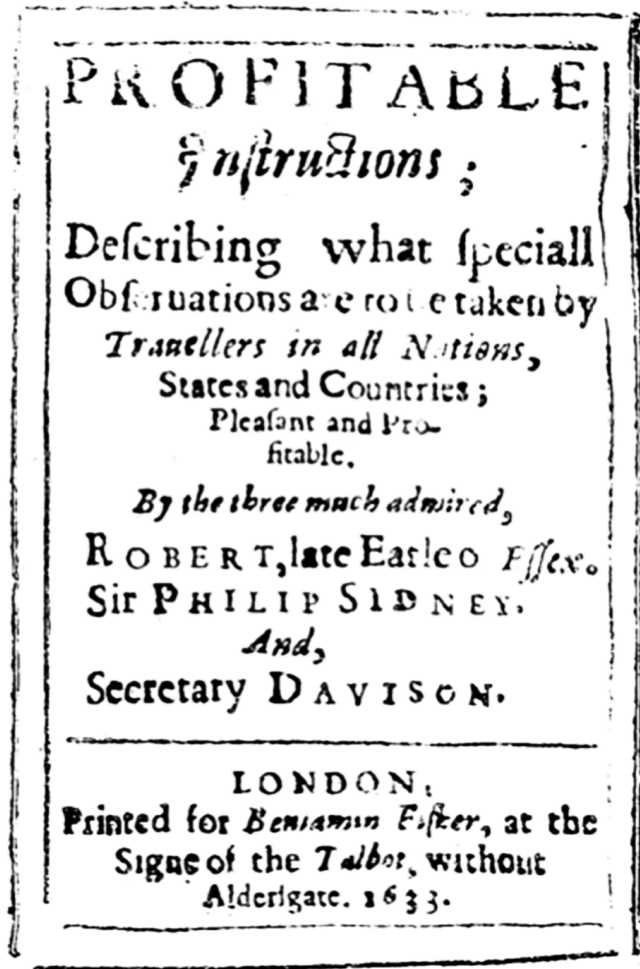


Figure 5.1. Initial title page

5.2. Edition

PROFITABLE
Instructions;
 Describing what speciall
 Obseruations are to be taken by
Trauellers in all Nations,
 States and Countries;
 Pleasant and Pro-
 fitable.
By the the three much admired,

ROBERT, late Earle o[f] Essex.
 Sir PHILIP SIDNEY,
And,
 Secretary DAVISON.

LONDON:
 Printed for *Beniamin Fisher*, at the
 Signe of the *Talbot*, without
 Aldersgate. 1633.

[A1r] To the Reader.

It hath bin lately maintained in an Academicall Dispute, that the best travailing is in⁷ [A1v] maps and good Authors: because thereby a man may take a view of the state and manners of the whole world, and neuer mixwith the corruptions of it. A pleasing opinion for solitary prisoners, who may⁸ [A2r] thus travell over the world, though confined to a dungeon. And, indeed, it is a good way to keepe a man innocent; but with all as ignorant. Our sedentary traueller may passe for a wise man, as long as hee⁹ [A2v] converseth either with dead men by reading; or by writing, with men absent. But let him once enter on the stage of publike imployment, and hee will soone find, if he can bee but sensible of contempt, the he¹⁰ [A3r] is vnfit for action. For ability to treat with men of seuerall humours, faction, and countries; duly to comply with them, or stand off, as occasion shall require, is not gotten onely by reading¹¹ of books, but rather by stu-¹² [A3v] dying of men. Yet this euer holds true.¹³ The best scholler is fittest for a traueller, as being able to make the most vseful obseruation. Experience added to learning makes a perfect man. It must, therefore,¹⁴ [A4r] be confessed that to fit men for negotiation the visiting of forraine countries is most necessary. This kingdom iustly glories in many noble instruments whose abilities have been perfitted by that¹⁵ [A4v] meanes. But with all¹⁶ it cannot bee denied that many men while they ayme at this fitnessse make themselues¹⁷ vnfit for anything. Some goe ouer full of good qualitie and better hopes who, hauing as it were emptied¹⁸ [A5r] themselues in other places, return laden with nothing but the vices, if not the diseases of the countries which they haue seene. And, which is most to bee pittied, they are commonly the best wits, and parest re-¹⁹ [A5v] ceptacles of sound knowledge that are thus corrupted. Whether it be that they are more eagerly assaulted with vice then others or whether they doe more easily admit any obuious impression²⁰. Howeuer it be²¹, [A6r] fit it is that all young trauellers should receiue an antidot against the infectious ayre of other countries.

⁷ Catchword: maps.

⁸ Catchword: thus.

⁹ Catchword: con-.

¹⁰ Catchword: is.

¹¹ by reading] O byreading.

¹² Catchword: dying.

¹³ holds true] O holds true.

¹⁴ Catchword: be.

¹⁵ Catchword: meanes.

¹⁶ with all] O with-all.

¹⁷ themselues] O themselus.

¹⁸ Catchword: them-.

¹⁹ Catchword: cep-.

²⁰ obuious impression] O obuiousimpression.

²¹ Catchword: fit.

For this purpose, diuers learned men haue prescribed rules and precepts, which haue done²² [A6v] much good, howeuer in many things defectiue. For as hee that read a lecture to Hannibal of the Art of War, shewed that himself was no souldier, and therefore vnfit to teach a great commander. So he that neuer²³ [A7r] trauelled but in his books can hardly shew his learning without manifestation of his want of experience.

It hath therefore been much desired that some men who had themselues bin trauellers, and had²⁴ [A7v] made lest vse of their trauels, would giue some vnfalling directions to others. Such are here presented to thee, and in such a volume, as they maybe an helpful, though vnchargeable companion of thy trauell. Pitty it²⁵ [A8r] is that such monuments of wisdom should haue perished for the authours' sakes: men famous in their times for learning, experience nobility, and greatnesse of place. But the losse would haue beene thine, which²⁶ [A8v] maist now reap the benefit. Thy fauorable acceptance may occasion others to publish larger peeces of this kind to the increase of their own honor because for the good of the noble youth of this flourishing kingdome. B. F.

[1]

MOST
NOTABLE
AND EXCEL-
LENT INSTRVC
TIONS FOR
Trauellers.

For²⁷ your better information in the state of any prince or country, it shall be necessary for you to obserue²⁸ [2]

- 1 The country.
- 2 The people.
- 3 The policy and gouernment.

In the country you are to consider,

²² Catchword: *much*.

²³ Catchword: *tra-*.

²⁴ Catchword: *made*.

²⁵ Catchword: *is*.

²⁶ Catchword: *maist*.

²⁷ Decorated initial (size 8 lines).

²⁸ Catchword: 1 The.

I. The scituation and nature therof. As whether it be

1. Island, or continent, neere, or far from the sea.

2. Plaine or hilly; full or scarce of riuers²⁹.

[3]

II Quantity $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ length,} \\ 2 \text{ bredth,} \\ 3 \text{ circuit,} \end{array} \right\}$ where

also the $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ forme.} \\ 2. \text{ climat} \end{array} \right\}$

III. How it confineth with other countries³⁰, and

1. What these countries are.

2. What their strength and riches are.

3. Wherein they consist.

4. Whether friends or enemies.

IV³¹. The fertility thereof, and³² [4] what commodities it doth either,

1. Yeeld and bring forth, and what part thereof hath bin

or is $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ Consumed at home.} \\ 2. \text{ Vented abroad.} \end{array} \right\}$

2. Want; and how, and from whence it is supplied.

1. Nature.

V. Of what strength it is, and how defended against the attempts of bordering neighbors, either by³³

²⁹ Catchword: 2 Quan-.

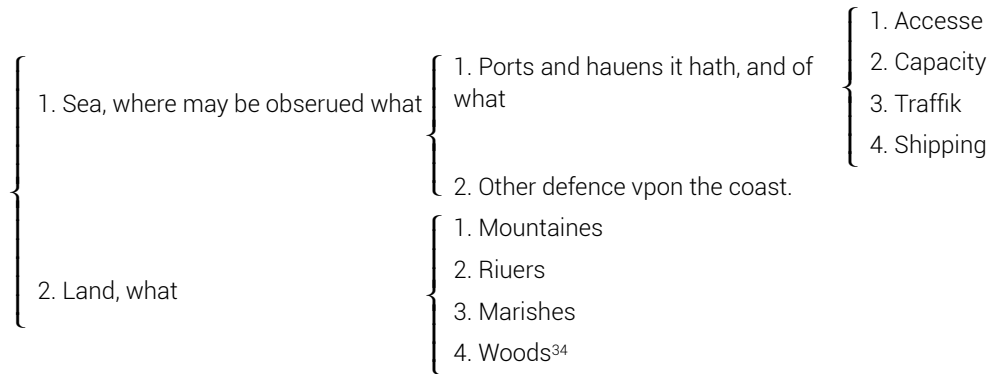
³⁰ countries] O Countrie.

³¹ IV] O IIII.

³² Catchword: what.

³³ Catchword: 1 Sea.

[5]



[6]

2. Art:

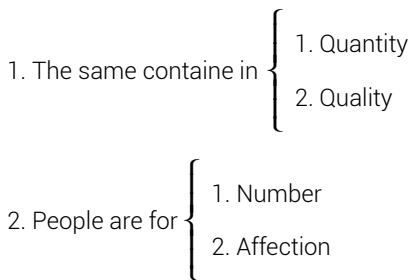
As what cities, townes, castles, etc., it hath either within the land or vpon the frontiers, and how they are

1. fortified,
2. peopled.

VI. What vniuersities or places of learning it hath, and of what

1. foundation,
2. reuenue,
3. profession.

VII. What countries and³⁵ [7] prouinces are subiect thereunto, and what



³⁴ Catchword: 2 Art.

³⁵ Catchword: Pro-.

3. The form of government, and by whom administred.

Secondly is to be considered the people.

- I. Their number; as whe⁻³⁶ [8] ther they be, {
- 1. Many.
 - 2. Few.

II. Quality: As, their trade and kind of life whereunto they giue themselues, and whereby they liue, as whether by

1. Exercise of {
- 1. Mechanicall arts and merchandizes.
 - 2. Husbandry.
 - 3. Armes.

2. Their rents and reuenues.

III. Kinds and degrees.³⁷

1. Natiues {
- 1. Noble,
 - 2. Not noble.

2. Strangers {
- 1. Denizens,
 - 2. No denizens.

1. Noble

Generally, as their

- 1. Number,
- 2. Qualitie and degree of nobility,
- 3. Residance and place of aboade,
- 4. Religion,
- 5. Gifts of bodie and mind,³⁸

³⁶ Catchword: ther.

³⁷ Catchword: 1 Na.

³⁸ Catchword: where.

where also their } 1. Vertues,
 } 2. Vices,
 } 3. Studies,
 } 4. Exercises.

6. Profession of life,

1. Ciuill,
2. Materiall.

7. Meanes wherein are

1. Their reuenues and commings in.
2. Their issuings and goings out.

8. Offices and authority they beare in the State³⁹.

9. Credit and fauour, or disfauour with the

1. Prince,
2. People. And vpon what cause.

10. Factions and partialities, if any be, with the grounds, causes, and proceedings thereof. Particularly, as their

1. Original, antiquity, arms.
2. Names and titles of dignities.
3. Alliances, off-springs, genealogies.⁴⁰

[12] *Thirdly the policy and gouernment.*

In the policy and gouernment falleth to be considered,

1. The lawes whereby it is gouerned.
2. Persons that gouerne.

In the lawes you have to note,

I. Their kindes, as

1. Ciuill,
2. Canon or municipal.

II. Their conformity with the nature of the people.⁴¹

³⁹ Catchword: 9 Cre-.

⁴⁰ Catchwords: *Third*.

⁴¹ Catchword: The.

[13] The persons that gouerne are the magistrates,

1. Soueraigne,
2. Subalternall.

The soueraigne is either

1. One, as a monarch,
2. More, as
 1. Optimates or magnates⁴²,
 2. Popular.

In the former may be comprehended

1. The meanes whereby hee attaineth the same, whe-⁴³ [14] ther by soueraignty, as

1. Succession,
2. Election,
3. Vsurpation.

II. How he doth carry himselfe in administration therof, where may be observed,

1. His court,
2. His wisdome.
3. His inclination to
 1. Peace,
 2. Warre,
4. How hee is beloued⁴⁴ [15] or feared of his
 1. People,
 2. Neighbours.
5. His designments, enterprizes, etc.
6. His disposition, studies, and exercise of
 1. Body,
 2. Mind.
7. His fauorites.
8. The confidence or distrust he hath in his people.

In the things that concerne⁴⁵ [16] his estate fal chiefly to be considered,

1. His reuenues,
 1. Ordinary,
 2. Extraordinary, abroad and at home.
 3. In his freinds and confederacies you are to consider how and vpon what respects they are leagued with him; what helpe, succour, and⁴⁶ commodity he hath had, or expecteth from them, and vpon what ground⁴⁷.

⁴² magnates] O magmagnates.

⁴³ Catchword: ther.

⁴⁴ Catchword: or.

⁴⁵ Catchword: his.

⁴⁶ La letra *n* aparece volteada con la cabeza a nivel de la base de escritura.

⁴⁷ Catchword: 4 His.

[17] His power and strength for offence and defence are to be measured by the

1. Strength of his country.
2. Number and quality of his forces, for
 1. Nature,
 2. Art.
1. Commanders.
2. Souldiers.
 1. Horse,
 2. Foot.
3. Magazin and provisions for his wars, either by⁴⁸ [18]
 1. Sea,
 2. Land.
4. Warres he hath made in times past are to bee considered the
 1. Time,
 2. Cause,
 3. Precedency,
 4. Successe.

The subalterne Magistrate is either,

1. Ecclesiasticall.
2. Ciuill.

Vnder the titles of the eccle-⁴⁹ [19] siasticall Magistrate, you may note,

1. The religion publicly profest, the forme and gouernment of the Church.
2. The persons imployed therein, as
 1. Archbishops,
 2. Bishops,
 3. Deanes, with the
 4. Abbots
 1. Number,
 2. Degree,
 3. Offices,
 4. Authority,
 5. Qualities,
 6. Reuenues.

The ciuill magistrates sualternall are those which vnder the soueraigne haue administration of

1. The State,
2. Iustice.

Among the magistrates that haue the managing of the state follow chiefly to be considered

⁴⁸ Catchword: 1 Sea.

⁴⁹ Catchword: siasticall.

I. The counsell of Estate⁵⁰, [21]

1. Ordinary, attending on the Princes person, as the

1. Great Counsell,
2. Priuy Counsell,
3. Cabinet Counsell.

2. Extraordinary, as the Estates of Parliament.

1. Their number.

2. Their quality, as

1. Place and authoritie in Counsell,
2. Their wisdom,
3. Fidelity,
4. Credit and fauour, ⁵¹ [22] with

- { 1. Prince,
2. People.

II. What counsels of

- { 1. Finances he hath, and
2. Warres by whom
3. Prouincials administred. }

III. Lieutenants and deputies of prouinces, employed either

1. At home,
2. Abroad.

IV⁵². Officers, etc.

1. Admiralty,
2. Ordinance⁵³.

[23]

V. Ambassadors, publike ministers, and intelligemors, employed with

1. Princes,
2. Common-wealths.

In the administration of Iustice, you haue to consider,

⁵⁰ Catchword: 1 Or.

⁵¹ Catchword: with.

⁵² IV] O IIII.

⁵³ Catchword: V. Am-.

I. The order and forme obserued in causes

1. Ciuill,
2. Criminall.

II. The persons of the

1. Presidents⁵⁴,
- [24] 2. Confederates,
3. Aduocates.

Besides these three, occure many other things to bee obserued, as the mint, valuation of coines, exchanges, with infinite other particularities, which for breuities sake I omit, and which yourselfe⁵⁵ by diligent reading, obseruation, and conference may easily⁵⁶supply.

⁵⁴ Catchword: 2 Con.

⁵⁵ yourselfe] O your selfe.

⁵⁶ Catchword: The.

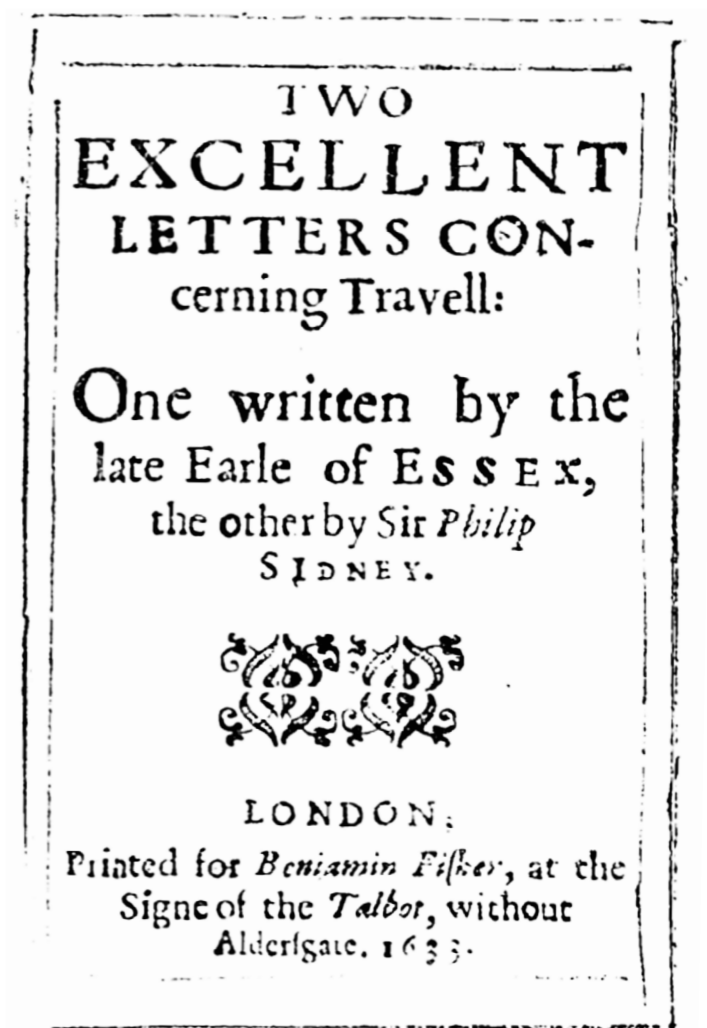


Figure 5.2. Title page in the middle section

TWO
EXCELLENT
LETTERS CON-
cerning Travell:

One written by the
late Earle of Essex,
the other by Sir *Philip*
SIDNEY.

LONDON:
Printed for *Benjamin Fisher*, at the
Signe of the *Talbot*, without
Aldersgate. 1633.

[27⁵⁷]

The Late E. of E. his aduice to the E. of R. in his trauels.

My Lord,

I⁵⁸ hold it for a principle in the course of intelligence of state not to⁵⁹ [28] discourage men of meane capacity from writing vnto mee. Though I had at that same time very able aduertisements, for either they sent mee matter which the other omitted, or made it clearer by describing the circumstances, or if added nothing, yet they confirmed that which com-⁶⁰ [29] ming single I might haue doubted. This rule I haue, therefore, prescribed to others, and now giue it to myselfe⁶¹. Your Lordship hath many friends who haue more leisure to thinke, and more sufficiencie to counsel than myselfe⁶². Yet doth my loue direct these few lines to the study of you. If⁶³ [30] you find out nothing but that which you haue from others. Yet, perhaps, by the opinion of others, I confirme the opinion of wiser than myselfe⁶⁴. Your Lordship's purpose is to trauell, and your study must bee what vse to make thereof. The question is ordinary, and there to it an ordi-⁶⁵ [31] nary answer, that is, your Lordship shall see the beauty of many cities, know the manners of the people of many countries, and learne the language of many nations. Some of these may serue for ornaments, al of them for delight. But your Lordship must looke further than these⁶⁶ [32] things, for the greatest ornament is the beauty of the minde, and when you haue as great delight as the world can afford you, you will confesse that the greatest delight is *Sentire te in dies fieri meliorum*. Therfore your Lordship's end and scope should be that which is morall Philosophy, we call *cul-*⁶⁷ [33] *tum animi*, the gifts and excellencies of the mind. And they are the same as those are of the body: beauty, health, and strength.

The beauty of the minde is shewed in gratefull and acceptable forms as sweetenesse of behaiour. And they that haue that gift cause those to whom the deny⁶⁸ [34] anything to goe better contented away than men of contrary disposition doe those to whom they grant.

Health of mind consisteth in an vnmoueable constancy and freedome from passions, which are indeed the sicknesse of the mind. Strength of mind is that actiue power which maketh⁶⁹ [35]

⁵⁷ Página en blanco, pero en el original se ha contabilizado en el total. Correspondería a la página 26.

⁵⁸ Letra capital inicial. Ocupa seis líneas de escritura.

⁵⁹ Catchword: dis-.

⁶⁰ Catchword: ming.

⁶¹ myselfe] O my selfe.

⁶² myselfe] O my selfe.

⁶³ Catchword: you.

⁶⁴ myselfe] O my selfe.

⁶⁵ Catchword: nary.

⁶⁶ Catchword: things.

⁶⁷ Catchword: tum.

⁶⁸ Catchword: any.

⁶⁹ Catchword: vs.

vs perform good and great things as well as health, and euen temper of mind keepeth vs from euil and base things. First, these three are to bee sought for, although the greatest part of men haue none of them. Some haue one and lacke the other two. Some few attaine to haue two of⁷⁰ [36] them and lacke the third, and almost none of them haue all.

The first way to attaine to experience of formes or behaiour, is to make the minde itselfe⁷¹; expert for behaiour is but a garment, and it is easie to make a comely garment for a body that is well proportioned;⁷² [37] whereas a deformed body can neuer bee helped by taylors's art, but the counterfetting will appeare. And in the forme of the minde, it is a true rule that a man may mend his faults with as little labor as couer them.

The second way is by imitation and, to that end, good⁷³ [38] choyce is to be made with whom we conserue. Therefore your Lordship should affect their companie whom you finde to be worthiest, and not partially thinke them most worthy whom you affect.

To attaine to the health of the minde, we must vse the same meanes which wee⁷⁴ [39] doe for the health of our bodies, that is, to make obseruance what diseases we are aptest to fal into, and to prouide against them. For Physicke hath not more remedy against the disease of the body than Reason hath preseruatiues against the passions of the mind.

To set downe⁷⁵ [40] meanes how a man may attaine to the actiue power mentioned in this place (I mean strength of mind) is much harder then to giue rules in the other two for behaiour and good forme may be gotten by education and health, and euen temper of the minde by good obseruation⁷⁶. But, if there bee not in nature some partner in this actiue strength, it can neuer be attained by any industry. For the vertues that are proper vnto it are liberality, magnanimity, fortitude and magnificence. And some are by nature so couetous, and cowardly, as it is as much in vaine to inflame or inlarge⁷⁷ [42] their minds, as to goe about to plough the rockes. But where these actiue vertues are but budding, they must be repaired by ripenesse of iudgement, and custome of wel-doing. Clearnesse of iudgement makes men liberall, for it teacheth them to esteeme of the goods of Fortune,⁷⁸ not for themselues (for so they are but taylors to them) but for their vse, for so they are Lords ouer them. And it maketh vs know that it is *Beat[us] dare, quam accipere*, the one being a badge of Soueraignty, the other of subiection.

⁷⁰ Catchword: them.

⁷¹ itselfe] O it selfe.

⁷² Catchword: where-.

⁷³ Catchword: choyce.

⁷⁴ Catchword: doe.

⁷⁵ Catchword: means.

⁷⁶ Catchword: but.

⁷⁷ Catchword: their.

⁷⁸ Catchword: not.

Also it leadeth vs to fortitude. For it teacheth that wee⁷⁹ [44] should not too much prize life, which we cannot keepe, nor feare death, which wee cannot shunne that as he which dieth nobly, doth liue for euer. So he that doth liue in feare doth die continually. I shall not need to proue these two things. For we see by experience, they hold⁸⁰ [45] true in all things which I haue hitherto set downe. What I desire or wish, I would haue your Lordship to take in minde what it is to make yourselfe⁸¹ an expert man, and what are the generall helps which all men must vse which haue the same desire. I will now moue your⁸² [46] Lordship to consider what helps your trauell will gaine you.

First, when you see infinite variety of behaiour and manners of men, you must choose and imitate the best. When you see new delights that neuer knew, and haue passions stirred in you which you neuer felt, you shall⁸³ [47] know what disease your minde is aptest to fall into, and what the things are that bred that disease. When you come into the armies, or places where you shall see anything⁸⁴ of the wars, you shall conforme your natural courage to be fit for true fortitude, which is not giuen vnto man by⁸⁵ [48] nature, but must grow out of the discourse of reason. And lastly, in your trauell you shall haue great help to attaine to knowledge, which is not onely the excellentest thing in man, but the very excellency of man.

In manners, your Lordship must not be caught with no-⁸⁶ [49] uelties, which are pleasing to young men, nor infected with custome, which maketh vs keepe our owne ill⁸⁷ graces, and participate of those wee see eueryday, nor giuen to affectation, which is a generall fault amongst English trauellers, which is both displeasing and ridiculous.⁸⁸

[50] In discovering your passions and meeting with them, giue no way or dispense with yourselfe⁸⁹ resolving to conquer yourselfe⁹⁰ in all. For the streame that may be stopped with a man's hand at the spring head⁹¹ may drowne whole armie when it hath run long.

⁷⁹ Catchword: should.

⁸⁰ Catchword: true.

⁸¹ yourselfe] O your selfe.

⁸² Catchword: Lord-.

⁸³ Catchword: know.

⁸⁴ anything] O any thing.

⁸⁵ Catchword: na-.

⁸⁶ Catchword: uelties.

⁸⁷ ill] O <...>ll.

⁸⁸ Catchword: In.

⁸⁹ yourselfe] O your selfe.

⁹⁰ yourselfe] O your selfe.

⁹¹ spring head] O Spring-head.

In your being in⁹² [51] warres, think it better at the first to doe a great deale too much that anything⁹³ too little. For a young man, especially a stranger's first actions are looked vpon, and reputation once gotten is easily kept. But an euill impression conceiued at the first is not easily remoued.⁹⁴

[52] The last thing I am to speake is but the first you are to seeke. It is knowledge. To praise knowledge, or to perswade your Lordship to seeke it, I shall not need to vse many words. I shall onely say where it is wanting that a man is voyd of any good.

Without it there can be no fortitude.⁹⁵ [53] For all dangers come of fury, and fury is passion, and passions euer turne to the contraries. And therfore the most furious men, when their first blast is spent, be commonly the most fearfull.

Without it, there can be no liberalitie. Forgiuing⁹⁶ is but want of audicitie to deny,⁹⁷ [54] or else discretion to poysse.

Without it, there can be no iustice. Forgiuing⁹⁸ to a man that which is his owne, is but chance, or want of a corrupter or seducer.

Without it, there can be no constancy or patience. For suffering is but dulnesse or senselesnesse.⁹⁹

Without it there can be no temperance. For we shall restraine ourselues¹⁰⁰ from good as well as from euill. For hee that cannot discern cannot elect or choose. Nay, without it, there can bee no true religion. All other devotion being but a blinde zeale, which is as strong in heresie as in truth.¹⁰¹

To reckon vp all the parts of knowledge, and to shew the way to attaine to euery part, is a worke too great for mee to vndertake at any time, and too long to discourse at this time. Therefore I will onely speake of such a knowledge as your Lordship shold haue desire to seeke, and¹⁰² [57] shall haue meanes to compasse. I forbear also to speake of diuine knowledge, which must direct our faith, both because I find my owne insufficiency, and because I hope your Lordship

⁹² Catchword: warres.

⁹³ anything] O any thing.

⁹⁴ Catchword: The.

⁹⁵ Catchword: for.

⁹⁶ Forgiuing] O for giuing.

⁹⁷ Catchword: or.

⁹⁸ Forgiuing] O for giuing.

⁹⁹ Catchword: With-.

¹⁰⁰ ourselues] O ourselues.

¹⁰¹ Catchword: To.

¹⁰² Catchword: shall.

doth nourish the seeds of religion, which during your at *Cambridge* were sown¹⁰³ [58] in you. I will only say this. That, as the irresolute man, can neuer performe any action well, so hee that is not resolved in religion can bee resolved in nothing else. But that Ciuill knowledge which will make you doe wel by yourselfe,¹⁰⁴ and good vnto others, must bee sought by¹⁰⁵ [50] study by conference and by obseruation.

In the course of your study and choice of your booke, you must looke to haue the grounds of learning, which are the liberal Arts. And then vse study for¹⁰⁶ delight but sometimes for recreation, and neither drowne yourselfe¹⁰⁷ in them, nor omit those¹⁰⁸ [60] studies whereof you are to haue continual vse. Aboue all other bookes, bee conuersant in histories, for they will best instruct you in matters morall, politike, and military by which, and in which, you must settle your iudgment.

I make conference the second help to knowledge in order,¹⁰⁹ [61] though I finde it the first and greatest in profiting, and I haue so placed them because hee that is not studied, knoweth not what to doubt, nor what to¹¹⁰ aske. To profit much by conference, you must chuse to conferre with expert men. For men will be of contrary opinions, and euery¹¹¹ [62] one will make his owne probable. In conference, bee neither suspitious, nor beleeuing all you know, what opinion soeuer you haue of the man that deliuereth it, nor too desirous to contradict. I doe conclude this point of conference with this aduice that your Lordship should¹¹² [63] rather go an hundred miles to speake with one wise man than fīue miles to see a fair towne.

The third way to attaine to knowledge is obseruation, and not long life, nor seeing much because, as he rides away¹¹³ often, and takes no care of notes or marks to direct him if hee¹¹⁴ [63] come the same way againe to make him know where hee is. If he come vnto it, he shall neuer proue good guide. So, hee that liueth long, and seeth much, and obserueth nothing, shall neuer proue any wise man.

¹⁰³ Catchword: in.

¹⁰⁴ yourselfe] O your selfe.

¹⁰⁵ Catchword: Study.

¹⁰⁶ for] O of.

¹⁰⁷ yourselfe] O your selfe.

¹⁰⁸ Catchword: studies.

¹⁰⁹ Catchword: though.

¹¹⁰ what to] O whatto.

¹¹¹ Catchword: one.

¹¹² Catchword: rather.

¹¹³ away] O a way.

¹¹⁴ Catchword: come.

The vse of obseruation is in noting the coherence of cau-¹¹⁵ [65] ses, effects, counsels, and successes¹¹⁶, with the proportion and likenesse betweene Nature and Nature, Fortune and Fortune, Action and Action, State and State, Time past and Time present.

Your Lordship now seeth that the end of study, conference, and obseruation is knowledge.¹¹⁷ [66] You must know also that the true end of knowledge is clearenesse and strength of iudgement, and not ostentation, or ability to discourse, which I doe the rather put your Lordship in mind of because the most part of noblemen and gentlemen of our time haue no other vse nor end of¹¹⁸ [67] their learning but their table-talke. But God knoweth they haue gotten little that haue onely this discoursing gift. For though like empty vessels they sound loud when a man knockes vpon their outsides¹¹⁹, yet if you peere into them, you shall finde that they are full of nothing¹²⁰ [68] but winde.

This rule holdeth not onely in knowledge, or in the vertue of knowledge, or in the vertue of prudence, but in all other vertues.

I will here breake off, for I find that I have both exceeded the conuenient length of a letter and come short of such dis-¹²¹ [69] course as this subiect doth deserue.

Your Lordship, perhaps, may finde many things in this paper superfluous, and most of them lame. I will, as well as I can, supply that defect vpon the second advertisement, if you call mee to an account. What confusion soeuer you¹²², [70] finde in my order or method, is not onely my fault (whose wits are confounded with too much businesse) but the fault of this season, being written in Christmas, which confusion and disorder hath by tradition not only been winked at, but warranted. If there bee but any one thing which¹²³ [71] your Lordship may make vse of, I thinke my pains wel bestowed in all. And how weake soeuer my counsels bee, my wishes shall be as strong as any man's for your Lordship's happines.

Your Lordship's affectionate cousen, E.

Greenwich, Ianu. 4.

1596.¹²⁴

¹¹⁵ Catchword: ses.

¹¹⁶ successes] O successes.

¹¹⁷ Catchword: you.

¹¹⁸ Catchword: their.

¹¹⁹ outsides] O out sides.

¹²⁰ Catchword: but.

¹²¹ Catchword: course.

¹²² Catchword: find.

¹²³ Catchword: your.

¹²⁴ Catchword: Post.

[72]

Postscript.

If¹²⁵ any curious scholler happening to see this discourse shall quarrell with my diuision of the gifts of the minde, because he findeth it not perhaps in his booke, and saith that health and euen temper of mind is a kind of strength,¹²⁶ [73] and so I haue erred against the rule that *Membra diuidenda non debent confundi*. I answer him the qualities of health and strength, as I haue set them downe, are not only vnlike, but meer contraries, for the one bindeth the mind and restraineth it. The other raiseth and enlargeth it.¹²⁷

[74]

A letter to the same purpose.

My¹²⁸ good brother,

You haue thought vnkindnesse in me that I haue not written oftner vnto you, and haue desired I should¹²⁹ [75] write vnto you something of my opinion touching your trauell, you being perswaded my experience therin to be something,¹³⁰ which I must needs confesse, but not as you take it. For you thinke my experience growes from the good things which I haue learned, but I know only¹³¹ [76] experience which I haue gotten is to find how much I might haue learned, and how much indeed I haue missed for want of directing my course to the right end, and by the right meanes.

I thinke you haue read *Aristotles* "Ethiques". If you haue, you know it is the beginning and foundation of all his¹³² [77] worke, the end to which euery man doth and ought to be his greatest and smallest actions. I am sure you haue imprinted in your mind the scope and marke you meane, by your paines, to shoot at. For if you should trauell but to trauell, or to say you had trauelled, certainly you¹³³ [78] should proue a pilgrim, no more. But I presume so well of you that, though a great number of vs never thought in ourselves¹³⁴ why we went but a certain tickling humour to doe as other men had done, you purpose, being a gentleman borne, to

¹²⁵ La letra inicial ocupa seis líneas.

¹²⁶ Catchword: and.

¹²⁷ Catchword: A.

¹²⁸ La letra inicial ocupa seis líneas.

¹²⁹ Catchword: write.

¹³⁰ something] O something.

¹³¹ Catchword: ex-.

¹³² Catchword: worke.

¹³³ Catchword: should.

¹³⁴ ourselves] O our selves.

furnish yourself¹³⁵ with the knowledge¹³⁶ [79] of such things as may bee serviceable for your country and calling, which certainly stands not in the change of ayre, for the warmest sunne makes not a wise man no, nor in learning languages (although they be of serviceable vse). For words are but words in what language soever they be;¹³⁷ [80] and much lesse in¹³⁸ that all of vs come home full of disguisements not onely of apparel, but of our countenances, as though the credit of a traueller stood all vpon his outside. But in the right informing your minde with those things which are most notable in those places which you come¹³⁹ [81] vnto. Of which as the one kinde is so vaine, as I thinke, ere it bee long like the Mountebanks in Italy, wee travellers shall bee made sport of in comedies. So, may I iustly say: who rightly trauels with the eye of *Vlisses* doth take one of the most excellent ways of worldly wisdom. For hard¹⁴⁰ [82] sure it is to know England without you know it by comparing it with some other countrey no more than a man can know the swiftnesse of his horse without seeing him well matched. For you that are a logician know that as greatnesse of itselfe¹⁴¹ is a quantity. So yet the iudgement of¹⁴² [83] it, as of mighty riches and all other strengths, stands in the predicament of relation so that you cannot tell what the Queene of England is able to do defensively or offensively but by through knowing what they are able to doe with whom shee is to bee matched.

This therefore is one¹⁴³ [84] notable vse of travellers, who¹⁴⁴ stands in the mixed and correlative knowledge of thing, in which kinde comes in the knowledge of all legues betwixt Prince and Prince, the topographicall description of each country, how the one lyes by scituation to hurt or helpe the other, how¹⁴⁵ [85] they are to sea, well harbored or not, how stored with shippes, how with reuenue, how with fortification and garrisons, how the people, warlike trained or kept vnder, with many other such warlike considerations, which as they confusedly come into my mind, so I, for want of leisure, hasti-¹⁴⁶ [86] ly set them downe. But these things, as I haue said, are of the first kinde which stands in the ballancing one thing with the other.

¹³⁵ Yourselfe] O your selfe.

¹³⁶ Catchword: of.

¹³⁷ Catchword: and.

¹³⁸ lesse in] O lessein.

¹³⁹ Catchword: vn-.

¹⁴⁰ Catchword: sure.

¹⁴¹ itselfe] O it selfe.

¹⁴² Catchword: it.

¹⁴³ Catchword: no-.

¹⁴⁴ who] O which.

¹⁴⁵ Catchword: they.

¹⁴⁶ Catchword: ly.

The other kinde of knowledge is them which stand in the things which are in themselues¹⁴⁷ either simply good or simply evill, and so serve for a¹⁴⁸ [87] right instruction, or a shunning example. Of these *Homer* meant in this verse: *Qui multos hominum mores cognouit et vrbes*. For he doth not meane by *Mores*, how to looke or put off one's cap with a new found grace, although true behavior is not to be despised. Marry my heresie is that the¹⁴⁹ [88] English behaviour is best in England, and the Italians in Italie. But *mores* hee takes for that from whence morall philosophy is so called the certaintnesse of true discerning of men's mindes both in vertue, passion, and vices. And when he saith *cognouit vrbes* (If I be not decei-¹⁵⁰ [89] ued) to have seene townes and marke their buildings. For surely houses are nut houses in every place. They doe but differ *secundum magis et minus*, but hee intends to their religion, policies, lawes, bringing vp of children, discipline both for warre and peace, and such like. These I take to¹⁵¹ [90] be of the second kind which are euer worthy to be knowne for their owne sakes. As surely in the great Turke, though wee have nothing to doe with them, yet his discipline in warre matters is, *propter se*, worthy to be learned. Nay, weven in the kingdome of China, which is almost as far¹⁵² [91] as the Antippodes from vs, their good lawes and customes are to be learned. But to know their riches and power is of little purpose for vs since that can neither advance vs, nor hinder vs. But in our neighbour countries, both these things are to be marked as well as the latter which containe¹⁵³ [92] things for themselves as the former which seeke to know both those, and how their riches and power may be to vs available, or otherwise. The countries fittest for both these are those¹⁵⁴ you are going into. France above all other most needfull for vs to marke, especially in the former kind. Next¹⁵⁵ [93] is Spaine and the Low Countries,¹⁵⁶ then Germany, which in my opinion excels all others as much on the latter consideration, as the other doth in the former. Yet neither are voyd of neither. For as Germany me thinks doth excell in good lawes and well administring of iustice. So are wee¹⁵⁷ [94] likewise to consider in it the many princes with whom we may have league, the places of trade, and meanes to draw both souldiers and furniture there in time of need. So, on the other side as in France and Spaine, we are principally to marke how they stand towards vs both in power and¹⁵⁸ [95] inclination. So are they, not without good and fitting vse, even in the generality of wisdom to bee knowne, as in France the Courts of

¹⁴⁷ themselves] O themselus.

¹⁴⁸ Catchword: right.

¹⁴⁹ Catchword: Eng-.

¹⁵⁰ Catchword: ued.

¹⁵¹ Catchword: be.

¹⁵² Catchword: as.

¹⁵³ Catchword: things.

¹⁵⁴ are those] O arethose.

¹⁵⁵ Catchword: is.

¹⁵⁶ Low Countries] O Low-Countries.

¹⁵⁷ Catchword: like-.

¹⁵⁸ Catchword: in-.

Parliament, their subultern¹⁵⁹ iurisdiction and their continual keeping of payed souldiers. In Spaine, their good & grave proceedings, their keeping so ma-¹⁶⁰ [96] ny prouinces vnder them, and by what manner with the true points of honor.

Wherein since they haue the most open conceit, wherein they seeme ouer curious, it is an easie matter to cut off when a man sees the bottom Flanders likewise. Besides the neighbourhood¹⁶¹ with vs, and the an-¹⁶² [97] nexed considerations therunto hath diuers things to be learned, especially their gouerning, their merchants and other trades. Also, for Italy, wee know not what wee haue or can haue to doe with them, but to buy their silkes and wines. And, as for the other point, except Venice, whose good¹⁶³ [98] lawes and customes wee can hardly proportion to ourselues¹⁶⁴. Because they are quite of a contrary gouernment, there is little there but tyrannous oppression, and seruil yeelding to them that haue little or no right ouer them. And, for the men, you shall haue there, although indeed some be excel-¹⁶⁵ [99] lently learned, yet are they all giuen to counterfeit learning. As a man shall learne among them more false grounds of things then in any place else I know. For from a tapster vpwards¹⁶⁶, they are all discoursers in certain matters and qualities. As horsmanship, wea-¹⁶⁷ [100] pons, wayting, and such are better there then in other Countries. But, for other matters, as well (if not better) you shall haue them in nearer places.

Now resteth in my memory but this point, which indeed is the chiefe to you of all others; which is,¹⁶⁸ [101] the chiefe of what men you are to direct yourselfe¹⁶⁹ to, for it is certaine no vessell can leave a worse taste in the liquor it contains than a wrong teacher infects an vnskillfull hearer with that which hardly will euer out. I will not tell¹⁷⁰ you some absurdities I haue heard some¹⁷¹ [102] trauellers tell. Taste him well before you drinke much of his doctrine. And when you haue heard it, try well what you haue heard before you hold it for a principall. For one error is the mother of a thousand. But you may say, how shall I get excellent men to take¹⁷² [103] paines to speake with me? Truly, in few words: either much expence or much humblenesse.

FINIS.

¹⁵⁹ subultern] O subulter.

¹⁶⁰ Catchword: ny.

¹⁶¹ neighbourhood] O neighbour-hood.

¹⁶² Catchword: nexed.

¹⁶³ Catchword: Lawes.

¹⁶⁴ ourselues] O our selues.

¹⁶⁵ Catchword: lently.

¹⁶⁶ vpwards] O vp wards.

¹⁶⁷ Catchword: pons.

¹⁶⁸ Catchword: the.

¹⁶⁹ Catchword: yourselfe] O your selfe.

¹⁷⁰ tell] O tel.

¹⁷¹ Catchword: Tra-.

¹⁷² Catchword: paines.

5.3. Explanatory notes

The following notes aim to contextualize *Profitable Instructions* from a social and cultural perspective, providing explanations for references that might otherwise go unnoticed due to their common usage. An example is *Christmas*, which, as will be shown, serves to provide the reader with additional information. The notes also include translations of Latin excerpts and entries are arranged alphabetically.

Academic dispute, p. 90:

Academies and the offices of printers and publishers were the two institutions where all types of social, political, and cultural news were gathered and debated throughout Europe. These institutions re-emerged in Italy in the 14th century and gradually expanded northward during the 15th and 16th centuries. The mobility of educated travellers, correspondence, and the printing press formed a strong network that began to facilitate greater accessibility to information for a wider audience. Within this intellectual circuit, letters constituted the most vivid documentary evidence of the communication maintained by the European intellectual community of the time. In the words of Stagl (1995, pp. 98–99), academies functioned as “documentation centres”:

...[M]odeled after Plato's "Academy", the academies were places where like-minded persons met to discuss topics of common interest... for the academies mutual self-improvement of their members and guests was the more important goal... These institutions... were to provide rational foundations for human thought and action. By their means [they] aspired to a quasi-religious and quasi-political role.

Aristotle's "Ethiques", p. 109: In his endeavour to revisit classical antiquity, the Earl of Essex refers to the Aristotelian experience of travel in his letter to the Earl of Rutland, emphasizing “the necessity of making wise choices... and the moral responsibility” of the traveller. The Aristotelian concept of friendship (*philia*), as Martínez Manzano and Calvo Martínez (2007, p. 18) note, is evident in both letters. This concept “is not limited to friendship between individuals but also includes relationships among family members and citizens, thereby illustrating the inherently social nature of human beings. And hence, eventually, the transition... from ethics to politics (X 9), insofar as both disciplines concern themselves with individuals and the community.” Aristotle's ethical works comprise several treatises: *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Eudemian Ethics*, and *Magna Moralia*, in which ethics is first treated as an independent philosophical discipline. *Nicomachean Ethics*, of a practical nature, had significant influence on medieval Europe and remains relevant today in the issues it addresses. As Aristotle served as the tutor to Alexander the Great, his work, particularly his ethical doctrine, “is above all an ethics of virtue” (Martínez Manzano and Calvo Martínez, 2007, p. 14), understood in *Nicomachean Ethics* as the habits acquired through the repetition of actions.

Art of the War, p. 91: *Art of the War* refers to strategies and tactics employed in warfare by the Greeks and Macedonians, including figures such as Hamilcar Barca and Hannibal (3rd–2nd centuries BCE), as well as by the Romans in a historical period in which all territories surrounding the Mediterranean Sea sought to establish political supremacy in the region.

Beatius dare, quam accipere, p. 102: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." This Latin expression is recorded in the book *Treatise on the Love of God* (1592, p. 1050), written by Father Master F. Cristoval [sic] de Fonseca, of the Order of Saint Augustine. It appears in the final section of the text, dedicated to the *Table of Places in the Holy Scripture*, within the *Acta Apostolorum / Acts of the Apostles*, where it is cited as follows: "20. Beatus et magis dare quam accipere. 78."

Cambridge, p. 105: Cambridge dominated the intellectual sphere during the reign of Edward VI (1547–1553) and was one of the institutions in which monarchs such as Henry VIII invested capital to enhance the training of English ambassadors abroad. By that time, possessing various qualities and belonging to the clergy, nobility, or court circles was no longer sufficient; instead, a solid education and knowledge of foreign countries had become indispensable (Howard, 1914, pp. 6–11).

Christmas, p. 106: This reference is understood to be erroneous and is believed to correspond to a later addition that was not present in the original manuscript.

The only alternative interpretation which could be put upon the facts is that the dating of the first letter, and its reference to Christmas, is erroneous. This would have significant implication, for it would suggest that these details were added to the original Rutland letter as part of the process by which it was readied for semi-public circulation in manuscript form. There can be no doubt that Essex's first Rutland letter was circulated on a fairly large scale (Hammer, 1995, p. 321).

In an earlier article, Hammer (1994, p. 172) provides a more detailed account of this matter, discussing the timeline and movements of the Earl of Essex:

Rather more can be said, however, about the circumstances in which the initial Rutland letter was composed. According to the version circulated in early 1596, this letter contains imperfections because it was 'written in Christmas.' Yet Rutland left on his Continental tour much earlier than this. Sir Robert Sidney reported his arrival in the Netherlands, carrying written instructions from Essex, at the beginning of November. This suggests that the letter written over Christmas was either a new set of instructions or they were the same instructions, deliberately polished up over the Christmas period for public circulation.

Cultum animi, p. 101: Cultivation of the mind. The significance of Latin as an international language is evident through its frequent citations throughout the text. The use of Latinisms, serving a rhetorical function, is a constant feature in both letters, particularly in the first one, written by the Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland.

English travellers, p. 103: As noted by Sherman (2002, p. 18), Brazil, the Caribbean, Newfoundland, and Northern Russia were among the destinations of English travellers between 1480 and 1550. However, their expeditions to these territories did not decisively impact the evolution of the travel genre or the global colonization process. From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, the English, alongside the Germans, became the most persistent travellers in Europe (Howard, 1914, pp. 8–12). Recognizing their geographically peripheral position, somewhat removed from the circuit of civilization and the more ancient nations of the European continent, they fervently sought to explore global affairs, responding enthusiastically to the compelling call of "urbane civilization... 'hustling for culture'."

Faith, p. 104: The first piece of advice given by Sir Robert Dallington to travellers in *A Method for Travell shewed by taking the view of France, As it stooode in the yeare of our Lord* (1598) is to nourish and maintain an unwavering faith. The Early Modern period is characterized by the progressive independence of the state from ecclesiastical institutions.

Flanders, p. 110: The *County of Flanders* (862–1795) during this period encompassed the northwestern part of present-day Belgium, extensive territories in northern modern France, and a small area of what is now the Netherlands. It was one of the regions that formed the so-called Seventeen Provinces, inherited by Charles V in 1506, and remained under Spanish rule between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

France, p. 109: At the end of the sixteenth century, France, Spain, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire were the most formidable rivals challenging England's political, commercial, and economic supremacy. From an educational perspective, France stood out as the nearest nation where the cosmopolitanism characteristic of the era was most evident. Howard (1914, p. 3) aptly remarks: "the young gentleman fresh from his university [sailed] to complete his education by a look at the most civilized countries of the world. He approached the Continent with an inquiring, open mind, eager to learn, quick to imitate the refinements and ideas of countries older than his own... journeyed to France, comparing governments and manners, watching everything, noting everything, and coming home to benefit their country by new ideas". Visiting the most civilized European nations significantly facilitated the learning of their languages, providing yet another reason to undertake a journey. This was especially relevant at a time when vernacular languages were emerging as the literary vehicle of the most advanced nations, attaining an equal status with Latin, which had held linguistic primacy until then. By the early 17th century, France had become the most frequently visited country by English travellers, as the social, political, and religious conditions in Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain were not conducive to travel. (Howard, 1914, pp. 10–39).

Germany, p. 109: Before France, Germany became the primary destination for travellers during the reign of Edward VI of England. This was due to the affinity between English and German political, academic, and religious institutions, particularly in light of the Protestant Reformation, which had begun to shape the intellectual and religious landscape of Germany.

Hannibal, p. 91: The Carthaginian general Hannibal (3rd–2nd century BCE) is regarded as one of the most brilliant strategists in history. The son of the renowned general Hamilcar Barca, Hannibal demonstrated exceptional military talent, applying the tactical skills inherited from his father with remarkable mastery in battlefield logistics. The Romans, known for their persistence, discipline, and expertise in the art of war, were stunned by Hannibal's strategic ingenuity during the Second Punic War (Dodge, 1896). The description provided by Dodge (1896, p. 653) leaves no doubt: "As a soldier, in the countenance he presented to the stoutest of foes and in the constancy he exhibited under the bitterest adversity, Hannibal stands alone and unequalled. As a man, no character in history exhibits a purer life or nobler patriotism".

Kingdom of China, p. 109: The relations between Europeans and non-Europeans have been the subject of numerous scholarly studies in recent decades, particularly those focusing on

the Early Modern English period. Morris (2010), in his work *Why the West Rules—For Now: The Patterns of History and What They Reveal About the Future*, emphasizes the superiority of China between the 7th and 9th centuries, particularly during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), which was succeeded by the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1911) in the 17th century, marking the beginning of the gradual ascendancy of the West. Focusing on 16th-century travel instructions, Carey (2009, p. 171) highlights the significant appeal of China as a destination in several travel books published by Richard Hakluyt. These texts provide guidelines emphasizing observation and commercial activities, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

Hakluyt's contributions constitute what can be regarded as a third form of instruction in the period, geared around the practical and immediate need to issue departing ships with coherent objectives and orders. The earliest document of this kind printed by Hakluyt was composed by Sebastian Cabot in 1553. Published under the triple heading 'Ordinances, instructions, and advertisements', the work set out guidelines for a mission to find the Northeast Passage in a voyage of exploration led by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor. If a route to China could be found, the value to English commerce was incalculable, circumventing the strengths of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and avoiding contact with Spanish rivals in the New World.

Low Countries, p. 109: At the end of the 16th century, the territory of the Low Countries encompassed present-day Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, as well as northern regions of France and a small part of western Germany. This area formed part of the Seventeen Provinces, which Charles V inherited in the 15th century. However, these provinces later came into conflict with the Spanish Crown, culminating in the Treaty of Utrecht and the establishment of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, officially recognized by England and France in 1596. While the main focus of the conflict was Spain's struggle against the United Provinces -which received military support from England in what became known as the Eighty Years' War- a series of military confrontations between Spain and England also took place, both in continental Europe and overseas.

Membra diuidenda non debent confundi, p. 107: The members to be divided must not be confused.

Moral Philosophy, pp. 101, 109: According to Aristotle, "moral philosophy is not pursued simply to understand what virtue is, but to become good: 'It is not enough to know virtue, we must also strive to possess and practice it' (1179b1-3)" (Martínez Manzano and Calvo Martínez, 2007, p. 18). Furthermore, in the Early Modern period, Moral Philosophy and Religion were closely intertwined with Medicine. Both disciplines were recommended as therapeutic measures for ailments such as Melancholy, an extensively explored subject in moralist and clerical writings of the time, as Schmidt (2007) points out in *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Madness in Early Modern England*. He emphasizes the therapeutic benefits of certain practices in restoring mental well-being, stating: "...moral philosophical therapy asserted the importance of distraction, diversion, and entertainment in restoring the mind's balance" (Schmidt, 2007, p. 14).

Mores, p. 109: Customs.

Mountebanks, p. 108: Numerous studies have documented the widespread presence and rhetoric of mountebanks –or charlatans– in France, Germany, and particularly Italy. In this regard, the English traveller Thomas Coryat, in *Coryats Crudities* (1611), highlights their high regard in Venice, where they perform throughout the year. Similarly, the writer John Marston dedicates an entire work to this figure in *Antimasque of Mountebanks* (1618). Regarding their role during that period, Bowers (2008, p. 43) states: “Moralists, physicians, and mountebanks (often in good conscience), offered answers to a citizenry that was paralyzed by the very questions and terrified by the experience [of the] plague”.

Nature and Nature, Fortune and Fortune, Action and Action, State and State, Time Past and Time Present, p. 106: This expression is cited in a letter sent by Baron Ralph Hopton to the Marquess of Hertford, under whose command he served as Lieutenant General at the outset of the conflict that led to the overthrow of Charles I of England. In this epistolary exchange, Hopton informs the Marquess that the King has been made aware of the failed mission in the towns of Mineshead and Dunster, located in western England. He also provides a comprehensive response to each of the comments and requests previously addressed to him. As Southern (1825) explains, the letter is a faithful reproduction of the original, which was published in pamphlet form. However, there is no definitive evidence confirming its authenticity beyond the internal evidence found within the document itself.

Propter se, p. 109: For its own sake.

Qui multos hominum mores cognouit et urbes, p. 109: “He who has known the customs of many men and cities (their cultures).” Kuin (2012, p. 880) argues that this phrase references Homer (according to Horace) in his *Ars poetica: dic mihi, Musa, virum, captae post tempora Troiae | qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes* (ll. 140-1) (tell me, O Muse, of the man who after Troy’s taking | saw the manners and cities of many men)”.

Secundum magis et minus, p. 109: More or less.

Sentire te in dies fieri meliorum, p. 101: Feel that you are becoming better every day.

Spaine, pp. 109, 110: Spain, along with France, Germany, and the Low Countries, was among the nations whose customs were deemed essential for observation in the geopolitical landscape of the late 16th century. The period 1585-1604 witnessed several conflicts between Spain and England, culminating in 1596 when Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, led an English contingent in an attack and plundering of the coast of Cádiz, with the support of the newly established Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. Later, in 1621, a satirical engraving titled “The Double Deliverance: Spain and Rome Defeated” was published in Amsterdam. This artwork depicted divine intervention favouring England against its Catholic adversaries, further fuelling English opposition to negotiations concerning a potential marriage between Prince Charles, son of James I of England, and the Infanta Ana María of Spain. In this context, Carey and Jowitt (2009, p. 96) summarize Samson’s remarks about Spain during this turbulent period, described as “a time of reversals and transitions in Anglo-Spanish relations. For the English, ‘Spain’ was transformed from friend to foe and back again, often at bewildering speed, and Samson describes the complex, competing and contradictory ways Englishmen

interpreted their experiences of a civilisation at once to be envied and admired, but also racially and religiously different".

Hadfield, in his study on travel and colonial writing in the English Renaissance, discusses the growing rivalry between England and Spain and the political nature of travel during this period: "Richard Eden's translation from Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo Decades* (1555) was the first of many sixteenth-century works which saw the need for an English empire to counteract the success of the Spanish" (1998, p. 2).

The E. of R., p. 101: The Earl of Rutland, Roger Manners, 5th Earl of Rutland.

The Late E. of E., p. 101: The Earl of Essex, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex.

Travailing, p. 90: While in the Middle Ages pilgrimage travel provided an edifying and exemplary experience, in the Renaissance, travel found its motivation and justification in the realm of education. As Stagl notes in "The Methodising of Travel in the 16th Century" (1990, p. 47): "In his *Colloquia familiaria* [1542], Erasmus of Rotterdam... extolled the pious work of self-improvement against the useless, expensive and morally corruptive pilgrimage." In this regard, the communication among European intellectuals, facilitated by mobility, was not only a response to the individual and social vocation of the learned traveller in the form of advice, but also served to provide accurate information derived from objective and verified observation. As Stagl (1995, p. 98) explains:

The concentration of social, political and cultural information by academies and printer's shops triggered a need to improve the collection of such information. Travel was the basic technique for this and the *ars apodemica* strove to produce better educated travellers and to encourage these to collect and report more varied and more reliable information. It also attempted to improve the quality of foreign correspondence.

In the 16th century, travel acquired a political dimension, shaped by the controversial hegemonic landscape and the expansive national history that dominated the European Renaissance scenario. Hadfield (1998, p. 2) emphasizes this idea, stating: "Travel and colonial writing were undoubtedly political genres in a double sense. First,... they often possessed a political content. Second, they were frequently caught up in the turbulent political history within which they were produced."

Beyond the characteristic features and the advantages and disadvantages of travel in the 16th and 17th centuries, it is important to highlight the etymology of the term "travel". According to Fussell (1980, p. 39):

... travel is work. Etymologically a traveler is one who suffers *travail*, a word deriving in its turn from Latin *tripalium*, a torture instrument consisting of three stakes to rack the body. Before the development of tourism, travel was conceived to be like study, and its fruits were considered to be the adornment of the mind and the formation of the judgement.

Turke, p. 109: Turkey, also known as the Ottoman Empire, reached its peak during the 16th and 17th centuries when its territories extended into North Africa, as well as further east and west, under the rule of Sultan Selim I and, particularly, during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. The strategic advantage gained through a series of consecutive victories facilitated the

presence of the Turkish fleet in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean during the 16th century. This fact, along with the monopoly over Mediterranean trade routes, led to successive battles between Turkey and the Christian coalition of various states aligned under the name of *Holy Leagues*. Flanders and the Netherlands, which were part of Habsburg Spain, along with the Republic of Venice, joined the *Holy League* of 1571 to curb the advancing Ottoman Empire.

Venice, p. 110: From the late 7th century until the late 18th century, the city of Venice was known as the Republic of Venice or *Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia*. From its early days, Venice's political, military, and economic organization was managed by several councils responsible for governing and ensuring the Republic's prosperity. The stability of its political institutions, its social and religious tolerance, its mercantile activity, and its powerful fleet contributed to its economic supremacy. This led Venice to participate in various alliances with other countries to combat, among other threats, the invasions of the Ottoman Empire, which it successfully repelled in the famous Battle of Lepanto in 1571. However, the commercial expansion and growing political power of other neighbouring countries contributed to its decline from the 17th century onward.

5.4. Glossary

The purpose of this glossary is to clarify a selection of words from the text that may be difficult for modern readers. It does not aim to list every word in the work, nor does it include page references. Instead, it focuses on specialised, archaic, or culturally specific items, particularly those linked to early modern institutions, politics, religion, law, warfare, trade, and learned discourse, together with brief definitions that reflect historically appropriate senses. Where relevant, variant spellings are retained and cross-referenced to modern forms to avoid confusion. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) has been used as the main point of reference for determining meanings in line with the period to which the text belongs.

A

aboade (abode) — a dwelling place; a place of residence.

aboue (above) — variant spelling of *above*.

accesse (access) — entry or admission; the right/means of approaching.

actiue (active) — variant spelling of *active*.

aduertisement / aduertisements (advertisement[s]) — a notice, warning, or piece of information made public; also “advice” or “announcement” in older usage.

aduice (advice) — counsel or recommendation; guidance on what should be done.

aduocates (advocates) — legal representatives; also defenders/supporters of a cause.

admiralty — the authority/office responsible for naval affairs and maritime administration.

ambassadors (ambassadors) — official diplomatic representatives of a ruler/state.

antidot (antidote) — a remedy against poison; something that counteracts harm.

Antipodes (Antipodes) — lands on the opposite side of the world; a conventional term for extremely distant regions.

attaine / attaineth (attain) — to reach, achieve, or obtain (often status/virtue/office in early modern prose).

available (available) — at one's disposal; usable or accessible (older spelling).

audicite — *likely* "audacity": boldness; daring confidence (often morally charged).

authoritie / authours (authority/authors) — *authority*: legitimate power or recognised right to command; *authors*: writers or originators.

B

behavior / behaiour (behaviour) — conduct; manner of acting (variant spelling).

betwixt — between (often used in formal/archaic registers).

bindeth — binds; obliges or ties (often legally/morally).

blast — a destructive blow or adverse force; sometimes metaphorical for harm/ruin.

booke / bookes (book/books) — often tied to learning, authority, and printed culture in early modern contexts.

breuities (brevities) — brief statements; concise passages (often used as a learned noun).

bredth (breadth) — width; extent (variant spelling).

C

cabinet — an inner council of advisers; the core executive circle (not "furniture" here).

canon — ecclesiastical law/rule authorised by the Church; also a church official (context-dependent).

cap (cap) — in early modern writing may imply rank/status markers (not only clothing).

chiefe (chief) — principal; highest in rank or importance (archaic spelling).

choyce / chuse (choice/choose) — variant spellings; often tied to judgement and discretion.

ciuill (civil) — relating to civic life/governance (as opposed to military or ecclesiastical).

clearenesse (clearness) — clarity of expression or understanding; also moral/intellectual transparency.

climat (climate) — climate/region; sometimes "zone" in geographical description.

coast — shoreline; frequently a strategic term in travel/military geography.

coherence — logical unity; the quality of "holding together" in argument or description.

coines (coins/coinage) — money minted under authority; often linked to sovereignty and fiscal control.

commodities — trade goods; marketable products, especially in overseas commerce.

Common-wealths (commonwealths) — political communities/states conceived as a public polity.

compañie (company) — a group/association; also a military unit or trading body depending on context.

compasse (compass/compass of) — range, scope, or circuit; sometimes literally navigation.

confederacies — alliances/leagues formed for mutual defence or common political aims.

confederates — allied parties bound by a league or pact.

conference — formal discussion/negotiation; diplomatic or learned exchange.

conferre (confer) — to compare, consult, or discuss formally; to “bring together” for judgement.

conforme (conform) — to comply with accepted rule, doctrine, or practice.

conformity — agreement with rules/standards (religious, legal, social).

conserue (conserve) — to preserve; keep intact (often moral/social order, not only food).

contempt — disdain; a low opinion that can also carry legal/moral force.

continent — Europe/the mainland (often contrasted with islands); also a large landmass.

contraries — opposing forces/qualities; used in moral reasoning and (sometimes) humoral thought.

conuenient (convenient) — fitting/appropriate; suitable in circumstance (older sense).

conuersant (conversant) — familiar; experienced and well-acquainted with a matter.

correlatiue (correlative) — mutually related terms or concepts; a learned/logic register.

counterfeit / counterfetting — to imitate deceptively; false representation (often moral/legal).

countenances — facial expressions; also “support/approval” in older political sense (“to countenance”).

countrey (country) — realm/land; can imply “state” more than “countryside” in political prose.

court — the monarch’s household and political centre; locus of patronage and power.

Courts of Parliament — Parliament as a formal institutional arena; also judicial/legislative authority.

counsels / counsell — advice given by advisers; also the body of advisers (council).

criminall (criminal) — relating to crimes and prosecution; also “seriously unlawful/offensive.”

custome / customs — established practice; socially binding norms, often treated as quasi-law.

D

deanes (deans) — senior clergy; cathedral officials with administrative authority.

defence / defensively — protection/fortification; a strategic military register.

defectiue (defective) — lacking; insufficient (often moral/intellectual deficiency).

denizens – inhabitants; sometimes residents with limited civic rights compared to full citizens.

designments – plans/intentions; strategic designs (often political/military).

diocese-like cluster

bishops / archbishops – high clergy; overseers of dioceses/provinces.

ecclesiasticall – relating to Church government/structures.

discerne (discern) – to judge clearly; distinguish with insight (often moral/intellectual).

discretion – sound judgement; prudent self-control in action and speech.

discourers – speakers/writers engaged in public reasoning; people who “discourse” (often polemical).

diuers (divers) – various; several (archaic spelling).

diuine (divine) – religious/sacred; relating to God or theology.

diuision (division) – separation; factional split (political, religious, social).

doctrine – authoritative teaching (especially theological); a codified body of beliefs.

E

election – formal choosing of an office-holder (political, civic, or ecclesiastical).

enterprizes (enterprises) – organised ventures/undertakings, often military or commercial.

estate / estates – social rank/class; also property/landed wealth; “the Estates” as political orders.

exchanges – commercial transactions; also exchange markets/financial mechanisms.

expençe (expense) – expenditure; outlay, often in state or household accounting.

F

faction / factions – organised groups pursuing influence/power; commonly viewed as divisive.

fauour / disfauour – political favour/disfavour; patronage dynamics, especially at court.

fauorites (favourites) – individuals enjoying privileged royal patronage and influence.

fideliety – loyalty/faithfulness (often political allegiance).

finances – fiscal resources and management of revenue/expenditure.

Flanders / Low Countries – key geopolitical region in early modern European conflict and trade.

fortification / fortified – defensive military works; strengthening a place against attack.

frontiers – border regions; strategic boundary zones.

freedome (freedom) – liberty; can also mean civic privileges/rights.

fury / furious – violent force or rage; also rhetorical intensity.

G

genealogies — records of lineage/descent; used to legitimise status and claims.

garrisons — stationed troops holding a fortress/town.

gouvernement (government) — governance of a realm; the machinery of rule (older spelling).

gouverne / governed — to rule; to administer political or moral order.

grace / magnificence cluster

grace — favour or divine gift; also social elegance/credit.

magnificence — princely generosity in public display; grand liberality.

magnanimity — greatness of spirit; noble courage and generosity.

H

hauens (havens) — harbours; safe ports for ships (strategic travel term).

heresie (heresy) — belief judged contrary to established Church teaching.

hinder — to obstruct; prevent progress (often in moralised argument).

horsmanship (horsemanship) — skill in riding/managing horses; linked to gentility and military training.

humour / humours — in Galenic medicine, bodily fluids thought to determine health and temperament.

husbandry — agriculture and land management; also prudent household/economic management.

I

impleyment (employment) — occupation/service; being engaged in duty or office.

imprinted — printed/published; tied to early modern print culture and circulation of texts.

inclination — disposition/tendency; often moral or temperamental leaning.

infectious / infected — capable of spreading disease; often used literally and metaphorically.

insufficiency — inadequacy; lack of fitness/competence (often moral/intellectual).

intelligemors — likely **intelligencers**: informants/spies who gather and report intelligence.

iudgement / iudgment (judgement) — evaluative faculty; decision-making authority.

iurisdiction (jurisdiction) — legal authority to govern or administer justice in a territory/matter.

iustice (justice) — the legal system/administration of law; also moral rightness.

K

knockes vpon — “knocks upon”: a figurative idiom for pressing urgently/insistently at something.

L

league / leagued / legues — alliance/confederation for political or military ends.

lieutenants — deputy officers acting under a superior (military or civic).

liberalitie / liberality — generous giving; a classical virtue framed as social/political capital.

logician — a scholar trained in logic and formal reasoning.

Lordship — a title of status and authority; also the domain/authority of a lord.

M

magazin (magazine) — storehouse/arsenal; a depot for supplies (especially military).

magistrate / magistrates — civic/judicial officers empowered to enforce law and govern locally.

manifestation — public display/evidence of something (often used in argumentative prose).

mechanicall — mechanical/technical; sometimes “manual craft” (often contrasted with “liberal arts”).

merchandizes — goods for trade; commercial wares.

mint — a place/institution where coin is produced; symbol of sovereign fiscal authority.

monarch — sovereign ruler (king/queen) as head of state.

morall (moral) — relating to ethical conduct and virtue; often a didactic register.

municipal — relating to town/city governance; civic administration.

N

natiues (natives) — indigenous inhabitants of a region; often used in travel writing discourse.

nobility / noblemen — aristocratic estate; titled elite with political and social power.

nouelties (novelties) — new/unusual things; in travel discourse, “wonders” or unfamiliar customs/items.

O

obseruance (observance) — strict practice of rules/duties (religious, social, moral).

obseruation (observation) — attentive noting of facts/behaviour; can imply empirical scrutiny.

officers — holders of official posts (military, civic, court).

ordinance — official decree/regulation issued by authority.

optimates — aristocratic “best men”; an elite ruling class (classical political term).

ornament / ornaments — embellishments; can also mean rhetorical “ornaments” in style.

ostentation — conspicuous display intended to impress; showiness (often criticised morally).

oppression — unjust exercise of power; harsh domination.

P

Parliament — national legislative assembly; a key institution of counsel and law-making.

partialities — biased allegiances/factions; partisan attachments.

peere (peer) — noble of high rank; member of the peerage.

philosophy — learned reasoning; systematic thought about ethics, nature, governance, etc.

Physicke (physic) — medicine/medical practice; remedies and health regimens.

pilgrim — traveller on a religious journey; also a moralised identity in travel writing.

policie / politik(e) (policy/politic) — statecraft; governance strategy; prudent management of public affairs.

ports — harbours/trading points; strategic maritime nodes.

power (political sense) — authority/capacity to rule; often tied to sovereignty and institutions.

precedency (precedence) — priority of rank; formal order in hierarchy.

precepts — authoritative rules, maxims, or moral instructions.

predicament — difficult situation; also (older) a logical category/class.

priuy (privy) — private/confidential; belonging to inner counsel and royal administration.

profession — vocation/occupation; sometimes formal public declaration of a calling.

proceedings — official actions/operations; formal conduct of affairs (often legal/political).

prouinces (provinces) — administrative regions of a realm.

prouincials (provincials) — provincial officials/administrators; relating to provincial governance.

prouisions (provisions) — supplies/stores, especially for military or travel logistics.

publike / publicly (public/publicly) — pertaining to the state/community; openly and officially.

purpose (rhetorical) — intention/aim in argument; also political design.

Q

qualitie (quality) — social rank/standing; also an attribute/characteristic (context-dependent).

Queene of England — sovereign title; signals political-centred framing in discourse.

R

receptacles — containers/holders; can also imply institutional "places" that receive something.

recreation — leisure; restorative activity (often justified morally).

relation — a report/account (especially in travel writing: a "relation" of a journey).

reuenue / reuenues (revenue[s]) — income of state/institution/estate; fiscal base of power.

rightly — according to law/reason; "with proper judgement" (often moral-legal).

riuers (rivers) — geographical features in travel description; often used strategically.

S

scholler (scholar) – learned person/student; marker of education and authority.

scope – range/extent; the intended coverage of a text/argument.

seducer – one who leads others astray (morally/religiously); not only sexual sense.

seruil (servile) – slavishly obedient; lacking independence (often political/moral critique).

set downe – to record formally; to write/establish as a statement or rule.

shippes / shipping – ships and maritime transport; key to commerce, war, and exploration.

souldier / souldiers (soldier[s]) – military personnel; often tied to discipline and virtue rhetoric.

soueraigne (sovereign) – supreme ruler/authority.

soueraignty (sovereignty) – supreme political authority; independent power to rule.

Spaine (Spain) – geopolitical power; often appears in strategic European context.

stage (rhetorical sense) – public arena of action/display; can be literal theatre but often metaphorical.

state – the political community/government; also “condition” (but often institutional here).

strengths (fortified places) – defensive strongholds; fortified positions.

studies – fields of learning; scholarly pursuits (institutional/elite framing).

subalternall / subalternall / subalterne / subultern – subordinate in rank; lower-level officer/agent.

subject (subject) – person under a sovereign's rule; political status.

subiection (subjection) – condition of being ruled; political subordination.

successe / successes – outcomes, often in military/political ventures (not just “doing well”).

succession – dynastic or institutional continuity in office/crown.

supply / supplied – provision of resources; often fiscal/military logistics.

T

table-talke (table talk) – informal conversation during meals; a recognised genre of discourse.

tapster – an alehouse worker who draws and serves ale/beer.

temper / temperance – self-control and moderation; moral discipline; also bodily temperament.

topographically (topographical) – describing terrain/geography in detail.

trade / traffik (traffic) – commerce, especially overseas trade and exchange.

trauell / trauels (travel[s]) – travel/journeys; often framed as knowledge-making and state utility.

traueller / trauellers (traveller[s]) – travellers, often elite/educated figures in early modern discourse.

Turke (Turk) — early modern label for the Ottoman Empire/people; often polemical in European texts.

tyrannous — oppressive, despotic; exercising unlawful or cruel power.

V

valuation — assessed worth/value (often fiscal, administrative, or commercial).

Venice — maritime republic and major diplomatic-commercial power in early modern Europe.

vessell / vessels — ships (common early modern maritime sense; sometimes containers by context).

vertue / vertues (virtue[s]) — moral excellence; socially valued qualities tied to conduct and rank.

vniuersities (universities) — institutions of higher learning; credentials and learned authority.

vsurpation (usurpation) — unlawful seizure of power/authority.

W

warranted — authorised/justified; backed by authority or acceptable proof.

warre / warres (war[s]) — armed conflict; often tied to statecraft and sovereignty.

weapons — instruments of war; arms.

wel-doing — virtuous conduct; moral behaviour framed as social duty.

wisdome / wisdom (wisdom) — practical judgement; often political prudence.

Z

zeale (zeal) — fervent devotion, especially religious; can shade into political intensity.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS

This study has pursued several objectives aimed at providing a comprehensive understanding of *Profitable Instructions*, not only in terms of its literary value but also as a linguistic product. One of the most significant tasks to achieve these objectives has been the preparation of a reliable critical edition that highlights the textual variants with respect to other manuscripts. As discussed in Chapter 3 of this work, there are various discrepancies among the different editions made of parts of this work. This aspect is particularly crucial for the study of the stance expressions analysed in Chapter 4, as the use of one variant over another can yield considerably different results regarding the speakers' stance.

A primary objective has been the literary and historical contextualization of *Profitable Instructions*. To this end, Chapter 2 provides a review of travel literature from a diachronic perspective up to the period in which this text is situated. As noted in this chapter, the sixteenth-century interest in travel for secular purposes led to the publication of various manuals, among other literary manifestations, which describe aspects of travel with a utilitarian focus, whether political, commercial, social, or economic. In summary, this period was marked by expansion in all aspects, including a growing interest in the new and the exotic, as reflected in *Profitable Instructions*. This manual, which draws from various literary genres such as epistolary writing, autobiography, philosophical treatise, and essay, presents information in a simple, easy-to-reference format that every traveller should collect on his journeys. Additionally, this information serves a strongly educational purpose, as it aims to equip travellers with a set of skills that facilitate their personal and professional development. The study of the content of the different sections that make up *Profitable Instructions* has allowed for its classification as one of the various manifestations of *ars apodemica* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Another objective of this work has been the physical and content-based description of the manual of instructions. This section has addressed aspects related to its binding and other technical details such as pagination, collation, *ordinatio*, and authorship of the texts, among other elements. Regarding the date of composition of these texts, there is an ongoing debate about the precise moment when the original letters were written. Based on the biographical data of the authors provided by various scholars, the year 1580 has been proposed as the probable date of composition for the letters included in *Profitable Instructions*. Regarding the textual affiliation, this study provides cataloguing information on the copies of the letters by Philip Sidney and Robert Devereux. Additionally, it offers details on the location of contemporary copies of *Profitable Instructions* in libraries in the United Kingdom and the United States.

Furthermore, this study reviews the various editions that have been made of some of the texts included in *Profitable Instructions*. From this review, it is concluded that in none of the cases is the editorial process accurately described. This lack of rigor, along with the absence of a complete edition of *Profitable Instructions*, have been the most significant reasons for proposing an edition that allows for an analysis of stance. The edition also benefits from the linguistic study of the texts, which includes data on the spelling and morphology of the documents. This is complemented by a description of the punctuation system in *Profitable Instructions*.

The most important objective of this study has been to examine the expression of stance in all the texts that make up *Profitable Instructions*. To achieve this, the analysis has been conducted following the model proposed by Marín Arrese (2009). This model has previously been applied to texts predating 1900, as seen in Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014). For this analysis, the data have been categorized into two broad groups: effective modal devices and epistemic devices.

This analysis has revealed a preference for different types of modality depending on the text. A greater number of effective expressions are used in the letters and the instruction manual, while epistemic expressions are more prevalent in the prefatory material. The reason for this distinction lies in the objectives of each section.

The prefatory material serves an advertising function; in other words, it aims to convince the reader of the reliability and usefulness of the information contained in the volume. The other texts, however, primarily serve to explain and instruct without the need to persuade the reader of their veracity, as they are understood to be based on the authors' firsthand experience. In instructional and advisory texts, there is less emphasis on expressing modesty or doubt regarding the information presented. The imposition of the authors' viewpoints on the execution of specific actions is not avoided. However, in the preface, the author employs epistemic devices to mitigate the potential imposition of his viewpoint, as well as preventing criticism from other specialists. Furthermore, effective devices are strategically used to emphasize the necessity of following the advice provided by the experienced authors featured in the volume.

In conclusion, this study has demonstrated the necessity of revising part of the edited material that constitutes *Profitable Instructions*, as well as clarifying aspects of its composition that had yet to be fully resolved. Additionally, by contextualizing the text, this research has aimed to

highlight the lack of critical references regarding sixteenth-century travel literature, positioning this study as a contribution to the understanding of the genre of travel literature during that period. Finally, the analysis of stance in the four texts that comprise the manual of instructions provides insight into specific linguistic usages driven by the speakers' intentionality. These include, among other aspects, evaluation, obligation, necessity, desire, etc. Such meanings are understood to be crucial in describing certain linguistic changes in the history of the English language, as noted by Alonso-Almeida and Mele-Marrero (2014): "evaluation, emotion and/or affect are said to be some of the driving forces of linguistic change, and they have been found to be the semantic motivation for grammaticalized linguistic phenomena."

6.1. Further research

This study offers several potential lines of further research. Firstly, it would be highly beneficial to produce a critical edition of the letters based on the manuscripts held in the British Library, Cambridge, Oxford, Northamptonshire, and Dublin. Despite their brevity, the large number of surviving copies complicates this endeavour, making financial support a crucial factor. An edition of this nature would not only provide a single annotated text incorporating the variants of the different copies but would also yield valuable insights into the dissemination of these letters.

Within the framework of *ars apodemica*, another particularly relevant task would be a comparative analysis of *Profitable Instructions* with other sixteenth-century texts, as well as with more contemporary works. This would allow for the identification of general trends in the formal and thematic characteristics that define travel discourse during this period and its subsequent evolution. Additionally, instructional texts of this literary tradition remain to be examined from a textual perspective in terms of functional linguistics, following the models proposed by Halliday (1994), Martin (1984), and Eggins (1994).

All the tasks outlined here will undoubtedly contribute to a deeper understanding and definition of the evolution of travel narratives, as well as confirming and highlighting the thematic diversity of the travel literature genre in the English language during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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